

THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD.

In Five Bookes.

1. **T**reating of the Beginning and first Ages of the same from the Creation unto Abraham.
2. Of the Times from the Birth of Abraham, to the destruction of the Temple of Salomon.
3. From the destruction of Ierusalem, to the time of Philip of Macedon.
4. From the Reigne of Philip of Macedon, to the establishing of that Kingdome, in the Race of Antigonus.
5. From the settled rule of Alexanders successors in the East, untill the Romans (prevailing over all) made Conquest of Asia and Macedon.

By Sir Walter Ralegh, Knight.



The true and
of the Honourable
S^r Walter



Lively portraiture
and learned Knight
Ralegh.



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How unfit, and how unworthy a choice I have made of my selfe to undertake a worke of this mixture; mine own reason, though exceeding weak, hath sufficiently resolved me. For had it bene begotten then with my first dawning of day, when the light of common knowledge began to open its selfe to my younger years: and before any wound received, either from Fortune or Time: I might yet well have doubted this

the darknesse of Age and Death would have covered over both. If and mee, long before the performance. For beginning with the Creation; I have proceeded with the History of the World; and lastly purposed (some few sallies excepted) to confine my Discourse, within this one renowned Island of Great Brittain. I confesse that it had better suited with my disability, the better part of whose times are run, out in deeper traualles; or have set together (as I could) the romanced and faulter red time of our English affaires, than of the Primer fall: in whom, had there bin no other defect (who am all defect) then the time of the day, it were enough; the day of a tempestuous life, drawne on to the very evening ere I began. But those many and soule-percing wounds, which at euery waking while concurred: with the desire to satisfie those few friends, which I have tryed by the fire of Adversitie; the former enforcing, the latter perswading, haue calld me to make my thoughts legible, and my selfe the subject of euery opinion wise or weak.

To the World I present them, to which I am nothing indebted: neither haue I shewd that were, (Fortune changing) sped much better in any age. For, Prosperity and Adversity haue euery more tryed and varied vulgar Affections. And as we see it in experience, That does us alwayes hurt at those they know not; and that it is their nature to accompany one another in those clamours: so it is with the confidante multitudes who, wanting this virtue which we call Honesty in all men, and that especial gift of G O D which we call Charity in Christian men; condemne without hear ing; and wound without offense. Hence led there vnto by vntrained rapacity; which his Maiesty truly acknowledgeth for the Author of all liss. Blame no man (saith Strabon) before thou haue enquired the matter vnderstand first; and then resolve righteously. Rumor ressesse, fine iudice, maligne, fallax; Rumor is without wit, without iudge, malicious and deceivable. This vanity of vulgar opinion is writ, that gaur Saint Augustine Arguments affirme, that he feared the praise of good men, and detested that of the euill. And herein no man hath giuen a better rule, then this of Seneca, Consecratu satisfactorius: nihil in famula laboramus, sequatur vel malis, dum bene merearis. Let vs be silent for owne consciences, and

*Demostoc. l. 3. c. 11.
Eckc. c. 11. vj.*

*Lauder. l. 1. in
times, & amari
a mali detestor.
Sen. de ira. l. 3.
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not trouble our selues with fame: bee it neuer so ill, it is to be despised for we deserve well.

For my selfe, if I haue in any thing serued my Country, and prised it before my private the general acceptation can yeeld me no other profit at this time than doth a faire sunshime day to a Sea-man after shipwracke, & the contrary no other harme than an outrageous tempest after the Port attained. I know that I lost the loue of many, for my fidelity towards Her, whom I must still honor in the dust; though further then the defence of her excellent person, I neuer persecuted any man. Of those that did it, and by what device they did it, He that is the Supream Iudge of all the world, hath taken the accompt: so as for this kinde of suffering, I must say with Seneca, Mala opinio, bene parta, delectata.

As for other men; if there be any that haue made themselves Fathers of that fame, which hath bene begotten for them: I can neither enuy at such their purchased glory, nor much lament mine owne mislab in that kind; but content my selfe to say with Virgil, Sic vos non vobis, in many particulars. To labour other satisfaction, were an effect of phrenzy, not of hope: seeing it is not Truth, but Opinion, that can swel the World without a pass-port. For were it otherwise, and were there not as many internall formes of the minde, as there are externall figures of men; there were then some possibility, to perswade by the mouth of one Advocate, euen Equity alone.

But such is the multiplying & extensive vertue of dead Earth, & of that brau-guing life which God hath cast upon time & dust, as that among those that were, of whom we read, & heare, and among those that are, whom we see & converse with, every one hath received a severall picture of face, & every one a diuers picture of minde; every one a forme apart, every one a fancy & cogitation differing there being nothing wherein Nature so much triumpheth as in dissimilitude. From whence it cometh that there is found so great diversity of opinions; so strong a contrariety of inclinations; so many naturall & unnatural; wise foolishly; manly, & childish affections, and passions in mortall Men. For it is not the visible fashion and shape of plants, and of reasonable Creatures, that makes the difference of working in the one, and of condition in the other: but the forme internall.

And though it hath pleased God, to reforme the Art of reading mens thoughts to himselfe; yet as the fruit tells the name of the Tree; so do the outward workes of men (so far as their cogitations are acted) giue vs wherof to guesse at their selfe. Nay, it were not hard to expresse the one by the other, very neare the life: did not craft in many feare in the most, and the worlds loue in all, teach every capacity, according to the compass it hath, to qualifye and make over their inward deformities for a time. Though it be also true, Nemo potest diu personam ferre fictam: cito in naturam suam residunt, quibus veritas non subest. No man can long continue masked in a counterfeit behauiour; the things that are forced for pretences hauing no ground of truth, can not long dissimble their owne natures. Neither can any man (saith Plutarch) so change himselfe, but that his heart may be sometimes scene at his tongues end.

In this great discord and dissimilitude of reasonable Creatures, if we direct our selues to the Multitude, Omnis hominum animus iudicet vulgus: The common people are all Iudges of honest things, and whole Wisdome (saith Ecclesiastes) is to be despised; if to the better sort, every understanding hath

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hath a peculiar iudgement, by which it both censurath other men, & valueth it selfe. And therefore vnto me it will not seeme strange, though I finde these my wartbles papers torne with Rats; seeing the stobfull Censurers of all ages haue not spared to taxe the Reuerend Fathers of the Church, with Ambition; the seuerest men to themselves, with Hypocrisie; the greatest louers of Iustice, with Popularity; and those of the trusty valour and fortitude, with vaine glory. But of these natures which lye in wait to finde fault, and to turne good into euill, seeing Salomon complained long since, & that the very age of the world renders it euery day after other more malicious; I must leaue the professors to their easie wayes of reprehension, than which there is nothing of more facility.

To me it belongs in the first part of this Preface, following the common & approved custome of those, who haue left the memories of time past to after ages; to giue, as neere as I can, the same right to History which they haue done. Yet seeing therein I should but borrow other mens words; I will not trouble the Reader with the repetition. True it is that among many other benefits, for which it hath bin honoured; in this one it triumpheth over all humane knowledge. That it hath giuen vs life in our vnderstanding, since the world it selfe had life & beginning, euen to this day: yea it hath triumphed ouer time, which besides it nothing but eternitie hath triumphed ouer: for it hath carried our knowledge ouer the vast and deuouring space of many thousands of years, & giuen so faire & peircing eies to our minde; that we plainly behold liuing now (as if we had liued then) that great world, Magni Dei lapidinis opus, the wise works (saith Hermes) of a great GOD, as it was then, when but new to it selfe. By it (I say) it is, that we liue in the very time when it was created: we behold how it was gouerned: how it was couered with waters; and againe re-peopled: How Kings and Kingdomes, have flourished & fallen, and for what vertue and piety God made prosperous; and for what vice and deformity he made wretched, both the one & the other. And it is not the least debt which we owe vnto History, that it hath made vs acquainted with our dead Ancestors; and out of the depth and darkenesse of the earth, deliuered vs their memory and fame. In a word, we may gather out of History a policy no lesse wise than eternall; by the comparison and application of other mens fore-past miseries with our owne like errors & ill desertings. But it is neither of Examples the most liuely instruction, nor the words of the wisest men, nor the terror of future torments, that hath yet so wrought in our blind and stupified mindes; as to make vs remember, That the infinite eye and wisdom of God doth peirce through all our pretences; as to make vs remember, That the iustice of God doth require none other accuser, than our owne consciences: which neither the false beauty of our apparent actions, nor all the formalitie, which (to pacifie the opinions of men) we put on; can in any, or the least kind, couer from his knowledge. And so much did that Heathen wisdome confesse, no way as yet qualified by the knowledge of a true God. If any (saith Euripides) hauing in his life committed wickednesse, thinke he can hide it from the cuerlasting god, he thinkes not well.

To repeat GODS iudgements in particular, vpon those of all degrees, which haue plaied with his mercies, would require a volume apart: for the Sea of examples hath no bottome. The markes, set on private men, are with their bodies cast into the earth; and their fortunes, written onely in the memories of those that liued with them: so as they who succeed, and haue not seen the fall of others,

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do not feare their owne faults. GODS iudgments vpon the greater & greatest haue bene left to posteritie; first, by those happy hands which the Holy Ghost hath guided; and secondly, by their vertue, who haue gathered the acts and ends of men, mighty and remarkable in the world. Now to paym farre off, and to speake of the conuersion of Angells into Demills, for Ambition: Or of the greatest and most glorious Kings, who haue enuaine the grasse of the earth with beasts for pride and ingratitude towards GOD: Or of that wise working of Pharao, when he slue the Infants of Israel, ere they had recovered their Cradles: Or of the policy of Iezabel, in covering the Murder of Naboth by a trial of the Elders, according to the Law: with many thousands of the like: what were it other, than to make an hopelesse prooffe, that farre-off examples would not be left to the same farre-off respects as heretofore? For who hath not obserued, what labour, practise, perill, bloudshed, and cruelty, the Kings and Princes of the world haue undergone, exercised, taken on them, and committed; to make them-selues and their issues masters of the world? And yet hath Babilon, Persia, Egypt, Syria, Macedon, Carthage, Rome, &c. there left, no fruit, flower, grasse, nor leafe, springing vpon the face of the earth, of those seeds: No, their very roots & ruines do hardly remaine. Omnia quæ manu hominum facta sunt, vel manu hominum euertuntur, vel flando & durando deficient: All that the hand of man can make, is either ouerturned by the hand of man, or at length by standing and continuing consumed. The reasons of whose ruines, are diuersly giuen by those that ground their opinions on second causes. All Kingdomes & States haue fallen (say the Politicians) by outward & forraing force, or by inward negligence & dissension, or by a third cause arising from both: Others obserue, That the greatest haue (such done vnder their own weight, of which Liuius hath a touch: eo creuit, vt magnitudine laboret sua: Others, That the diuine providence (which Cratippus objected to Pompey) hath set downe the date and period of euery Estate; before their first foundation and erection. But herof I will giue my selfe a day ouer to resolve.

For seeing the first bookes of the following story, haue vnderaken the discourse of the first Kings and Kingdomes: and that it is impossible for the short life of a Preface, to trauaile after and ouer-take farre off Antiquity, and to iudge of it; I will, for the present, examine what profit hath bene gathered by our owne Kings, and their Neighbour Princes: who hauing beheld, both in diuine and humane letters, the successe of infidelitie, iniustice, and cruelty; haue (notwithstanding) planted after the same patterne.

True it is, that the iudgements of all men are not agreeable; nor (which is more strange) the affection of any one man stirred vp a-like with examples of like nature: But euery one is touched most, with that which most necerly seemeth to touch his owne priuate; Or otherwise best suiteth with his apprehension. But the iudgements of GOD are for euer vnchangeable; neither is hee wearied by the long proceffe of time, and wont to giue his blessing in one age, to that which he hath cursed in another. Wherefore those that are wise, or whose wisdom, if it be not great, yet is true and well grounded; will be able to discern the bitter fruites of irreligious policie, as well among those examples that are found in ages removed farre from the present, as in those of latter times. And that it may no lesse

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appeare by euident prooffe, than by asseueration, That ill doing hath alwaies bene attended with ill successe; I will here, by way of preface, runne ouer some examples, which the worke ensuing hath not reached.

Among our Kings of the Norman race, we haue no sooner passed ouer the violence of the Norman Conquest, than we encounter with a singular and most remarkable example of Gods Iustice, vpon the children of Henry the first. For that King, when both by force, craft and cruelty, he had dispossest ouer each, and lastly made blinde and destroyed his elder Brother Robert Duke of Normandy, so make his owne sonnes Lords of this Land: GOD cast them all, Male and Female, Nephewes and Nieces (Maud excepted) into the bottome of the Sea, with aboue a hundred and fifty others that attended them; whereof a great many were Noble, and of the King dearly beloued.

To passe ouer the rest, till we come to Edward the Second; it is certaine, that after the murder of that King, the issue of blood then made, though it had some times stay and stopping, did againe breake out, and that so often and in such abundance, as all our Princes of the Masculine race (very few excepted) dyed of the same disease. And although the young years of Edward the Third, made his knowledge of that horrible fact no more then suspitious: yet in that he afterwards caused his owne Vncle the Earle of Kent to die for no other offence than the desire of his Brothers redemption, whom the Earle at then supposed to be liuing; the King making that to be treason in his Vncle, which was indeed treason in himselfe, (had his Vncles intelligence been true) this Iudge made it manifest, that he was not ignorant of what had past, nor greatly desirous to haue had it other wise: though he caused Mortimer to dye for the same.

This cruelty the secret and vnsearchable iudgement of GOD reuenged on the Grand-child of Edward the Third: and so it felow, euen to the last of that line, that in the second or third descents they were all buried vnder the ruines of those buildings, of which the Mortar had bene tempered with innocent bloud. For Richard the second, who saw, both his Treasurers, his Chancellor, and his Steward, with diuers others of his Counsaillors, some of them slaughtered by the people, others in his absence executed by his enemies; yet hee alwayes tooke himselfe for ouer-wise, to be taught by examples. The Barres of Huntingdon and Kent, Montague & Spencer, who thought them-selues as great Politicians in those daies as others, haue done in these: hoping to please the King, and to secure them-selues, by the Murder of Gloucester; died soone after, with many other their adherents, by the like violent hands; and farre more shamefully then did that Duke. And as for the King himselfe (who in regard of many deedes, unworthy of his Greatnesse, cannot be excused, as the disauowing himselfe by breach of Faith, Charters, Pardons and Patents: Hee was in the prime of his youth deposed, and murdered by his Cousen Germane and vassall, Henry of Lancaster, afterwards Henry the fourth.

This King, whose Title was weak, & his obtaining the Crowne traitorous: who brake faith with the Lords at his landing, professing to intend only the recouerie of his proper inheritance; brake faith with Richard himselfe; and brake a Faith with all the Kingdom in Parliament, to whom hee swore that the deposed King should liue. After that hee had enioyed this Realme some few years, and in that time had bene set vpon on all sides by his Subiects, and neuer free from

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conspiracies & rebellions: he saw (if soules immortal see & discern any things after the bodies death) his Grand-child Henry the sixth, & his Son the Prince, suddenly & without mercy, murdered: the possession of the Crowns (for which he had caused so much blood to be poured out) transferred from his race, & by the Issues of his enemies worne & enioyed: enemies whom by his own practise he supposed that he had left no lesse power-lesse, than the succession of the Kingdom questionlesse, by entailing the same vpon his own Issues by Parliament. And out of doubt, humane reason could haue iudged no other wise, but that these cautious prouisions of the father, seconded by the valour & signall victories of his son Henry the fifth, had buried the hopes of euery Competitor, vnder the despaire of all reconquest and recovery. I say, that humane reason might so haue iudged: were not this passage of Caesars also true; Dies, hora, momentum, euertendis dominationibus sufficit, quæ adamâtinis credebantur radicibus esse fundatæ; A day, an houre, a moment, is enough to ouerturne the things, that seemed to haue beene founded & rooted in Adamant.

Now for Henry the sixth, vpon whom the great storme of his Grandfathers grievous faulces fell, as it formerly had done vpon Richard the Grand-child of Edward: although he was generally esteemed for a gentle & innocent Prince, yet as he refused the daughter of Armaignac, of the House of Nauarre, the greatest of the Princes of France, to whom he was affianced (by which match he might haue defended his inheritance in France) & married the Daughter of Aniou, (by which he lost all that hee had in France) so in condescending to the unworthy death of his Vncle of Gloucester, the maine and strong Pillar of the house of Lancaster; He drew on himselfe & this kingdome the greatest ioynt-lesse & dishonour that euer it sustained since the Norman Conquest. Of whom it may truly be said, which a Counsellor of his own spake of Henry the third of France, Qu'il estoit vn fort gẽtile Prince; mais son reigne est aduenu en vn fort mauuois temps. That he was a very gentle Prince; but his reigne happened in a very vnfortunate season.

It is true that Buckingham & Suffolke were the practisers and contriuers of the Dukes death. Buckingham and Suffolke, because the Duke gave instructions to their authority, which otherwise vnder the Queene had bin absolute: the Queene in respect of her personall wound, pretzque iniuria forma, because Gloucester dissuaded her marriage. But the fruit was answerable to the seed; the success to the Counsaile. For after the cutting downe of Gloucester, Yorke grew up so fast, as he dared to dispute his right both by arguments & armes; in which quarrel, Suffolke and Buckingham, with the greatest number of their adherents, were dissolued. And although for his breach of Oath by Sacrament, it pleased God to strike down Yorke; yet his son the Earle of March, following the plaine path which his Father had troden out, despoiled Henry the Father, and Edward, the son, both of their liues and Kingdome. And what was the end now of that politique Lady the Queene, other then this, That she liued to behold the wretched ends of all her partakers: that she liued to looke on, while her Husband the King, & her onely son the Prince, were heere in summer; while the Crowne was set on his head that did it. Shee liued to see her selfe despoiled of her Estate, and of her moueables: and lastly, her father, by rendering up to the Crowne of France the Earledome of Prouence and other places for the payment of fifty thousand crownes for her Ransome, to become

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came a starke Begger. And this was the end of that subtilty, which Siracides call-eth fine but vnrighteous: for other fruit hath it neuer yeelded since the world was.

And now it came to Edward the fourths turne (though after many difficulties) to triumph. For all the plants of Lancaster were rooted up; one only Earle of Richmond excepted: whom also he had once bought of the Duke of Brittain, but could not hold him. And yet was not this of Edward (such a Plantation, as could any way promise it selfe stability) For this Edward the King (to omit more than many of his other cruelties) beheld and allowed the slaughter, which Gloucester, Dorset, Hastings, and others, made of Edward the Prince in his owne presence: of which tragickall Actours, there was not one that escaped the iudgement of God. In the same kinde. And He, which (besides the execution of his brother Clarence, for none other offence then he him-selfe had formed in his own imagination) instructed Gloucester to kill Henry the sixth, his Predecessour; taught him also by the same Art to kill his owne sons & successors Edward and Richard. For those Kings which haue fold the blood of others at a low rate; haue but made the market for their owne enemies, to buy of theirs at the same price.

To Edward the fourth succeeded Richard the Third, the greatest Maister in mischief of all that fore-went him: who although, for the necessity of his Tragedie, he had more parts to play, and more to performe in his owne person, then all the rest; yet he so well fixed euery affection that played with him, as if each of them had but acted his owne interest. For he wrought so cunningly vpon the affections of Hastings, and Buckingham, enemies to the Queene, and to all her kindred, as he easily allured them to condescend, that Rivers and Grey, the Kings Mother, and half brother, should (for the first) be severed from him: secondly, he wrought their consent to haue them imprisoned and lastly (for the avoiding of future inconuenience) to haue their heads severed from their bodies. And hauing now brought those his chief instruments to exercise that common precept, which the Devil hath written on euery mans breast, namely, To deresse those whom they had grieved, and to destroy those whom they had deprest; Hee vrged that argument so farre and so forcibly, as nothing but the death of the yong king him-selfe, & of his brother, could saluum the conscience. For he caused it to be hammered into Buckinghams head, That, whensoever the King or his brother, should haue able yeares to exercise their power; they would take a most sweet revenge of that euill selfe wrong offered to their Vncle and Brother, Rivers and Grey.

But this was not his manner of reasoning with Hastings, whose fidelity to his Masters Sonnes was without suspect: and yet the Diuell, who neuer dissuades by impossibility, taught him to try him. And so he did. But when hee found by Caesars by who founded him, that he was not for dable; He first resolved to kill him sitting in counsell: where in hauing sayled with his sword; He let the Hangman vpon him, with a weapon of more weight. And because nothing else could moue his appetite, He caused his head to be stricken off, before hee ate his dinner. A greater iudgement of God, than this vpon Hastings. I haue neuer obserued in any storie. For the selfe same day that the Earle Rivers, Grey, and others, were (without triall of Law, or offence giuen) by Hastings aduice executed at Pomfret: I say Hastings him-selfe in the same day, & (as I take it) in the same houre, in the same law-lesse manner, had his head stricken off in the Tower of London.

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But Buckingham liued a while longer; and with an eloquent oration perswaded the Londoners to elect Richard for their king. And having received the Earldome of Hereford for reward, besides the high hope of marrying his daughter to the Kings onely sonne; after many grievous vexations of mind, and unfortunate attempts; being in the end betrayed and deliuered vp by his trustiest seruants; He had his head severed from his body at Salisbury, without the trouble of any of his Peeres. And what successe had Richard himselfe after all these mischiefs & murders, policies, and counter-policies to Christian religion? after such time as with a most mercilesse hand he had pressed out the breath of his Nephews and Naturall Lords; other than the prosperitie of so short a life, as it tooke end ere himselfe could well looke over and discerne it? The great outcry of innocent blood, obtained at GODS hands the effusion of his; who became a spectacle of shame and dishonor, both to his friends and enemies.

This cruell King Henry the 7. cut off; was therein (no doubt) the immediate instrument of Gods iustice. A politicke Prince he was if euer there were any, who by the engine of his wisdom, beate downe & ouerturned as many strong oppositions both before & after he wore the crowne, as euer King of England did: I say by his wisdom, because as he euer left the raines of his affectiō in the hands of his profit, so he alwaies wayed his undertakings by his abilities, leaving nothing more to hazard than so much as cannot be denied it in all humane actions. He had well observed the proceedings of Loys the eleuenth, whom he followed in all that was royall or royal-like; but he was farre more iust, and began not their processes whom he hated or feared by the execution, as Loys did.

He could neuer endure any mediation in rewarding his seruants; & therein exceeding wise for whatsoeuer himselfe gave, he himselfe received backe the thanks & the loue, knowing it well that the affections of men purchased by nothing so readily as by benefits were traynes that better became great kings, than great subjects. On the contrary, in whatsoeuer he rewarded his subjects, he wisely put it off on those, that he found fit ministers for such actions. How so euer, the taking off of Scanlios head, who at the Crowne on his, & the death of the yong Earle of Warwicke, son to George D. of Clarence, (he was the successe also did, that he held some of the errors of his Ancesters for his possession in the first line ended in his grāde children as that of Edward the third and Henry the fourth had done.

Now for King Henry the eight; if all the pictures and Portraies of a mercilesse Prince were lost in the World, they might all againe be painted in the life, out of the story of this King. For how many seruants did he aduance to hast, (but for what vertue no man could suspect) and with the change of his fancy ruined againe; no man knowing for what offence? To how many others of more desert gave he abundant flowers, from whence to gather bony, and in the end of Haruest burnt them in the flue? How many wies did he cut off; cast off, as his fancy & affection chaged? How many Princes of the blood, (whereof some of them for age could hardly crawl towards the block) with a world of others of all degrees (of whom our common Chronicles haue kept the account) did he execute? yea, in his very death-bed, and when he was at the point to haue given his account to GOD for the abundance of blood already spilt: He imprisoned the Duke of Norfolk the Father; & executed the Earle of Surrey the son; the one, whose desertings he knew not how to value, having neuer omitted any thing that concerned his own ho-

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now; & the Kings service; the other neuer hauing committed any thing worthy of his least displeasure: the one exceeding valiant and aduised, the other no lesse valiant than learned; & of excellent hope. But besides the sorrowes which he heaped vpon the Fatherlesse, & widowes at home; and besides the ruaine enterprises abroad, wherein it is thought that he consumed more Treasures than all our victorious Kings did in their seuerall Conquests: what causelesse and cruell warres did he make vpon his owne Nephew King Iames the first? What Lawes & Willis did he deuise, to establish this Kingdome in his owne issues? vsing his sharpest weapons to cut off, and cut downe those branches, which sprang from the same roote that himselfe did. And in the end (notwithstanding these his so many irreligious prouisions) it pleased God to take away all his owne, without increase; though, for themselves in their seuerall kindes, all Princes of eminent vertue. For these words of Samuel to Agag King of the Amalikites, haue beene verified vpon many others: As thy sword hath made other women childlesse so shall thy mother be childlesse among other women. And that blood, which the same King Henry affirmed, that the cold aire of Scotland had frozen up in the North, God hath diffused by the sunshine of his grace: from whence His Maiestie now liuing, so long to liue, is descended. Of whom I may say it truly, That if al the malice of the world were infused into one eie, yet could it not discern in his life, euen to this day, any one of those foule spots, by which the consciences of all the forenamed Princes (in effect) haue bene defiled, nor any droppe of that innocent blood on the sword of his iustice, with which the most that fore-went him, haue stajned both their hands and fame. And for this Crowne of England, it may truly be arowded: That he hath received it euen from the hand of God, and hath stayed the time of putting it on, howsoeuer he were prouoked to hasten in: That He neuer tooker reuenge of any man, that sought to put him beside it: That he refused the assistance of Her enemies, that were it long, with as great glory as euer Prince did. That his Maiestie entred not by a breach, nor by blood; but by the Ordinary gate, which his owne right set open; and into which, by a generall loue and Obedience, Hee was received. And howsoeuer His Maiesties preceeding title to this Kingdome, was perferred by many Princes (witnesse the Treaty at Cambray in the yeare, 1559) yet he neuer pleased to dispute it, during the life of that renowned Lady his Predecessor; no, notwithstanding the injury of not being declared Heire, in all the time of Her long reigne.

Neither ought we to forget, or neglect our thankfulness to GOD for the uniting of the Northern parts of Brittain to the South, so wit of Scotland to England, which though they were severed but by small brookes and banks, yet by reason of the long continued warre, and the cruelties exercised vpon each other, in the affection of the Nations, they were infinitely severed. This I say is not the least of Gods blessings which His Maiestie hath brought with him vnto this Land: No, put all our petty greouances together; & heap them vp to their height, they will appeare but as a Mole-hill compared with the Mountaine of this concord. And if all the Historians since then, haue acknowledged the uniting of the Red-Rose, and the White; for the greatest happinesse; (Christian Religion excepted) that euer this Kingdome received from GOD, certainly the peace betwene the two Lions of gold & gules, and the making them one, doth by many degrees exceede the former: for by it, besides the sparing of our british blood, heretofore and during the difference, so often & abundantly shed, the state of England is more assured, the Kingdome more

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inabled to recouer her ancient honor and rights, and by it made more inuincible, than by all our former alliances, practices, policies & conquests. It is true that hereof we do not yet finde the effect. But had the Duke of Parma in the year 1588. ioynd the army which hee commanded, with that of Spaine, and landed it on the south coast; & had his Maiesty at the same time declared himselfe against vs in the north: it is easie to diuine what had become of the liberty of England, certainly we would then without murmur haue brought this vniion a farre greater praise than it hath since cost vs. It is true, that there was neuer any Common weale or Kingdom in the world, wherein no man had cause to lament. Kings liue in the world & not about it. They are not infinit to examine euery mans cause, or to relieue euery mans wants. And yet in the latter, (thought to his owne preiudice) His Maiestie hath had more compassion of other mens necessities, than of his own Coffers. Of whom it may be said as of Salomon, Dedit Deus Salomoni latitudinem cordis: Which if other men do not vnderstand with Pineda, to be meant by Liberality, but by Latitudo of knowledge; yet may it be better spoken of His Maiestie than of any King that euer England had; who as well in diuine, as humane vnderstanding, hath exceeded all that fore-went him, by many degrees.

I could say much more of the Kings Maiesty, without flatterie: did I not feare the imputation of presumption, & withall suspect, that it might befall these papers of mine, (though the losse were little) as it did the Pictures of Queene Elizabeth, made by vnskilfull and common Painters, which by her own commandement were knocked in peeces and cast into the fire. For ill Artits, in setting out the beauty of the externall: and weak writers in describing the vertues of the internall: doe often leaue to posterity, of well formed faces a deformed memory; and of the most perfect and Princely mindes, a most defectiue representation. It may suffice, and there needes no other discourse; if the honest Reader but compare the cruell & turbulent passages of our former Kings; and of other their Neighbour-Princes (of whom for that purpose I haue inserted this breife discourse) with His Maiesties temperate & euengellisse, and liberall disposition: I say that if the honest Reader weigh them iustly, and with an euen hand: & withall but bestow euery deformed child on his true Parent; He shall find, that there is no man that hath so iust cause to complaine, as the King himselfe hath. Now as we haue tolde the successe of the trumperies and cruelties of our owne Kings, and other great personages: so we finde, that GOD is euery where the same GOD. And as it pleased him to punish the vsurpation, & vnnaturall cruelty of Henry the first, & of our third Edward, in their Children for many generations: so dealt He with the sons of Loys Debonaire, the son of Charles the great, or Charlemaine. For after such time as Debonaire of France, had torne out the eyes of Bernard his Nephew, the son of Pepin the eldest son of Charlemaine, & heire of the Empire, and then caused him to die in prison, as did our Henry to Robert his eldest brother: there followed nothing but murders, vpon murders, poisoning, imprisonments, & ciuill warre, till the whole race of that famous Emperour was extinguished. And though Debonaire, after he had rid himselfe of his Nephew by a violent death; & of his bastard Brothers by a ciuill de ath (having inclosed them with sure guard, all the daies of their liues, within a Monastery) held himselfe secure from all oppositiō: Yet God raised vp against him (which he suspected not) his own sons, to vex him; to invade him; to take him prisoner, & to depose him; his owne sons, with whom (to satistie their ambition)

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he had shared his estate, and giuen them Crownes to weare, and Kingdomes to gouerne, during his owne life. Yea his eldest son Lothaire (for he had four, three by his first wife, & one by his second; to wit, Lothaire, Pepin, Loys, and Charles) made it the cause of his depofition, that he had vsed violence towards his brothers and kinsmen; and that he had suffered his Nephew (whom he might haue deliuered) to be slaine, eo quod, saith the Text, fratribus, et propinquis violentiam intulerit, et nepotem suum, quem ipse liberare poterat, interficere permiserit. Because he vsed violence to his Brothers and Kinsmen, & suffered his Nephew to be slaine whom he might haue deliuered.

Yet did he that which few Kings doe; namely, repent him of his crueltie. For among many other things, which he performed in the Generall Assemblies of the States, it followes: Post hæc autem palam se errasse confessus, & imitatus Imperatoris Theodosii exemplum, poenitentiam spontaneam suscepit, tam de his, quæ in Bernardum proprium nepotem gesserat. After this he did openely confesse him-selfe to haue erred, and following the example of the Emperour Theodosius, hee vnder-went voluntary penance, as well for his other offences, as for that which he had done against Bernard his own Nephew.

This he did: and it was praise-worthie. But the blood that is vniuistly spilt, is not againe gathered vp from the ground by repentance. These Medicines, ministred to the dead, haue but dead rewards.

This King, as I haue said, had foure Sonnes. To Lothaire his eldest he gaue the Kingdome of Italy, as Charlemaine, his father, had done to Pepin the father of Bernard, who was to succeed him in the Empire. To Pepin the second son he gaue the Kingdome of Aquitaine: to Loys the Kingdome of Bauier: and to Charles, whom hee had by a second wife called Iudith, the remainder of the Kingdome of France. But this second wife, being a Mother-in-law to the rest, perswaded Debonaire to cast his son Pepin out of Aquitaine; thereby to greaten Charles which, after the death of his son Pepin, he prosecuted to effect, against his Gracious child bearing the same name. In the meane while, being invaded by his son Loys of Bauier, he dies for griefe.

Debonaire dead, Loys of Bauier, and Charles after wards called the bald, & their Nephew Pepin of Aquitaine, ioyne in league against the Emperour Lothaire their eldest brother. They fight neare to Auxerre the most bloody battaile that euer was stroken in France: in which, the maruailous losse of Nobility, & men of warre, gaue courage to the Saracens to invade Italie; to the Hunnes to fall vpon Almaine; & the Danes, to enter vpon Normandy. Charles the bald by reason seized vpon his Nephew Pepin, kills him in a Cloyster, Carloman rebels against his Father Charles the Bald, the Father burnes out the eyes of his son Carloman; Bauier invades the Emperour Lothaire his brother, Lothaire quits the Empire, Hee is assailed and wounded to the heart by his owne conscience, for his rebellion against his Father, and for his other cruelties, and dies in a Monastrie. Charles the Bald, the Vncle oppresseth his Nephewes the sonnes of Lothaire, hee resurpeth the Empire to the preiudice of Loys of Bauier his elder Brother, Bauiers armies and his sonne Carloman are beaten; hee dies of griefe, & the vsurper Charles is perished by Zedechias a Iew his Christian, his sonne Loys le Beque dies of the same drinke Beque had Charles the simple

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and two Bastards, Loys and Carloman; they rebell against their Brother, but the eldest breakes his Neck, the younger is slaine by a wild Bore: the son of Bauiere had the same ill destiny, and brake his neck by a fall out of a Window in sporting with his companions. Charles the grosse becomes Lord of all that the sonnes of Debonaire held in Germanie; where with not contented, he invades Charles the simple: but being forsaken of his Nobility, of his wife, and of his understanding, he dies a distracted begger. Charles the simple is held in Wardship by Eudes Maior of the Pallace, then by Robert the Brother of Eudes, and lastly being taken by the Earle of Vermandois, hee is forced to die in the prison of Peron: Loys the sonne of Charles the simple breakes his neck in chasing a Wolfe, & of the two sonnes of this Loys, the one dies of poyson, the other dies in the prison of Orleans, after whom Hugh Capet, of another race, and a stranger to the French makes himselfe King.

These miserable ends had the issues of Debonaire: who after he had once appalled iustice with authority, his sonnes and successors tooke up the jacobin; and wore that Garment so long without other provision, as when the same was torne from their shoulders, every man despised them as miserable & naked beggers. The wretched success they had, (saith a learned French-man) shewes, que en ceste mort il y avoit plus du fait des hommes que de Dieu, ou de la iustice: that in the death of that Prince, to wit, of Bernard the son of Pepin, the true heire of Charlemaine, men had more meddling than either God, or Justice had.

But to come nearer home it is certaine that Francis the first, One of the worthiest Kings (except for that fault) that ever the French men had, did never enjoy himselfe, after hee had commended the destruction of the Protestants of Mirandol & Cabrieres to the Parliaments of Prouence, which poore people were thereupon burnt and murdered, men, women, and children. It is true, that the said King Francis repented him selfe of the fact, and gave charge to Henry his sonne, to do iustice upon the Murderers: shewing his sonne with GODS iudgments if hee neglected it. But this reasonable care of his, GOD was not pleased to accept for payment. For after Henry himselfe was slaine in sport by Montgomery, wee all may remember what became of his four sonnes; Francis, Charles, Henry, and Hercules. Of which although three of them became Kings, and were married to beautifull and vertuous Ladies: Yet were they, one after another, cast out of the world, without stock or seed. And not withstanding their subtilty, and breach of faith; with all their Massacres upon those of the religion, and great effusion of blood, the Crowne was set on his head, whom they all laboured to dissolve, the Protestants remaine more in number than ever they were; and hold to this day more strong cities than ever they had.

Let us now see if God be not the same God in Spaine, as in England & France. Towards whom wee will looke no further backe than to Don Pedro of Castile: in respect of which Prince, all the Tyrants of Sicily, our Richard the third, and the great Euan Vasilowick of Moscovia, were but petty ones: this Castilian, of all Christian and Heathen Kings, having beene the most mercilesse. For besides those of his owne blood and Nobility which he caused to be slaine in his owne Court: as Sancho Ruis the great Master of Calatraua, Ruis Gonfales, Alphonso Tello, and Don Iohn of Arragon, whom hee cut in peeces and cast into the streets, denying him Christian buriall: I say, besides these, and the slaughter

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of Gomes Manriques, Diego Peres, Alphonso Gomes, and the great Commander of Castile, He made away the two Infants of Arragon his Cousin-germans; his brother Don Frederick, Don Iohn de la Cerde, Albuquerque, Nuges de Guzmá, Cornet, Cabrera, Tenorio, Mendes de Toledo, Gurtiere his great Treasurer, and all his Kindred; & a world of others. Neither did he spare his two youngest brothers, innocent Princes: whom after he had kept in close prison from their Cradles, till one of them had lived sixteen years, and the other, fourteene; he murdered them there. Ney he spared not his Mother, nor his wife the Lady Blanch of Bourbon. Lastly, as he caused the Archbishop of Toledo, & the Deane to be killed of purpose to enioy their treasures: so did he put to death Mahomet Aben Alhamar King of Barbary, with 37. of his Nobilitie; that came unto him for succour, with a great summe of money, to leuy (by his favour) some companies of souldiers to returne withall. Yea, he would needs assit the Hangman with his owne hand, in the execution of the old King; in so much as Pope Urban declared him an enemy both to God and Man. But what was his end? Having beene formerly beaten out of his Kingdome, and re-established by the valour of the English Nation, led by the famous Duke of Lancaster: He was stabbed to death by his younger Brother the Earle of Altramara, who disposed all his Children of their inheritance; which, but for the Fathers iniustice and cruelty, had never beene in danger of any such thing.

If we can parallel any man with this King, it must be Duke Iohn of Burgoigne who, after his traitorous murder of the Duke of Orleans, caused the Constable of Armagnac, the Chancelour of France, the Bishops of Cointance, Bayeux, Eureux, Senlis, Saintes, and other religious and reuerend Church-men, the Earle of gran Prê, Hector of Chartres, and (in effect) all the Officers of iustice, of the Chamber of Accounts, Treasure, and Request, (with fixtene hundred others to accompany them) to be suddenly and violently slaine. Hereby, while he hoped to governe, and to have mastered France: He was soone after stricken with an axe in the face, in the presence of the Dauphin; and, without any leisure to repent his misdeeds, presently slaine. These were the Louers of other mens miseries: and miserie

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Now for the Kings of Spaine, which lived both with Henry the seventh, Henry the eighth, Queene Mary, and Queene Elizabeth; Ferdinand of Arragon was the first: and the first that layd the foundation of the present Austrian greatness. For this King did not content himselfe to hold Arragon by the usurpation of his Ancestor: & to fasten therunto the Kingdome of Castile and Leon, which Isabel his wife held by strong hand, and his assistance, from her owne Neece the Daughter of the last Henry: but most cruelly and craftily, without all colour or pretence of right, Hee also cast his owne Neece out of the Kingdome of Nauarre, and, contrary to faith, and the promise that he made to restore it, fortified the best places, and so wasted the rest, as there was no meanes left for any army to invade it. This King I say, that betrayed also Ferdinand and Frederick Kings of Naples, Princes of his owne blood, and by double alliance tied unto him; sold them to the French: and with the same Army, sent for their succour vnder Gonsaluo, cast them out, and shared their Kingdome with the French, whom afterwards he most shamefully betrayed.

This wise and politique King, who sold Heaven and his owne Honour, to make

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his sonne, the Prince of Spaine; he greatest Monarch of the world: saw him die in the flower of his yeares; and his wife great with child; with her continually birth, at once together buried. His eldest daughter married unto Don Alpho^o Prince of Portugall, beheld her first husband breake his necke in her presence; and being with child by her second, dyed with it. A iust iudgement of God vpon the race of Iohn father to Alphonso, now wholly extinguished; who had not onely left many disconsolate Mothers in Portugall, by the slaughter of their children; but had formerly slaine with his owne hand, the sonne and onely comfort of his Aunt the Lady Beatrix, Duchesse of Visco. The second Daughter of Ferdinand, married to the Arch-duke Philip, turned fooles, and died mad and deprauid. His third daughter, bestowed on King Henry the eight, He saw cast off by the King: the mother of many troubles in England; & the mother of a Daughter, that in her vnbappy zeale shed a world of innocent blood; lost Calice to the French; and died heart-broken without increase. To conclude: all those Kingdomes of Ferdinand haue maisters of a new name; and by a strange family are gouerned and possesst.

Charles the fift, son to the Arch-duke, Philip, in whole vaine enterprises vpon the French, vpon the Almanes, & other Princes and States, so many multitudes of Christian souldiers, and renowned Capitaines were consumed: who gaue the while a most perillous entrance to the Turkes, and suffered Rhodes the Key of Christendom to be taken, was in conclusion chased out of France, and in a sort out of Germany; and left to the French, Mentz, Toule, and Verdun, places belonging to the Empire, stole away from Insprug, and scaled the Alpes by torch-light, pursued by Duke Maurice; hauing hoped to swallow vp all those dominions wherin hee consorted nothing (saw his owne disasters. And hauing, after the slaughter of so many Millions of men, no one foote of ground in eyther: Hee crept into a Cloyster, and made himselfe a Pensioner of an hundred thousand Duckets by the yeare to his sonne Philip, from whom he very slowly received his meane and ordinary maintenance.

His Son againe King Philip the second, not satisfied to hold Holland and Zeeland, wrested by his ancestors from Iaqueline their lawfull Princeesse; & to possesse in peace many other Prouinces of the Netherlands: perswaded by that mischieuous Cardinall of Granuile, and other Romish Tyrants; not onely forgot the most remarkable seruices, done to his Father the Emperour by the Nobilitie of those countries; nor onely forgot the Present made him vpon his entrie, of forty millions of Florens, called the Nouale aide; nor onely forgot, that hee had twice most solemnly sworn to the Generall States, to maintaine and preserve their ancient rights, priuiledges, and customes, which they had enioyed vnder their thirty and fise Earles before him, Conditional Princes of those Prouinces: but beginning first to constraime them, and enthrall them by the Spanish Inquisition, and then to impouerish them by many new deuised and intolerable impositions; he lastly, by strong hand and maine force, attempted to make himselfe not onely an absolute Monarch ouer them, like vnto the Kings and Soueraignes of England and France, but Turke-like, to tread vnder his feet all their Nationall and fundamentall Lawes, Priuiledges and ancient Rights. To effect which, after he had easily obtained from the Pope a Dispensation of his formes Oathes (which Dispensation was the true cause of the warre & bloodshed since then;) and after he had tried what he could performe, by diuiding of their owne Nobilitie, vnder the gouernment

ment of his base sister, Margaret of Austria, & the Cardinall Granuile; He employed that most mercilesse Spaniard Don Ferdinad Aluarez of Toledo, Duke of Alua, followed with a powerfull army of strange Nations: by whom he first slaugtered that renowned Capitaine the Earle of Egmont, Prince of Gaure; & Philip Montmorency Earle of Horn; made away Montigue, & the Marquis of Bergues, & cut off in those fixe yeares (that Alua gouerned) of Gentlemen & others, eightene thousand & fixe hundred, by the hands of the Hangman, besides all his other barbarous murders & massacres. By whose ministry when he could not yet bring his affaires to their wished ends, hauing it in his hope to worke that by subtilty, which he had failed to performe by force: He sent for gouernour his bastard brother Don Iohn of Austria; a Prince of great hope, & very gracious to those people. But he, vsing the same Papall aduantage that his predecessors had done, made no scruple to take Oath vpon the Holy Euangelists, to obserue the treaty made with the Generall States; & to discharge the Low Countries of all Spaniards, & other strangers, therein garrisoned: Towards whose Pay & Passport, the Netherlands strained themselves to make payment of 600 thousand pounds. Which monies receiued, He suddenly surprised the Citadells of Antwerp & Ne-meures: not doubting (being unsuspected by the States) to haue possesse of all the maistring places of those Prouinces. For whatsoeuer he ouerly pretended, He held in secret a contrary counsell with the Secretary Elcouedo, Rhodus, Barlemont, & others, Ministers of the Spanish tyranny, formerly practised, & now againe intended. But let vs now see the effect & end of this perurie, & of all other the Dukes cruelties. First, for himselfe; after he had murdered so many of the Nobilitie; executed (as aforesaid) eighteen thousand six hundred in fixe yeeres, & most cruelly slaine Man, Woman, and Child in Mecklin, Zurphen, Naerden and other places: & after he had consumed fixe and thirty millions of treasure in fixe yeares: notwithstanding his Spanish want, That he would suffocate the Hollanders in their owne butter-barrells, and milke-tubbs: Hee departed the country no other wise accompanied, than with the curse & detestation of the whole Nation, leauing his Maisters affaires in a tenfold worse estate, then he found them at his first arriual. For Don Iohn, whose haugbty conceits of himselfe ouer-came the greatest difficulties; though his iudgement were ouer-weake to manage the least: what wonders did his fearefull breach of faith bring forth, other than the King his brothers iealousie & distrust; with the criminely death that seized him, euen in the flower of his youth? And for Elcouedo his sharpe-witted Secretarie, who in his owne imagination had conquered for his Maister both England & the Netherlands; being sent into Spaine vpon some new proiect, He was at the first arriual, & before any acceffe to the King by certaine Russians appointed by Anthony Peres (though by better warre than his) rudely murdered in his owne lodging. Lastly, if we consider the King of Spaines carriage, his counsaile, & successe in this businesse; there is nothing left to the memory of man more remarkable. For he hath paid aboue an hundred Millions; & the liues of aboue four hundred thousand Christians for the losse of all those countries; which, for beauty, gaue place to none; & for reuenue, did equall his West Indies: for the losse of a nation, which most willingly obeyed him; & who at this day, after forty yeares warre, are in despiight of all his forces become a free Estate, & far more rich and powerfull, than they were, when hee first beganne to impouerish and oppress them.

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Oh by what plots, by what forswearings, betrayings, oppressions, imprisonments, tortures, poisonings, and under what reasons of State, and politique subtilty, have these forenamed Kings, both strangers, and of our owne Nation, pulled the vengeance of G O D upon their selues, upon theirs, and upon their prudent ministers! and in the end haue brought those things to passe for their enemies, and sent an effect so directly contrary to all their owne counsailes and cruelties; as the one could neuer haue hoped for themselves; and the other neuer haue succeeded; if no such opposition had euer bene made. G O D hath sayd it and performed it euer: Perdam sapientiam sapientum, I will destroy the wisdom of the wise.

But what of all this? and to what end doe we lay before the eyes of the living, the fall and fortunes of the dead: seeing the world is the same that it hath bin; and the children of the present time will still obey their parents? It is in the present time, that all the wits of the world are exercised. To hold the times we haue, we hold all things lawfull: and either we hope to hold them for euer; or at least wee hope, that there is nothing after them to be hoped for. For as wee are content to forget our owne experience, and to counterfeite the ignorance of our owne knowledge, in all things that concerne our selues; or persuade our selues, that G O D hath giuen vs letters patents to pursue all our irreligious affections, with a non obstante: so we neither looke behind vs what hath bene, nor before vs what shal be. It is true, that the quantity which we haue, is of the body: wee are by it ioyned to the earth: we are compounded of earth; and we inhabite it. The Heauens are high, farre off, and vnsearchable: we haue sense and feeling of corporall things; and of eternall grace, but by reuelation. No meruaile then that our thoughts be also earthly: and it is lesse to be wondered at, that the words of worthless men cannot cleanse them; seeing their doctrine and instruction, whose vnderstanding the Holy Ghost toucht as to inhabite, haue not performed it. For as the Prophet Esai cryed out long ago, Lord, who hath beleued our reports? And out of doubt, as Esai complained then for himselfe and others: so are they lesse beleued, euery day after other. For although Religion, and the truth thereof, be in euery mans mouth, yea in the discourse of euery woman, who for the greatest number are but Idols of vanity: what is it other than an vniserall dissimulation? We professe that we know G O D: but by workes we deny him. For Beatitude doth not consist in the knowledge of diuine things, but in a diuine life: for the Diuells know them better than men. Beatitude non est diuinorum cognitio, sed vita diuina. And certainly there is nothing more to be admired, and more to be lamented, than the priuate contention, the passionate dispute, the personall hatred, and the perpetuall war, massacres, and murders for Religion among Christians: the discourse whereof hath so occupied the World, as it hath well neare driuen the practise thereof out of the world. Who would not soone resolue, that tooke knowledge but of the religious disputations among men, and not of their liues which dispute, that there were no other thing in their desires, than the purchase of Heauen; and that the World it selfe were but vsed as it ought, and as an Ime or place, wherein to repose our selues in passing on towards our celestiall habitation? when on the contrary, besides the discourse and outward profession, the soule hath nothing but hypocrisie. We are all (in effect) become Comedians in religion: and while we act in gesture and voyce, diuine vertues, in all the course of our liues were-nounce our Persons, and the parts we play. For Charity, Iustice, and Truth,

Paule to Titus
Ch. 1. ver. 10.

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haue but their being in termes, like the Philosophers Materia prima.

Neither is it that wisdom, which Salomon defineth to be the Schoole-Mistresse of the knowledge of God, that hath valuation in the world: it is enough that we giue it our good word; but the same which is altogether exercised in the seruices of the World, as the gathering of riches chiefly, by which we purchase and obtaine honour, with the many respects which attend it. These indeed be the markes, which (when we haue bent our consciences to the highest) we all shooote at. For the obtaining whereof it is true, that the care is our owne; the care our owne in this life, the perill our owne in the future: and yet when we haue gathered the greatest abundance, we our selues enioy no more thereof, than so much as belongs to one man. For the rest, He hath had the greatest wisdom, and the greatest ability that euer man had, hath told vs that this is the vse: When goods increase (sayth Salomon) they also increase that cate them; and what good commeth to the Owners, but the beholding thereof with their eyes? As for those that deuour the rest, and follow vs in faire weather: they againe forsake vs in the first tempest of misfortune, and steere away before the Sea and Winde, leaving vs to the malice of our destinies. Of these, among a thousand examples, I will take but one out of Maister Dannet, and vse his owne words: Whilest the Emperour Charles the fifth, after the resignatio of his Estates, stayed at Vlußing forwinde, to carry him his last iourney into Spaine; He conferred on a time with Seldius, his brother Ferdinands Embassadour, till the deepe of the night. And when Seldius should depart: the Emperour calling for some of his seruants, and no body answering him (for those that attended vpon him, were some gone to their lodgings, and all the rest asleepe) the Emperour tooke vp the candle himselfe, and went before Seldius to light him downe the staires, and so did, notwithstanding al the resistence that Seldius could make. And when He was come to the staires foote, He sayd thus vnto him: Seldius, remember this of Charles the Emperour, when he shall be dead and gone, That Him, whom thou hast knowne in thy time entroned with so many mighty Armies, and Guards of souldiers, thou hast also seene alone, abandoned, and forsaken, yea euen of his owne domestick seruants, &c. I acknowledge this change of Fortune to proceed from the mighty hand of G O D; which I will by no means go about to withstand.

But you will say that there are some things else, and of greater regard than the former. The first, is the euerend respect that is held of great men, and the Honor done vnto them by all sorts of people. And it is true indeed: provided, that an inward loue for their iustice and piety, accompany the outward worship giuen to their places and power; without which what is the applause of the Multitude, but as the outcrie of an Heard of Animals, who without the knowledge of any true cause, please themselves with the noyse they make? For seeing it is a thing exceeding rare, to distinguish Vertue and Fortune: the most impious (if prosperous) haue euer bene applauded; the most vertuous (if vnprosperous) haue euer bene despised. For as Fortunes man rides the Horse, so Fortune herselfe rides the Man. Who, when he is descended and on foote: the Mantaken from his Beast, and Fortune from the Man; a base groomme beates the one, and a bitter contempt pursues the other, with equall liberty.

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The second is the greatning of our posterity and the contemplation of their glory whom we leave behind vs. Certainly of those which conceive that their soules departed take any comfort therein, it may truly be said of them, which Lactantius spake of certaine Heathen Philosophers, quod sapientes sunt in re stulta. For when our spirits immortall shall be once separate from our mortall bodies, & disposed by GOD: there remaineth in them no other ioy of their posterity which succeed, than there doth of pride in that stone, which sleepeth in the Wall of a Kings Palace; nor any other sorrow for their poverty, than there doth of shame in that, which beareth vp a Beggars cottage. Nesciunt mortui, etiam sancti, quid agunt viui, etiam eorum filij, quia animæ mortuorum rebus viuientium non interfunt. The dead though holy, know nothing of the liuing, no, not of their owne children: for the soules of those departed, are not conuersant with their affaires that remaine. And if we doubt of Saint Augustine, we cannot of Iob; who tells vs, That wee know not if our sonnes shall bee honourable: neither shall wee vnderstand concerning them, whether they shall bee of low degree. Which Ecclesiastes also confirmeth: Man walketh in a shadow, and disquieteth himselfe in vaine: hee heapeth vp riches, and cannot tell who shall gather them. The liuing (sayth he) know that they shall die, but the dead know nothing at all: for who can shew vnto man, what shall be after him vnder the Sun? He therefore accompteth it among the rest of worldly vanities, so labour and trauaile in the world, not knowing after death, whether a foole or a wise man should enjoy the fruits thereof: which made me (sayth he) endeavour euen to abhorre mine owne labour. And what can other men hope, whose blessed or sorrowfull estates after death God hath preferred: mans knowledge lying but in his hope, seeing the Prophet Elai confesseth of the elect, That Abraham is ignorant of vs, and Israel knowes vs not. But bereof wee are assured, that the long and darke night of death, (of whose following day wee shall neuer behold the dawning, till his returne that hath triumphed ouer it) shall couer vs ouer, till the world be no more. After which, and when we shall againe receiue Organs glorified and incorruptible, the seats of Angelicall affections: in so great admiration shall the soules of the blessed be exercised, as they cannot admit the mixture of any second or lesse ioy, nor any returne of foregone & mortall affection towards friends, kindred, or children. Of whom whether we shall retain any particular knowledge, or in any sort distinguish them: no man can assure vs; & the wisest men doubt. But on the contrary, If a diuine life retain any of those faculties, which the soule exercised in a mortall body; we shall not at that time so diuide the ioyes of Heauen, as to cast any part thereof on the memory of their felicities which remaine in the World. No, be their estates greater than euer the World gaue, we shall (by the difference knowne vnto vs) euen detest their consideration. And what ouer comfort shall remaine of all forepast, the same will consist in the charity, which we exercised liuing: and in that Piety, Iustice, and firme Faith, for which it pleased the infinite mercy of God to accept of vs, and receiue vs. Shall we therefore value honor and riches at nothing? and neglect them, as vnnecessary & vaine? Certainly no. For that infinite wisdom of God, which hath distinguished his Angels by degrees, which hath giuen greater and lesse light and beauty, to Heauenly bodies: which hath made differences betwene beausts and birds, crea-

L. R. de fallu
cap. 3. c. 29.

S. Aug. de cura
pro mort.

Iob 1. 14. 21.

Eccl. 3. 9.

Eccl. 9. 5. & 1. 2.

Esai. 63. 16.

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ted the Eagle and the Flye, the Cedar and the Shrub, and among stones, giuen the fairest tincture to the Ruby, and the quickest light to the Diamond; hath also ordained Kings, Dukes or Leaders of the people, Magistrates, Iudges, and other degrees among men. And as honour is left to posterity, for a marke and ensigne of the vertue and vnderstanding of their Ancestors: so, seeing Siracides preferreth Death before Beggerie: and that titles, without proportionable estates, fall vnder the miserable succour of other mens pitty: I accompt it foolishnesse to condemne such a care: Provided, that worldly goods be well gotten, and that we raise not our owne buildings out of other mens ruines. For as Plato doth first preferre the perfection of bodily health; secondly, the forme and beauty; and thirdly, Diuitias nulla fraude quaesitas: so Ieremy cries, Woe vnto them that erect their houses by vnrightheousnesse, and their chambers without equity: and Esai the same, Woe to those that spoyle and were not spoyled. And it was out of the true wisdom of Salomon, that he commaunded vs, not to drinke the wine of violence; not to lie in wait for blood, and not to swallow them vp aliuie, who offer riches we couet: for such are the wayes (sayth hee) of euery one that is greedy of gaine.

And if we could afford our selues but so much leisure as to consider, That hee which hath most in the world, hath in respect of the world, nothing in it: and that he which hath the longest time lent him to liue in it: hath yet no proportion at all therein, setting it either by that which is past, when wee were not, or by that time which is to come, in which we shall abide for euer: I say, if both so wit our proportion in the world, and our time in the world, differ not much from that which is nothing: it is not out of any excellency of vnderstanding, that we so much prize the one, which hath (in effect) no being: and so much neglect the other, which hath no ending: coueting those mortall things of the world, as if our soules were therein immortall, and neglecting those things which are immortall, as if our selues after the world were but mortall.

But let euery man value his owne wisdom, as he pleaseth. Let the Rich man thinke all foolles that cannot equall his abundance: the Reuenger esteeme all negligent, that haue not trodd downe their opposites: the Politician, as grosse, that cannot merchandize their faith: Yet when we once come in sight of the Port of death, to which all windes driue vs; and when by letting fall that fatal Anchor, which can neuer be weighed againe, the Nauigation of this life takes end: Then it is, I say, that our owne cogitations (those sad & seuer cogitations, formerly beaten fro vs by our Health and Felicity) returne againe, and pay vs to the uttermost for all the pleasing passages of our liues past. It is then that we cry out to God, for mercy; then, when our selues can no longer exercise cruelty to others: and it is only then, that we are stricken through the soule with this terrible sentence, That God will not be mocked. For if according to S. Peter, The righteous scarcely be saved; and that God spared not his Angels: where shall those appeare, who, hauing serued their appetites all their liues, presume to thinke, that the seuer Commandements of the All-powerfull God were giuen but in sport; and that the short breath, which we draw when death presseth vs, if we can but saluion in to the fount of Mercy (without any kind of satisfaction or amend) is sufficient? O quam multi, sayth a reuerend Father, Cum hac spe ad aeternos labores & bella descendunt! I confesse that it is a great comfort to our friends, to haue it said, that we ended wel; for we al

Sira. c. 40. v. 28.

Plat. leg. 1. 2.
6. 11 in George.

Jer. 2. 13.

Esai 33.

Prou. 1. 18. 11.
Prou. 3. 1. 3.
8. 2. 25. 9. 8.

Gal. 6. 7.
1. Pet. 4.

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desire (as Balaam did) to die the death of the righteous. But what shall wee call a dissembling, an opposing, or (indeed) a mocking of God: if those men do not oppose him, disesteeme him, and mocke him, that thinke it enough for God, to aske him forgiveness for leishure, with the remainder and last drawing of a malicious breaht? For what doe they otherwise, that die this kinde of wel-dying, but say vnto God as followeth? We beseech thee O God, that all the falshoods, forswearings, and treacheries of our liues past, may be pleasing vnto thee; that thou wilt for our sakes (that haue had no leishure to do any thing for thine) change thy nature (though impossible) and forget to be a iust God; that thou wilt loue iniuries and oppressions, call ambition wisdom, and charity foolishnesse. For I shall preiudice my sonne (which I am resolved not to doe) if I make restitution; and confesse my selfe to haue bene vniust, (which I am too proud to do) if I deliuer the oppressed. Certainly, these wise worldlings haue either found out a new God; or made One: and in all likelihood (such a Leaden One, as Lewis the eleuenth ware in his Cappe; which when he had caused any that he feared, or hated, to be killed, he would take it from his head and kisse it: beseeching it to pardon him this one euill act more, and it should be the last; which (as at other times) he did, when by the practise of a Cardinal and a falsified Sacrament, he caused the Earle of Armagnack to be stabbed to death; mockeries indeed fit to be vsed towards a Leaden, but not towards the euermouing God. But of this composition are all deuout louers of the World, that they feare all that is durelesse and ridiculous; they feare the plots and practises of their opposites, and their verry whisperings: they feare the opinions of men which beate but vpon shadowes: they slauer and forsake the prosperous and vnpromperous, be they friends or Kings; yea they diewnder water like Ducks, at euery pebble stone, that is but throwne towards them by a powerfull hand: and on the contrary, they shew an obstinate and Giantlike valour, against the terrible iudgements of the Al-powerfull God: yea they shew themselves gods against God, and slauer towards men; towards men whose bodies and consciences are alike rotten.

Now for the rest: If we truly examine the difference of both conditions; to wit, of the rich and mighty, whom we call fortunate; and of the poore & oppressed, whom we account wretched; we shall find the happinesse of the one, and the miserable estate of the other so tied by God to the verry instant, and both so subiect to exchange (witness the sodaine downefall of the greatest Princes, and the speedy yprifing of the meaneest persons) as the one hath nothing so certaine, whereof to boast; nor the other so vncertaine, whereof to bewaile it selfe. For there is no man so assured of his honor, of his riches, health, or life; but that he may be deprived of either or all, the verry next houre or day to come. Quid vespere vchat, incertum est, What the euening will bring with it, it is vncertaine. And yet yee cannot tell (sayth S. Iames) what shal be to morrow. To day he is set vp, and to morrow he shall not be found: for he is turned into dust, and his purpose perisheth. And although the aire which compasseth aduersities, be verry obscure; yet therein ye better discern the God, than in that shining light which enuironeth worldly glory; through which for the clearenesse thereof, there is no vauing which escapeth our sight. And let aduersity seeme what it will; to happy men, ridiculous, who make themselves merry at other mens misfortunes; and to those under the crosse, grievous: yet this is true, That for all that is past, to the verry instant, the portions remaining are equall to either. For be it that we

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haue liued many yeares, and (according to Salomon) in them all we haue reioyced; or be it that we haue measured the same length of dayes, and therein haue euermore sorrowed: yet looking backe from our present being, wee finde both the one and the other so with the ioy and the weale, sayled out of sight; and death, which doth pursue vs & hold vs in chace from our infancy, hath gathered it. Quicquid erat retro est, morstener: Whatsoeuer of our age is past, death holds it. So as who so-euer he be; to whom Fortune hath bene a seruant, and the Time a friend: let him but take the account of his memory (for we haue no other keeper of our pleasures past) and truly examine what it hath reserved eyther of beauty and youth, or fore-gone delights; what it hath saued, that it might last of his dearest affections, or of what euer else the amorous Spring time gaue his thoughts of contentment, then vnualueable; and he shall finde that all the art which his elder yeares haue, can draw no other vapour out of these dissolutions, than heavy secret, and sad sighes. He shall finde nothing remaining, but those sorrowes, which grow vp after our fast-spring youth; ouertake it, when it is at a stand; and ouer-top it vnto the verry instant, when it begins to wither: in so much as looking backe from the verry instant time, & fro our now being, the poore, diseased, & captiue creature, hath as little sense of all his former miseries and paines as he, that is most blest in common opinion, hath of his fore-passed pleasures & delights. For whatsoeuer is cast behind vs, is iust nothing: and what is to come, acceptfull hope hath it. Omnia quae euentura sunt, in incerto iacent. Onely those few blacke Swannes I must except: who haue had the grace to value worldly vanities at no more than their owne price; doe, by retaining the comfortable memory of a well led life, behold death without dread, and the graue without feare; and embrace both, as necessary guides to endlesse glory.

For my selfe, this is my consolation, and all that I can offer to others, that the sorrowes of this life, are but of two sorts: whereof the one hath respect to GOD; the other to the World. In the first we complaine to GOD against our selues, for our offences against him; and confesse, Erit iustus in omnibus qui veniunt super nos, And thou O Lord art iust in all that hath befallen vs. In the second wee complaine to our selues against GOD: as if he had done vs wrong, either in not giuing vs worldly goods and honours, answering our appetites: or for taking them againe from vs hauing had them; for getting that humble & iust acknowledgement of Iob, The Lord hath giuen, & the Lord hath taken. To the first of which Saint Paul hath promised blessednesse; to the second, death. And out of doubt he is either a foole or vngatefull to GOD, or both, that doth not acknowledge, how meane soeuer his estate be, that the same is yet far greater, than that which GOD oweth him: or doth not acknowledge, how sharpe soeuer his afflictions be, that the same are yet far lesse; than those which are due vnto him. And if an Heathen wise man call the aduersities of the world but tributa viuendi, the tributes of liuing: a wise Christian man ought to know them, & beare the, but as the tributes of offinding. He ought to beare them manlike, and resolutely; & not as those whining souldiers do, qui gementes sequuntur imperatorem. For seeing God, who is the Author of all our tragedies, hath written out for vs, & appointed vs all the parts we are to play: and hath not in their distribution, bene partiall to the most mighty Princes of the world; That gaue vnto Darius the part of the greatest Emperour, and the part of the most miserable begger,

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a begger begging water of an Enemy to quench the great drought of death; That appointed Baiazet to play the Grand Signior of the Turks in the morning, & in the same day the Footstool of Tamerlane (both which parts Valerian had also plaid, being taken by Sapore): that made Bellisarius play the most victorious Capitaine; & lastly the part of a blinde begger; of which examples many thouands may be produced. Why should other men, who are but as the least wormes, complain of wrongs? Certainly there is no other account to be made of this ridiculous world, than to resolve, That the change of fortune on the great Theater, is but as the change of garments on the lesse. For when on the one and the other, every man wears but his own skin; the Players are all alike. Now if any man, out of weaknes prize the passages of this world otherwise (for saith Petrarch, Magni ingenij est reuocare mentem a sensibus) it is by reason of that unhappy fantasie of ours, which forgeth in the braines of Man all the miseries (the corporall excepted) whereunto he is subiect. Therein it is, that Misfortune & Adversitie worke all that they worke. For seeing Death, in the end of the Play, takes from all, whatsoeuer Fortune or Force takes from any one: it were a foolish madnesse in the shipwracke of worldly things, where all sinkes but the Sorrow, to saue it. That were, as Seneca saith, Fortunæ succumbere, quod tristitius est omni fato, to fall vnder Fortune, of all other the most miserable destinie.

But it is now time to found a retreat, and to desire to be excused of this long pursuit: and withall, that the good intent, which hath moued me to draw the picture of time past (which we call Historie) in so large a Table, may also be accepted in place of a better reason.

The examples of diuine providence, euery where found (the first diuine Histories being nothing else but a continuation of such examples) haue perswaded me to fetch my beginning from the beginning of all things, to wit, Creation. For though these two glorious actions of the Almighty be so neare, and (as it were) linked together, that the one necessarily implieth the other: Creation, inferring Providence (for what father forsakes the child that he hath begotten?) and Providence presupposing Creation: yet many of those that haue seemed to excell in worldly wisdom, haue gone about to disioyne this coherence; the Epicure denying both Creation and Providence, but granting that the world had a Beginning; the Aristotelian granting Providence, but denying both the Creation and the Beginning.

Now although this doctrine of Faith, touching the Creation in time (for by faith we vnderstand, that the world was made by the word of God) be so weighty a worke for Aristotles rotten ground to beare vp, y^e which he hath (notwithstanding) founded the Defences and Fortresses of all his Verball Doctrine: Yet that the necessity of infinite power, and the worlds beginning, and the impossibility of the contrary euen in the iudgement of Naturall reason, wherein he beleued, had not better informed him; is greatly to be maruailed at. And it is no lesse strange, that those men which are desirous of knowledge (seeing Aristotle hath failed in this maine point; and taught little other than termes in the rest) haue so retrenched their mindes from the following and ouertaking of truth, and so absolutely subiected themselves to the law of those Philosophicall principles; as all contrary kinde of teaching, in the search of causes, they haue condemned either for phantasticall, or curious. But doth it follow, that the positions of Heauen Philosophers, are vndoubted grounds and principles indeed,

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indeed, because so called? Or that ipsi dixerunt, doth make them to be such? Certainly no. But this is true, That where naturall reason hath built any thing so strong against it selfe, as the same reason can hardly assaile it, much lesse batter it downe: the same in euery question of Nature, and finite power, may be approved for a fundamentall law of humane knowledge. For saith Charron in his booke of *charren de* wisdom, Tout proposition humaine a autant d'autorite quel' autre, si la *raison* n'en fait la difference; Euery humane proposition hath equall authority, if reason make not the difference, the rest being but the fables of principles. But herof how shall the upright and vnpartiall iudgement of man giue a sentence, where opposition and examination are not admitted to giue in euidence? And to this purpose it was well said of Lactantius, Sapientiam sibi adimunt, qui sine vilo iudicio inuenta maiorum probant, & ab alijs pecudum more ducuntur. They neglect their owne wisdom, who without any iudgement approve the inuention of those that fore-went them; & suffer themselves, after the manner of Beasts, to be led by them. By the aduantage of which sloth and dulnesse, ignorance is now become so powerfull a Tyrant, as it hath set true Philosophie, Physick, and Diuinity, in a Pillory; and written ouer the first, Contra negantem Principia; ouer the second, Virtus specifica; and ouer the third, Ecclesia Romana.

But for my selfe, I shall neuer be perswaded, that God hath shut vp all light of Learning within the iamborne of Aristotles braines: or that it was ever said vnto him, as vnto Eldras, Accendam in Cordo tuo Lucernam intellectus: that God hath giuen inuention but to the Heaaben, and that they onely inuaded Nature, and found the strength and bottome thereof; the same Nature hauing consumed all her store, and left nothing of price to after-ages. That these and these be the causes of these and these effects, Time hath taught vs; and not reason: and so hath experience, without Art. The Cheese-wife knoweth it as well as the Philosopher, that soure Rennet doth coagulate her milke into a curd. But if wee aske a reason of this cause, why the sourenesse doth it? whereby it doth it? and the manner how? I thinke that there is nothing to be found in vulgar Philosophie, to satisfie this and many other like vulgar questions. But man to couer his ignorance in the least things, who canot giue a true reason for the Grass vnder his feete, why it should be greener rather then red, or of any other colour; that could neuer yet discover the way and reason of Natures working, in those which are farre lesse noble creatures than himselfe; who is farre more Noble than the Heaauen themselves: Man (saith Salomon) that can hardly discern the things that are vpon the Earth, and with great labour finde out the things that are before vs; that hath so short a time in the world, as he no sooner begins to learne, than to die; that hath in his memory but borrowed knowledge; in his vnderstanding, nothing truly that is ignorant of the Essence of his owne soule, and which the wisest of the Naturalists (if Aristotle be he) could neuer so much as define, but by the Action & effect, telling vs what it workes (which all men know as well as he) but not what it is, which neither he, nor any else, doth know, but GOD that created it; (For though I were perfect, yet I know not my soule, saith Iob.) Man I say, that is but an Idiot in the next cause of his owne life, and in the cause of all actions of his life: will (notwithstanding) examine the Art of GOD in creating the World; of GOD, who (saith Iob) is so excellent as wee know him not; *rob. 26.*

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and examine the beginning of the worke, which had end before Man kinde had a beginning of being. He will disable Gods power to make a world, without matter to make it of. He will rather giue the mothes of the Aire for a cause, cast the worke on necessity or chance; bestow the honour thereof on Nature; make two powers, the one to be the Author of the Matter, the other of the Forme; and lastly, for want of a worke-man, haue it Eternal: which latter opinion Aristotle to make himselfe the Author of a new Doctrine, brought into the World: and his Sectatorum haue maintained it; parati ac coniuati, quos sequuntur, Philosophorum animis inuiditis opinionibus tueri. For Hermes, who liued at once with, or soone after Moses, Zoroaster, Musæus, Orpheus, Linus, Anaximenes, Anaxagoras, Empedocles, Melissus, Pherecydes, Thales, Cleanthes, Pythagoras, Plato, and many others (whose opinions are exquisitely gathered by Streuchius Eugubinus) found in the necessitie of inuincible reason, One eternal and infinite Being, to be the Parent of the vniuersall. Horum omnium sententia quamuis sit incerta, eodem tamen spectat, vt Proëdrietam vnam esse consentiant siue enim Natura, siue Aether, siue Ratio, siue mens, siue fatalis necessitas, siue diuina Lex, idem esse quod a nobis dicitur Deus: All these mens opinions (asith Laëtiū) though vnertaine, come to this; That they agree vpon one Providence; whether the same be Nature, or light, or Reason, or vnderstanding, or destinie, or diuine ordinance, that it is the same which we call G O D. Certainly as all the Riuer in the world, though they haue diuers risings, and diuers runnings; though they some times hide themselves for a while vnder ground, yet seeme to be lost in Sea-like Lakes, doe at last finde, & fall into the great Ocean; so after all the searches that humane capacitie hath, & after all Philosophicall conuemplation and curiositie; in the necessitie of this infinite power, all the reason of man ends and dissolues it selfe.

As for others; and first touching those, which conceiue the matter of the World to haue bene eternal, and that God did not create the World, ex nihilo, but ex materia præexistente: the Suppositio is so weak, as is hardly worth the answering. For (asith Eufebius) Mihi videntur qui hoc dicunt, fortunam quoque Deo annexere, They seeme vnto me, which affirme this, to giue part of the work to God, & part to Fortune: inasmuch as if God had not found this first matter by chance. He had neither bene Author, nor Father, nor Creator, nor Lord of the Vniuersall. For were the Matter or Chaos, eternal: it then followes, That either this supposed Matter did sit it selfe to God, or God, accommodate himselfe to the matter. For the first; it is impossible, that things without sense could proportion themselves to the Workmans will. For the second; it were horrible to conceiue of God, That as an Artificer he applied himselfe, according to the proportion of matter which he liued vpon.

But let it be supposed, That this matter hath bin made by any Power, not Omnipotent, and infinitely wise: I would gladly learne how it came to passe, that the same was proportionable to his intention, that was Omnipotent & infinitely wise; & no more, nor no lesse, than seru'd to receiue the forme of the Vniuersall. For, had it wanted any thing of what was sufficient; then must it be granted, That God created out of nothing so much of new matter, as seru'd to finish the worke of the World. Or had there bin more of this matter than sufficed; then God did dissolve & annihilate whatsoeuer remained, and was superfluous. And this must euery reasonable

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sonable soule confesse, That it is the same worke of God alone, to create any thing out of nothing. And by the same art and power, and by none other, can those things, or any part of that eternall matter, be againe changed into Nothing; by which those things, that once were nothing, obtained a beginning of being.

Again, to say that this matter was the cause of it selfe; this, of all other, were the greatest id oisims. For, if it were the cause of it selfe at any time; then there was also a time when it selfe was not: at which time of not being, it is easie enough to conceiue, that it could neither procure it selfe, nor any thing else. For to be, and not to be, at once, is impossible. Nihil autem seipsum præcedit, neq; seipsum componit corpus. There is nothing that doth præcede it selfe, neither doe bodies compound themselves.

For the rest; Those that saie this matter to be eternal, must of necessity confesse, that Infinite cannot be separate from Eternity. And then had infinite matter left no place for infinite forme, but that the first matter was finite, the forme which it receiued proues it. For conclusion of this part; who soeuer will make choice, rather to beleue in eternall deformity, or in eternall dead matter, than in eternall light and eternall life: let eternall death be his reward. For it is a madness of that kind, as waterh teares to expresse it. For what reason of man (whom the curse of presumption hath not stupified) hath doubted, That infinite power (of which we can comprehend but a kind of shadow, quia comprehensio est intra terminos; qui infinito repugnant) hath any thing wanting in it selfe; either for matter or forme; yea for as many worlds (if such had bene Gods will) as the Sea hath sands? For where the power is without limitation, the worke hath no other limitation, than the workmans will. Tea Reason it selfe findes it more easie for infinite power, to deliuer from it selfe a finite world, without the helpe of matter prepared; than for a finite man, a foole and dust, to change the forme of matter made to his hands. Th y are Dionysius his words, Deus in vna existentia omnia præhabet: and againe, Esse omnium est ipsa Diuinitas, omne quod vides, & quod non vides; to wit, causaliter, or in better teares, non tanquam forma, sed tanquam causa vniuersalis. Neither hath the world vniuersall closed up all of G O D: For the most part of his workes (asith Siracides) are hid. Neither can the depth of his wisdom be opened, by the glorious worke of the world, which neuer brought to knowledge all it can; for then were his infinite power bounded, and made finite. And hence of it comes; That wee seldom entitle G O D the all shewing, or the all willing; but the Almighty, that is, infinitely able.

But now for those, who from that ground, That out of nothing nothing is made, inferre the Worlds eternity; and yet not so saluage therein, as those are, which giue an eternall being to dead matter: It is true, if the word (nothing) be taken in the affirmatiue; and the making, imposed vpon Natural Agents and finite power; That out of nothing nothing is made. But seeing their great Doctor Aristotle himselfe confesseth, quod omnes antiqui decreuerunt quasi quoddam rerum principium, ipsumq; infinitum, That all the ancient decree a kind of beginning, and the same to be infinite; and a little after, more largely and plainly, Principium eius est nullum, sed ipsum omnium cernitur esse principium, & omnia completi ac regere: it is strange that this Philosopher, with his followers, should rather make choice out of fallhood, to conclude falsely; than out of truth, to reioine truly. For if wee compare the world vniuersall, and all the

Laëti. 5.

Eufeb. de prep.
Euseb. l. 7. c. 8.

cap. 16. v. 12.

Steu. Euseb. l. 7. c. 9. v. 4. v. 10.

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unmeasurable Orbes of Heaven, and those marvellous bodies of the Sun, Moone, and Stars, with ipsum Infinitum: it may truly be said of them all, which himselfe affirmeth of his imaginary Materia prima, That they are neither quid, quale, nor quantum; and therefore to bring finite (which hath no proportion with infinite) out of infinite (qui destruit omnem proportionem) is no wonder in Gods power. And therefore Anaximander, Melissus, & Empedocles, call the world vniuersal, but particulam Vniuersitatis and infinitatis, a parcell of that which is the vniuersality and the infinity it selfe; & Plato, but a shadow of God. But the other, to proue the worlds eternity, proueth this Maxime, That, A sufficient & effectual cause being granted, an answerable effect thereof is also granted: inferring that God being for euer a sufficient and effectual cause of the world, the effect of the cause should also haue bene for euer; so wit, the world vniuersal. But what a strange mockery is this in so great a Master, so to esse a sufficient and effectual cause of the world, (to wit, an almighty God) in his Antecedent; & the same God to be a God restrained in his conclusion; so to make God free in power, & bound in will, able to effect, vnable to determine; able to make all things, and yet vnable to make choice of the time when? For this were impiously to resolve of God, as of natural necessity; which hath neither choice, nor will, nor understanding; which cannot but worke matter being present; as fit, so burne things combustible. Again he thus disputeth, That euery Agent which can worke, and doth not worke; if it afterward worke, it is either thereto moued by it selfe, or by somewhat else; and so it passeth from power to Act. But God (sayth he) is immouable, and is neither moued by himselfe, nor by any other; but being alwaies the same, doth alwayes worke: Whence he concludeth, if the world were caused by God, that he was for euer the cause thereof; and therefore eternall. The answer to this is very easie, For that Gods performing in due time that, which he euer determined at length to performe, doth not argue any alteration or change, but rather constancy in him. For the same action of his will, which made the world for euer, did also with-hold the effect to the time ordained. To this answer, in it selfe sufficient, others adde further, that the patterne or Image of the World may be sayd to be eternall: which the Platonicks call, Spirituale mundum; and doe in this sort distinguish the Idæa and Creation in time. Spiritus ille mundus, mundi huius exemplar, primumque Dei opus, vita æqualis est Archetipo, fuit semper cum illo, critque semper. Mundus autem corporalis, quod secundum opus est Dei, decedit iam ab opifice ex parte vna, quia non fuit semper; retinet alteram, quia fit semper futurus. That representatiue, or the intentionall world (say they) the famplar of this visible world, the first worke of GOD, was æqually ancient with the Archited; for it was for euer with him, and euer shal be. This materiall world, the second worke or creature of GOD, doth differ from the worker in this, That it was not from euerlasting, and in this it doth agree, that it shall be for euer to come. The first point, That it was not for euer, all Christians confesse: The other they vnderstand no other wise, than that after the consummation of this world, there shal be a new Heauen and a new Earth; without any new creation of matter. But of these things we need not here stand to argue: though such opinions be not unworthy the propounding; in this consideration of an eternall and vchangeable cause, producing a changeable and temporall effect. Touching which point Proclus the Platonist disputeth,

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That the compounded essence of the World (and because compounded, therefore dissippable) is continued, & knit to the Diuine Being, by an individual & inseparable power, flowing from diuine vinity; and that the Worlds naturall appetite of God (he wit, that the same proceedeth from a good and vnderstanding diuine; and that, this vertue, by which the World is continued and knit together, must be infinite, that it may infinitely and euerlastingly continue and preserve the same. Which infinite Vertue, the finite World (sayth he) is not capable of, but receiveth it from the diuine infinite, according to the temporal Nature it hath, successively euery moment by little & little; euen as the whole Material World is not altogether, but the abolished parts are departed by smal degrees, and the parts yet to come, do by the same smal degrees succeed, as the shadow of a tree in a Riuer, seemeth to haue continued the same a long time in the water, but it is perpetually renewed, in the continuall ebbing and flowing thereof.

But to returne to them, which denying that euer the World had any beginning, withall deny that euer it shall haue any end, and to this purpose affirme, That it was neuer heard, neuer read, neuer seene, no not by any reason perceived, that the Heauens haue euer suffered corruption; or that they appeare any way the older by continuance; or in any sort otherwise than they were; which had they bene subiect to finall corruption, some change would haue bene discerned in so long a time: To this it is answered, That the little change as yet perceived, doth rather proue their newnesse, and that they haue not continued so long; than that they will continue for euer as they are. And if coniecture all arguments may receiue answer by coniectures: it then seemeth that some alteration may be found. For either Aristotle, Plinie, Sirabo, Beda, Aquinas, and others, were grossely mistaken: or else those parts of the world, lying within the burne Zone, were not in elder times habitable, by reason of the Sunnes heat; neither were the Seas, vnder the Equinoctiall, navigable. But we know by experience, that those Regions, so situate, are filled with people, and exceeding temperate; and the Sea, ouer which we Navigate, passable enough. We reade also many Histories of deluges: and how that in the time of Phaeton, diuers places in the world were burnt vp, by the Sunnes violent beate.

But in a Word, this obseruation is exceeding feeble. For we know it for certaine, That stone-walls, of matter molding and friable, haue stood two, or three thousand yeares: that many things haue bene digged vp out of the earth, of that depth, as supposed to haue bene buried by the generall flood; without any alteration either of substance or figure: yea it is beleueed, and it is very probable, that the gold which is daily found in Mynes and Rockes, vnder ground, was created together with the Earth.

And if bodies elementary, and compounded, the eldest times haue not invaded and corrupted: what great alteration should we looke for in Celestiall and quintessentiall bodies? And yet we haue reason to thinke, that the Summe, by whose helpe all Creatures are generate, doth not in these latter Ages assist Nature, as heretofore. We haue neither Gyants, such as the eldest world had: nor mighty men, such as the elder world had; but all things in generall are reputed of lesse vertue, which from the Heauens receiue vertue. Whence, if the nature of a Preface, would permit a larger discourse, we might easily fetch store of prooffe; as that this world shall at length haue end, as that once it had beginning.

And I see no good answer that can be made to this obiection: If the World

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were eternall; why not all things in the World Eternall? If there were no first, no cause, no Father, no incomprehensible wisdom, but that every Nature had bene alike eternall; and Man more rationall than every other Nature: Why had not the eternall reason of Man provided for his eternall being in the World? For if all were equal, why not equal conditions to all? why should heavenly bodies live for ever; and the bodies of Men rot and die?

Againe, who was it that appointed the Earth to keepe the center, and gave Order that it should hang in the Aire: that the Sunne should trauaile betweene the Tropicks, and neuer exceed those bounds, nor faile to performe that Progreffe once in every year: the Moone to live by borrowed light: the first Stars (according to common opinion) to be fastned like Naitles in a Cart-wheele; and the Planets to wander at their pleasure? Or if none of these had power ouer other: was it out of Charity and Love that the Sunne by his perpetual trauaile within those two Circles, hath visited giuen light vnto, and releined all parts of the Earth, and the Creatures therein, by turnes and times? Out of doubt, if the Sunne haue of his owne accord kept this course in all eternitie: He may iustly be called eternall Charity, and euerslasting Love. The same may be sayd of all the Stars: who being all of them most large and cleare fountaines of vertue and operation, may also be called eternall verities: the Earth may be called eternall patience; the Moone, an eternall borrower and begger; and man of all other the most miserable, eternally mortall. And what were this, but to beleue againe in the old Play of the gods? Tea in more gods by Millions, than euer Hesioidus dreamt of. But in steed of this mad folly, we see it well enough with our feeble and mortall eyes: and the eyes of our reason discern it better; that the Sun, Moone, Stars, & the Earth, are limited, bounded, and constrained: themselves they haue not constrained, nor could. Omne determinatum causam habet aliquam efficientem, quæ illud determinauerit. Every thing bounded hath some efficient cause, by which it is bounded.

Now for Nature; As by the ambiguity of this name, the schoole of Aristotle hath both commended many errors vnto vs, and sought also thereby to obscure the glory of the high Moderator of all things, shining in the Creation, and in the gouerning of the World: so if the best definition be taken out of the second of Aristotles physicks, or primo de Cælo, or out of the fifth of his Metaphysicks; I say that the best is but nominall, and seruing onely to difference the beginning of Naturall motion from Artificiall: which yet the Academics open better, when they call it A Seminary strength, infused into matter by the Soule of the World: who giue the first place to Prouidence, the second to Fate, and but the third to Nature. Prouidentia (by which they vnderstand GOD) dux & caput; Fatum, medium ex prouidentia prodians; Natura postremum. But be it what he will, or be it any of these (God excepted) or participating of all: yet that it hath choice or vnderstanding (both which are necessarily in the cause of all things) no man hath a-doubted. For this is vnanswerable of Lactantius, Is autem facilius quid, qui aut voluntatem faciendi habet, aut scientiam, He only can be said to be the doer of a thing, that hath either will or knowledge in the doing it.

But the will and science of Nature, are in these words truly exprest by Ficinus: Potest ubiq; Natura, vel per diuersa media, vel ex diuersis materijs, diuersa facere; sublata vero mediõrũ materialiumq; diuersitate, vel vnicũ, vel simplicium

Ficinus
Plat.

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limum operatur, neque potest quando adest materia non operari; It is the power of Nature by diuersity of meanes, or out of diuersity of matter, to produce diuers things: but taking away the diuersity of meanes, and the diuersity of matter, it then workes but one or the like worke; neither can it but worke, matter being present. Now if Nature made choice of diuersity of matter, to worke all these variable workes of Heaven and Earth, it had then both vnderstanding and will; it had counsaile to beginne, reason to dispose; vertue and knowledge to finish, and power to gouerne: without which all things had bene but one and the same: all of the matter of Heaven; or all of the matter of Earth. And if we grant Nature this will, and this vnderstanding, this counsaile, reason, and power: Cur Natura potius quam Deus nominetur? Why should we then call such a cause rather Nature, than God? God, of whom all men haue notion, and giue the first and highest place to Diuine power: Omnes homines notionem deorum habent, omnesq; summum locum diuino cuidam numini assignant. And this I say in short; that it is a true effect of true reason in man (were there no authority more binding than reason) to acknowledge and adore the first and most sublime power. Vera Philosophia, est ascensus ab his quæ fluunt, & oriuntur, & occidunt, ad ea quæ vere sunt, & semper eadem: True Philosophy is an ascending from the things which flow, and rise, and fall, to the things that are for euer the same.

For the rest; I do also account it not the meanest, but an impiety monstrous, to confound God and Nature: be it but in teame. For it is God, that only disposeth of all things according to his owne will, and maketh of one Earth, Vessels of honor and dishonor. It is Nature that can dispose of nothing, but according to the will of the matter wherein it worketh. It is God, that commandeth al: It is Nature that is obedient to all. It is God, that doth good vnto al, knowing and louing the good he doth: It is Nature, that secondarily doth also good, but it neither knoweth nor loueth the good it doth. It is God, that hath all things in himselfe: Nature, nothing in it selfe. It is God, which is the Father, and hath begotten all things: It is Nature, which is begotten by all things; in which it liueth and laboureth; for by it selfe it existeth not. For shall we say, that it is out of affection to the Earth, that heavy things fall towards it? Shall we call it Reason, which doth conduct every River into the salt Sea? Shall we tearme it knowledge in fire, that makes it to consume combustible matter? If it be Affection, Reason, and Knowledge in these: by the same Affection, Reason, and Knowledge it is that Nature worketh. And therefore seeing all things worke as they do, (call it by Forme, or Nature, or by what you please) yet because they worke by an impulsion, which they cannot resist; or by a faculty, infused by the supreme power: we are neither to wonder at, nor to worship, the faculty that worketh, nor the Creature wherein it worketh. But herein lyes the wonder: and to him is the worship due, who hath created such a Nature in things, and such a faculty, as neither knowing it selfe, the matter wherein it worketh, nor the vertue and power which is hath, doth yet worke all things to their last and uttermost perfection. And therefore every reasonable man, taking to himselfe for a ground that which is granted by all Antiquity, and by all men truly learned that euer the world had; to wit; That there is a power infinite, and eternall (which also necessity doth proue vnto vs, without the helpe of Faith, and Reason, without the force of Authority) all things do as easily follow which haue bene deliuered by diuine Letters, as the

Laſt de ira
Dei. l. i. c. 10.

Arist. l. i. de
Cælo. c. 3. 7.

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waters of a running river do successively pursue each other from the first fountains.

This much I say it is that Reason it self hath taught vs: and this is the beginning of knowledge. Sapientia præcedit, Religio sequitur: quia prius est Deum scire, consequens colere; Sapientia goes before, Religio follows: because it is first to know God, and then to worship him. This Sapientia Plato calleth absoluti boni scientiam, The science of the absolute good: and another, Scientiam rerum primarum, sempiternarum, perpetuarum. For Faith (sayth Iudore) is not extorted by violence; but by reason and examples perswaded: fides nequaquam vi extorquetur; sed ratione & exemplis suadetur. I confesse it, That to enquire further as of the essence of God, of his power, of his Art, and by what meane He created the world: Or of his secret iudgement, and the causes; is not an effect of Reason: Sed cum ratione infirmum, but they grow mad with reason, that inquire after it: For as it is no shame nor dishonor (sayth a French Author) de faire arrester aubut qu'on nauecu surpasseur, For a man to rest himself there, where he finds it impossible to passe on further: so whatsoeuer is beyond, and out of the reach of true reason, is acknowledged it to be so; as vnderstanding it self not to be infinite, but according to the Name and Nature it hath, to be a Teacher, that best knowes the end of his owne Art. For seeing both Reason is Necessary teach vs Reason, which is pars diuini spiritus in corpus humanum mersi that the world was made by a power infinite; and yet how it was made, it cannot teach vs: and seeing the same Reason and Necessary make vs know, that the same infinite power is euery where in the world; and yet how euery where, it cannot informe vs: our beleefe hereof is not weakened, but greatly strengthened, by our ignorance, because it is the same Reason that tells vs, That such a Nature cannot be said to be God, that can be in all conceiued by man.

I haue bene already ouer long to make any large discourse either of the parts of the following Story, or in mine owne excuse: especially in the excuse of this or that passage; seeing the whole is exceeding weak and defective. Among the grossest, the vsuable diuision of the bookes, I could not know how to excuse, had I not bene directed to enlarge the building after the foundation was laid, and the first parts finished. All men know that there is no great Art in the diuiding euery of those things, which are subiect to number and measure. For the rest, it suites well enough with a great many Bookes of this age, which speake too much, and yet say little; Ipse nobis furto subducimur: We are stolen away from our selues, setting a high price on all that is our owne. But hereof, though a late good Writer make complaint, yet shall it not lay hold on me, because I beleue as he doth; that who so thinks himselfe the wisest man is but a poore and miserable ignorant. Those that are the best men of war, against all the vanities and fooleries of the World, do alwayes keepe the strongest guards against themselves, to defend them from themselves from selfe loue, selfe estimation, and selfe opinion.

Generally concerning the order of the worke, I haue onely taken counsaile from the Argument. For of the Assyrians, which after the downefall of Babel take vp the first part, and were the first great Kings of the World, there came little to the view of posterity. Some few enterprises greater in fame than faith, of Ninus and Semiramis excepted.

It was the story of the Hebrewes, of all before the Olympiads, that ouercame the consuming disease of time; and preserved it selfe from the very cradle and beginning

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ginning to this day: and yet not so entire, but that the large discourses thereof (to which in many Scriptures we are referred) are no where found. The Fragments of other Stories, with the actions of those Kings and Princes which shot vp here and there in the same time; I am driuen to relate by way of digression: of which we may say with Virgil:

Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto;

They appeare here and there floating in the great gulf of time.

To the same first Ages do belong the report of many Inventions therein found, and from them deriued to vs; though most of the Authors Names, haue perished in so long a Navigation. For those Ages had their Lawes; they had diuersity of Government: they had Kingly rule; Nobility, Policy in war; Navigation, and all, or the most of needfull Trades. To speake therefore of these (seeing in a generall History we should haue left a great deale of Nakednes, by their omission) it cannot properly be called a digression. True it is that I haue made also many others: which if they shall be layd to my charge, I must cast the fault into the great heape of humane error. For seeing we digresse in all the wayes of our liues: yea, seeing the life of man is nothing else but digression; I may the better be excused, in writing their liues & actions. I am not altogether ignorant in the Lawes of History, and of the Kindes.

The same hath bene taught by many, but by no man better, and with greater brevity, than by that excellent learned Gentleman Sir Francis Bacon. Christian Lawes are also taught vs by the Prophets and Apostles; and euery day preacht vnto vs. But we still make large digressions: yea, the teachers themselves doe not (in all) keepe the path which they point out to others.

For the rest, after such time as the Persians had wrested the Empire from the Chaldeans, and had raised a great Monarchy producing Actions of more importance then were elsewhere to be found: it was agreeable to the Order of Story, to attend this Empire; whilst it so flourished, that the affaires of the nations adioyning had reference thereunto. The like obseruance was to be vsed towards the fortunes of Greece, when they againe began to get ground vpon the Persians, as also towards the affaires of Rome, when the Romans grew more mighty then the Greekes.

As for the Medes, the Macedonians, the Sicilians, the Carthaginians, and other Nations, whose first beginnings of the former Empires, and afterwards became but parts of their composition and enlargement: it seemed best to remember what was knowne of them from their seuerall beginnings in such times and places, as they in their flourishing estates opposed those Monarchies; which in the end swallowed them vp. And herein I haue followed the best Geographers: who seldome giue names to those small brookes, whereof many, iyned together, make great Rivers; till such time as they become vnted, and run in maine streame to the Ocean Sea. If the Phrase be weaker, the stile not euery where like it self: the first shewes their legitimation and true Parent: the second will excuse it selfe vpon the Variety of Matter. For Virgil, who wrote his Eclogues, gracili aucta, vsed stronger pipes, when he founded the wars of Aeneas. It may also be layd to my charge that I vse diuers Hebrew words in my first booke, and elsewhere: in which language others may thinke, and I my selfe acknowledge it, that I am altogether ignorant: but it is true, that some of them I find in Montanus, others in latine Character in S. Senensis; and of the rest I haue borrowed the interpretation of some of my friends. But say I had bin beholding to neither yet were it not to be wondered at, hauing had

Id est, e. a. d. terra Sapientia.

Itaque de deo.

Quod est infinitum & non secundum naturam terminatur non continetur a scientia. Arist. poster.

The Preface.

a eleven yeares leasure, to attaine the knowledge of that, or of any other tongue; Hooper, I know that it will be said by many, That I might have bene more pleasing to the Reader, if I had written the Story of mine owne times, having bene permitted to draw water as neare the Well-head as another. To this I answer, that who so ever in writing a moderne History, shall followe too neare the heeles, it may haply strike out his teeth. There is no Mistresse or Guide, that hath led her followers and servants into greater miseries. He that goes after her too far off, loseth her sight, and loseth himselfe: and he that walks after her at a middle distance; I know not whether I should call that kind of course Temper or Baseness. It is true, that I never travailed after mens opinions, when I might have made the best use of them: and I have now too few dayes remaining, to imitate those, that either out of excessive ambition, or excessive cowardise, or both, do yet, when death hath them on his shoulders, flatter the world, betweene the bed and the grave. It is enough for me (being in that state I am) to write of the eldest times: wherein also why may it not be said, that in speaking of the past, I point at the present, and take the voices of those that are yet living in their persons that are long since dead; and have it laid to my charge? But this I cannot helpe, though innocent. And certainly if there be any, that finding themselves spotted like the Tigers of old time, shall find fault with me for painting the our aneu; they shall therein accuse themselves; justly, & me falsely.

For I protest before the Majesty of God, That I malice no man under the Sun. Impossible I know it is to please all: seeing few or none are so pleased with themselves, or so assured of themselves, by reason of their subiection to their private passions; but that they seeme diuers persons in one of the same day. Seneca hath said it, and so do I: *Vnus mihi pro populo erat: and to the same effect Epicurus, Hoc ego non multis sed tibi; or (as it hath since lamentably fallen out) I may borrow the resolution of an ancient Philosopher, Satis est vnus, Satis est nullus. For it was for the service of that inestimable Prince Henry, the successiue hope, and one of the greatest of the Christian World, that I vnderooke this Worke. It pleased him to peruse some part thereof, and to pardon what was amisse. It is now left to the world without a Maister: from which al that is presented, hath received both blowes and thanks, *Eadem probamus, eadem reprehendimus: hic exitus est omnis iudicii, in quo his secundum plures datur. But these discourses are idle. I know that as the charitable will iudge charitably: so against those, qui gloriantur in malicia, my present aduersity hath disarmed me. I am on the ground already; & therefore have not far to fall: and for rising againe, as in the Natural priuation there is no reason to haue; so it is seldome seene in the priuation politike. I do therefore forbare to stile my Readers Gentle, Courteous, and Friendly, thereby to beg their good opinions, or to promise a second and third volume (which I also intend) if the first receiue grace and good acceptance. For that which is already done, may be thought enough; and too much: and it is certaine, let vs claw the Reader with neuer so many courteous phrases; yet shall we euermore be thought fooles, that write foolishly. For conclusion, al the hope I haue lies in this: That I haue already found more yngentle and yncourteous Readers of my Loue towards them, and well-deseruing of them, than euer I shall do againe. For had it bene otherwise, I should hardly haue had this leasure, to haue made myselfe a foole in print.**

THE



THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD:

INTREATING OF THE BEGINNING, AND first Ages of the same, from the Creation, VNTO ABRAHAM.

THE FIRST BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Of the Creation, and Preservation of the World.

§. I.

That the innisible God is seene in his Creatures.



GOD, whom the wisest men acknowledge to be a Power vncfeible, and Vertue infinite, a Light by abundant claritie innisible; an Understanding, which it selfe can onely comprehend, an Essence eternall and spirituall, of absolute purenesse and simplicitie; was, and is pleased to make himselfe knowne by the worke of the World: in the wonderfull magnitude whereof, (all which Hee imbraceth, fillet, and sustayneth) we behold the Image of that glorie, which cannot be measured, and withall that one, and yet vniuersall Nature, which cannot be defined. In the glorious Lights of Heauen, we perceiue a shadow of his diuine Countenance; in his mercifull prouision for all that liue, his manifold goodnesse: and lastly, in creating and making existent the World vniuersall, by the absolute Arte of his owne Word, his Power and Almightinesse; which Power, Light, Vertue, Wisedome, and Goodnesse, being all but attributes of one simple Essence, and one God, we in all admire, and in part discern per speculum creaturarum, that is, in the disposition, order, and varietie of Celestiall and Terrestriall bodies: Terrestriall, in their strange and manifold diuersities; Celestiall, in their beautie and magnitude; which in their continuall and contrary motions, are neither repugnant, intermixt, nor confounded. By these potent effects, we approach to the knowledge of the Omnipotent cause, and by these motions, their Almighty Mouer.

In these more then wonderfull works, God (saith Hugo) speaketh vnto man, and it is true, that these be those discourses of God, whose effects, all that liue, witnesse in themselves; the sensible, in their sensible natures; the reasonable, in their reasonable soules: for according to S. GREGORY, *omnis homo eo ipso quod rationalis conditus est, ex ipsa ratione, illum qui se condidit, Deum esse colligere debet*: Euery man, in that he is reasonable, out of the same reason may know, that he which made him, is God. This God all men behold (saith Iob,) which is according to the Fathers, *Dominationem illius conficere in creaturis*, To discern him in his prouidence by his Creatures. That God hath bene otherwise seene, so wit, with corporall eyes, exceedeth the small proportion of my vnderstanding,

Hugo Super Eccl. lib. 1. c. 1. Greg. in Moral. l. 1. c. 1. ad fil. Tat. l. 1. c. 1. v. 1. non apparet in omnibus, et in omnia. Apparentia solum generatur est, et non apparet in quibus generatur.

ding, grounded on these places of S. John, and S. Paul, *Tee haue not heard his voice at any time, neither haue ye seen his shape.* And againe, *Whom neuer man saw, nor can see.* And this, I am sure, agreeth with the nature of Gods simplicitie, of which S. Augustine, *Ipsa enim natura, vel substantia, vel quolibet alio nomine appellandum est, id ipsum quod Deus est, corporaliter videri non potest;* That nature, or that substance, or by whatsoever name that is to be called which is God, whatsoever that be, the same cannot be corporally perceived. And of this opinion were *Origen, Cyril, Chrysostome, Gregory Nazianzenus, Hierome, Augustine, Gregory the great, Eusebius, Alcuinus, Dionysius Areopagita, Aquinas,* and all others of authority. But by his owne Word, and by this visible World, is God perceived of men, which is also the vnderstood language of the Almighty, vouchsafed to all his Creatures, whose Hieroglyphicall Characters, are the vnumbred Starres, the Sunne and Moone, written on these large Volumes of the Firmament: written also on the Earth and the Seas, by the letters of all those liuing Creatures, and Planets, which inhabit and reside therein. Therefore said that learned *Cvsanus, Mundus vniuersus nihil aliud est, quam Deus explicatus;* The World vniuersall, is nothing else but God exprest. And the inuisible things of God (saith S. Paul) are scene by creation of the World, being considered in his Creatures. Of all which, there was no other cause preceding, then his owne Will, no other matter then his owne Power, no other workman then his owne Word, no other consideration then his owne infinite Goodnesse. The example and patterne of these his Creatures, as hee beheld the same in all eternitie in the abundance of his owne loue, so was it at length in the most wise order, by his vnchanged Will mooued, by his high Wisdom disposed, and by his almightie Power perfected, and made visible. And therefore (saith *Mirandula*) we ought to loue God, *Ex fide, & ex effectibus,* (that is) both perswaded by his Word, and by the effects of the Worlds creation: *Neg enim qui causa caret, ex causa & origine sciri, cognosci, potest, sed vel ex rerum, que facte sunt, quod sunt & gubernantur observatione & collatione, vel ex ipsius Dei verba:* For he of whom there is no higher cause, cannot be knowne by any knowledge of cause or beginning, (saith *Montanus*) but either by the observing and conferring of things, which he hath, or doth create and gouerne, or else by the Word of God himselfe.

§. II.

That the wisest of the Heathen, whose authoritie is not to be despised, haue acknowledged the world to haue beene created by God.

His worke and creation of the World, did most of the ancient and learned Philosophers acknowledge, though by diuers termes, and in a different manner exprest, I meane all those who are entituled by S. AVOVSINE, *Summi Philosophi*, Philosophers of highest iudgement and vnderstanding. *Mercurius Trismegistus* calleth God, *Principium vniuersorum;* The originall of the vniuersall: to whom hee giueth also the attributes of *Mens, Natura, Aetius, Necessitas, Finis, & Renovatio.* And wherein hee truly, with S. Paul, casteth vpon God all power; confessing also, that the world was made by Gods almightie Word, and not by hands: *Verbo, non manibus fabricatus est mundus.* Zoroaster (whom Heracitus followed in opinion) tooke the word Fire, to expresse God by (as in *Deuteronomy*, and in Saint Paul it is vsed) *Omnia ex vno igne genita sunt;* All things (saith he) are caused, or produced out of one fire.

Hier. in Po.
mauro, & in
sermone sacro.

Deut. 4. 24.
Heb 1. 19.

Orph. de sum.
loue.

vid. cap. 6.

So did *Orpheus* plainly teach, that the world had beginning in time, from the Will of the most High God; whose remarkable words are thus conuenced: *Cum abscondisset omnia Iupiter summus, deinde in lumen gratum emisit, ex sacro corde operans cogitata & mirabilia:* Of which I conceiue this sense; *When great Iupiter had hidden all things in himselfe, working out of the loue of his sacred heart, he sent thence, or brought forth into greatfull light, the admirable works which he had fore-thought.* *Pindarus* the Poet, and one of the wisest, acknowledged also one God, the most High, to be the Father and Creator of all things; *Primus Deus, Pater, Creator summus.* *Plato* calleth God the cause and originall, the nature and reason of the vniuersall; *Totius rerum natura, causa, & origo Deus.* But hereof more at large hereafter.

Now, although the curiositie of some men haue found it superfluous, to remember the opinions of Philosophers, in matters of Diuinitie: (it being true, that the Scripture

hath

hath not want of any forraine testimony) yet as the *Fathers*, with others excellently learned, are my examples herein; so Saint Paul himselfe did not despise, but thought it lawfull, and profitable, to remember what himselfe had found agreeable to the Word of God, among the Heathen, that he might thereby take from them all escape, by way of ignorance, God rendering vengeance to them that know him not: as in his Epistle to *Titus*, he citeth *Epimenides* against the *Cretians*, and to the *Corinthians*, *Menaander*, and in the seventeenth of the *Acts*, *Aratus*, &c. for Truth (saith S. Ambrose) by whomsoever vntured, is of the holy Ghost; *Veritas a quocumque dicatur, a Spiritu sancto est;* and lastly, let those kind of men learne this rule, *Quae sacris seruiunt, prophana non sunt;* Nothing is prophane that serueth to the vse of holiness.

§. III.

Of the meaning of In Principio, Genes 1. 1.

His visible World of which *Moses* writeth, God created in the beginning, or first of all: in which (saith *Terrestrial*) things began to be. This word *Beginning* (in which the *Hebrewes* seeke some hidden mysterie, and which in the *Iews Targum* is conuerted by the word *Sapientia*) cannot be referred to succession of time, nor to order, as some men haue conceiued, both which are subsequent: but onely to Creation then. For before that Beginning, there was neither primary matter to be informed, nor forme to informe, nor any being, but the Eternall. Nature was not, nor the next Parent of Time begotten, Time properly and naturally taken; for if God had but disposed of Matter already in being, then as the word *Beginning* could not be referred to all things, so must it follow, that the institution of Matter proceeded from a greater Power, then that of God. And by what name shall we then call such an One (saith *Laurentius*) as exceeded God in potency: for it is an act of more excellency to make, then to dispose of things made? whereupon it may be concluded, that Matter could not be before this Beginning: except we faue a double Creation, or allow of two Powers, and both infinite, the impossibilitie whereof scorneth defence. *Nam impossibile plura esse infinita: quoniam quilibet de se more suo alterum esset in altero finitum;* There cannot be more infinites then one; for one of them would limit the other.

§. IIII.

Of the meaning of the words Heauen and Earth: Genesis 2. 1.

The vniuersall matter of the world (which *Moses* comprehendeth vnder the names of *Heauen and Earth*) is by diuers diuersly vnderstood: for there are that conceiue, that by those words, was meant the first matter, as the *Peripatetikes* vnderstand it, to which, S. Augustine and *Isidore* seeme to adhere. *Fecisti mundum* (saith S. Augustine) *de materia informi, quam fecisti de nulla re, per nulla rem:* (that is) *Thou hast made the world of a matter without formes, which matter thou madest of nothing, and being made, it was little other then nothing.*

But this potentiall and imaginarie *materia prima*, cannot exist without forme. *Peter Lombard*, the Schoole-men, *Beda*, *Lyranus*, *Concensor*, *Tostatus* and others, affirme, that it pleased God first of all to create the Emphyrean Heauen: which at the succeeding instant (saith *Beda* and *Strabo*) he filled with Angels. This Emphyrean Heauen *Steuchius Eugubinus* calleth *Diuine claritie*, and *venerat*: an error, for which he is sharply charged by *Pererius*, though (as I conceiue) he rather sayled in the subsequent, when he made it to be a place, and the seate of Angels, and iust Soules, then in the former affirmation: for of the first, That God liueth in eternal Light, it is written; *My soule, praise thou the Lord, Psal. 104. 1. that couerth himselfe with light:* and in the Revelation; *And the Citie hath no neede of Sunne, neither of the Moone to shine in it: for the glory of God doth light it.* And herein also *Iohn Mercer* vpon *Genesis*, differeth not in opinion from *Eugubinus*: for as by Heauen created in the beginning, was not meant the inuisible or supercelestiall; so in his iudgement, because it was in all Eternitie, the glorious seate of God himselfe, it was not necessary to be created; *Quem mundum supercelestem meo iudicio creati* (saith *Mercer*) *non erat necess.*

Beda Hex. Sra.
bo super Genes.
Dixi Celi, & de
materia incorp.

Psal. 104. 1.
Claritas diuina
non est lux visibilis,
sed sapientia
Dei, non creatura,
sed natura.
Apoc. 21. 3.
Mercer in Gen.
cap. 7. vers. 7.

But as *Moses* forbore to speake of Angels, and of things inuisible, and incorporate, for the

the weaknesse of their capacities, whom he then cared to informe of those things, which were more manifest, (to wit) that God did not only by a strong hand deliuer them from the bondage of *Egypt*, according to his promise made to their forefathers: but also that he created, and was the sole cause of this aspectable, and perceivable *Vniuersall*, so on the other side I dare not thinke, that any supercellstiall Heauen, or whatsoever else (not himselfe) was increate & eternal: and as for the place of God before the world created, the finite wisdom of mortall men hath no perception of it, neither can it limit the feare of infinite power, no more then infinite power it selfe can be limited: for his place is in himselfe, whom no magnitude else can contain: *How great is the house of God* (saith *Baruch*) *how large is the place of his possessions: it is great, and hath no end, it is high and vnmeterable.*

Bar. 3. 24. 25.

Cusan. in compend. fol. 224. Opera.

Caluin in Gen.

But leauing multiplicitie of opinion, it is more probable & allowed, that by the words *Heauen and Earth*, was meant the solid matter and substance, aswell of all the Heauens, and Orbes supernall, as of the Globe of the Earth and Waters, which couered it ouer, (to wit) that very matter of all things, *materia*, *Chaos*, *possibilitas*, *sive possit fieri*. Which matter (saith *Caluin*) was so called, *quod totius mundi semen fuerit*; Because it was the seed of the *Vniuersall*: an opinion of ancient Philosophers long before.

§. V.

That the substance of the waters, as mixt in the body of the earth, as by *Moses* vnderstood in the word *Earth*: and that the *Earth*, by the attributes of enformed and voided, is described as the *Chaos* of the ancient Heauen.

Moses first nameth *Heauen* and *Earth* (putting waters but in the third place) as comprehending waters in the word *Earth*; but afterwards hee nameth them a part, when God by his Spirit began to distinguish the confused Masse, and (as *Basil* saith) *preparare naturam aquae ad secunditatem vitalem; to prepare the nature of water to a vitall fruitfulnesse.*

For vnder the word *Heauen*, was the matter of all heavenly bodies, and natures exprest: and by the name of *Earth* and *Waters*; all was meant, whatsoever is vnder the Moone, and subiect to alteration. Corrupt feedes bring forth corrupt plants; to which the pure heauens are not subiect, though subiect to perishing. *They shall perish* (saith *Dauid*) *and the heauens shall vanish away like smoke*, saith *Esay*. Neither were the waters the matter of *Earth*: for it is written, *Let the waters vnder the heauens be gathered into one place, and let the drie land appeare*: which proueth that the drie land was mixt and couered with the waters, and not yet distinguished, but no way, that the waters were the matter or seede of the *Earth*, much lesse of the *Vniuersall*. *Initio tu Domine terram fundasti*, *T thou, O Lord, in the beginning hast founded the Earth*: and againe, *The Earth was couered with the Deepe* (meaning with waters) *as with a garment*, saith *Dauid*. And if by naturall arguments it may be proued, that water by condensation may become earth, the same reason teacheth vs also, that earth rarified may become water: water, aire: aire, fire; and so on the contrarie. *Deus ignis substantiam per aerem in aquam conuertit*, *God turneth the substance of fire, by aire, into water*. For the Heauens and the *Earth* remained in the same state, in which they were created, as touching their substance, though there was afterwards added multiplicitie of perfection, in respect of beautie and ornament. *Calum vero & terra instructa creationis remanserunt, quantum ad substantiam, licet multiplex perfectio decoris & ornatus eis postmodum superaddita est*. And the word which the Hebrews call *Maim*, is not to be vnderstood according to the Latine translation simply, and as specifically waters; but the same more properly signifieth liquor. For (according to *Montanus*) *Est autem Maim liquor geminus, & hoc nomen propter verborum penuriam, Latina lingua pluralis numero a quo fit*. For *Maim* (saith he) is a double liquor, (that is, of diuers natures) and this name

Psal. 105. 12. Esay 55. 1. Gen. 1. 9.

Psal. 104. 6.

Zach.

Gul. 2. 15. 1500.

A. Mont. de nat.

Gen. 1. 2.

12.

or word the Latines wanting a voice to expresse it, call it in the Plurall, *Aquas*, *Waters*. This Masse, or indigested matter, or *Chaos* created in the beginning, was without forme, that is, without the proper forme, which it afterwards acquired, when the Spirit of God had separated the *Earth*, and digested it from the waters: *And the earth was void*: that is, not producing any creatures, or adorned with any plants, fruits, or flowers. But after the Spirit of God had moued vpon the waters, and wrought this indigested matter into that forme, which it now retaineth, then did the earth bud forth the herbe, which seedeth seede, and the fruitfull tree according to his kind, and God saw that it was good; which

attribute

attribute was not giuen to the *Earth*, while it was confused; nor to the Heauens, before they had motion, and adornement. *God saw that it was good*; that is, made perfect: for perfection is that, to which nothing is wanting. *Ea perfecti Dei perfecti sunt opera*; *The works of the perfect God, are perfect.*

From this lump of imperfect Matter had the ancient Poets their invention of *Demogorgon*: *Hesiodus* and *Anaxagoras* the knowledge of that *Chaos*, of which *Ouid*:

Ante Mar, & Terras, & (quod regit omnia) Calum,
Vnus erat toto naturae vultus in Orbe,
Quem dixere Chaos, rudis indigestaque moles.

Ouid. m. Met. lib. 1.

Before the Sea and Land was made, and Heauen, that all doth hide,
In all the World one onely face of Nature did abide:
Which *Chaos* hight, a huge rude heape.

§. VI.

How it is to bee vnderstood that the Spirit of God moued vpon the Waters, and that this is not to bee searched curiously.

After the Creation of Heauen and Earth, then void and without forme, the Spirit of God moued vpon the Waters. The Seventy interpreters vnto the word *superferebat*, moued vpon or ouer: *incubabat*, or *fovebat* (saith *Hierome*) out of *Basil*; and *Basil* out of a Syrian Doctor; *Equidem non meam tibi, sed viri cuiusdam Syri sententiam recensebo* (saith *Basil*): which words *incubare* or *fovere* importing warmth, hatching, or quickning, haue a speciall likenesse. *Verbum translatum est ab auisus pullitiei sue in cubantibus, quamuis spiritali, & plane innarrabili, non autem corporali modo*; The word is taken of birds hatching their young, not corporally, but in a spirittuall and vnexpressible manner.

Some of the Hebrewes conuert it to this effect; *Spiritus Dei voluit ab*; The Spirit of God did flutter: the Chaldaean Paraphrast in this sense, *Ventus a conspectu Dei sufflabat*: or as after vnderstand the Chaldaean, *Flabat, peltebat, remouebat*: The wind from the face of God did blow vnder, drive, or remoue, or did blow vpon, according to the 147. *Psalme*, *He caused his wind to blow, and the waters increase*: but there was yet no wind nor exhalation.

Arias Montanus in these words, *Et Spiritus Elobim iterachset, id est, efficaciter mouitans, conuolens, ac agitans super facies gemini liquoris*; The Spirit of God effectually and often moving, keeping warme, and cherishing, quickning and stirring vpon the face of this double liquor. For he maketh foure originals, wherof three are agents; and the last passive and materiall, to wit, *Causa*, which is the diuine goodnesse: *lebi*, which is, *fiat, fuerit*, *Let it be*, or it shall be. *Que vox verbo Dei prima predata fuit*: Which voice (saith he) was the first that was uttered by the word of God.

The third, *Spiritus Elobim*, the Spirit of God, *id est, vis quaedam diuina, agilis ac presens, per omnia peringens, omnia complectens, that is, A certaine diuine power, or strength euery where, active and extending, and stretching through all, filling and finishing all things*. The fourth he calleth *Maim*, *id est, materies ad omnem rem conficiendam habilis*; *Matter apt to become euery thing*. For my selfe I am resolved (Cum Deus sit superrationale omni ratione; Seeing God is in all reason above reason) that although the effects which follow his wonderfull wayes of working, may in a measure be perceived by mans vnderstanding, yet the manner & first operation of his diuine power, cannot be conceiued by any mind, or spirit, compassed with a mortall body.

Animals homo que Dei sunt non percipiunt: For my thoughts (saith the Lord in *Esay*) are not your thoughts, neither are your wayes my wayes. And as the world hath not knowne God himselfe: so are his wayes (according to *S. Paut*) past finding out. *O righteous Father, the world hath not knowne thee*, saith *Christ*. And therefore, whether that motion, vitalitie

and operation, were by incubation or how else, the manner is onely knowne to God, *Quomodo in omnibus sit rebus vel per essentiam, vel per potentiam, intellectus noster non capit*; For, how God (saith *S. Augustine*, speaking of his Vbiquties) is in all things, either by essence, presence, or power, our vnderstanding cannot comprehend. *Nihil inter Deum hominem, distaret, si consilia, & dispositiones illius manifestis eterne, cogitatio assequeretur hominibus*: There would be no difference betwene God and Man, if mans vnderstanding could conuenie the counsels and disposing of these eternall *Misericordies*; and therefore to bee ouer-curious in searching how the all-powerfull Word of God wrought in the Creation of the World, or his all-piercing and operative Spirit distinguishing, gaue forme to the Matter

of the Vniuersall, is a labour and search like vnto his, who not contented with a knowne and safeoord, will presume to passe ouer the greatest Riuer in all parts, where he is ignorant of their depths: for so doth the one lose his life, and the other his vnderstanding. We behold the Sunne, and enioy his light, as long as we looke towards it, but tenderly, and circumspectly: we warme our selues safely, while we stand neare the fire; but if we seeke to out-face the one, to enter into the other, we forthwith become blind or burnt.

But to eschew curiositie: this is true, that the English word (*moued*) is most proper and significant: for of motion proceedeth all production, and all whatsoever is effected. And this omnipotent Spirit of God, which may indeed be truly called, *Principium motus*, and with MIRANDVA, *Via causa efficiens*; *The force of the efficient cause*, *S. Augustine* sometimes taketh for the holy Ghost; sometime for a wind or breath, *Sub nomine Spiritus*, vnder the name of a Spirit, which is sometimes so taken: or for *virtualis creatura*, For a created virtuality: *Terentianus* and *Theodoret* call it also a breath or wind: *Mercurius* nameth it, *Spiritum tenuem intelligibilem*, A pure or thin intelligible Spirit: *AMAXAGORAS*, *Mentem*: *TOSTATVS*, *Voluntatem & mentem Dei*; *The will and minde of God*; which *mens*, *Plato in Timæo*, maketh *Animam mundi*, *The soule of the world*: and in his sixth Booke de Republica, he calleth it *the Law of Heauen*; in his Epistles, *The Leader of things to come*, and the presence of things past. But as *Cyprian* wrote of the Incarnation of Christ our Saviour, *Mens deficit, vox silet, & non mea tantum, sed etiam Angelorum; My minde sayeth, my voice is silent, and not mine only, but euen the voice of Angels*: so may all men do else say in the vnderstanding, and vtturance of the wayes and works of the Creation; for which he can, *Sed consubstantialis illi est, quicquid eius est, & quicquid est; What seuer attribute of him there is, and what power he is, it is the very same substance that himselfe is*.

But the Spirit of God which moued by the waters, cannot be taken for a breath or wind, nor for any other creature, separate from the infinite active power of God, which then formed and distinguished, and which now sustayneth, and giueeth continuance to the Vniuersall. For the Spirit of the Lord filleth all the world; and the same is it which maintaineth all things; saith *SALOMON*. *If thou send forth thy Spirit (saith DAVID) they are created*: And *GREGORY*, *Deus suo presentiali esse, dat omnibus rebus esse, ita quod, si se rebus subtraheret, sicut de nihilo facta sunt omnia, sic in nihilum desueneret vniuersa*; *God giueeth being to all things, by being present with all things, so as if he should withdraw himselfe from them, then as of nothing the world was made, it would againe fall away and vanish into nothing*. And this working of Gods Spirit in all things, *Virgil* hath exprest excellently:

*Principio Cælum ac Terras, camposq; liquentes,
Lucentemq; globum Lunæ, Titaniasq; astra,
Spiritus intus alit: totamq; infusa per artus,
Mens agit atq; molem, & magno se corpore miscet.*

The Heauen, the Earth, and all the liquid Mayne,
The Moones bright Globe, and Starres Titanian,
A Spirit within maintaynes: and their whole masse,
A Mind, which through each part infus'd doth passe,
Fashions, and works, and wholly doth transpierce
All this great Body of the Vniuersall.

And this was the same Spirit, which moued in the Vniuersall, and thereby both distinguished and adorned it. *His Spirit hath garnished the Heavens*, saith *Iob*. So then the Spirit of God moued upon the waters, and created in them their Spirituality, and naturall motion; motion brought forth heate; and heate rarification, and subtilitie of parts. By this Spirit (which gaue heate and motion, and thereby, operation to euery nature, so while it moued upon the waters, which were in one indigested lump, and Chaos, disposed to all formes alike) was begotten Aire: an element superior, as lighter then the waters, through whose vast, open, subtil, diaphanick, or transparent body, the light afterwards created might easily transpierce: Light, for the excellency thereof, being the first creature which God called good, whose creation immediately followed. This Spirit *Chrysostome* calleth a vitall Operation, *Agnis à Deo insitam, ex qua aqua non solum motum, sed & vim procreandi animalia habuerim*. He calleth it, *A vitall Operation giuen by God vnto the waters, whereby the waters had not onely motion, but also power to procreate or bring forth liuing Creatures*.

§. VII.

§. VII.

Of the light created, as the materiall substance of the Sunne: and of the nature of it, and diffinitude of knowledge of it: and of the excellency and vse of it: and of motion, and heate annexed vnto it.

These waters were afterwards congregated, and called the Sea: and this Light afterwards (in the fourth day) gathered and vnited, and called the Sunne, the Organ, and instrument of created light. For this first and dispersed light did not (as I conceiue) distinguish the night from the day, but with a reference to the Sunnes creation, and the vnting of the dispersed light therein. This is proved by these words, *Let there be light in the Firmaments, to separate the day from the night*: which lights in the firmament of Heauen were also made for signes, and for seasons, and for dayes, and for yeares, implying a motion instantly to follow, by which, dayes and yeares are distinguished: after which succeeded Time, or together with which, that Time (which was the measure of motion) began. For that space of the first three dayes which preceded the Sunnes creation, or formall perfection, when as yet there was not any motion to be measured, and the day named in the sixth Verse, was but such a space, as afterwards by the Sunnes motion made a ciuill or naturall day. And as Waters were the matter of Aire, of the firmament, and of the lower and vpper waters, and of the Seas, and Creatures therein: Earth, the matter of Beasts, Plants, Minerals, and Mans body: so may Light (for expression sake) be called the Chaos, or materiall substance of the Sunne, & other lights of heauen: Howbeit, neither the Sunne, nor any thing sensible, is that Light it selfe, *Quæ causa est lucidorum, Which is the cause that things are light/some* (though it make it selfe, & all things else visible) but a body most illighened, which illuminateth the Moone, by whom the neighbouring Region (which the *Greeks* call *Ether*, the place of the supposed Element of fire) is affected and qualified, and by it all bodies liuing in this our Aire. For this light *Auicenna* calleth *vehiculum & fomentum omnium celestium virtutum, & impressionum*: *The conductor, and preseruer, or nourisher of all celestiall vertues and impressions*, nothing defending of heavenly influences, but by the medium, or means of light. *Aristotle* calleth light, a qualitie, inherent, or cleauing to a Diaphanous body, *Lumen est qualitas inherens Diaphano*: but this may be better auouched of the heate, which it transporteth and bringeth with it, or conducteth: which heate (say the *Platonicks*) *Auente lumine residet in subiecto, The light being departed, doth reside in the subiect*, as warmth in the aire, though the same be deprived of light. This light *Plotinus* and all the *Academikes* make incorporeall, and so doth *MONTANVS*, *Cuius diuinitas resissit, nec spaium; Which neither hardnesse resists, nor space leaueth*.

Aristotle findeth corporallitie in the beames of light; but it is but by way of repetition of other mens opinions, saith *Picolomineus*, *Democritus*, *Leucippus*, and *Epicurus*, *Via de finib.* Heauen to the Earth, nor is it resisted by any hardnesse, because it pierceth through the solid body of glasse, or other Crystalline matters; and whereas it is withstood by vncleane, and vapure earthy substances, lesse hard, and more easie to inuade then the former, the same is, *Quod obstatulum naturæ terreum atq; solidum, non capit candidum luminis puritatem*; *Decaused an obstacle, by nature earthy and soule, doth not receive the pure cleanness of light*: alluding to that most diuine Light, which onely shineth on those minds, which are purged from all worldly drosse, and humane vncleannesse.

But of this created light, there is no agreement in opinion; neither doe I maruaile at it, for it cannot be found either in the Fathers, Philosophers, or Schoole-men, or other ancient or later Writers, that any of them vnderstood either it or themselves therein: all men (to cast off ignorance) haue disputed hereof, but there is no man that hath bene taught thereby. *Thomas Aquinas* (not inferior to any in wit) as hee hath shewed little strength of argument in refuting the opinions of *Beda*, *Hugo*, *Lombard*, *Lyrannus*, and others: so is his owne iudgement herein, as weak as any mans; and most of the Schoole-men were rather curious in the nature of termes, and more subtil in distinguishing vpon the parts of doctrine already laid downe, then discoverers of any thing hidden, either in Philosophie or Diuinitie: of whom it may be truly said, *Nihil sapientia odiosius acuminis nimio*; *Nothing is more odious to true wisdom, then too acute sharpnesse*. Neither hath the length of time, and the search of many learned men, which the same time hath brought

brought forth and deuoured) resolved vs, whether this light be substantiall, corporall, or incorporeall: Corporall they say it cannot bee, because then it could neither pierce the aire, nor those hard, solid, and Diaphanous bodies, which it doth, and yet every day we see the aire illuminated: incorporeall it cannot bee, because it sometime affecteth the sight of the eye with offence, and therefore by most of the Fathers fo esteemed: others say, (as *Patricius*) that it cannot be matter, because no forme so excellent as it selfe to informe it: neither can it be any accident, which is not separable without the destruction of the subject: for light being taken from the Sunne, the Sunne is no more the Sunne in existence. Secondly, if light were proceeding from matter and forme, then either, or both must be one of these, lucide or bright, darke or opaque, Diaphanous or transparent; but darknesse cannot be parent of light; and things Diaphanous (being neither light, nor darknesse, but capable of either) cannot be the cause of either, and therefore must the matter, or forme, or both, be lucide and shining. Lucide and shining obayne their fo being of the light; and therefore, if wee deriue this being of light from a former, then would the progresse goe on infinitely, and against nature; and therefore he concludeth, that light in the Sunne hath his being primarily, and immediately of it selfe, and is therefore the Sunnes forme, and the forme of all lucide and shining bodies: but what is taught hereby, let others iudge.

But in my understanding, *Lumen*, (which may be Englished by the word *Shine*) is an intentionall Species of that, which may be Englished by Light, and so, this shining 20 which proceedeth from the Sunne, or other lights of Heauen, or from any other light, is an Image, or intentionall Species thereof; and an intentionall Species may be vnderstood by the example of a red, or Greene colour, occasioned by the shining of the Sun through red or Greene glasse: for then we perceive the same colour cast vpon any thing opposite, which rednesse or other colour, we call the intentionall Species of the colour in that glasse. And againe, as this light, touching his simple nature, is no way yet vnderstood: so it is disputed, whether this light first created, bee the same which the Sunne inholdeth and casteth forth, or whether it had continuance any longer then till the Sunnes creation.

But by the most wise and vnderstanding order, which God obserued in the worke of the World, I gather, that the Light, in the first day created, was the substance of the Sunne: 30 for *Moses* repeateth twice the mayne parts of the vniuersall; first, as they were created in matter; secondly, as they were adorned with forme: first, naming the Heauens, the Earth, the Waters, all confused, and afterward, the Waters congregated, the Earth made drie Land, and the Heauens distinguished from both, and beautified. And therefore the Earth, as it was earth, before it was vncouered, and before it was called *Arida*, or drie Land; and the Waters were waters, before they were congregated, and called the Sea, though neither of them perfect, or enriched with their vntuall formes: so the Sunne, although it had not his formall perfection, his circle, beautie, and bounded magnitude, till the fourth day, yet was the substance thereof in the first day (vnder the name of Light) created; and this Light formerly dispersed, was in the same fourth day vnited, and set in the Firmament of Heauen: for to Light created in the first day, God gaue no proper place or fixation; and therefore the effects named by *Anticipation*, (which was, to separate day from night) were precisely performed, after this Light was congregated, and had obayned life and motion. Neither did the wisdom of God finde cause why it should mooue (by which motion, dayes and nights are distinguished) till then: because there was not yet any Creature produced, to which, by mouing, the Sunne might giue light, heate, and operation.

But after the Earth (distinguished from Waters) began to bud forth the bud of the herbe, &c. God caused the Sunne to moue, and (by interchange of time) to visite eury part of the inferiour world; by his heate to stirre vp the fire of generation, and to giue 50 aduantage to the seeds of all natures: For, as a King, which commandeth some goodly building to be erected, doth accommodate the same to that vse and end, to which it was ordaind; so it pleased God (saith *Procopius*) to command the Light to be; which by his all-powerfull Word he approued, and approving it, disposed thereof, to the vse and comfort of his future Creatures.

But in that it pleased God to aske of *Ion*, *By what way is the light parted, and where is the way where light dwelleth?* we thereby know, that the nature thereof falleth not vnder mans vnderstanding; and therefore let it suffice, that by Gods grace we enjoy the effects

*Excidit corpora
sunt plena lucis
Lucis, alioquin se
natura imbecilla
Quia sunt plena
sunt et inuisibilia
no lucere.
Transparentia
sunt Diaphana
causam iam ex
lucem & tota
bra: saltem ex
lucem & transparentia
lucis permittitur.
Sed, sicut ex. 7. 1.*

Gen. 1.

Yer. 31.

9.

*Quomodo enim
Rex aliquis &c.
Procopius ex. 1.*

Job 38. 24.

9.

fects thereof. For this light is of the treasure of God (saith *Esdras*). And those which inhabit the Heauens, doe only know the Essence thereof. *Nihil ignotum in celo, nihil notum in terra: Nothing unknowne in Heauen, nothing perfectly knowne on earth. Res vera sunt in Heu. mundo inuisibilia, in mundo visibilia umbra rerum: Things themselves are in the inuisible world, in the world visible, but their shadowes: Surely, if this Light be not spirituall, yet it approacheth nearest vnto spirituality; and if it haue any corporality, then of all other the most subtle and pure; for how soeuer, it is of all things scene, the most beautiful, and of the swiftest motion, of all other the most necessary and beneficiall. For it ministrerth to men, and other creatures, all celestiall influences; it dissipaterth those sad thoughts and sorrowes, which the darknesse both begetheth and maintaineth; it discouereth vnto vs the glorious works of God, and carryeth vp with an Angelicall swiftnesse, our eyes vnto Heauen, that by the sight thereof, our minds being informed of his visible maruailes, may continually traile to surmount these percieued Heauens, and to finde out their omnipotent Cause and Creator. *Cognitio non quiescit in rebus creatis: Our knowledge doth not quiet it selfe in things created. Et ipsa lux facit, ut cetera mundi membra digna sint laudibus, cum suam bonitatem & decorem omnibus comunicet: It is the Light (saith Saint Ambrose) that maketh the other parts of the world so worthy of praise, seeing that it selfe communicateth its goodnesse and beauty vnto all: of which I did out of Orpheus:**

*Ille ego sum, qui longum metior annum,
Omnia qui video, per quem videt omnia mundus,
Atundi oculos.*

Ouid. Met. 1. 1.

The World discernes it selfe, while I the World behold,
By me the longest yeares, and other times are told,
I the worlds eye.

Lastly, if we may behold in any creature, any one sparke of that eternall fire, or any far-off dawning of Gods glorious brightnesse, the same in the beautie, motion, and vertue of this Light, may be percieued. Therefore was God called *Lux ipsa*, and the Light, by *Hermes* named *Lux sancta*, and *Christ* our Saviour said to be *the Light*, which lighteth 10. 1. 9. & 14. 46. *in every man that cometh into the world.* Yet in respect of Gods incomprehensible sublimity, and puritie, this is also true, that God is neither a minde, nor a Spirit of the nature of other Spirits; nor a light, such as can be discerned. *Deus perfectio uon mens est, at vero ut sit mens causa est, nec spiritus, sed causa qua spiritus extat; nec lumen, sed causa qua lumen existit.* God (saith *Hermes* in *Poemandro*) certainly is not a minde, but the cause that the minde hath his being; nor spirit, but the cause by which every spirit is; nor light, but the cause by which the light existeth.

So then the *Masse* and *Chaos* being first created, void, darke, and imformed, was by the operative Spirit of God, pierced and quickened; and the Waters hauing now received Spirit and motion, resolved their thinner parts into Aire, which God illuminated: 40 the Earth also by being contiguous, and mixt with waters (participating the same diuine vertue) brought forth the bud of the herbe that feedeth seede, &c. and for a meane and organ, by which this operative vertue might be continued, God appointed the Light to be vnited, and gaue it also motion and heate, which heate caused a continuance of those seuerall Species, which the Earth (being made fruitfull by the Spirit) produced, and with motion begate the time and times succeeding.

§. VIII.

Of the Firmament, and of the waters above the Firmament: and whether there be any Crystalline Heauen, or any Primum mobile.

After that the Spirit of God had moued vpon the waters, and light was created, God said, *Let there be a Firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it separate the waters from the waters:* that is, those waters which by rarification and euaporation were ascended, and those of the Earth and Sea.

But these waters separate about this extension, which the Latine Translation calleth *firmamentum*, or *expansum* (for so *Vatilius*, *Pagninus*, and *Iunius* turne it) are not the Crystalline Heauens, created in the imagination of men; which opinion *Basilius Magnus* calleth a childish supposition, making in the same place many learned arguments against

50

Gen. 1. 10.

against this fancy. For the waters about the Firmament, are the waters in the Aire above vs, where the same is more solid and condense, which God separated from the nether waters by a Firmament, that is, by an extended distance and vast space: the words *Raquia*, which *Montanus* writeth *Bakingh*, and *Shamaym*, being indifferently taken for the Heauen and for Aire, and more properly for the Aire and *Aether*, then for the Heauens, as the best Hebricians vnderstand them. *Quo* *suprema ac tenuis ab inferioris crebris ducta, intercellat, distarant*, for that whereby the supreme and thin bodies were placed in distance, being severed and cut off from low and grosse matters: and the waters about the Firmament, expresse in the word *Majm*, are in that tongue taken properly for the waters about the Aire, or in the vppermost Region of the same.

And that the word Heauen is vsed for the Aire, the Scriptures euerywhere witness, as in the blessings of *Ioseph*, and in the 104. Psalm. * *By these Springs shall the fowle of the Heauen dwell*; and * *upon Sedon and Gomorrah it rained brimstone and fire out of the Heauen*; and in *Isaacs* blessing to *Isaac*, *God giue thee therefore of the dew of Heauen*; and in *Deuteronomie* the 11. *But the land whither you goe to possess it, is a land, that drinketh water of the reyne of Heauen*; and in *Iob*, *Who hath ingendered the frosts of Heauen*; and in *S. MATTHEW*, *Behold the Fowles of Heauen*, for they sow not. So as in all the Scriptures of the old Testament throughout, is the word Heauen very often vsed for aire, and taken also hyperbolically for any great heigh, as, *Let vs build vs a Tower, whose top may reach to Heauen*, &c. And in this very place *Basil* auoucheth, that this appellation of Heauen for the Firmament, is but by way of similitude: his owne words be these; *Et vocante Deus firmamentum calum. Hæc appellatio alijs quædam proprie accommodatur, hinc autem nunc ad similitudinem*; And God called the firmament Heauen: This appellation (saith *Basil*) is properly applied to another (that is, to the Starry Heauen) but to this, (that is, to the Firmament diuiding the waters) it is imposed by similitude; and if there were no other prooffe, that by the Firmament was meant the Ayre, and not the Heauen, the words of *MOSES* in the eighth Verse, conferred with the same word Firmament in the twentieth Verse, makes it manifest: for in the eighth Verse it is written, that God called the Firmament, which diuided waters from waters, Heauen; and in the 20. Verse he calleth the Firmament of Heauen, Ayre, in these words: *And let the Fowle flye upon the earth in the open firmament of Heauen*. And what use there should be of this ycie, or crystalline, or waterie Heauen, I conceiue not, except it be to moderate and temper the heate, which the *Primum mobile* would otherwise gather and increase: though in verie truth, in stead of this heipe, it would adde an vnmeasurable greatnesse of circle, whereby the swiftnesse of that first Moueable would exceede all possibilitie of belief. *Sed nemo tenetur ad impossibilia; but no man ought to be held to impossibilities*; and saith it selfe (which surmounteth the height of all humane reason) hath for a forcible Conducter, the Word of Truth, which also may be called *lumen omnis rationis & intellectus*; the light of all reason and vnderstanding. Now that this supposed first Moueable, turneth it selfe so many hundred thousand miles in an instant (seeing the Scriptures teach it not) let those that can beleue mens imaginations, apprehend it, for I cannot. But of these many Heauens, let the Reader that desireth satisfaction, search *Oronius*; and of this waterie Heauen, *Basilius Magnus* in his *Hexam. fol. 40. 41. &c.* and *Matth. Beroaldus*, his second Booke, and fixt Chapter. For my selfe, I am perswaded, that the waters, called, The waters about the Heauens, are but the cloudes and waters ingendered in the vppermost Ayre.

¶ I. X.

A conclusion repeating the summe of the workes in the Creation, which are reduced to three heads: The creation of matter, The forming of it, The finishing of it.

TO conclude, it may be gathered out of the first Chapter of *Genesis*, that this was the order of the most wise Gods in the beginning, and when there was no other nature, or being, but Gods incomprehensible eternitie. First, hee created the matter of all things: and in the first three dayes he distinguished and gaue to euery nature his proper forme; the forme of leuitie to that which ascended, to that which descended, the forme of grauitie: for he separated light from darkenesse, diuided waters from waters, and gathered the waters vnder the Firmament into one place. In the last three

three daies, God adorned, beautified, and replenished the World: he set in the firmament of Heauen, the Sunne, Moone, and Starres; filled the Earth with Beasts, the Aire with Fowle, and the Sea with Fish, giuing to all that haue life, a power generatiue, thereby to continue their Species and kindes; to Creatures vegetatiue and growing, their feedes in themselves; for he created all things, that they might haue their being: and the generations of the world are preferred.

¶ X.

That Nature is no Principium per se; nor formes the giuer of being: and of our ignorance, how second causes should haue any proportion with their effects.

NO for this working power, which we call Nature, the beginning of motion and rest, according to *Aristotle*, the same is nothing else, but the strength and facultie, which God hath infused into euerie creature, having no other seite-abilitie, then a Clocke, after it is wound vp by a mans hand, hath. These therefore that attribute vnto this facultie, any first or sole power, haue therein no other vnderstanding, then such a one hath, who looking into the Sterne of a Ship, and finding it guided by the Helme and Rudder, doth ascribe some absolute vertue to the peece of wood, without all consideration of the hand that guides it, or of the iudgement, which allo directeth and commandeth that hand; forgetting in this and all else, that by the vertue of the first act, all Agents worke whatsoever they worke: *Virute primi actus agunt agentia omnia quicquid agunt*: for as the minde of man seeth by the Organ of the eye, heareth by the eares, and maketh choyce by the will: and therefore we attribute sight to the eye, and hearing to the eares, &c. and yet it is the minde onely, that giueth ability, life, and motion to all these his instruments and Organs; so God worketh by Angels, by the Sunne, by the Starres, by Nature, or infused properties, and by men, as by seuerall Organs, seuerall effects; all second causes whatsoever, being but instruments, conduits, and pipes, which carrie and disperse what they haue receyued from the head and fountaine of the Vniuersall. For as it is Gods infinite power, and euerie where-prefence (compassing, embracing, and piercing all things) that giueth to the Sunne power to draw vp vapours, to vapours to be made cloudes, cloudes to containe raine, and raine to fall: so all second and instrumentall causes, together with Nature it selfe, without that operative facultie which God gaue them, would become altogether silent, vertlesse, and dead: of which excellentie *ORPHEVS*; *Per te virescunt omnia, All things by thee spring forth in youthfull Greene*. I enforce not these things, thereby to annihilate those variable verities which God hath giuen to his creatures, animate and inanimate, to heauenly and earthly bodies, &c. for all his workes in their vertues prayse him: but of the manner how God worketh in them, or they in or with each other, which the Heathen Philosophers, and those that follow them, haue taken on them to teach: I say, there is not any one among them, nor any one among vs, that could euer yet conceiue it, or expresse it, euer enrich his owne vnderstanding with any certaine truth, or euer edifie others (not foolishly by selfe-flatterie) therein. For (saith *Lactantius*, speaking of the wisdom of the Philosophers) *Si facultas inuenienda veritatis hinc studio subiceretur, aliquando esset inuenta; cum vero tot temporibus, tot ingenijs in eius inquisitione contritis, non sit comprehensa, apparet nullam ibi esse sapientiam*; If in this studie (saith he) were meanes to find out the truth, it had ere this bene found out: but seeing it is not yet comprehended, after that so much time, and so many wits haue bene worne out in the inquirie of it, it appeareth, that there is no wisdom there to be had. *Nam si de vna re præcisa scientia haberetur, omnium rerum scientia necessario haberetur*: If the precise knowledge of any one thing wer to be had, it should necessarily follow, that the knowledge of all things were to be had. And as the Philosophers were ignorant in Nature, and the wayes of her working: so were they more curious, then knowing, in their first matter and Physicall forme. For if their first matter had any being, it were not then the first matter: for, as it is the first matter, it hath only a power of being, which it altogether leaueth, when it doth subsist. And seeing it is neither a substance perfect, nor a substance inchoate, or in the way of perfection, how any other substance should thence take conference, it hath not bene taught, neyther are these formes (saith a learned Author) any thing, *si ex ea exprimitur potentia, quæ nihil est*. Again, how this first matter should be sub-

iectum

icium formarum, and passive, which is understood to precede the forme, it is hard to conceive: for to make forme which is the cause, to be subsequent to the thing caused (to wit, to the first matter) is contrarie to all reason, diuine and humane: onely it may be said, that originally there is no other difference betweene matter and forme, then betweene heate and fire, of which the one cannot subsist without the other, but in a kinde of rational consideration. Leaving therefore these Riddles to their Louers, who by certaine scholasticall distinctions wrest and peruert the truth of all things, and by which *Aristotle* hath laboured to proue a false eternitie of the World, I thinke it farre safer to affirme with Saint AVGVSTINE, That all species and kindes are from God, from whom, whatsoeuer is naturall proceedeth, of what kinde or estimation soeuer, from whence are the seedes of all formes, and the formes of all seedes and their motions; *A quo est omnis species, à quo est quicquid naturaliter est, cuiuscunq; generis est, cuiuscunq; estimationis est, à quo sunt semina formarum, forme seminum, motus seminum est, formarum.* And thus much *Auerrois* is forced to confesse. For all formes (saith hee) are in primo motore; which is also the opinion of *Aristotle* in the twelfth of his *Metaph.* and of *Albertus* vpon *Dionysius*.

§. XI.

Of Fate; and that the Starres haue great influence: and that their operations may diversly be prevented or furthered.

AND, as of Nature, such is the dispute and contention concerning Fate or Destinie, of which the opinions of those learned men that haue written thereof, may be safely receiued, had they not therunto annexed and fastened an inevitable necessitie, and made it more generall, and vniuersally powerfull then it is, by giuing it Dominion ouer the minde of man, and ouer his will; of which *Ouid* and *Lucretius*:

*Ratio fatum vincere nulla valet.
Sernis regna dabunt, captiuus Fata triumphos.*

*Gaiust Fate no counsell can preuaile.
Kingdomes to Slaues by Destinie,
To Captiues triumphs giuen be.

An error of the *Chaldeans*, and after them of the Stoicks, the Pharisees, Priscillianists, the Bardisanists, and others, as *Basil*, *Augustine*, and *Thomas* haue obserued: but that Fate is an obedience of second causes to the first, was well conceiued of *Hermes*, and *Apuleius* the Platonist. *Plotinus* out of the Astronomers calleth it a disposition from the acts of celestiaall Orbes, vniuersally working in inferiour bodies, the same being also true enough, in respect of all those things, which a rational minde doth nor order nor direct. *Ptolomie*, *Seneca*, *Democritus*, *Epicurus*, *Chrysippus*, *Empedocles*, and the *Stoicks*, some of them more largely, others more strictly, ascribe to Fate a binding and ineuitable necessitie; and that it is the same which is spoken and determined by God (*quod de vnoquoq; nostrum fatus est Deus*) and the definite lot of all liuing. And certainly it cannot be doubted, but the Starres are instruments of farre greater vse, then to giue an obscure light, and for men to gaze on after Sunne-set: it being manifest, that the diuersitie of seasons, the Winters, and Summers, more hote and colde, are not so vncertaine by the Sunne and Moone alone, who alwaie keepe one and the same course, but that the Starres haue also their working therein.

And if we cannot denie, but that God hath giuen vertues to Springs and Fountaines, to colde earth, to plants and stones, Minerals, and to the excrementall parts of the basest liuing creatures, why should we robbe the beautifull Starres of their working powers? for seeing they are many in number, and of eminent beautie and magnitude, wee may not thinke, that in the treasure of his wisdom, who is infinite, there can be wanting (guen for euerie Starre) a peculiar vertue and operation; as euery herbe, plant, fruit, and flower adorning the face of the Earth, hath the like. For as these were not created to beautifie the earth alone, and to couer & shadow her dustie face, but other wise for the vse of man and beast, to feed them and cure them; so were not those vnumcountable glorious bodies set in the Firmament, to no other end, then to adorne it, but for instruments and Organs of his diuine providence, so farre as it hath pleased his iust will

to determine. *Origen* vpon this place of *Genesis*, Let there be light in the Firmament, &c. Gen. 1.5. affirmeth, that the Starres are not causes (meaning perchance binding causes) but are as open Bookes, wherein are contained and set downe all things whatsoever to come; but not to be read by the eyes of humane wisdom: which latter part I beleue well, and this saying of *Syrracides* withall: *That there are hid yet greater things then these be, and we haue seen but a few of his workes.* And though, for the capacite of men, wee know somewhat, yet in the true and vttermost vertues of herbes and plants, which our selues sow and set, and which grow vnder our feet, wee are in effect ignorant; much more in the powers and working of celestiaall bodies. for hardly (saith *Salomon*) can we discern the things that are vpon the Earth, and with great labour finde we out those things that are before vs: who can then inuestigate the things that are in Heauen? *Alutsum est de rebus celestibus aliquid cognoscere: It is much to know a litle of beauenly things.* But in this question of Fate, the middle course is to be followed, that as with the Heathen wee doe not binde God to his creatures, in this supposed necessitie of destinie, so on the contrarie, wee doe not robbe those beautifull creatures of their powers and offices. For had any of these second causes despoyled God of his prerogative, or had God himselfe constrained the minde and will of man to impious acts by any celestiaall inforcements, then sure the impious excuse of some were iustifiable: of whom Saint AVGVSTINE: *Impiè peruersitate in malis factis rectissime reprehendendis ingerunt accusandum potius auctore gladium, quam commissorem scelerum. Where we reprehend them of euill deeds, they againe with wicked peruerseesse urge, that rather the Author and Creatour of the Starres, then the doer of the euill is to be accused.*

But that the Starres and other celestiaall bodies incline the will by mediation of the sensitive appetite, which is also firred by the constitution and complexion, it cannot be doubted. *Corpora celestia* (saith DAMASCENE) *constitunt in nobis habitum, complexionem, & dispositiones. The beauenly bodies* (saith hee) *make in vs habitus, complexionem, & dispositiones*: for the bodie (though *Galen* enforce it further) hath vndoubtedly a kinde of drawing after it the affections of the minde, especially bodies strong in humour, and weak in vertues; for those of cholericke complexion are subiect to anger, and the furious effects thereof; by which they suffer themselves to be transported, where the minde hath no reason to remember, that passions ought to be her Vassals, not her Masters. And that they wholly direct the reasonless mind I am resolu'd: For of all those which were created mortall, as birds, beasts, and the like, are left to their naturall appetites, ouer all which, celestiaall bodies (as instruments and Executioners of Gods providence) haue absolute dominion. What we should iudge of men, who litle differ from beasts, I cannot tell: for as hee that contendeth against those inforcements, may easily master or resist them: so whosoever shall neglect the remedies by vertue and pietie prepared, putteth himselfe altogether vnder the power of his sensuall appetite; *Vincitur fatum si resistas, vincis si contempseris: Fate will be overcome, if thou resist it, if thou neglect it, it conquereth.*

But that either the Starres or the Sunne haue any power ouer the mindes of men immediately, it is absurd to thinke, other then as aforesaid, as the same by the bodies temper may be effected. *Lumen solis ad generationem sensibilibus corporum confert; & ad vitam ipsam mouet, & nutrit, & auget, & perficit: The light of the Sunne* (saith Saint AVGVSTINE) *helpeth the generation of sensible bodies, moueth them to life, and nourisheth, augmenteth, and perfecteth them*: yet still as a Minister, not as a Master: *Bonum quidem est sol, in ministerio, non imperio: The Sunne is good to serue, not to sway* (saith S. Ambrose.) And Saint AVGVSTINE: *Deus regit inferiora corpora per superiora; God ruleth the bodies below by those above*; but hee auoucheth not, that superiour bodies haue rule ouer mens mindes, which are incorporeall.

But howsoeuer we are by the Starres inclined at our birth, yet there are many things both in Nature and Art, that encounter the same, and weaken their operation: and *Aristotle* himselfe confesseth, that the Heauens doe not alwaies worke their effects in inferiour bodies, no more then the signes of raine and winde doe alwaies come to passe. And it is diuers times seene, that paternall vertue and vice hath his counter-working to these inclinations. *Est in Iuuenis patrum virtus; In the young off-spring the Fathers vertues*, and so the contrarie, *patrum vitia*: and herein also there is often found an interchange; the Sonnes of vertuous men, by an ill constellation become inclinable to vice, and of vicious men, to vertue.

B

Egregia

Egregia est soboles, scelerato nata parente.

A worthie sonne is borne of a wicked father.

But there is nothing (after Gods reserved power) that so much setteth this art of influence out of square and rule, as education doth: for there are none in the World so wickedly inclined, but that a religious instruction and bringing vp may fashion anew and reforme them; nor any so well disposed, whom (the reines being let loose) the continuall fellowship and familiaritie, and the examples of dissolute men may not corrupt and deforme. Vessels will euer retaine a savour of their first liquor: it being equally difficult eyther to cleanse the minde once corrupted, or to extinguish the sweet savour of vertue first receyued, when the minde was yet tender, open, and easily seasoned; but where a favourable constellation (allowing that the Starres incline the will) and a virtuous education doe happily arriue, or the contrarie in both, thereby it is that men are found so exceeding virtuous or vicious, Heauen and Earth (as it were) running together, and agreeing in one: for as the feedes of vertue may by the art and husbandrie of Christian counsaile produce better and more beautiful fruit, then the strength of selfe-nature and kind could haue yielded them; so the plants apt to grow wilde, and to change themselves into weedes, by being set in a soyle sutable, and like themselves, are made more vsfull and filled with poyson. It was therefore truly affirmed, *Sapientia adiuvabit opus agriculturæ, quemadmodum agricola terra naturam*; *A wise man assisteth the worke of the Starres, as the Husbandman helpeth the nature of the soyle*. And Ptolomie himselfe confesseth thus much, *Sapientia, & omnia sapientia medici dominabuntur astris, A wiseman, and the omniscient art of a wise Physician shall prevail against the Starres*. Lastly, we ought all to know, that God created the Starres, as he did the rest of the Uniuersal, whose influences may be called his reserved and vnwritten Lawes. But let vs consider how they bind: euen as the Lawes of men doe; for although the Kings and Princes of the World haue by their Lawes decreed, that a Thiefe and a Murderer shall suffer death; and though their Ordinances are daily by Iudges and Magistrates (the Starres of Kings) executed accordingly, yet these Lawes doe not deprive Kings of their natural or religious compassion, or binde them without prerogative, to such a seuer execution, as that there should be nothing left of libertie to iudgement, power, or conscience: the Law in his owne nature, being no other then a deafe Tyrant. But seeing that it is otherwise, and that Princes (who ought to imitate God in all they can) doe sometimes for causes to themselves knowne, and by mediation, pardon offences both against others and themselves, it were then impious to take that power and libertie from God himselfe, which his Substitutes enioy; God being mercie, goodnesse, and charitie itselfe. Otherwise that example of Prayer by our Sauour taught; *And let vs not be led into temptation, but deliver vs from euill*, had bene no other but an expence of words and time; but that God (which onely knoweth the operation of his owne creatures truly) hath assured vs, that there is no inclination or temptation so forcible, which our humble Prayers and desires may not make frustrate, and breake asunder: for were it (as the Stoicks conceiue) that Fate or Destinie, though depending vpon eternall power, yet being once ordered and disposed, had such a connexion and immutable dependence, that God himselfe should in a kind haue shut vp himselfe therein: *How miserable then were the condition of men* (saith S. AVGVSTINE) *left altogether without hope!* And if this strength of the Starres were so transferred, as that God had quitted vnto them all dominion over his creatures; be hee Pagan or Christian that so beleuereth, the onely true God of the one, and the imaginatie gods of the other would thereby be depoyled of all worship, reuerence, or respect.

And certainly, God which hath promised vs the reward of well-doing, which Christ himselfe claimed at the hands of the Father, *(I haue finished the worke which thou gauest mee to doe)*; and the same God, who hath threatened vnto vs the sorrow and torment of offences, could not contrary to his mercifull nature be so vnjust, as to bind vs inevitably to the Destinies or influences of the Starres, or subiect our soules to any imposed necessitie. But it was well said of Ptolomus, that the Starres were significant, but not efficient, giuing them yet something lesse then their due: and therefore as I do not consent with them, who would make those glorious creatures of God vntersle: so I thinke that wee derogate from his eternall and absolute power and prouidence, to ascribe to them

them the same dominion ouer our immortall soules, which they haue ouer all bodily substances, and perishable natures: for the soules of men, louing and fearing God, receiue influence from that diuine light it selfe, whereof the Sunnes claritie; and that of the Starres is by Plato called but a shadow. *Lumen est umbra Dei, & Deus est lumen luminis*; *Light is the shadow of Gods brightnesse, who is the light of light*: But to end this question, because this Destinie, together with Prouidence, Prefcience, and Predetermination are often confounded, I thinke it not impertinent to touch the difference in a word or two, for euery man hath not obserued it, though all learned men haue.

Plat. pol. 6.
Ficin. in 1. 7. yel.

§. XII.

Of Prefcience.

Prefcience, or fore-knowledge (which the Greekes call *Prægnosis*, the Latines *Præcognitio*, or *prescientia*) considered in order and nature (if we may speake of God after the manner of men) goeth before Prouidence: for God fore-knew all things, before he had created them, or before they had being to be cared for; and Prefcience is no other then an infallible fore-knowledge. For whatsoever our selues fore-know, except the same be to succcede accordingly, it cannot be true that we fore-know it. But this Prefcience of God (as it is Prefcience onely) is not the cause of any thing futurely succeding: neyther doth Gods foreknowledge impose any necessitie, or binde. For in that we fore-know that the Sunne will rise, and set; that all men borne in the World shall dye againe; that after Winter, the Spring shall come; after the Spring Summer and Haruest, and that according to the seuerall feedes that we sow, we shall reape seuerall sorts of graine, yer is not our fore-knowledge the cause of this, or any of these: neyther doth the knowledge in vs binde or constrain the Sunne to rise and set, or men to dye; for the causes (as men perswade themselves) are otherwise manifest and knowne to all. *The eye of man* (saith Boetivs) *beholdeth these things subiect to sense, as they are; the eye seeth that such a beast is an horse, it seeth men, trees, and houses, &c. but our seeing of them (as they are) is not the cause of their so being, for such they be in their owne naturer*. And againe out of the same Authour; *Diuina prouidentia rebus generandis non imponit necessitates, quia si omnia euenirent ex necessitate, premia bonorum, & poena malorum periret*; *Diuine Prouidence* (saith he) *imposeth no necessity vpon things that are to exist, for if all came to passe of necessity, there should neither be reward of good, nor punishment of euil*.

Boetius de con-
sol.

§. XIII.

Of Prouidence.

Now Prouidence (which the Greekes call *Prœnoia*) is an intellectuall knowledge, both fore-seeing, caring for, and ordering all things, and doth not onely be- hold all past, all present, and all to come, but is the cause of their so being, which Prefcience (simply taken) is not: and therefore Prouidence by the Philosophers (saith S. Augustine) is diuided into Memorie, Knowledge, and Care: Memorie of the past, Knowledge of the present, and Care of the future: and wee our selues account such a man for prouident, as, remembering things past, and obseruing things present, can by iudgement, and comparing the one with the other, prouide for the future, and times succeding. That such a thing there is as Prouidence, the Scriptures euery where teach vs, *Moses* in many places, the Prophets in their Predictions: Christ himselfe and his Apostles assure vs hereof; and, besides the Scriptures, *Hermes, Orpheus, Euripides, Pythagoras, Plato, Plotinus*, and (in effect) all learned men acknowledge the Prouidence of God: yea the *Turkes* themselves are so confident therein, as they refuse not to accompany and visit each other, in the most pestilent diseases, nor shun any perill whatsoever, though death therein doe manifestly present it selfe.

The places of Scripture prouing prouidence, are so many, both in generall and particular, as I shall need to repeat but a few of them in this place. *Sing vnto God* (saith DAVID) *which couereth the Heauens with cloudes; and prepareth raine for the earth, and maketh the grasse to grow vpon the Mountaines, which giueth to beasts their food, and feedeth the young Ravens that cries: All these wait vpon thee, that thou mayest giue them food in due season. And thou shalt drinke of the River Cheareth* (saith God to ELIAH) *and I haue*

Pd. 147. 3.

9.
Psal. 104. 27.
145. 15.

1. Reg. 17. 4.
Math. 6. 2. 6.
Luke 12. 6. 7.
1. Pet. 5. 7.
Ej. 38. 6.

commanded the Ravens to feed thee there. Behold, the Fowles of the Ayre, they sow not, nor reape, and yet your heavenly Father feedeth them: Again, Are not two Sparrowes sold for a farthing? and one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father: yea all the haire of your head are numbered: And S. PETER, Cast all your care on him, for he careth for you: And his iudgements are written, saith DAVID.

1. Cor. 13. 24.

God therefore, who is euerie-where present, who filleth the Heauens and the Earth, whose eyes are vpon the righteous, and his countenance against them that doe euill, was therefore by Orpheus called, *oculus infinitus, an infinite eye*, beholding all things, and cannot therefore be esteemed as an idle looker on, as if he had transferred his power to any other: for it is contrary to his owne Word: *Gloriam meam alteri non dabo: I will not giue my glorie to another*. No man commandeth in the Kings presence, but by the Kings direction; but God is euerie-where present, and King of Kings. The example of Gods vniuersall Prouidence is scene in his creatures. The Father prouideth for his children: beafts and birds and all liuing for their young ones. If prouidence bee found in second Fathers, much more in the first and Vniuersall: and if there be a naturall louing care in men, and beafts, much more in God, who hath formed this nature, and whole Diuine loue was the beginning, and is the bond of the Vniuersall: *Amor diuinus re- rum omnium est principium, & vinculum vniuersi* (saith PLATO.) *Amor Dei est nodus perpetuus, mundi copula, partiumq. eius immobile sustentaculum, ac vniuersa machina fundamen- tum*; The loue of God is the perpetuall knot, and linke or chayne of the world, and the im- moueable pillar of euery part thereof, and the Basis and foundation of the vniuersall. God therefore who could only be the cause of all, can only prouide for all, and sustaine all; so as to absolute power; to euerie-where presence; to perfect goodnesse; to pure and diuine loue; this attribute transcendent habilitie of Prouidence is only proper and belonging.

1. Job. 1. 6. 4.
ver. 8.
God is loue.

§. XIV. of Predestination.

Now for Predestination; we can difference it no otherwise, from Prouidence and Preseence, then in this, that Preseence only fore-seeth: Prouidence fore-seeth & careth for, and hath respect to all creatures, euen from the bright- est Angels of Heauen, to the vnworthiest Wormes of the Earth, and Predestination (as it is vsed specially by Diuines) is onely of men, and yet not of all to men belong- ing, but of their saluation properly, in the common vse of Diuines, or perdition, as some haue vsed it. Yet Peter Lombard, Thomas, Bernensis Theologus, and others, take the word Predestination more strictly, and for a preparation to felicitie: diuers of the Fa- thers take it more largely sometimes; among whom S. Augustine speaking of two Ci- ties, and two Societies, vseth these words, *Quarum est vna, que predestinata est in eternu regnare cum Deo, altera eternum supplicium subire cum Diabolo; Whereof one is it, which is predestinated to reigne for euer with God, but the other is to vndergoe euil lasting torment with the Demill*: for according to NOMINUS MARCELLVS, *destinare est preparare*; and of the same opinion are many Protestant writers, as Calvin, Beza, Buchanan, Daneus, and such like: and as for the manifold questions hereof arising, I leaue them to the Diuines; and why it hath pleased God to create some vessels of honour, and some of dishonour, I will answer with Gregorie, who saith, *Qui in factis Dei rationem non videt, infirmi- tatem suam considerans, cur non videat, rationem videt*; He that seeth no reason in the acti- ons of God, by consideration of his owne infirmity perceiueh the reason of his blindness. And againe with S. AUGUSTINE, *Occulta esse causa potest, iniusta esse non potest*; Hidden the cause of his Predestination may be, vniust it cannot be.

Rom. 8. 30.

Lamb. l. 1. diff.
38.
Thom. part. 1.
diff. 23.
Bern. de Probl.
de p. d.
Aug. l. 21. c. 1. de
Ciuil. Dei.
Cal. in cap. 9. ad
Rom. v. 11.
Reg. in magn.
euer. in cap. 9.
ad Rom.
Daneus. 3. de
Salut.
Greg. Magn.
lib. 9.
Aug. ad Pelag.
ep. 59.

§. XV.

Of Fortune: and of the reason of some things that seeme to be by fortune, and againe Reason and Prouidence.

Firstly, seeing Destinie or Necessitie is subsequent to Gods prouidence, and see- ing that the Starres haue no other dominion, then is before spoken, and that Nature is nothing, but as Plato calleth it, *Dei artem, vel artificium Dei Orga- num*; The art, or artificiall Organ of God: and CYSANVS, *Diuini precepti instrumentum*; The

The art, or artificiall Organ of God: and CYSANVS, *Diuini precepti instrumentum*; The instrument of the diuine precept: we may then with better reason reiect that kinde of I- dolatrie, or God of fooles, called Fortune, or Chance: a Goddesse, the most reueren- ced, and the most reuiled of all other, but not ancient; for Homer maketh her the Daughter of Oceanus, as Pausanias witnesseth in his *Asiemiacs*. The Greekes call her *Tyche*, signifying a rellative being, or betiding, so as before Homers time this great Ladie was scarce heard of; and Hesiodus, who hath taught the birth and beginning of all these counterfeit gods, hath not a word of Fortune: yet afterward the grew so great and omnipotent, as from Kings and Kingdomes, to Beggars and Cottages, she ordered all things, reuising the wisdom of the wisest, by making the Possessor thereof miserable: valuing the folly of the most foolish by making their successe prosperous, inasmuch as the actions of men were said to be but the Sports of Fortune, and the variable accidents happening in mens liues, but her pastimes: of which * PALLADIVS, *Vita hominum lu- dus fortune est; The life of man is the play of Fortune*: and because it often filleth out, that enterprises guided by ill counsels haue equal successe to those by the best iudgement con- ducted, therefore had Fortune the same external figure with Sapience: wherof Athenaeus

Sen. Ep. 91.
Aur. uil. de per-
tinace Sen. 47. 74.
Demetrius Deli-
us in the
great and of-
fences of
his Fortune, is
said to haue
vied to crye
out vpon For-
tune, applying
to her a Verse
of Eclieyias,
Tu me ex-
stili, eadem me in
(iustis) perdis-
sum.

Longissimi à Sapientia Fors distidet,
Sed multa perficit tamen similitima:

From Wisedome Fortune differs farre,
And yet in workes most like they are.

But I will forbear to be curious in that, which (as it is commonly vnderstood) is nothing else but a power imaginarie, to which the successe of humane actions and en- deauours were for their varietie ascribed; for when a manifest cause could not be giuen, then was it attributed to fortune, as if there were no cause of those things, of which most men are ignorant, contrary to this true ground of PLATO: *Nihil est ortum sub Sole, cuius causa legitima non preceperit*; Nothing euer came to passe vnder the Sonne, of which there was not a iust preceding cause. But Aquinas hath herein answered in one distin- ction, whatsoever may be objected; for many things there are (saith he) which hap- pen, besides the intention of the Inferior, but not besides the intention of the Superior; *Præter intentionem inferioris, sed non præter intentionem superioris*. (to wit, the ordinance of God;) and therefore (saith MELANCHTON) *Quod Postea fortunam, nos Deum appellamus*; Whom the Poets call Fortune, we know to be God, and that this is true, the Scripture in many places teacheth vs, as in the Law of Murder. He that smiteth a man, and he die shall die the death; and if a man hath not laid waite, but God hath offered him into his hands, then I will appoint thee a place whither he shall flee. Now, where the Scripture hath these words, *God hath offered him into his hands*, we say, if he hurt him by Chance: and in Deuteronomie the nineteenth, where the slipping of an Axe from the helue, whereby a- nother is slaine, was the worke of God himselfe, we in our phrase attribute this acci- dent to Chance or Fortune: and in the Proverbs the sixteenth, *The lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposition thereof is of the Lord*: so as that which seemeth most casual and subiect to Fortune, is yet disposed by the ordinance of God, as all things else; and hereof the wiser sort, and the best learned of the Philosophers were not ignorant, as Cicero witnesseth for them, gathering the opinion of Aristotle and his Sectators, with those of Plato, and the Academicks to this effect; That the same power which they cal- led *animam mundi*; The soule of the World, was no other then that incomprehensible wisdom, which we expresse by the name of God, governing euerie being aswell in heauen as in earth; to which wisdom and power they sometime gaue the title of Ne- cessitie or Fate, because it bindeth by inevitable ordinance: sometime, the stile of For- tune, because of many effects there appeare vnto vs no certain causes. To this effect spea- keth S. Augustine in his questions vpon Genesis the first Booke: the same hath Seneca in his fourth of Benefits; which was also the doctrine of the Stoicks, of which Sect he was: For whatsaener (saith he) thou callest God, be it Nature, Fate, or Fortune, all are but one and the same, differenced by diuers termes, according as he vseth, and exerciseth his power diu- sly.

Tr. facinus For-
tuna Deum, con-
lat. locum.
Sat. 10. 566.
Eccod. 21. 12. 13.

ver. 33.

Cic. de. quest. 1.3

Seneca. l. 4. c. 7.

But it may be objected, that if Fortune and Chance were not sometimes the cau- ses of good and euill in men, but an idle voice, whereby we expresse successe; how comes it then, that so many worthie and wife men depend vpon so many vnworthy and empy- tie-headed fooles; that riches and honor are giuen to externall men, and without ker- nell:

nell: and so many learned, vertuous, and valiant men weare out their liues in poore and detected estates. In a word, there is no other inferior, or apparent cause, beside the partialitie of mans affection, but the fashioning and not fashioning of our felues according to the nature of the time wherein we liue: for whofoeuer is most able, and best sufficient to discern, and hath withall an honest and open heart and louing truth; if Princes, or those that gouerne, endure no other discourte then their owne flatteries, then I say such an one, whose vertue and courage forbiddeth him to be base and a dissembler, shall euer more hang vnder the wheele; which kinde of deferring well and receiuing ill, we alwaies fally charge Fortune withall. For whofoeuer shall tell any great Man or Magistrate, that he is not iust; the Generall of an Armie, that he is not valiant, and great Ladies that they are not faire; shall neuer be made a Counsellor, a Captaine, or a Courtier. Neither is it sufficient to be wife with a wife Prince, valiant with a valiant, and iust with him that is iust, for such a one hath no estate in his prosperitie; but he must also change with the succesor, if he be of contrarie qualities; faile with the tyde of the time, and alter forme and condition, as the Estate or the Estates Master changeth: Otherwise how were it possible, that the most base men, and separate from all imitable qualities, could so often attaine to honour and riches, but by such an obsequant slavish course? These men hauing nothing else to value themselves by, but a counterfeit kinde of wondring at other men, and by making them beleue that all their vices are vertues, and all their dutie actions crytalline, haue yet in all ages prospered equally with the most vertuous, if not exceeded them. For according to MENANDER, *Omnis insipiens arrogantia & plausibus capitur; Enrie foole is wonne with his owne pride, and others flattering applaue:* so as whofoeuer will liue altogether out of himselfe, and studie other mens humours, and obserue them, shall neuer be vnfortunate; and on the contrarie, that man which prizeth truth and vertue (except the season wherein he liueth be of all these, and of all sorts of goodnesse fruitfull) shall neuer prosper by the possession or profession thereof. It is also a token of a worldly wise man, not to warre or contend in vaine against the nature of times wherein he liueth: for such a one is often the author of his owne miserie; but best it were to follow the aduice, which the Pope gaue the Bishops of that age, out of Ouid, while the Arian Heretic raged:

*Quidrem am.
lib. 1.*

Dum furor in cursu est, currenti cede furori.

While furie gallops on the way,
Let no man furies gallop stay.

And if Cicero (then whom that world began not a man of more reputed iudgement) had followed the counsaile of his brother QUINTVS, *Paruisses* (saith PETRARCH) *in leclule suo mori, postmiste integro cadangre sepeliri;* He might then haue dyed the death of nature, and bene with an vnborne and vndiscovered bodie buried; for as Petrarch in the same place noteth: *Quid stultius quam desperantem (presertim de effectu) litibus perperuis implicari; What more foolish then for him that despaires, especially of the effect, to be entangled with endlesse contentions?* Whosoever therefore will set before him MACHIAVELLS two markes to shooe at (to wit) riches, and glorie, must set on and take off a back of yron to a weak wooden Bow, that it may fit both the strong and the feeble: for as he, that first desired to adde sayles to rowing vessels, did eyther for proportion them, as being fastened aloft, and towards the head of his Mast, he might abide all windes and stormes, or else he sometime or other perished by his owne inuention: so that man which prizeth vertue for it selfe, and cannot endure to hoise and strike his sailes, as the diuers natures of calmes and stormes require, must cut his sailes and his cloth, of meane length and bredth, and content himselfe with a slow and sure navigation, (to wit) a meane and free estate. But of this dispute of Fortune, and the rest, or of whatsoeuer so Lords or Gods, imaginarie powers, or causes, the wit (or rather foolishnesse) of man hath found out: let vs resolue with S. PAUL, who hath taught vs, that there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord, Iesus Christ, by whom are all things; and we by him; there are diuities of operations, but God is the same which worketh all in all.

*1. Cor. 8. 6. 6.
Cap. 1. 2. 6.*

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of mans estate in his first Creation, and of Gods rest.

§. I.

Of the Image of God, according to which man was first created.

HHe creation of all other creatures being finished, the heauens adorned, and the earth replenished, God said, *Let vs make man in our owne Image, according to our likenesse.* *Gen. 1. 26.*

Man is the last and most admirable of Gods workes to vs knowne, *ingen miraculum homo, Man is the greatest wonder* (saith PLATO out of MERCVIUS:) *Natura ardentissima artificium, The artificiaill worke of the most ardent or fire-like nature* (as saith Zoroaster) though the same be meant, not for any excellencie external, but in respect of his internal forme, both in the nature, qualities, and other attributes thereof: in nature, because it hath an essence immortal, and spirituall; in qualities, because the same was by God created holy and righteous in truth; in other attributes, because Man was made Lord of the world, and of the creatures therein.

*Sanctius his animal mentisq, capacius alia
Deerat adhuc: & quod dominari in cetera posset,
Natus homo est.*

*Sanctum, quia
pars potius im-
mortalis, an-
imal, quia im-
mortalis.
In laudem Ouid.
Met. lib. 76.*

More holy then the rest, and vnderstanding more,
A liuing creature wants, to rule all made before:
So man began to be.

Of this Image and similitude of God, there is much dispute among the Fathers, Schoole-men, and late Writers: Some of the Fathers conceiue, that man was made after the Image of God, in respect chiefly of Empire and Dominion, as S. Chrysostome, Ambrose, and some others: which S. Ambrose denieth to the woman in these words, *Vt sic Deus vnus, ab eo fieret homo vnus, & quomodo ex Deo vno omnia, ita ex vno homine vnus Deus esset super faciem totius terra: Vnus igitur vnus fecit, qui vnitatis eius haberet imaginem; That as God is one, one man might be made by him, and that in what manner all things are of one God, likewise of one man the whole kinde should be vpon the face of the whole earth: Therefore he being one, made one, that should haue the Image of his vnitie.* But whereas it is gathered out of the following words of the same Verse, that man was after the Image of God in respect of rule and power, it is written *Dominamini* in the plural number, and let them rule over the fish in the Sea, &c. and therefore cannot the woman be excluded. Others conceiue, that man is said to be after the image of God in respect of his immortal soule onely, because as God is inuisible, so the soule of man is inuisible; as God is immortal and incorpall, so is the soule of man immortal and incorpall; and as there is but one God which gouerneth the world, so but one soule which gouerneth the bodie of man; and as God is wholly in euery part of the world, so is the soule of man wholly in euery part of the bodie: *Anima est tota in toto, & tota in qualibet parte; The soule is wholly in the whole bodie, and wholly in euery part thereof,* according to Aristotle; though Chalcidius, and other learned men denie that doctrine; which that it is otherwise then potentially true, all the Aristotelians in the world shall neuer proue. These and the like arguments doe the lewes make (saith Tostatus) and these resemblances, betwene the infinite God, and the finite Man.

The Schoole-men resemble the Minde or Soule of Man to God, in this respect especially; because that as in the Minde there are three distinct powers, or faculties (to wit) Memorie, Vnderstanding, and Will; and yet all these, being of reall differencates, are but one minde: so in God there are three distinct persons, the Father, Sonne, and holy Ghost; and yet but one God. They also make the Image and Similitude diuers; and againe, they distinguish betwene *imaginem Dei*, and *ad imaginem Dei*, and spinn into small threads, with subtile distinctions, many times the plainnesse and sinceritie of the Scriptures: their wits being like that strong water, that eateth thorow and dissolueth the purest gold. *Visiorum* also maketh the Image of God to be substantiall, but not the

the similitude: *sed in substantia nomen qualitatis declaratum*; A word declaring *qualitatem in substantia*. Out of which words, and that which followeth, it is inter'd, that as the image and similitude doe greatly differ: so the sinfull soule doth northerfore leaue to be the image of God, but it hath not his similitude, except it be holy and righteous. S. Augustine also against *Adimantus* the *Manichee* affirmeth, that by sinne, the perfection of this image is lost in man, and in his *Refractations* maintayneth the same opinion, and also affirmeth that the Similitude is more largely taken, then the Image.

But howsoever the Schoole-men and others distinguish, or whatsoeuer the Fathers conceiue, sure I am that S. Paul maketh the same sense of the image, which *Victorinus* doth of the similitude, who saith: *As we haue borne the image of the earthly, so shall we beare the image of the heavenly*; and it cannot be gathered out of the Scriptures, that the words image and similitude were vsed but in one sense, and in this place the better to expresse each other; whatsoeuer *Lombard* hath said to the contrarie. For God knowes, what a multitude of meanings the wit of man imagineth to himselfe in the Scriptures, which neither *Moses*, the *Prophets*, or *Apostles*, euer conceiued. Now as S. Paul vseth the word (image) for both: so S. James vseth the word (similitude) for both in these words: *Therewith blest we God euen the Father, and therewith curse we Men, which are made after the similitude of God*. Howsoever therefore S. Augustine seemeth, out of a kind of elegancie in writing, to make some difference, as where he writeth, *Consecratur imaginem in eternitate, similitudinem in moribus inueniri*; We confesse that this image is found in eternitie, but his similitude in manners, that is, in the spiritual dispositions and qualities of the minde; yet thus he elsewhere speaketh plainly: *Quasi uero posuit esse imago aliqua in qua similitudo non sit: si enim omnino similis non est, procul dubio nec imago est*; As if (saith he) there could be any image, where the similitude is not: no, out of doubt, where there is no likeness, there is no image. The verie words of the Text make this most manifest, as, *Let vs make man in our image, according to our likeness*: which is, Let vs make man in our image, that he may be like vs; and in the next Verse following, God himselfe maketh it plaine, for there he vseth the word (image) onely, as thus: *God created the man in his image, in the image of God created he him*. And to take away all dispute or ambiguity, in the first Verse of the first Chapter, the word (similitude) is vsed againe by it selfe, as, *In the day that God created ADAM, in the likeness of God made he him*. And this similitude S. Paul Colos. the third, calleth the image. Put on (saith he) the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him, that created him. And in *Syrrides* it is written, *He made them according to his image*. Now if we may beleue S. Paul before *Peter Lombard* and other Schoole-men, then it is as manifest as wordes can make it, that the image and similitude is but the same, for S. Paul vseth both the wordes directly in one sense. For they turned the glorie of the incorruptible God, to the similitude of the image of a corruptible man.

Zanchius laboureth to proue, that man was formed after the image of God, both in bodie and minde: *Nulla pars in homine que non fuerit huiusce imaginis particeps, No pars in aman* (saith he) which was not participating Gods image: for God said, *Let vs make man according to our owne image*. But the soule alone is not man, but the Hypostasis or whole man compounded of bodie and soule. The bodie of man (saith he) is the image of the world, and called therefore *Microcosmus*; but the *Idea* and exemplar of the world was first in God, so that man, according to his bodie must needs be the image of God. Against which opinion of this learned man, his owne obiection seemeth to me sufficient, where he allegeth, that it may be said, that *Moses* spake by the figure *Synecdoche*, as when a man is called a mortall man, yet is not the whole man mortall, but the bodie onely: so when God said, *Let vs make man after our image*, he meant the soule of man, and not the bodie of earth and dust: *Maledictus qui deitatem ad hominis lineamenta refert* (saith S. AUGUSTINE), Cursed is he that referreth the Deitie of God to the lineaments of mans bodie. *Deus enim non est humana forme particeps, neque corpus humanum diuino*. (saith *PHILO*), God is not partaker of humane forme, nor humane body of the forme diuine. The Hebrew word for image is *Tselem*, which signifieth a shadow or obscure resemblance: *In imagine persansit homo; Man passeth away in a shadow*: Let vs then know and consider, that God, who is eternall and infinite, hath not any bodily shape or composition, for it is both against his Nature and his Word; an error of the *Anthropomorphite*, against the verie essence and Maieutie of God.

Surely

Surely *Cicero*, who was but a *Heathen*, had yet a more diuine vnderstanding then these grosse Heretikes: *Ad similitudinem Dei proprius accedebat humana virtus, quam figura; The vertue which is in man* (saith he) came neerer the similitude of God, then the figure. For God is a spirituall substance, inuisible, and most simple; God is a iust God: God is Mercifull: God is Charitable it selfe, and (in a word) Goodnesse it selfe, and none else simply good. And thus much it hath pleased God himselfe to teach vs, and to make vs know of himselfe. What then can be the shadow of such a substance, the image of such a nature, or wherein can man be said to resemble his vnexcoigitable power and perfectnesse? certainly, not in dominion alone: for the Deuill is said to be the Prince of this

World, and the Kingdome of Christ was not thereof, who was the true and perfect image of his Father; neither, because man hath an immortall soule, and therein the faculties of Memorie, Vnderstanding, and Will, for the Deuils are also immortall, and participate those faculties, being called *Demonēs*, because *scientes* of Knowledge, and subtilitie; neither because we are reasonable creatures, by which we are distinguished from beasts: for who haue rebelled against God? who haue made Gods of the vels beasts, of Serpents, of Cats, of Owles, yea, euen of shamefull parts, of lusts and pleasures, but reasonable men? Yet doe I not condemne the opinion of S. *Chrysostome* and *Ambrose*, as touching dominion, but that, in respect thereof, man was in some sort after the image of God, if we take Dominion, such as it ought to be, that is, accompanied with Iustice and Pietie: for God did not onely make man a Ruler and Governour over the Fishes of the Sea, the Fowles of Heauen (or of the aire) and ouer the Beasts of the Field; but God gaue vnto man a dominion ouer men, he appointed Kings to gouerne them, and Iudges, to iudge them in equitie. Neither doe I exclude Reason, as it is the abilitie of Vnderstanding. For I doe not conceiue, that *Irenaeus* did therefore call man, the image of God, because he was animal rationale onely; but that he vnderstood it better, with *Syrilla*: *Imago mea est homo, rectam rationem habens: Man, that is endued with right reason, is said to resemble God*, (that is) by right reason to know and confesse God his Creator, and the same God to serue, loue, and obey: and therefore said Saint *Augustine* (who herin came neerer the Truth) *Fecit Deus hominem ad imaginem & similitudinem suam in mente, God made man, in respect of the intellect, after his owne image and similitude*; and *REYNERIUS*; *Homo, quod habet mentem, factus est ad imaginem Dei, Regn. de ment.* Man was made after the Image of God, in minde, or in that he had a minde.

§. II.

Of the intellectuall minde of man, in which there is much of the Image of God: and that this Image is much deformed by Sinne.

But *Mens* is not taken here for *anima physica*, according to *Aristotle*, which is forma, vel natura hominis: The forme or nature of man; but this facultie or gift of God, called *Mens*, is taken for *prima vis animi*, the principall strength of the minde, or soule, cuius actus est perpetua veritatis contemplatio; whose act, exercise, or office, is the perpetuall contemplation of truib; and therefore it is also called *intellectus diuinus*, intellectuall contemplatiue, & *anima contemplatiua*, A diuine vnderstanding, and an intellectuall minde contemplatiue. Est autem mens nostra (saith *CYRANVS*) vis comprehendendi, & totum virtuale ex omnibus comprehendendi virtutibus compositum: Our intellectuall minde (saith he) is a power of comprehending, euen the whole, that is in this kinde powerfull, compounded of all the powers of comprehension: vnto which *Mercurius* attributeth so much (if his meaning accompany his words) that hee esteemeth it to be the verie essence of God (which was also the error of the *Manichees*, and others) and no otherwise separate from God (saith he) then the light from the Sunne: for this *Mens* or vnderstanding (saith *MERCURIUS*) est Deus in hominibus: Is God in men, or rather (and which I take to be his meaning) is the image of God in man. For as the Sunne is not of the same essence or nature with the diuine light, but a body illightned, and an illumination created; so is this *Mens* or vnderstanding in men, not of the essence of Gods infinite vnderstanding, but a power and facultie of our soules the purest; or the *lumen animae rationalis*, by the true and eternall light illightned. And this *Mens* others call *animam animam*, The soule of the soule, or with S. Augustine, the eye of the soule, or receptracle of Sapience and diuine knowledge, *que amore sapientiae tanquam ducē sequitur*, Which followeth after

after the love of sapience as her guide (saith Philo) between which and reason, between which and the mind, called *anima*, between which & that power which the Latines call *animus*, there is this difference. Reason is that facultie by which we iudge and discoufse; *Anima*, by which we liue. Hereof it is said, *Anima corpus animat, id est, viuificat*; or the soule is that which doth animate the body, that is, giueth his life: for death is the separation of body and foule; and the same strength (saith Philo) which God the great Director hath in the World, the same hath this *Anima*, or mind, or soule in man. *Animus*, is that, by which we will and make election; and to this *Basil* agreeth, which calleth this *Mens*, or diuine vnderstanding, *perficietiam animae partem, the perceiving part of the mind*, or the light by which the Soule discerneth: *dormientium mens, non anima sopiuit*; & in *fructibus mens extinguitur, anima manet*. In mens that sleepe it is this (*mens*) or vnderstanding, and not the mind or soule, which reflecteth, during which time it is but habitual in wise men, *Erin* mad men this (*mens*) is extinguished, and not the soule: for mad men doe liue, though distracted.

Therefore this word being often vsed for the Soule giuing life is attributed abusiuely to mad men, when we say that they are of a distracted minde, in stead of a broken vnderstanding, which word (minde) we vse also for opinion, as, I am of this minde, or that mind : and sometimes for mens conditions or vertues, as, he is of an honest minde, or a man of a iust minde : sometimes for affection, as, I do this for my mindes sake; and *Aristotle* sometimes vseth this word (*Mens*) for the phantasie, which is the strength of the imagination : sometimes for the knowledge of principles, which we haue without discou-
course : oftentimes for Spirits, Angels and Intelligences : but as it is vsed in the proper signification, including both the vnderstanding agent and possible, it is described to be a pure, simple, substantiall act, not depending vpon matter, but hauing relation to that which is intelligible, as to his first object : or more at large thus; a part or particle of the Soule, whereby it doth vnderstand, not depending vpon matter, nor needing any organ, free from passion comming from without , and apt to bee diffused, as, eternall from that which is mortall, Hereof excellently *MERCURIUS* : *Animæ effigē imago mentis, mens imago Dei. Deus mentis præsens, mens animæ, animæ corpori* : The Soule (meaning that which giueth life) is the Image of this vnderstanding , or Mens, and this (Mens) or vnderstanding is the Image of God. God is President or Ruler over this vnderstanding, this vnderstanding ouer the Soule, and this Soule ouer the bodie. This diuision and distinction

Discourse in the said Reply of M. D. *Bhion, ante maris*
Howeuer the Truth be determined, we must conclude, that it is neither in respect of
reason alone, by which we discourse, nor in respect of the mindeit selfe by which we
live, nor in respect of our soules simply, by which we are immortal, that we are made
after the Image of God: But most faistly may we relembr our felues to God *in mente*,
and in respect of that pure facultie which is neuer separate from the contemplation and
loue of God. Yet this is not all. For Saint Bernard maketh a true difference betweene
the nature and faculties of the Minde or Soule, and betweene the infusion of quali-
ties, endowments and gifts of grace, wherewith it is adorned and enriched, which
being

being added to the nature, effence, and faculties, maketh it altogether to be after the Image of God, whose words are these: *Non propria imago Dei est, quia sui memini Meus, scq̃ intelligi & diligi* (which also was the opinion of Saint AUGUSTINE) [*sed quia potest meminisse, intelligere ac diligere cum a quo facta est*, (that is) *The mind (or Meus) was not therefore the Image of God, because it remembereth, understandeth, and loveth its self, but because it can remember, understand, and love God, who created it. And that this Image may be deformed and made unprofitable, heare BASIL: Homo ad imaginem & similitudinem Dei factus est, peccatum vero imaginis huius pulchritudinem deformavit: & inutilem reddidit, dum animam corruptis concupiscentia affectibus immergit: Man was made after the Image and similitude of GOD, but sinne hath deformed the beautie of this Image, and made it unprofitable by drawing our minds into corrupt concupiscentie.*

It is not therefore (as aforesaid) by reason of Immortality, nor in Reason, nor in Dominion, nor in any one of these by itselfe, nor in all these ioynted, by any of which, or by all which we relembr, or may be called the shadow of God, though by reason and understanding, with the other faculties of the Soule, we are made capable of this print; but chiefly, in respect of the habit of Original righteousnesse, most perfectly infused by God into the minde and Soule of man in his first Creation. For it is not by nature, nor by her liberality, that we were printed with the seale of Gods Image (though Reason may be said to be of her gift, which ioynted to the soules part of the Effentiall
20 Constitution of our proper *Species*) but from the bountifull grace of the Lord of all goodnesse, who breathed life into Earth, and contrived within the Trunke of Dutt and Clay, the inimitable habitacle of his owne Pietie, and Righteousnesse.

So long therefore (for that resemblance which Dominion hath) doe those that are
powerfull retain the Image of God, as according to his Commandments they exercise
the Office or Magistracie to which they are called, and sincerely walke in the wayes of
God, which in the Scriptures is called, *walking with God*; and all other men so long re- Gen. 5. 22
tayne this Image, as they feare, loue and serue God truly, that is, for the loue of God
alone, and doe not bruiſe and deface his Seale by the weight of manifold and volunta-
ry offences, and obſtinacie finnes. For the vniuit minde cannot beate the Image of God,
ſeeing God is Iuſtice it ſelfe; The bloud-thiſtfe hath it not; for Gods Charitie, and
Mercie it ſelfe: Falſhood, cunning practice, and ambition, are properties of Sathan;
and therefore cannot dwell in one ſoule, together with God; and to beſſhort, there is
no likelihood betweene pure light and blacke darkneſſe, betweene beautie & deformity,
or betweene righteouſneſſe and reprobation. And though Nature, according to com- 2. Cor. 5. 14
mon vnderſtanding, haue made vs capable by the power of reaſon, and apt enough to
receiue this Image of Gods goodneſſe which the ſenſuall ſoules of beaſts cannot per-
ceiue; yet were that aptitude naturall more inclinable to follow and embrace the falſe
and durtieſſe pleaſures of this Stage-play World, then to become the ſhadow of
God by walking after him, had not the exceeding workmanſhippe of Gods Wiſe-
dome, and the liberaltie of his Mercy, formed eyes to our ſoules, as to our bo-
dies, which, piercing through the impuriſſe of our fleſh, behold the higheſt
Heauens, and thence bring Knowledge and Obiect to the Minde and Soule, to
contemplate the euer-during Glorie, and termeleſſe Joy, prepared for thoſe, which re- 2. Cor. 3. 3
taine the Image and ſimilitude of their Creator, preferring vndeiſed and vnrent
the garment of the new man, which, after the Image of God, is created in Righteouſneſſe
and Holineſſe, as ſaith S. Paul. Now, whereas it is thought by ſome of the Fathers, as
by Saint *Ambroſe*, with whom Saint *Ambroſe* ſayeth, that by ſinne, the perfection
of the Image is loſt, and not the Image it ſelfe; both opinions by this diſtinction may
be well reconciled (to wit) that the Image of God, in man, may be taken two wayes S. Ambroſe
ſo either it is conſidered, according to naturall gifts, and conſiſteth therein: namely to
haue a reaſonable and vnderſtanding nature, &c. and in this ſenſe, the Image of God
is more loſt by ſinne, then the very reaſonable or vnderſtanding nature, &c. is loſt, (or
finne doe not aboliſh and take away theſe naturall gifts; for, the Image of God is conſi-
dered, according to ſupernaturall gifts, namely, of Diuine Grace and heavenly Glorie,
which is indeed the perfection and accompliſhment of the naturall Image; and this
manner of ſimilitude and Image of God is wholly blotted out and deſtroyed by ſinne.

§. III.

of our base and fraile bodies: and that the care thereof should yeeld to the immortall Soule.

THe externall man God formed out of the dust of the Earth, or according to the signification of the word, *Adam* of *Adamath*, of red Earth, or, *ex limo terre*, out of the slime of the Earth, or a mixed matter of Earth and Water. *Non ex qualibet humo, sed ex ghashpar adamath* (id est) *ex pinguisima & molissima*: Not that God made an Image or Statue of Clay, but out of Clay, Earth or dust God formed and made self, blood, and bone, with all parts of man.

That man was formed of Earth and Dust, did *Abraham* acknowledge, when in hum- 10 ble feare he called vnto God, to saue *Sodome*: Let not my Lord now be angry, if I speake, I, that am but dust and ashes: And *In these Houses of Clay*, whose foundation is in the dust, doe our soules inhabit, according to *Iob*. And though our owne eyes doe euery-where behold the sudden and restlesse assaults of Death, and Nature assure vs by neuer-failing Experience, and Reason by infallible demonstration, that our times vpon the Earth haue neither certaintie nor durabilitie, that our Bodies are but the Andulles of paine and diseases, and our Minds the Hues of vnumbrable cares, sorrowes and passions: and that (when we are most glorified) we are but those painted posts, against which Enuie and Fortune direct their darts; yet such is the true vnhappyneesse of our condition; and the darkignorance which couereth the eyes of our vnderstanding, that wee only prize, 20 pamper, and exalt this Vassall and Slaue of death, and forget altogether (or only remember at our cast-away leisure) the imprisoned immortall Soule, which can neither dye with the Reprobate, nor perish with the mortall parts of vertuous men: seeing Gods Iustice in the one, and his goodnesse in the other is exercised for euermore, as the euer-living subiects of his reward and punishment. But when is it that wee examine this great account? Neuer while we haue one vanitie left vs to spend: wee plead for Titles, till our breath faile vs; digge for Riches, whiles our strength enable vs; exercise malice, while we can reuenge; and then, when Time hath beaten from vs both youth, pleasure, and health, and that Nature it selfe hareth the house of old age, we remember with *Iob*, that *we must gosse the way from whence we shall not returne, and that our bed is made* 30 *ready for vs in the darkes*; And then I say, looking ouer-late into the bottome of our conscience (which Pleasure and Ambition had locked vp from vs all our liues,) we behold therein the fearefull Images of our actions past; and withall this terrible Inscription: *Thus God will bring euery worke into iudgements, that man hath done vnder the Sunne.*

But what examples haue euer moued vs? what perswasions reformed vs? or what threatnings made vs afraid? we behold other mens Tragedies plaid before vs, we heare what is promised and threatned: but the Worlds bright glorie hath put out the eyes of our minds; and these betraying lights, (with which wee only see) doe neither looke vp towards termelesse ioyes, nor downe towards endlesse sorrowes, till wee neither know, nor can looke for any thing else, at the Worlds hands. Of which excellently 40 *Marium Victor*:

*Nil hostes, nil dira fames, nil deniq; morbi
Egerunt, fuimus, qui nunc sumus, qussu periculis
Tentati, nibilo meliores reddimur vnquam,
Sub vitij nullo culpamur sine manentibus.*

Diseases, Famine, Enemies, in vs no change haue wrought,
What erst we were, we are; still in the same sinare caught:
No time can our corrupted manners mend,
In Vice we dwell, in Sinne that hath no end.

But let vs not flatter our immortall Soules herein: for to neglect God all our liues, and know that we neglect him, to offend God voluntarily, and know that wee offend him, casting our hopes on the Peace, which wee trust to make at parting, is no other then a rebellious presumption, and (that which is the worst of all) euen a contemptuous laughing to scorn, and deriding of God, his Lawes and Precepts. *Frastra sperant, qui sic de misericordia Dei sibi blandiuntur; They hope in vaine*, saith *BERNARD*, *whicthin this sort flatter themselves with Gods mercie.*

§. IV.

§. IV.

of the Spirit of Life, which God breathed into man in his Creation.

IN this frame and carcasie God breathed the breath of life; and the man was a living Soule: (that is) God gaue a body of Earth and of corruptible matter, a Soule spiritual and incorruptible; not that God had any such bodily instruments as men vse, but God breathed the Spirit of Life and Immortality into man, as he breatheth his grace daily into such as loue and feare him. *The Spirit of God* (saith *ELI* *IN* *IOB*) *hath made me, and the breath of the Almighty hath giuen me Life*: In *qua sententia* (saith *RABANVS*) *vitanda est paupertas sensus carnalis, id est forte putemus Deum, vel manibus corporeis de limo formasse corpus hominis, vel faucibus suis labijs suis inspirasse in faciem formati, ut viuere possit & spiraculum vite habere*: Nam & *Propheta* cum ait, *Manus tue fecerunt me, &c.* *Tropica hac locutione magis quam propria, (id est) iuxta consuetudine, quia solent homines operari, loquutus est*: In which sentence (saith he) the beggerliness of carnall sense is to be avoided, lest perhaps we should thinke, either that God with bodily hands made mans body of slime, or breathed with iawes or lips vpon his face (being formed) that he might liue, and haue the Spirit of Life: for the Prophet also when he saith, *Thy hands haue made me, spake thus Tropically, rather then properly (that is) according to the callome which men vse in working. Quantum est periculi hys, qui Scripturas sensu corpore legunt? In what danger are they that read the Scriptures in a carnall sense?* By this breath was infused into man both life and soule; and therefore this (Soule) the Philosophers call *Animam*, *que vivificat corpus, & animat, Which doth animate, and giue life to the bodie. The inspiration of the Almighty giueth vnderstanding*, saith *Iob*; and this spirit, which God breathed into man, which is the reasonable Soule of man, returneth againe to God that gaue it, as the bodie returneth vnto the Earth, out of which it was taken, according to *Ecclesiastes*: *And dust shall returne to the Earth, out of which it was taken, and the spirit shall returne to God that gaue it*. Neither is this word (spirit) usually otherwise taken in the Scriptures, then for the soule; as when *Stephen* cryed vnto God: *Domine, suscipe spiritum meum*; *Lord Iesus, receive my spirit*: and in *S. IOHN*, *And Iesus bowed his head, and gaue vp the ghost*, or spirit, (which was) that his life and soule left his body dead. And that the immortall soule of man differeth from the soules of beasts, the manner of creation maketh it manifest: for it is written, *Let the waters bring forth in abundance euery creeping thing, and let the Earth bring forth the living thing, according to his kinde, the beast of the Earth, &c.* But of Man it is written, *Let us make man in our owne Image, &c.* and further, that the Lord breathed in his face the breath of life. Wherefore, as from the Water and Earth were those creatures brought forth, and thence received life: so shall they againe be dissolved into the same first matter, when they were taken: but the life of breath euertlasting, which God breathed into man, shall according to *Ecclesiastes*, returne againe to God that gaue it.

§. V.

That man is (as it were) a little World: with a digression touching our mortallitie.

MAN, thus compounded and formed by God, was an abstract or modell, or briefe Storie of the Vniuersall: in whom God concluded the Creation, and worke of the World, and whom hee made the last and most excellent of his Creatures, being internally endued with a diuine vnderstanding, by which hee might contemplate and serue his Creatour, after whose Image hee was formed, and endued with the powers and faculties of Reason and other abilities, that thereby also he might gouerne and rule the World, and all other Gods creatures therein. And whereas God 50 created three sorts of liuing natures, (to wit) Angelicall, Rationall, and Brutall; giuing to Angels an intellectuall, and to Beasts a sensuall nature, he vouchsafed vnto Man both the intellectuall of Angels, the sensitiue of Beasts, and the proper rationall belonging vnto man, and therefore (saith *GREGORY NAZIANZENE*): *Homo est virtuosus, natura vinculum, Man is the bond and chaine which tyeth together both natures*: and because in the little frame of mans body there is a representation of the Vniuersall, and (by allusion) a kind of participation of all the parts there, therefore was man called *Microcosmos*, or the little World. *Deus igitur hominem factum, velut alteram quandam mundum,*

durum, in breui magnum, atq. exiguo totum, in terris statuit, God therefore placed in the Earth the man whom he had made, as it were another World, the great and large World in the small and little World: for out of the Earth and Dust was formed the flesh of Man, and therefore heauie and lumpish; the bones of his body we may compare to the hard Rockes and Stones, and therefore strong and durable; of which OVID:

Ouid. Met. lib.

*Inde genus durum sumus, experientisq. laborum,
Et documenta damus, qua sumus origine nati:*

From thence our kind hard-hearted is, enduring paine and care,
Approouing, that our bodies of a stonie nature are.

His blood, which disperfeth it selfe by the branches of veines through all the body, may be resembled to those waters, which are carried by Brookes and Riues ouer all the Earth; his breath to the Aire, his naturall heate to the inclosed warmth which the Earth hath in it selfe, which stirred vp by the heate of the Sunne, assisteth Nature in the speedier procreation of those varieties, which the Earth bringeth forth; Our radicall moisture, Oyle, or Balsamum (whereon the naturall heate feedeth and is maintained) is resembled to the fat and fertilitye of the Earth; the haire of mans bodie, which adorns or ouer-shaddows it, to the grasse, which couereth the vpper face and skin of the Earth; our generative power, to Nature, which produceth all things; our determinations, to the light, wandering & vnstable clouds, carried euery where with vn certaine winds; our ries, to the light of the Sun and Moone, and the beautie of our youth, to the flowers of the Spring, which, either in a very short time, or with the Sunnes heat dry vp, and wither away, or the fierce pusses of winde blow them from the stalkes; the thoughts of our mind, to the motion of Angels; and our pure vnderstanding (formerly called *Mens*, and that which alwayes looketh vpwards) to those intellectuall natures, which are alwayes present with God; and lastly our immortall soules (while they are righteous) are by God himselfe beautified with the tide of his owne image and similitude: And although, in respect of God, there is no man iust, or good, or righteous: for *in Angelis deprehensa est stultitia, behold, hee found folly in his Angels* (saith *Iob*) yet with such a kind of difference, as there is betwene the substance and the shadow, there may be found a goodnesse in man: which God being pleased to accept, hath therefore called man, the image and similitude of his owne righteousnesse. In this also is the little World of man compared, and made more like the Vniuersall (man being the measure of all things; *Homo est mensura omnium rerum*, saith *Aristotle* and *Pythagoras*) that the foure Complexions resemble the foure Elements, and the seuen Ages of man the seuen Planets: Whereof our Infancie is compared to the *Moone*, in which wee seeme onely to liue and grow, as Plants; the second Age to *Mercurie*, wherein wee are taught and instructed; our third Age to *Venus*, the dayes of Loue, Desire, and Vanitie; the fourth to the *Sunne*, the strong, flourishing, and beautifull age of mans life; the fifth to *Mars*, in which wee seeke honour and victorie, and in which our thoughts trauaile to ambitious ends; the sixth Age is ascribed to *Iupiter*, in which wee beginne to take account of our times, iudge of our felues, and grow to the perfection of our vnderstanding; the last and seuenth to *Saturne*, wherein our dayes are sad and ouer-cast, and in which we find by deere and lamentable experience, & by the losse which can neuer be repaired, that of all our vaine passions and affections past, the sorrow only abideth: Our attendants are sicknesses, and variable infirmities, and by how much the more wee are accompanied with plenty, by so much the more greedily is our end desired, whom when *Time* hath made vnsofiable to others, we become a burthen to our felues: being of no other vse, then to hold the riches we haue, from our Successors. In this time it is, when (as aforesaid) we, for the most part, and neuer before, prepare for our eternall habitation, which we passe vnto, with many sighes, grones, and sad thoughts, and in the end, by the workmanship of death, finish the sorrowfull businesse of a wretched life, towards which wee alwaies traueil both sleeping and waking: neither haue those beloued companions of honor & riches any power at all, to hold vs any one day, by the glorious promise of entertainments; but by what crooked path soeuer we walk, the same leadeth on directly to the house of death: whose doores lye open at all houres, and to all persons. For this tyde of mans life, after it once turneth and declineth, euer runneth with a perpetuall Ebbe and falling Streame, but neuer floweth againe: our Lease once fallen, springeth no more,

neither

neither doth the Sunne or the Summer adorne vs againe, with the garments of new Leaues and flowers.

*Redditur arboribus florens reuertentibus ætas,
Ergo non homini, quod fuit ante, reddit.*

To which I giue this sense,

The Plants and Trees made poore and old	But neuer Man repayrd againe
By Winter enuious,	His youth and beautie lost,
The Spring-time bounteous	Though Art, and care, and cost,
Couers againe from shame and cold:	Doe promise Natures helpe in vaine.

10

And of which,

CATULLVS, EPIGRAM. 53.	<i>Nobis cum semel occidit brevis lux,</i>
<i>Soles occidere & redire possunt:</i>	<i>Nox est perpetua una dormienda.</i>
The Sunne may set and rise:	Sleepe after our short light
But we contrariwise	One euerslasting night.

For if there were any bayting place, or rest, in the course or race of mans life, then, according to the doctrine of the *Academicks*, the same might also perpetually be maintained; but as there is a continuance of motion in naturall liuing things, and as the sap and iuyce, wherein the life of Plants is preferred, doth euermore ascend or descend: so is it with the life of man, which is alwayes either increasing towards ripenesse and perfection, or declining and decreasing towards rottennesse and dissolution.

§. VI.

Of the free power, which man had in his first Creation, to dispose of himselfe.

THele be the miseries which our first Parents brought on all Mankinde, vnto whom God in his creation gaue a free and vnconstrayned will, and on whom he bestowed the liberal choice of all things; with one only prohibition, to try his gratitude and obedience. God set before him, a mortall and immortall Life; a nature celestiall and terrene, and (indeed) God gaue man to himselfe, to bee his owne guide, his owne Workeman, and his owne Painter, that he might frame or describe vnto himselfe what hee pleased, and make election of his owne forme. *God made man in the beginning* (saith *SIRACIDES*) *and left him in the hands of his owne counsaile.* Such was the liberalitie of God, and mans felicitie: whereas beasts, and all other creatures reasonlesse, brought with them into the World (saith *Lucilius*) and that euen when they first fell from the bodies of their Dams, the nature, which they could not change, and the supernall Spirits or Angels were from the beginning, or soone after, of that condition, in which they remaine in perpetuall eternitie. But (as aforesaid) God gaue vnto man all kind of Seeds and Grafts of life (to wit) the vegetatiue life of Plants, the sensuall of Beasts, the rationall of Man, and the intellectuall of Angels; whereof which soeuer he tooke pleasure to plant and cultiue, the same should surely grow in him, and bring forth fruit, agreeable to his owne choice and plantation. This freedom of the first man *Adam*, and our first Father, was enigmatically described by *Asclepius Aethienensis* (saith *Strandula*) in the person and Fable of *Proteus*, who was said, as often as he pleased, to change his shape. To the same end were all those celebrated *Metamorphosis* among the Pythagorians, and ancient Poets, wherein it was said, that men were transformed into diuers shapes of beasts, thereby to shew the change of mens conditions, from Reason to Brutallitie, from Vertue to Vice, from Meeknesse to Crueltie, and from Iustice to Oppression. For by the liuely Image of other creatures did those *Ancients* represent the variable passions, and affections of mortall men; as by Serpents were signified Deceiters; by Lyons, Oppressors, and cruel men; by Swine, Men giuen ouer to lust and sensualitytie; by Wolves, rauening, and greedie Men; which also *S. Matthew* resembleth to false prophets, *Which come to you in sheeps clothing, but inwardly they are rauening Wolves:* by the images of stones and stockes, foolish and ignorant men; by Vipers, vngratefull men: of which *S. JOHN BAPTIST*, *Of the generation of Vipers, &c.*

C 2

§. VII.

¶ VII.

Of Gods ceasing to create any more: and of the cause thereof, because the vniuersall created was exceeding good.

IN this worke of Man, God finished the Creation; not that God laboured as a man, and therefore rested: for God commanded, and it was finished, *Cur voluisse est fecisse. With whom, so will is to make,* saith Beda. Neither did God forst, that he left the World made, and the creatures therein to themselves: for my Father worketh to this day (saith Christ) and I work; but God rested (that is) he created no new species or kinds of creatures, (but as afore-said) gave vnto man a power generative, and so to the rest of liuing creatures, and to Plants and Flowers their seeds in themselves; and commanded man to multiply and fill the Earth, and the Earth and Sea to bring forth creatures according to their severall kinds: all which being finished, God saw that his works were good; not that he fore-knew not, and comprehended not the beginning and end before they were; for God made eury Plant of the field before it was in the Earth, but he gave to all things which he had created the name of good, thereby to reach men, that from so good a God there was nothing made, but that which was perfect good, and from whose simple puritie and from so excellent a cause, there could proceed no impure or imperfect effect. For man having a free will and liberal choice, purchased by disobedience his owne death and mortalitie, and for the crueltie of mans heart, was the Earth afterward cursed, and all creatures of the first Age destroyed: but the righteous man Noah and his Family, with those creatures which the Arke contained, referred by God to replenish the Earth.

CHAP. III.

Of the place of Paradise.

¶ I.

That the seate of Paradise is greatly mistaken: and thus it is no marvell that men should erre.

CONCERNING the first Habitation of man we reade, that the Lord God planted a Garden, Eastward, in Eden, and there he put the man whom he made, GEN. 2. 6. Of this seate and place of Paradise, all Ages haue held dispute; and the opinions and iudgements haue beene in effect, as diuers, among those that haue written vpon this part of Genesis, as vpon any one place therein, seeming most obscure: some there are, that haue conceived the being of the terrestriall Paradise, without all regard of the Worlds Geographie, and without any respect of East and West, or any consideration of the place where Moses wrote, and from whence he directed (by the quarters of the Heauens) the way how to find our iudge, in what Region of the World this Garden was by God planted, wherein hee was exceeding respectiue and precise. Others, by being themselves ignorant in the Hebrew, followed the first Interpretation, or trusting to their owne iudgements, vnderstood one place for another; and one Error is so fruitfull, as it begetteth a thousand Children, if the licentiousnesse thereof bee not timely restrained. And thirdly, those Writers which gaue themselves to follow and imitate others, wherein all things so obseruant Sectatours of those Masters, whom they admired and beleueed in, as they thought it safer to condemne their owne vnderstanding, then to examine theirs. For (saith Vadianus in his Epistle of Paradise) *Magnus error (magorum virorum auctoritate persuasi) transmissus; Wee passe ouer many grosse errors, by the authoritie of great men led and persuaded.* And it is true, that many of the Fathers were farre wide from the vnderstanding of this place. I speake it not, that I my selfe dare presume to censure them, for I reuerence both their Learning and their Pietie, and yet not bound to follow them any further, then they are guided by truth: for they were men; *Et humanum est errare.* And to the end that no man should bee proude of himselfe, God hath distributed vnto men such a proportion of Knowledge, as the wisest may behold in themselves their owne weakenesse.

Nulli

Nulli unquam dedit omnia Deus; God neuer gave the knowledge of all things to any one. S. 2. Cor. 12. 2. Paul confest that he knew not, whether he were taken vp into the third heauen in the flesh, or out of the flesh; and Christ himselfe acknowledgeth thus much, that neither Men, nor Angels knew of the latter day; and therefore, seeing knowledge is infinite, it is God (according to S. Iude) who is only wise. *Sapientia ubi inuenitur?* (saith Ioh 1) but where is wisdom found? and where is the place of vnderstanding? man knoweth not the price thereof, for it is not found in the Land of the liuing. And therefore seeing God found folly in his Angels, mens iudgements (which inhaire in houses of clay) cannot be without their mistakings: and so the Fathers, and other learned men excusable in particulars, especially in those whereupon our saluation dependeth not.

¶ II.

A recitall of strange opinions, touching Paradise.

NOW touching Paradise, first it is to be inquired, whether there were a Paradise, or no? or whether Moses description were altogether mysticall, & allegoricall? as Origen, Philo, Fran. Georgius, with others haue affirmed, and that vnder the names of those foure Riuer, Pison, Gehon, Hidekel, and Perath, the tree of life, and the tree of Knowledge, there were deliuered vnto vs other mysteries and significations; as, that by the foure Riuer were meant the foure Cardinal vertues, Iustice, Temperance, Fortitude, and Prudence, or (by other) Oyle, Wine, Milke, and Honny. This Allegoricall vnderstanding of Paradise by Origen diuulged, was againe by Francisus Georgius recieued (saith Sixtus Senensis) whose fruitles imaginations Sixtus himselfe doth fully and learnedly answer, in the 34. Annotation of his fift Booke, fol. 338. the last Edition. S. Ambrosius also leaned wholly to the Allegoricall construction, and set Paradise in the third Heauen, and in the vertues of the mind, *et in nostro principali*, which is, as I conceiue, in mente, or in our soule: to the particulars whereof he alludeth in this sort. By the place or garden of Paradise, was meant the soule or mind; by Adam, Mens, or Vnderstanding; by Eue, the Sense; by the Serpent, Delectation; by the Tree of good and euill, Sapience; and by the rest of the Trees, the vertues of the minde, or in the minde planted, or from thence springing. Notwithstanding all which, vpon the first of the Corinth. cap. 6. he in direct words alloweth both of a celestially and terrestriall Paradise; the one, into which S. Paul was rapt; the other, into which Adam was put by God. Aug. Chrysostomus is of opinion, that a Paradise had beene, but that there was not now any marke thereof on the earth: the same being not only defaced, but without all the places now not so much as existing. To which Lusher seemeth to adhere.

The Manichees also vnderstood, that by Paradise was meant the whole Earth; to which opinion, Vadianus inclineth, as I conceiue his words in two severall places. First, vpon this: *Fill the earth,* GEN. 10. Of which he giueth this iudgement. *Hoc ipso etiam quod dixit, Replete terram, dominamini vniuersis animantibus, subijcite terram, clarissime docet, totam terram extantem, et omnigenis (ut vult erat) fructibus constare, sedem et hortum istam Adæ, et posteritatis futuræ fuisse; These words (saith he) in which God said, Bring forth fruite and multiplie, and fill the earth, and subdue it and rule ouer eury creature, doe cleerely shew, that the vniuersall earth (set or filled with all sorts of fruits (as then it was) was the garden and seate of ADAM, and of his future posteritie.* And afterward he acknowledgeth the place, out of the Acts 17. *Apoſtolus ex vno sanguine omne genus humanum adeo factum docet, ut habitarent super vniuersam faciem terre: tota igitur terra Paradisus ille erat; The Apostle (saith he) teacheth, that God hath made of one blood all mankind, to dwell ouer all the face of the earth: and therefore all the earth (saith he) was that Paradise.* Which coniectures I will answer in order. Gorpicius Becanus differeth not much from this opinion, but yet he acknowledgeth that Adam was first planted by God in one certaine place, and peculiar Garden; which place Gorpicius findeth neere the Riuer of Acesines, in the confines of India.

Tertullian, Benauenture, and Durandus, make Paradise vnder the Equinoctiall, and Ptolemy, quite contrarie, vnder the North pole: the Chaldeans also for the most part, and all their Sectatours, followed the opinion of Origen, or rather Origen theirs, who would either make Paradise a figure, or Sacrament only, or else would haue it seated out of this sensible world, or rayled into some high and remote Region of the Aire. Strabo, and

Ed in Gen.
Pet. conf. l. 1.
ca. 11.
Moses Barce-
da Par.

Rabanus, were both sicke of this vanitie, with *Origen*, and *Philo*: so was our venerable *Beda*, and *Pet. Comerfor*, and *Moses Barcephas* the Syrian, translated by *Masius*. But as *Hopkins* sayes of *Philo* Iudeus, that he wondered, *Quo malo genio afflatus*: By what will Angell he was blowne up into this error: so can I not but greatly maruaile at the learned men, who so grossly and blindly wandred; seeing *Moses*, and after him the *Prophets*, doe so plainly describe this place, by the Region in which it was planted, by the Kingdoms and Prouinces bordering it, by the Riuer which watered it, and by the points of the Compassie vpon which it lay, in respect of *Iudea*, or *Canaan*.

Nouisiomagus also, vpon *Beda*, *De natura rerum*, beleueneth that all the earth was taken for *Paradise*, and not any one place. For the whole earth (saith he) hath the same beautie adcribed to *Paradise*. He addeth, that the *Ocean* was that Fountaine, from whence the foure Riuers, *Pison*, *Gehon*, *Tigris*, and *Euphrates*, had their beginning: for he could not thinke it possible, that these Riuers of *Ganges*, *Nilus*, *Tigris*, and *Euphrates*, (whereof the one ranne through *India*, the other through *Egypt*, and the other through *Mesopotamia* and *Armenia*) could rise out of one Fountaine, were it not out of the Fountaine of the *Ocean*.

§. III.

That there was a true locall *Paradise* Eastward, in the Countrie of *Eden*.

Gen. cap. 1.

O the first therefore, that such a place there was vpon the earth, the words of *Moses* make it manifest, where it is written, *And the Lord God planted a garden Eastward in Eden, and there he put the man whom he had made*. And how soeuer the vulgar translation, called *Hieromes* translation, hath conuerted this place thus, *Plantauit Deus Paradisum voluptatis à principio*; *The Lord God planted a Paradise of pleasure from the beginning*, putting the word (pleasure) for *Eden*, and (from the beginning) for *Eastward*: It is manifest, that in this place *Eden* is the proper name of a Region. For what sense hath this translation (saith our *Hopkins*, in his Treatise of *Paradise*) that he planted a garden in pleasure, or that a Riuer went out of pleasure to water the garden? But the *Heuente* Interpreters call it *Paradisum Edeni*, the *Paradise of Eden*, and so doth the *Chaldean* *Paraphrast* truly take it for the proper name of a place, & for a *Noume* appellatiue; which Region, in respect of the fertilitie of the soile, of the many beautiful Riuers, and goodly Woods, and that the trees (as in the *Indies*) doe allwaies keepe their leaues, was called *Eden*, which signifieth in the *Hebrew*, pleasantnesse or delicacie, as the *Spaniards* call the Countrie, opposite to the *Ile of Cuba*, *Florida*: and this is the mistaking, which may end the dispute, as touching the double sense of the word, that as *Florida* was a Countrie, so called for the flourishing beautie thereof; so was *Eden* a Region called pleasure, or delicacie, for the pleasure, or delicacie: and as *Florida* signifieth flourishing: so *Eden* signifieth pleasure, & yet both are the proper names of Countries; for *Eden* being the proper name of a Region (called pleasure in the *Hebrew*) and *Paradise* being the choice seat of all that Region, *Paradise* was truly the Garden of *Eden*, and truly the Garden of Pleasure.

Now, for Eastward, to translate it, from the beginning, it is also contrarie to the translation of the *Seuente*; to the ancient *Greeke* Fathers, as *Bispi. Chrysostome*, *Theodore*, *Gregorie*, and to the *Rabines*, as *Ramban*, *Rabbi Salomon*, *R. Av. ab. shm.*, and *Chimchi*; and of the *Latines*, *Seuerinus*, *Damascentus* &c. who plainly take *Eden* for the proper name of a Region, and set the word (Eastward) for *ab initio*: for *Damascentus* owne words are these, *Paradisus est locus Dei manibus in Eden ad Orientem mirabiliter confusus*; *Paradise is a place, maruailously planted by the hands of God, in Eden, toward the East*.

And after all these Fathers, *Guilhelmus Parisensis*, a great learned man, and *Sixtus Senensis*, of later times, doe both vnderstand these words of *Eden*, and of the *East*, contrarie to the vulgar translation; *Parisensis*, as indifferent to both, and *Sixtus Senensis*, directly against the vulgar: of which these are their owne words: *After this I will begin to speake of Paradise terrestriall, which God planted from the beginning, or Eastward, &c. Post hec incipiam loqui de Paradiso terrestri, quem plantasse Deum ab initio vel ad Orientem, &c.* And then *Senensis*; *Moses enim clarissime prodit, Paradisum à Deo constium in regione terre Orientali, quæ dicitur Eden: Eden autem esse proprium nomen apparet ex quarto capite Gen. ubi legimus CHAM habitasse ad Orientalem plagam Heden: For Moses* (saith

(saith he) *dath* shew most cleerely, that *Paradise* was planted of God in a Region of the East Countrie, which is called *Heden*: but that *Heden* is a proper name, it appeareth by the fourth Chapter of *Genesis*, where we read, that *CHAM* dwelt on the East border of *Heden*. *Peter. Ver. 16.* *CHAM* endeououreth to qualifie this translation: for this particel (saith he) *ab initio*, is referred to all the time of the creation, and not to the very first day; alleging this place of *Christ* that although the *Deuill* was said to be a man-slayer from the beginning, yet that was meant but after the sixth day. But surely, as I thinke (referring my selfe to better iudgement) the *Deuill* was from the instant of his fall a man-slayer in disposition, though he had not whereon to practise all mans creation. And for conclusion, *S. Hierome* (if that be his translation) aduiseeth himselfe better in the end of the third Chapter of *Genesis*, conuerting the word (*Eden*) by (*ante*) and not (*à principio*) as, *God did set a Cherubin before the Garden of Edens; Collocauit Deus ante Paradisum voluptatis Cherubin*; and *Petrus* himselfe acknowledgeth, that this is the true sense of this place, precisely taken, according to the *Hebrew*. *Posuit à parte Orientali horti Eden, Cherubin*; *He set on the East-side of the Garden of Eden, Cherubin*. *Becanus* affirmeth, that the *Hebrew* word (*Be*) signifieth (with) as well as (in) and so the Text beareth this sense; That God planted a Garden with pleasure (that is to say) full of pleasure. But *Becanus* followeth this construction, onely to the end, to find *Paradise* vpon the Riuer of *Acessus*: for there he hath heard of the *Indian* Fig-tree in great abundance, which he supposeth to be the tree of Knowledge of good, and euill, and would therefore draw *Paradise* to the Fig-tree: which conceit of his I will answer hereafter.

Now, because *Paradise* was seated by *Moses* toward the East, thence came the custome of praying towards the East, and not by imitation of the *Chaldeans*: and therefore all our Churches are built East and West, as to the point where the *Sunne* riseth in *March*, which is directly ouer *Paradise* (saith *Damascentus*;) affirming, that *we* westwaies pray towards the East, as looking towards *Paradise*, whence we were cast out; and yet the Temple of *Salomon* had their Priests and Sacrifices, which turned them selues in their seruice and diuine ceremonies, alwaies towards the West, thereby to auoid the superstition of the *Egyptians* and *Chaldeans*.

But because East and West are but in respect of places; (for although *Paradise* were East from *Iudea*, yet it was West from *Persia*) and the seruing of God is euery where in the world, the matter is not great which way we turne our faces, so our hearts stand right, other than this, that we who dwell west from *Paradise*, and pray turning our selues towards the East, may remember thereby to beseech God, that as by *Adams* fall we haue lost the *Paradise* on Earth: so by *Christs* death and passion wee may be made partakers of the *Paradise* celestially, & the Kingdom of Heauen. To conclude, I conceiue, that there was no other mystrie in adding the word (East) to *Eden* by *Moses*, then to shew, that the Region of *Eden*; in which *Paradise* was, lay Eastward from *Iudea* and *Canaan*: for the Scriptures alwaies called the people of those Nations, the *Sonnes* of the East, which inhabited *Arabia*, *Mesopotamia*, *Chaldea*, and *Persia*: of which *Ouid*:
Eurus ad Auroram, Nabataeq; regna recessit; The East wind with *Aurora* hath abiding
Perfidusq; & radijs inga subditi matutinis. Among th *Arabians*, and the *Persian* Hils,
 Whom *Phabus* first salutes at his vp-rising.

And if it be objected, that *Hieremie* the Prophet threatening the destruction of *Hierusalem*, doth often make mention of *Northerne* Nations, it is to be noted, that the North is there named, in respect of those nations that followed *Nabuchodonosor*, and of whom the greatest part of his Armie was compounded; not that *Babylon* it selfe stood North from *Hierusalem*, though inclining from the East towards the North.

Now to the difference of this Translation, *Peter Comerfor* giueth best satisfaction: for he vseth the word, *From the beginning, that is, from the first part of the World, (à principio) id est* (saith he) *à prima orbis parte*, and afterward he affirmeth, that (*à principio*, and ad Orientem) haue the same significations; *From the beginning & Eastward is all one, à principio idem est quod ad Orientem*.

But to returne to the prooffe of this place, and that this Story of Mankind was not Allegorical, it followeth in the Text of the 1. Chap. & 9. Ver. in these words: *For out of the ground made the Lord God to grow eury Tree pleasant to the sight, & good for meate, &c.* so as first it appeared that God created *Adam* elsewhere, as in the World at large, & then, put him into the Garden: and the end why, is exprest: *that he might dress it & keepe*

Vase 18.

keepe it; *Paradise* being a Garden or Orchard filled with Plants, and Trees, of the most excellent kinds, pleasant to behold, and (withall) good for meate: which proueth that *Paradise* was a terrestiall Garden, garnished with Fruits, delighting both the eye and taste. And to make it more plaine, and to take away all opinion of Allegoricall construction, he affirmeth that it was watered and beautified with a Riuer; expressing also the Region, out of which this Riuer sprang, which hee calleth *Heden*; and that *Heden* is also a Countrey neere vnto *Charan* in *Mesopotamia*, *Ezechiel* witnesseth.

Vase 10.

Ezech. 27. 23.

But to all these *Cabalists*, which draw the Truth and Story of the Scriptures into Allegories, *Epiphanius* answereth in these words: *Si Paradisus non est sensibilis, non est etiam fons, si non est fons, non est flumen, si non est flumen, non sunt quatuor principia, non Pison, non Gehon, non Tigris, nec Euphrates, non est ficus, non folia, non comedit Eva de arbore, non est Adam, non sunt homines, sed veritas iam fabulosa est, & omnia ad Allegorias reuocantur: If Paradise be not sensible, then there was no fontaine, and then no Riuer, if no Riuer, then no such fountaine heads or branches, and then not any such Riuer as Pison, or Gehon, Tigris, or Euphrates, no such Fig-tree, or fruit, or leaves, Eve then did not eat of the fruit, neither was there any Adam, or any man, the truth was but a Fable, and all things esteemed are called backe into Allegories.* Words to the same effect hath *S. Hierome* vpon *Daniel*: *Canticant eorum deliramenta, qui vmbrae & imagines in veritate sequentes, ipsam conatur euertere veritatem, ut Paradisum & flumina, & arbores putent Allegoria Legibus se debere subnere, Let the desire of them be silent, who following shadows and Images in the Truth, endeavour to subvert the Truth itselfe, and thinke that they ought to bring Paradise, and the Rivers, and the Trees vnder the rules of Allegorie.*

Furthermore, by the continuation and order of the Storie is the place made more manifest. For God gaue *Adam* free libertie to eat of euery Tree of the Garden, (the Tree of knowledge excepted) which Trees *Moses* in the ninth verse saith that they were good to eat; meaning the fruit which they bare. Besides, God left all beafts to *Adam* to be named, which he had formerly made; and these beafts were neither in the third Heauen, nor neere the Circle of the Moone, nor beafts in imagination: for if all these things were Enigmaticall or Mysticall, the same might also be said of the creation of all things. And *Ezechiel* speaking of the glory of the *Assyrian* Kings vseth this speech: *All the Trees of Eden, which were in the Garden of God, enuied him, which proueth both Eden, and Paradise therein seated to be terrestiall: for the Prophets made no imaginary comparisons. But Moses wrote plainly, and in a simple stile, fit for the capacities of ignorant men, and he was more large and precise in the description of Paradise, then in any other place of Scripture; of purpose to take away all scruple from the incredulities of future ages, whom he knew (out of the gift of Prophecie) to be apt to fabulous inuentions, and that if he had not described both the Region and the Rivers, and how it stood from Canaan, many of the vnbeleeming Israelites and others after them, would haue misconstrued this Storie of Mankind. And is it likely, there would haue beene so often mention made of Paradise in the Scriptures, if the same had beene an *Utopia*? For we find that the Valley, wherein *Sodom* and *Gomorrha* stood, (Sometimes called *Pentapolis*, of the five principall Cities therein) was before the destruction (which their vnnatural sinne purchased) compared to the Paradise of the Lord, and like to the Land of *Egypt* toward *Zoar*; In like manner was *Israel* resembled to the Paradise of God, before the *Babylonians* wasted it: which proueth plainly, that Paradise itselfe exceeded in beautie and fertilitie, and that these places had but a resemblance thereof: being compared to a seat and soyle of farre exceeding excellencie.*

Besides, whence had *Homer* his inuention of *Alicious* Gardens, as *Iustin Martyr* noteth, but out of *Moses* his description of *Paradise*? *Gen. 2.* and whence are their prayes of the *Elizian* fields, but out of the Storie of *Paradise*? to which also appertaine those Verses of the Golden Age in *Ouid*:

Ouid. Metam. 1.

*Per erat aeternum, placidum, sepius auris
Mullebant Zephyrus natus sine semine flores.*

The ioyfull spring did euer last, | Sweete flowers by his gentle blast,
And Zephyrus did breede | Without the helpe of seed.

And it is manifest, that *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Pindarus*, *Hesiodus*, and *Homer*, and after him, *Ouid*, one out of another, and all these together with *Pythagoras* and *Plato*, and their

Secta-

Señators, did greatly enrich their inuentions, by venting the stolne Treasures of Diuine Letters, altered by prophane additions, and disguised by poetical conuersions, as if they had bin conceiued out of their owne speculations and contemplations.

But besides all these testimonies, if we finde what Region *Heden* or *Eden* was; if we proue the Riuer that ran out of it, and that the same afterwards was diuided into foure branches; together with the Kingdomes of *Harila* and *Cush*, & that all these are Eastward from *Canaan*, or the Deserts of the *Amorites*, where *Moses* wrote; I then conceiue, that there is no man that will doubt, but that such a place there was. And yet I do not exclude the Allegoricall sense of the Scripture; for aswell in this there were many figures of Christ, as in all the old Testament throughout: the Storie being directly true notwithstanding. And to this purpose (saith Saint *Augustine*) *Tres sunt de Paradiso generales sententiae: una est eorum, qui tantummodo corporaliter Paradisum intelligunt: alia eorum, qui spiritualiter tantum (id est) Ecclesiam: tertia eorum, qui utroque modo Paradisum accipiunt, (that is) There are three opinions of Paradise: the one of those men, which will haue it altogether corporall: a second of those which conceiue it altogether spiritual, and to be a figure of the Church: the third of those, which take it in both senses; which third opinion S. Augustine approueth, and of which *Suidas* giueth this allowable iudgement: *Quemadmodum homo sensibilis, & intelligibilis simul conditus erat: sic & huius sanctissimum nomen, sensibile simul & intelligibile, & duplici specie est praeditum, (that is) As man was created at one time both sensible and intelligible: so was this holy Grove or Garden to be taken both wayes, and endued with a double forme.**

Aug. de Ciuit.
D. 1. c. 1.
Suidas in verbis
Paradisi.

D. IV.

Why it should be needfull to inuite diligently of the place of *Paradise*.

But it may be objected, that it is needlesse, and a kind of curiositie to enquire so diligently after this place of *Paradise*, and that the knowledge thereof is of little or no vse. To which I answer, that there is nothing written in the Scripture, but for our instruction; and if the truth of the Storie be necessarie, then by the place proued, the same is also made more apparent. For if wee should conceiue that *Paradise* were not on the Earth, but lifted vp as high as the Moone; or that it were beyond all the Ocean, and in no part of the knowne World, from whence *Adam* was said to waide through the Sea, and thence to haue come into *Iudea*, (out of doubt) there would be few men in the World, that would giue any credit vnto it. For what could seeme more ridiculous then the report of such a place? and besides, what maketh this seat of *Paradise* so much disputed and doubted of, but the conceit that *Pishon* should be *Ganges*, which watereth the East *India*, and *Gehon*, *Nilus*, which enricheth *Egypt*, and these two Riuers so farre distant, as (except all the World were *Paradise*) these streames can no way be comprized therein?

Secondly, if the birth and workes, and death of our Sauour, were said to haue beene in some such Countrey, of which no man euer heard tell, and that his Miracles had bin performed in the Ayre, or no place certainly knowne: I assure my selfe, that the Christian Religion would haue taken but a slender roote in the mindes of men: for times and places are approued witnessers of worldly actions.

Thirdly, if we should rely, or giue place to the iudgement of some Writers vpon this place of *Genesis* (though otherwise for their doctrine in general, they are worthy of honour & reuerence) I say that there is no fable among the *Grecians* or *Egyptians* more ridiculous: for who would beleue that there were a piece of the World so set by it selfe & separated, as to hang in the Ayre vnder the circle of the Moone? or who so doltish to conceiue, that from thence the foure riuers of *Ganges*, *Nilus*, *Euphrates*, and *Tigris*, should fall downe, and run vnder all the Ocean, & rise vp againe in this our habitable world, & in those places where they are now found? Which left any man thinke, that I enforce or straine to the worst, these are *Peter Comestors* own words. *Est autem locus amantissimus, longo terre & maris tractu a nostra habitabili Zona secretus, adieuat, ut vsq; ad lunare globum attingat, &c.* (that is) It is a most pleasur place, seuered frō our habitable Zone by a long tract of Land and Sea, cleaued so, that it reacheth to the Globe of the Moone.

And *Moses Barcephas* vpon this place writeth in this manner: *Deinde hoc quod, respondit volumus, Paradisum multo sublimiore positum esse regione, atq; hac nostra extet terra, eos, fieri*

Bar. comestor.
lib. 1. c. 1.
lib. 1. c. 1.

et illine per precipitum delabantur fluvij tanto cum impetu, quantum verbis exprimere non possis; eorum impetus impulsus pressus, sub Oceano vasto rapiuntur, unde rursus profiliant ebulliant; in hoc à nobis culto orbe: which have this sense: Furthermore (saith he) we give this for an answer, that Paradise is set in a Region farre raised above this part which we inhabit; whereby it comes to passe, that from thence these Rivers fall downe with such a headlong violence, as words cannot expresse; and with that force so impulsed and preit, they are carried under the deepe Ocean, and doe againe rise and boyle up in this our habitable World: and to this he addeth the opinion of Ephraim, which is this. Ephraim dicit Paradisum ambire terram atq; ultra Oceanum ita positum esse, ut totu terrarum orbem ab omni circumdet regione, non aliter atq; Luna orbi Lunæ cingit, (which is) That Paradise doth compass or embrace the whole Earth, and is set beyond the Ocean Sea, as it enuironeth the whole Orbe of the Earth on every side, as the Orbe of the Moone doth embrace the Moone. To the end therefore that these ridiculous expositions and opinions doe not bring question vnto Truth it selfe, or make the same subiect to doubts or disputes, it is necessarie to discover the true place of Paradise, which God in his wisdom appointed in the very Naue of this our World, and (as Melancthon saies) in parte terre meliore, in the best part thereof, that from thence, as from a Centre, the Vniuersall might be filled with people and planted; and by knowing this place, we shall the better iudge of the beginning of Nations, & of the worlds inhabitation: for neere vnto this did the Sons of Noah also disperse themselves after the flood, into all other remote regions & countries. And if it be a generous desire in men, to know from whence their owne forefathers haue come, & out of what regions and Nations, it cannot be displicant to vnderstand the place of our first Ancestor, from whence all the stremes & branches of Mankind haue followed & bin deduced. If then it doe appeare by the former, that such a place there was as Paradise, and that the knowledge of this place cannot be vnprofitable, it followeth in order to examine several opinions before remembered, by the Truth it selfe; & to see how they agree with the sense of the Scripture, and with common reason, and afterward to proue directly, and to delineate the Region in which God first planted this delighfull Garden.

§. V.

That the Flood hath not utterly defaced the markes of Paradise, nor caused Hills in the Earth.

And first, whereas it is supposed by *Aug. Chrysostomus*, that the Flood hath altered, deformed, or rather annihilated this place, in such sort, as no man can finde any marke or memorie thereof: (of which opinion there were others also, ascribing to the Flood the cause of those high Mountaines, which are found on all the Earth ouer, with many other strange effects) for mine owne opinion, I thinke neither the one nor the other to be true. For although I cannot denie, but that the face of Paradise was after the Flood withered, and growne old, in respect of the first beautie: (for both the ages of men, and the nature of all things Time hath changed) yet if there had beene no signe of any such place, or if the soile and seate had not remained, then would not *Moses*, who wrote of Paradise about 850. yeares after the Flood, haue described it so particularly, and the Prophets long after *Moses* would not haue made so often mention thereof. And though the verie Garden it selfe were not then to be found, but that the Flood, and other accidents of time made it one common field and pasture with the Land of *Eden*, yet the place is still the same, and the Rivers still remaine the same Rivers. By two of which (neuer doubted of) to wit, *Tigris*, and *Euphrates*, we are sure to finde in what longitude Paradise lay; & learning out one of these Rivers, which afterward doth diuide it selfe into foure branches, we are sure that the partition is at the very border of the Garden it selfe. For it is written, that out of *Eden* went a Riuer to water the Garden, and from thence it was diuided and became into foure heads: Now whether the word in the Latine Translation (*Inde*) from thence, be referred to *Eden* it selfe, or to Paradise, yet the diuision & branching of those riuers must be in the North or South side of the very Garden (if the riuers run as they doe, North & South) & therefore these riuers yet remaining, & *Eden* manifestly known, there could be no such defacing by the flood, as is supposed. Furthermore, as there is no likelihood, that the place could be so altered as future ages know it not, so is there no probability, that

that either these Riuers were turned out of their courses, or new Riuers created by the Flood which were not, or that the Flood (as aforesaid) by a violent motion, when it began to decrease, was the cause of high Hills, or deepe Vallies. For what descent of waters could there be in a Sphericall and round bodie, wherein there is no high nor low? seeing that all violent force of waters is eyther by the strength of winde, by descent from a higher to a lower, or by the ebbe or flood of the Sea. But that there was any winde (whereby the Seas are most enraged) it appeareth not, rather the contrarie is probable: for it is written, *Therefore God made a winde to passe vpon the Earth, and the waters ceased.* So as it appeareth not, that, vntill the waters sank, there was any wind at all, but that God afterward, out of his goodnesse, caused the wind to blow, to drye vp the abundant slime and mudd of the Earth, and make the Land more firme, and to cleanse the Ayre of thicke vapours, and vnwholsome mists; and this we know by experience, that all downe-right raines doe euermore disfigure the violence of outrageous windes, and beat downe, and leuell the swelling and mountainous billow of the Sea: for any ebbs and floods there could be none, when the waters were equal and of one height ouer all the face of the Earth, and when there were no Indraughts, Bayes, or Gulfs to receive a Flood, or any descent, or violent falling of waters in the round forme of the Earth and Waters, as aforesaid: and therefore it seemeth most agreeable to reason, that the waters rather stood in a quiet calme, then that they moved with any raging or ouer-bearing violence. And for a more direct proofe that the Flood made no such destroying alteration, *Ioseph* auoweth that one of those pillars erected by *Seth*, the third from *Adam*, was to be seene in his dayes, which Pillars were set vp about 1426. yeares before the Flood, counting *Seth* to be an hundred yeares old at the erection of them; and *Ioseph* himselfe, to haue liued some fortie or fiftie yeares after Christ: of whom although there be no cause to beleue all that he wrote, yet that, which he auouched of his owne time, cannot (without great derogation) bee called in question. And therefore it may be possible, that some foundation or ruine thereof might then be seene. Now that such Pillars were raised by *Seth*, all Antiquitie hath auowed. It is also written in *Berosus* (to whom although I giue little credit, yet I cannot condemne him in all) that the Citie of *Enoch*, built by *Cain*, about the Mountaines of *Libanus*, was not defaced by length of time: yea the ruines thereof *Annius* (who commented vpon that inuented Fragment) saith, were to be seene in his dayes, who liued in the Reigne of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* of Castile: and if these his words be not true, then was he exceeding impudent. For, speaking of this Citie of *Enoch*, he concludeth in this sort: *Cuius maxima & ingentis molis fundamenta visuntur, & vocatur ab incolis regionis, Ciuitas Cain, ut nostri mercatores, & peregrini referunt; The foundation of which huge Masse is now to be seene, and the place is called by the people of that Region, the City of Cain, as both our strangers and Merchants report.* It is also auowed by *Pomponius Mela*, (to whom I giue more credit in these things) that the Citie of *Ioppa* was built before the Flood, ouer which *Cephais* was King: whose name with his Brother *Phineus*, together with the grounds and principles of their Religion, was found grauen vpon certaine Altars of stone; and it is not vnpossible, that the ruines of this other Citie, called *Enoch* by *Annius*, might be seene, though founded in the first Age: but it could not be of the first City of the world, built by *Cain*, the place, rather then the time, denying it.

And to proue directly, that the flood was not the cause of Mountaines, but that there were Mountaines from the Creation, it is written, that the waters of the flood ouersflowed by fiftene Cubits the highest Mountaines. And *Masius Damascenus* (speaking of the Flood, writeth in this manner: *Est supra Mymadam excelsus mons in Armenia (qui Baris appellatur) in quo confuentes multos sermo est diluuij tempore liberatos, And vpon Mymada there is an high Mountaine, in Armenia (called Baris) vnto which (as it is said) that many fled in the time of the Deluge, and that they saued themselves thereon.* Now although it is contrary to Gods Word, that any more were saued then eight persons (which *Masius* doth not auouch, but by report) yet it is a testimonie, that such Mountaines were before the Flood, which were afterwards, and euer since, knowne by the same names; & on which Mountaines it is generally receiued that the *Arke* rested: but vntuly, as I shall proue hereafter. And againe it appeareth, that the Mount *Sion* (though by another name) was knowne before the Flood: on which the *Thalmodists* report, that many Giants saued themselves also; but (as *Annius* saith) without all authoritie, either Diuine or Humane.

Lastly,

Gen. 2. 11.

Lastly, it appeareth that the Floud did not so turne vpside-downe the face of the Earth, as thereby it was made past knowledge, after the waters were decreafed, by this that when Noa sent out the Dove the second time, he returned with an Olive-leaf in her mouth, which he had pluckt, and which (vntill the Trees were discouered) he found not: for otherwise he might haue found them floating on the water; a manifest prooffe, that the Trees were not torne vp by the rootes, nor swamme vpon the waters, for it is written: *folium Olive, rapum or decerpium, a leafe pluckt*, (which is) to take from a Tree, or to teare off. By this it is apparent, (there being nothing written to the contrarie) that the Floud made no such alteration, as was supposed, but that the place of *Paradis* might be seene to succeeding Ages, especially vnto *Moses*, by whom it pleased God to teach the truth of the Worlds Creation; and vnto the Prophets which succeeded him: both which I take for my warrant, and to guide me in this Discouerie.

p. VII.

That *Paradis* was not the whole Earth, as some haue thought: making the Ocean to be the fountaine of those foure Riues.

Gen. 1. 8.
Abu 17. 26.

His conceit of *Aug. Chysamenis* being answered, who onely giueth his opinion for reason, I will in a few words examine that of the *Manichees*, of *Noëmagus*, *Vadianus*, *Goropius Becanus*, and all those that vnderstood, that by *Paradis* was meant the whole Earth. But in this I shall not trouble the Reader with many words, because by those places of Scripture formerly remembered, this vniuersalitie will appeare altogether improper. The places which *Vadianus* alleageth, *Bring forth fruit and multiply, fill the Earth and subdue it, rule over euerie Creature, &c.* with this of the *Acts*, *and hath made of one blood all Mankind, to dwell on all the face of the Earth*, doe no way proue such a generalitie: for the World was made for man, of which hee was Lord and Governour, and all things therein were ordained of God for his vse: Now although all men were of one and the same fountaine of blood originally; and *Adams* Posteritie inhabited in proceffe of time ouer all the face of the Earth; yet it disproueth in nothing the particular Garden, assigned to *Adam*, to dresse and cultiue, in which hee liued in so blessed an estate before his transgression. For if there had bene no other choice, but that *Adam* had bin left to the vniuersall; *Moses* would not then haue said, *Eastward in Eden*, seeing the World hath nor East nor West, but respectiue. And to what end had the Angell of God bene set to keepe the East-side, and entrance into *Paradis* after *Adams* expulsion, if the vniuersall had bene *Paradis*? for then must *Adam* haue bene chased also out of the World. For if All the Earth were *Paradis*, that place can receiue no better construction then this, That *Adam* was driuen out of the World into the World, and out of *Paradis* into *Paradis*, except we should belecue with *Metrodorus*, that there were infinite Worlds. Which to denie; he thinks all one, as to affirme, That in so large a field, as the vniuersall, there should grow but one Thistle. Now *Macvius* vpon *Beda*, seemeth to be led by this, that it was vnpossible for those three Riues, *Ganges*, *Nilus*, and *Euphrates* (which water three portions of the World so farre distant) to rise out of one Fountaine, except the Ocean be taken for the Well, and the World for the Garden.

Gen. 2. 8.
3. 24.

And it is true, that those foure Riues, being so vnderstood, there could be no coniecture more probable; but it shall plainly appeare, that *Pison* was fallily taken for *Ganges*, and *Gibon* fallily for *Nilus*, although *Ganges* be a Riuer by *Hanilah* in *India*, and *Nilus* run through *Ethiopia*. The *Seuemie* write *Chus* for *Ethiopia*, and thereby the errors of the *Manichees*, and the mistakings of *Noëmagus*, *Goropius*, and *Vadianus*, with others, are made manifest. Yet by their coniecture farre more probable, then that of *Ephrem*, *Cyrius*, and *Athanasius*: That *Paradis* was seated farre beyond the Ocean y^o Sea, and that *Adam* waded through it, and at last came toward the Country in which he was created, and was buried at *Mount Caluary* in *Hierusalem*. And certainly, though all those of the first Age were of great stature, and so continued many yeares after the Floud, yet *Adams* shin-bones must haue contayned a thousand fadome, and much more, if he had forded the Ocean; but this opinion is so ridiculous, as it needes no argument to disproue it.

p. VIII.

p. VII.

Of their opinion, which make *Paradis* as high as the Moone: and of others, which make it higher than the middle Region of the Ayre.

Hardly, whereas *Beda* saith, and as the Schoole-men affirme, *Paradis* to be a place, altogether removed from the knowledge of men (*locus à cognitione hominum remotissimus*) and *Barcephus* conceiued, that *Paradis* was farre in the East, but mounted about the Ocean, and all the Earth, and neere the Orbe of the Moone (which opinion, though the Schoole-men charge *Beda* withall, yet *Pererius* layes it off from *Beda* vpon *Scrabus*, and his Master *Rabanus*:) and whereas *Ruperius*, in his Geographie of *Paradis*, doth not much differ from the rest, but findes it seated next or neereft heauen; It may seeme, that all these borrowed this doctrine out of *Plato*, and *Plato* out of *Socrates*; but neyther of them (as I conceiue) well vnderstood: who (vndoubtedly) tooke this place for Heaven it selfe, into which the Soules of the blessed were carried after death.

True it is, that these Philosophers durst not for feare of the *Areopagites* (in this and many other diuine apprehensions) set downe what they beleueed in plaine termes, especially *Plato*: though *Socrates* in the end suffered death, for acknowledging one onely powerful God; and therefore did the Deuill himselfe doe him that right, as by an Oracle, to pronounce him the wisest man. *Iustine Martyr* affirmeth, that *Plato* had read the Scriptures; and *S. Augustine* gaue this iudgement of him, as his opinion, that (few things changed) he might be counted a Christian. And it seemeth to mee, that both *Tertullian* and *Ensebius* conceiue, that *Socrates*, by that place aforesaid, meant the celestiall *Paradis*, and not this of *Eden*. *Solimus*, I grant, reporteth, that there is a place exceeding delighfull and healthfull, vpon the top of Mount *Aiho* (called *Acrothous*) which being about all Clouds of Raine, or other inconuenience, the people (by reason of their so many yeares) are called *Macrobiei* (that is) Long-lined. A further Argument is vsed, for prooffe of the height of this place, because therein was *Enoch* preserued from the violence of the floud: approued by *Isidore*; and *Peter Lombard*; in which place also *Tertullian* conceiued, that the blessed Soules were preferred till the last iudgement; which *Irenaeus*, and *Iustine Martyr* also beleueed. But this opinion was of all Catholique Diuines reprobued, and in the Florentine Councell damned; of which *Saint Augustine* more modestly gaue this iudgement: *Sic ut certum est, Enoch & Eliam nunc viuere: ita ubi nunc sunt: an in Paradiso an alibi, incertum est*; (that is) As it is certaine that *Enoch* and *Elias* doe now liue: so where they now liue, in *Paradis* or elsewhere, it is vncertaine. But *Barcephus* giues a third cause, though of all other the weakest. For (saith he) it was necessarie that *Paradis* should be set at such a distance and height, because the foure Riues (had they not fallen so precipitate) could not haue had sufficient force to haue thrult themselves vnder the great Ocean, and afterward haue forced their passage through the earth, and haue risen againe in the furre distant Regions of *India*, *Egypt*, and *Armenia*.

These strange fancies and dreames haue bene answered by diuers learned men long since, and lately by *Hopkins*, and *Pererius*, writing vpon this subiect; of whose arguments I will repeat these few: for to vse long discourse against those things, which are both against Scripture and Reason, might rightly be iudged a vanitie in the Answerer, not much inferior to that of the Inuenter.

It is first therefore alleaged, that such a place cannot be commodious to liue in: for being set so neere the Moone, it had bene too neere the Sunne, and other heauenly bodies. Secondly, because it must haue bene too ioynt a Neighbour to the Element of fire. Thirdly, because the ayre in that Region is so violently moued, and carried about with such swiftnesse, as nothing in that place can consist or haue abiding. Fourthly, because the place betweene the Earth and the Moone (according to *Ptolemy* and *Alfraganus*) is seuentene times the Diameter of the Earth, which makes a grosse account about one hundred and twentie thousand miles. Hereupon it must follow, that *Paradis*, being raised to this height, must haue the compasse of the whole earth for a Basis and foundation. But had it bin so raised, it could hardly be hidden from the knowledge, or eyes of men: seeing it would deprive vs of the Sunnes light, all the fore-part

Cicero Somn.
Scip.

of the day, being seated in the East, as they suppose. Now, to fortifie the former opinions *Tostatus* addeth this, that those people which dwell neere those falls of waters, are deate from their infancy, like those which dwell neere the *Catadupa*, or ouer-falls of *Nilus*: But this I hold as fained. For I haue seene in the *Indies*, far greater water-falls, than those of *Nilus*, and yet the people dwelling neere them, are not deafe at all. *Tostatus* (the better to strengthen himselfe) citeth *Basil* and *Ambrose* together: to which *Petrus*, *Sed ego hac apud Basilium & Ambrosium in eorum scriptis, quae nunc extant, nusquam me legere memini*; But I doe not remember (saith he) that I euer read those things, either in *Basil* or *Ambrose*.

1. Cor. 15: 56-57

But for the bodies of *Enoch* & *Elias*, God hath disposed of them according to his will-dome. Their taking vp might be into the celestiall *Paradise*, for ought we know. For al- though flesh and bloud, subiect to corruption, cannot inherit the Kingdome of heauen, and the seed must rot in the ground before it grow, yet we shall not all die (saith *S. Paul*) but all shall be changed: which change, in *Enoch* & *Elias*, was easie to him that is Almightie. But for the rest, the Scriptures are manifest, that by the flood all perished on the earth, sauing eight persons, and therefore in the terrestriall *Paradise* they could not be.

1. Pet. 3. 20.

For *Tostatus* his owne opinion, who soared not altogether so high as the rest, but beleeued that *Paradise* was raised about the middle Region of the Aire, and twentie cubits about all Mountaines, that the flood did not therefore reach it: (which *Scotus* and other later Schoole-men also beleeued; for, say they, there were no sinners in *Paradise*, and therefore no cause to ouerwhelme it:) this is also contrarie to the expresse letter of the Scripture: which directly, and without admitting of any distinction teacheth vs, that

Gen. 7. 19.

the waters ouer-flowed all the mountaines vnder heauen. And were it otherwise, then might we afeble giue credit to *Masius*, *Damasceus*, & the *Thalmodists*, who affirme, that there were of the Giants that faued themselves on the Mountaine *Baris*, and on *Sion*. But to helpe this, *Scotus*, being (as the rest of the Schoolemen are) full of distinctions, saith;

Exod. 14. 21.

That the waters stood at *Paradise*, as they did in the Red Sea, and at *Jordan*; and as the flood was not naturall, so was *Paradise* faued by miracle. And *Thomas Aquinas* qualifieth this high conceit with this supposition, That it was not beleeued, that *Paradise* was so seated, as *Beda* and others seeme to affirme in words, but by *Hyperbole* and comparatiuely, for the delicacie and beautie so resembled. But this I dare auow of all those Schoole-men, that though they were exceeding wittie, yet they better teach all their Followers to shift, then to resolue, by their distinctions. Wherefore not to stay long in answering this opinion of *Tostatus*, I confesse that it is written, that the Mountaines of *Olympus*, *Atho*, and *Atlas*, ouer-reach and surmount all winds and clouds, and that (notwithstanding) there is found on the heads of the Hills both Springs and fruits; and the Pagan Priests, sacrificing on these mountaine tops, do not find the althes (remaining of their sacrifices) blowne thence, nor thence walsh off by raines, when they returne: yet experience hath resolued vs, that these reports are fabulous, and *Plinie* himselfe (who was not sparing in the report of wonders) auoweth the contrarie. But were it granted, yet the height of these Mountaines is far vnder the supposed place of *Paradise*; and on these selfe Hills the ayre is so thinne (saith *S. Augustine*, whom herein I mistrust) that it is not sufficient to beare vp the body of a bird, hauing therein no feeding of her wings, or any sensible resistance of ayre to mount her selfe by.

§. VIII.

Of their opinion that seate *Paradise* vnder the *Aequinoctiall*: and of the pleasant habitation vnder those Climats.

THose which come neerer vnto Reason, finde *Paradise* vnder the *Aequinoctiall* line, as *Tertullian*, *Bonauenture*, and *Durandus*: iudging, that thereunder might be found most pleasure, and the greatest fertility of soile: but against it *Thomas Aquinas* objecteth the distemperate heate, which he supposeth to be in all places so directly vnder the Sunne; but this is (*non causa pro causa*), for although *Paradise* could not be vnder the Line, because *Eden* is furre from it, in which *Paradise* was; and because there is no part of *Euphrates*, *Tigris*, or *Ganges* vnder it, (*Ganges* being one of the foure riuers, as they suppose) yet this conceit of distemper, (being but an old opinion) is found to be very vntrue, though for the coniecture not to be condemned, considering the age when those Fathers wrote, grounded chiefly on this: that whereas

it

it appeared, that euery Countrie, as it lay by degrees neerer the Tropicke, and so toward the *Aequinoctiall*, did so much the more exceede in heat; It was therefore a reasonable coniecture, that those Countreies which were situated directly vnder it, were of a distemper vninhabitable: but it seemeth that *Tertullian* conceiued better; and so did *Auicenne*, for they both thought them habitable enough; and though (perchance) in those daies it might be thought a fantasticall opinion (as all are which goe against the vulgar) yet we now find, that if there be any place vpon the earth of that nature, beautie, and delight, that *Paradise* had, the same must be found within that supposed vninhabitable burnt Zone, or within the Tropicks, and neerer to the line it selfe. For

10 heroe experience hath informed Reason, and Time hath made those things apparent, which were hidden and could not by any contemplation be discovered. Indeede it hath so pleased God to prouide for all liuing creatures, wherewith he hath filled the world, that such inconueniences which we contemplate a farre off, are found by triall and the witness of mens trauales, to be so qualified, as there is no portion of the earth made in vaine, or as a fruitlesse lump to fashion out the rest. For God himselfe (saith *Isa*) that formed the earth and made it, he that prepared it, he created it not in vaine, he formed it to be inhabited. Now we finde that these hottest Regions of the world, seated vnder the *Aequinoctiall* line, or neerer it, are so refreshed with a daily gale of Eastenly winde (which the *Spaniards* call the *Brize*) that doth euermore blow strongest in the heate of

159 45. 18.

20 the day, as the downe-right beames of the Sun cannot so much master it, that there is any inconuenience or distemperate heat found thereby. Secondly, the nights are so cold, fresh, and equall, by reason of the entire interposition of the earth, as (for those places which my selfe haue seen, neere the Line & vnder it) I know no other part of the world of better, or equall temper: Onely there are some tracts, which by accident of high Mountaines are barr'd from this ayre and fresh wind, and some few sandie parts without trees, which are not therefore so well inhabited as the rest; and such difference of soiles we finde also in all other parts of the world. But (for the greatest part) those Regions haue so many goodly Riuers, Fountaines, and little Brookes, abundance of high Cedars, and other stately trees casting shade, so many founts of delicate fruits, euery bea-
30 ring, and at all times beautified with blossome and fruit both greene and ripe, as it may of all other parts be best compared to the *Paradise* of *Eden*: the boughes and branches are neuer vnclodeth and left naked, their sap creepeth not vnder ground into the root, fearing the iniury of the frost: neither doth *Pomona* at any times despise her withered Husband *Vernumnus*, in his winter quarters and old age. Therefore are these Countreies called *Terra vitiosa*, *Vicious Countreies*: for Nature being liberall to all without labour, necessitie imposing no industrie or trauell, idleness bringeth forth no other fruits then vaine thoughts, and licentious pleasures. So that to conclude this part, *Tertullian* and those of this opinion were not decieued in the nature of the place: but *Aquinas*, who misliketh this opinion, and followed a worse. And (to say the truth) all the Schoole-
40 men were grosse in this particular.

§. IX.

Of the change of the names of places: and that besides that *Eden* in *Calestria*, there is a Countrey in *Babylon*, once of this name, as is proued out of *Es* a. 37. and *Ezech*. 27.

THese opinions answered, and the region of *Eden* not found in any of those imaginary worlds, nor vnder *Terrida Zona*; it followeth that now we discouer and find out the seat thereof, for in it was *Paradise* by God planted. The difficultie of which search resteth chiefly in this, That as all Nations haue often changed names so with their Masters; so are most of these places, by *Moses* remembered, forgotten by those names of all Historians and Geographers, as well ancient as moderne.

Besides, we find that the *Affrians*, *Babylonians*, *Medes* and *Persians* (*Cyrus* onely and few other excepted) sought to extingnish the *Hebrewes*. The *Grecians* hated both their Nation and their Religion; and the *Romans* despised once to remember them in any of their Stories. And as those three Monarchies succeeded each other: so did they transforme the names of all those principall Places and Cities in the East: and after them, the *Turke* hath fought (what he could) to extingnish in all things, the ancient memorie of those people; which he hath subiected and intrahled.

Now besides those notable markes, *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, the better to find the way, which leadeth to the Countrey of *Eden*, we are to take for guides these two confiderations (to wit) That it lay Eastward from *Canaan* and *Judea*; and that it was of all other the most beautiful and fertile. First then in respect of situation, the next Countrey to *Judea* Eastward was *Arabia Petrea*; but in this region was *Moses* himselfe when he wrote: and the next vnto it Eastward also was *Arabia* the *Desart*, both which in respect of the infertility could not bee *Eden*, neither haue any of the *Arabians* any such Riuer, as are exprest to run out of it: So as it followeth of necessity, that *Eden* must be Eastward, and beyond both *Arabia Petrea*, and *Deserta*. But because *Eden* is by *Moses* named by it selfe, and by the fertility, & the riueri only described, we must seeke it in other Scriptures, and where it is by the additions of the neighbour Nations better described. In the Prophet *Isay* I find it coupled and accompanied with other adjacent Countreies, in these words, Spoken in the person of *Senacherib* by *Rabsaken*: *Have the gods of the Nations deliuered them, which my Fathers haue destroyed, as GOSAN and HARAN, & RESEPH, and the children of EDEN, which were at Telsassar?* and in *Ezechiel*, where he prophesieth against the *Tyrians*: *They of Haran, and Canneh, & Eden, the merchants of Sheba, Ashur, and Chilmad, were thy merchants, &c.*

But to auoid confusion, we must vnderstand that there were 2. *Edens*, one of which the Prophet *Amos* remembereth, where he diuideth *Syria* into three Prouinces, whereof, the first he maketh *Syria Damascene*, or *Decapoliitan*: the second part is that Valley so called *Auenis*, otherwise *Connallis*, or the tract of *Chamath*, where *Affyria* is ioyned to *Arabia* the *Desart*; & where *Ptolemie* placeth the City of *Aueria*: & the third is knowne by the name of *Demus Edeni*, or *Calefryria*, otherwise *Fallis cana*, or the hollow Valley, because the mountaines of *Libanus* and *Amalibanus*, take all the length of it on both sides, and border it: for *Coele* in *Greece* is *Causin Latine*. But this is not that *Eden*, which we seeke: neither doth this Prouince lye East from *Canaan*, but North, and fo ioyne vnto it, as it could not be vnknowne to the *Hebrewes*. Yet, because there is a little Citie therein called *Paradise*, the *Iewes* beleued this *Calefryria* to be the same which *Moses* described. For the same cause doth *Hopkins* in his Treatise of *Paradise* reprehend *Berauldus*, in that he confoundeth this *Eden*, with the other *Eden of Paradise*; though, to giue *Berauldus* his right, I conceiue that he led the way to *Hopkins*, and to all other later Writers, sauing, That hee sayled in distinguishing these two Regions, both called *Eden*: and that he altogether misvnderstood two of the foure riueri (to wit) *Pison* and *Gehon*, as shall appeare hereafter. Now to finde out *Eden*, which (as *Moses* teacheth vs) lay Eastward from the *Desarts*, where he wrote, after he had passed the Red Sea; we must consider where those other Countreies are found, which the Prophet *Isay* and *Ezechiel* ioyne with it. For (saith *ESAIAM*) *Gosan, Haran, and Reseph, and the children of Eden, which were at Telsassar*. Also *Ezechiel* ioyneith *Haran* with *Eden*, who, together with those of *Sheba, Ashur, and Chilmad*, were the Merchants that traded with the Citie of *Tyre*, which was then (saith *EZECHIEL*) *the Mart of the people for many Isles*. And it hath euer bene the custome, that the *Persians* conveyed their Merchandise to *Babylon*, and to those Cities vpon *Euphrates*, and *Tigris*, and from thence transported them into *Syria*, now *Soria*, and to the Port of the *Mediterranean Sea*: as in ancient times to the Citie of *Tyre*, afterward to *Tripoly*, and now to *Aleppo*, from whence they imbarque them at the Port of *Alexandretta*, in the Bay of *Issius*, now *Laiassa*. *Ezechiel* in the description of the magnificence of *Tyre*, and of the exceeding trade that it had with all the Nations of the East, as the onely Mart-towne of that part of the world, reciteth both the people, with whom they had commerce, and also what commodities euerie Countreie yielded: and hauing counted the seuerall People and Countreies, he addeth the particular trade, which each of them exercised: *They were thy merchants* (saith the Prophet) *in all sorts of things, in rayments of blue silke, and of broyded workes, fine linnen, corral, and pearle: and afterwards speaking of the Merchants of Sheba and Raamah, and what kinds they traded, he hath these words: The merchants of Sheba & Raamah were thy merchants, they occupied in thy Faieres, with the chiefe of all Spices, and with all precious stones and gold*. Now these be indeed the riches which *Persia* and *Arabia Felix* yeeld: & because *Sheba* & *Raamah* are those parts of *Arabia*, which border the Sea, called the *Persian Gulfe*, therefore did those Nations both vent such Spice, sweet Gummes, and Pearles, as their owne Countreies yeelded; and

and (withall) hauing trade with their Neighbours of *India*, had from them also all sorts of spices, and plentie of gold. The better to convey these commodities to that great Mart of *Tyre*, the *Shebans* or *Arabians* entred by the mouth of *Tigris*, and from the Citie of *Teredon* (built or enlarged by *Nabuchodonozor*, now called *Balsara*) thence sent vp all these rich merchandises by boat to *Babylon*, from whence by the body of *Euphrates*, as farre as it bended Westward, and afterward by a branch thereof, which reacheth within three daies iourney of *Aleppo*, and then ouer Land they past to *Tyre*, as they did afterward to *Tripoly*, (formerly *Hieropolis*) and thence to *Alexandretta*, as aforesaid. Now the Merchants of *Canneh*, which *Ezechiel* ioyneith with *Eden*, inhabited so furre vp the Riuer, and receiued this trade from *Arabia* and *India*, besides those proper commodities which themselves had, and which they receiued out of *Persia*, which bordered them. *S. Hierome* vnderstandeth by *Canneh*, *Seleucia*, which is seated vpon *Euphrates*, where it breaketh into foure heads, and which tooke that name from *Seleucus*, who made thereof a magnificent Citie. *Hierosolymitanus* thinkes it to be *Ctesiphon*, but *Ctesiphon* is seated downe low vpon *Tigris*, and *Canneh* cannot be on that side, I meane on the East-side of *Tigris*, for then were it out of the Valley of *Shinar*. *Plinie* placeth the *Schenite* vpon *Euphrates*, where the same beginneth to be foordable, which is toward the border of *Syria*, after it leaueth to be the bound of *Arabia* the *Desart*, and where the Riuer of *Euphrates* reflecteth from the *Desart* of *Palmirena*: for these people (afterward *Schenita*) inhabited both borders of *Euphrates*, stretching themselves from their owne Citie of *Canneh* in *Shinar* Westward along the banks of *Euphrates*, as far as the Citie of *Taphusac*, where *Ptolemie* appointed the Foords of *Euphrates*: which also agreeth with the description of the *Schenite* by *Strabo*, whose words are these: *Almercatoribus ex Syria Seleucia & Babylonis cunctibus iter est per Schenitas; The Merchants which traueile fro Syria to Seleucia and Babylon, take their way by the Schenites*. Therefore those which take *Canneh* for *Charran*, doe much mistake it. For *Charran*, to which *Abraham* came from *Fr* in *Chaldea* (called by God) standeth also in *Mesopotamia*, not vpon *Euphrates* it selfe, but vpon the Riuer of *Chaboras*, which filleth into *Euphrates*: and the Merchants of *Charran* are distinctly named with those of *Canneh* in *Ezechiel* (as) *they of Haran, and Canneh, and Eden, the merchants of Sheba, Ashur, & Chilmad were thy merchants*. Wherefore *Charran* which is sometime called *Charr*, and *Haran*, and *Aran*, is but the same *Charran* of *Mesopotamia*; and when it is written *Aran*, then it is taken for the region of *Mesopotamia*: or *Aran* fluuior, the *Greek* word (*Mesopotamia*) importing, a Countrey between riueri: for *Me* in *Greece*, is *Medius* in *Latine*, and *Potamos* fluuius; and when it is written *Haran* or *Aran*, it is then taken for the Citie it selfe, to which *Abraham* came from *Fr* (as aforesaid). For *Strabo* in the description of *Arabia*, giueth that tract of Land from the borders of *Calefryria*, to the edge of *Mesopotamia*, to the *Schenite*, who also inhabited on both sides of *Euphrates*, & were in after-ages accounted of these *Arabians* which inhabite *Batanea*, and the North part of the *Desarts*, stretching theselues toward the vnhabited Solitude of *Palmirena*, which lieth betwene *Syria*, and *Arabia* the *Desart*. So as these of *Canneh* lay in the very highway from *Babylon* to *Tyre*, and were neighbours (indifferent) to *Charran* and to *Eden*: and therefore they are by the Prophet *Ezechiel* coupled together, *They of Haran, and Canneh, & Eden, &c.* But *S. Hierome* made a good interpretation of *Canneh*, or *Chalne*, by *Seleucia* for *Seleucia* was anciently called *Chalanne* (witness *Appian*); and so *Rabanus Maurus* calleth it in his Commentaries vpon *Genesis*; the name by time and mixture of languages being changed from *Chalne* or *Canneh*, to *Chalanne*: of which name there are two other Citie, standing in Triangle with *Seleucia*, and almost the next vnto it, (as) *Telbe-canne*, and *Mann-canne*, the one a little to the West of *Seleucia*, and the other opposite vnto it, where these riueri of *Tigris* and *Euphrates* are readie to ioyne. Therefore, which of these the ancient *Canne* was, (being all three within the bound of the valley *Shinar*) it is vncertaine: but it is a note as well of the importance of the place, as of the certaine seat thereof, that so many other Citie did retaine a part of the name in so many ages after. Neither is it vnlikely, that these additions of *Telbe* and *Mann* to the word *Canne*, were but to make difference betwene the East and the West, or the greater and the lesse *Canne*, or betwene *Canne* the old, and the new: which additions to distinguish Citie by, are ordinarie in all the Regions of the World.

Now of the other Citie ioyned with *Eden*, as *Haran* or *Charran*, *S. Hierome* on the *Ind.*

Indes speaketh thereof in these words: *Cumq; reuerterentur, perueniunt ad Charan, quæst in medio itinere contra Ninim, undecimo die; When they returned, they came to Charan, (which is the mid-way against Ninia) the eleventh day.*

AE. 7. 1. This Citie is by the Martyr Stephen named *Charan* (speaking to the high Priest:) *Ye Men, Brethren, and Fathers, hearken: The God of glory appeared to our Father ABRAHAM, while he was in Mesopotamia, before he dwelt in Charan.* But the seat of this Citie is not doubted of: for it is not only remembered in many Scriptures, but, withall, exceeding famous for the death and ouerthrow of *Craſſus* the Roman, who for his insatiable greediness was called *Gorgæ auaritia*; *The gulfe of auarice.* Whereof *Lucan*:

Lucan. l. 1. 95.

Aſſyria Latio maculat sanguine Carra.

With Roman blood th' *Aſſyrian* Carre he defil'd.

GEN. 10. 10. But this Citie *Canne* or *Chalne* is made manifest by *Mosès* himselfe, where it is written of *NIMROD*: *And the beginning of his Kingdomes was Babel, & Erach, & Acad, & Chalne, in the land of Sinaar or Shinar*: where *Mosès* sheweth the first composition of the *Babylonian* Empire, and what Cities and People were subiect vnto *Nimrod*, all which lay in the said Valley of *Shinar* or neere it; and this Valley of *Shinar* is that Tract, afterwards called *Babylonia* and *Chaldea*, into which also *Eden* stretcheth itselfe. *Chaldea*, *Babylonia*, *Sinaar*, idem sunt (saith *COMESTOR*.) Three names of one Countrie: which Region of *Babylonia* took name of the Towre *Babel*; & the Towre, of the confusion of tongues. *20* And that *Shinar* was *Babylonia*, is proved in the eleventh Chapter of *Genesis*, in these words: *And as they went from the East, they found a Playne in the Land of Shinar, and there they abode*: in which Playne *Babylon* was built (as aforesaid.)

Uſ. 2. Now *Shinar* being *Babylonia*, and *Canneh*, in the first beginning of *Nimrod's* greatnes, and before he had subdued any strange, or far-off Nations, being one part of his Dominion, and also named by *Mosès* to be in *Shinar*, it proueth, that *Canneh* ioyneth to *Babylonia*; which also *Ezechiel* coupleth with *Eden*, and (further) affirmeth, that those of *Eden* were also the Merchants, which traded with the *Tyrians*: and *Eſay* in the threats of *Senacherib* against *Hierusalem* (with other Nations that *Senacherib* vaunted that his Fathers had destroyed) nameth the children of *Eden* which were at *Telaſſar*. But before I conclude where *Eden* itselfe lieth, it is necessarie to describe, those other Countreies, which *Ezechiel* ioyneth therewith in the places before remembered, as, those of *Sheba* and *Raamah*. It is written in *Genesis* the tenth: *Moreover the ſonnes of HAM were CUSH, &c. And the ſonnes of CUSH were SEBA, and HAVILAH, and SABTAH, and RAAMAH, &c. And the ſonnes of RAAMAH were SHEBA, &c. and anon after, CUSH begat NIMROD*: so as *Sheba* was the grand-child of *Cush*, and *Nimrod* the sonne of *Cush*, whose elder brother was *Sebah*: though some there are that conceiue to the contrary, that *Nimrod* was the elder in valour and vnderstanding, though not in time and precedence of birth; who inhabited that part of *Shinar*, where *Babel* was built, afterwards *Babylonia*. His brother *Raamah* or *Regma* tooke that part adioyning to *Shinar*, toward the Sea side and *Perſian* gulfe (called afterward *Raama* and *Sheba*, by the Father and his Sons, which possessed it.) For (saith *Ezechiel*) *the merchants of Raamah and Sheba were thy merchants, they occupied in thy Faïres with the chiefe of all ſpices, and all precious ſtones, and gold.* So as *Sheba* was that Tract of Countrie, which parteth *Arabia Deserta* from *Arabia Felix*, and which ioyneth to the Sea where *Tigris* and *Euphrates* fall out, and render themselves to the Ocean. This part, and the confining Countrie *Strabo* calleth *Catabria*, where the best Myrrhe and Frankincense is gathered; which people haue an interchange or trade with *Elana*, lying on the East side of the *Perſian* gulfe. By this it appeareth who were the *Shebeans*, spoken of by *Ezechiel*, and said to haue bene the Merchants of *Tyre*, for gold, spices, and precious stones: of which they had not only plentie of their owne, but were also furnished from that part of *India* (called *Elana*, according to *Strabo*) for exchange of their Aromaticques, and other proper commodities. For as *Strabo* reporteth out of *ERATOSTHENES*: *In Perſia ora inſula eſt, in qua multi & pretioſi uniones gignantur: in alijs uerò, clari & perlucidilapilli.* *ERATOSTHENES* (saith *Strabo*) affirmeth, that in the beginning of the *Perſian* gulfe, there is an Island, in which there are many precious pearles bred: and in other, verie cleare and ſhining ſtones. Now, the difference betwene *Sheba*, the sonne of *Raamah*, and *Seba*, the sonne of *Cush*, is in this, That *Seba* is written with the Hebrew (*Samech*), and *Sheba* with (*Sehin*):

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but

but whatsoeuer the difference may be in the Hebrew Orthographie, their Countreies and Habitations are diuers. For *Sheba* is that which bordereth the *Perſian* Sea and *Saba* (whence the Queene of *Saba*) neighboured the Red Sea; and so that place of the 72. *Plaſme*: expounded, *Reges Arabum & Saba*, hath in the Hebrew this sense: *Reges Sheba & Saba*.

The *Shebeans*, *Ezechiel* nameth together with the *Edenites*, because they inhabited vpon the Out-let of the same Riuer, vpon which the *Edenites* were seated: and so those of *Sheba*, towards the Sea-coast, and vpon it, paſt vp the Countrey, by *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, being ioyned in one maine ſtream, and so through the Region of *Eden*, which *Tigris* boundeth, thereby the better to conuey their merchandize toward *Tyre*. And as the Cities of *Charan*, and *Canneh*, border *Eden* on the West and Northweſt: so doth *Sheba* on the South, and *Chilmad* on the North-eaſt. *Chilmad* being a Region of the higher *Media*, as appeareth in the *Chaldaean Paraphraſt*, which Countrey by the Geographers is called *Coromitena*, (L) placed by exchange for (R:) which change the Hebrewes also often vse.

Thus much of those Countreies which border *Eden*, and who altogether traded with the *Tyrians*: of which, the chiefe were the *Edenites*, inhabiting *Telaſſar*: for these *Senacherib* vaunted, that his Fathers had destroyed; and this place of *Telaſſar* lay most conuenient, both to receiue the Trade from *Sheba* and *Arabia*, and also to conuey it ouer into *Syria*, and to *Tyris*. Now to make these things the more plaine, wee must remember, that before the death of *Senacherib*, many parts of the *Babylonian* Empire fell from his obedience, and after his death these Monarchies were vtterly diſſoynd.

For it appeareth both in *Eſay* the 37. and in the second of *Kings*, by the threats of *Rabſache*, the while the Armie of *Aſſyria* lay before *Hierusalem*, that the Cities of *Golan*, *Haran*, *Reſeph*, and the *Edenites* at *Telaſſar*, had resisted the *Aſſyrians*, though by them (in a fort) mastered and recovered. *Haue the gods of the Nations deliuered them, whom my Fathers haue destroyed, as Golan, and Haran, Reſeph, and the children of Eden, which were at Telaſſar?* But it appeared manifestly after *Senacherib's* death, that these Nations formerly contending, were then freed from the others subiection: for *Eſar-Haddon* held *Aſſyria*, and *Merodach Baladan*, *Babylonia*. And after that the Armie of *Senacherib*, commanded by *Rabſache* which lay before *Hierusalem* (*Ezechias* then reigning) while *Senacherib* was in *Egypt*, was by the Angell of God destroyed: the King of *Babel* sent to *Ezechias*, both to congratulate the recouerie of his health, and his victory obtained ouer the *Aſſyrians*. After which ouerthrow, *Senacherib* himselfe was slaine by his owne ſonnes in the Temple of his Idols, *Eſar-Haddon* succeeding him in *Aſſyria*. To the *Babylonian Ambassadors* sent by *Merodach*, *Ezechias* shewed all his treasures, as well proper as consecrate, which inuited the Kings of *Babylon* afterward to undertake their conquest and subuerſion. So as, the ſuſpition of warre encreaſing betwene *Babylon* and *Aſſyria*, the *Edenites* which inhabited the borders of *Shinar* towards the North, and towards *Aſſyria*, were employed to beare off the incursions of the

Aſſyrians; and their Garrison-place was at *Telaſſar*: and the very word (*Telaſſar*) saith *Iunius*, ſignifying as much, as a Bulwarke against the *Aſſyrians*. This place *Hierosolymitanus* takes for *Reſem*, others for *Selencia*: but this *Telaſſar* is the same, which *Am. Marcellinus* in the Historie of *Julian* (whom he followed in the enterprize of *Perſia*) calleth *Tibilutha* in ſtead of *Telaſſar*, who describeth the exceeding ſtrength thereof in his 24. Booke: it is seated in an Island of *Euphrates* vpon a ſteepe and vnaſſailable Rocke, in so much as the Emperour *Julian* durſt not attempt it; and therefore it was a conuenient place for a Garrison against the *Aſſyrians*, being also a paſſage out of *Mesopotamia* into *Babylonia*, and in which the *Edenites* of the Countrey adioyning were lodged to defend the same. This place *Ptolemy* calleth *Teridata*, hauing *Reſeph* (which he calleth *Reſeptha*) on the left hand, and *Canneh*; which he calleth *Thelbe-canne* on the right hand, not farre from whence is also found the Citie of *Mann-canne* vpon *Tigris*, and all these seated together, as *Eſay* and *Ezechiel* haue ſorted them. But the vnderſtanding of these places is the more difficult, because *Aſſyria* (which the *Chaldeans* call *Aſtaria*) and *Mesopotamia*, were ſo often confounded: the one taken for the other by interchange of Dominion. *Aſſyria & Mesopotamia in Babylonia nomen tranſſerunt* (saith *NIECE*.) *Aſſyria* and *Mesopotamia* tooke the name of *Babylonia*. Laſtly, it appeareth by those adiacent Regions by the Prophets named, in what part of the World *Eden* is

seated,

Eſay 37. 36. 37.

Eſay 37. 36. 37.

Eſay 37. 36. 37.

Eſay 37. 36. 37.

Eſay 37. 36. 37.

Eſay 37. 36. 37.

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Eſay 37. 36. 37.

Eſay 37. 36. 37.

seated, as, by *Charan* or *Haras* in *Mesopotamia*: also by *Canneh* and *Reseph*, according to the opinion of *Parabius*, who in these words translateth this place: *Plantauit autem Iehouah deum hortum in Eden, ab Oriente*, The Lord God planted a Garden in Eden, Eastward: that is: (saith he in his Annotations.) *Iusserat nasci arbores in Eden, Regione Orientali, in finibus Arabiae & Mesopotamiae, Hecommandat Trees to grow in Eden, an Eastern Region in the borders of Arabia and Mesopotamia.*

p. X.

Of diuers other testimonies of the Land of Eden; and that this is the Eden of Paradise.

AND for a more particular pointing out of this Eden, it comes by the two Epistles of the *Nestorian Christians*, that inhabit *Mesopotamia*, which Epistles in the year 1552. they sent to the Pope about the confirming of their Patriarch, and *Andreas Masius* hath published them, translated out of *Syriac* into Latine. By these Epistles (I say) it seemes wee may haue some farther light for the proofe of that, which we haue said about the Region of Eden in those parts. For in them both there is mention of the Island of Eden in the River *Tigris*, or at least, *Tigris* in both these Epistles is called the River of Eden. This Island, as *Masius* in his Preface to these Epistles saith, is commonly called *Gozoria* (as it were, the Island, by an eminencie.) It hath (saith hee) ten miles in circuit, and was sometimes walled round about, which name of the Island Eden may (doubtlesse) remaine to this day; though in the rest of the Region so called this name be swallowed vp, with the fame of those flourishing Kingdomes of *Mesopotamia*, *Assyria*, *Babylonia*, and *Chaldea*. This Island of Eden hath vp the River, and not farre beyond it, the Citie of *Hafan-Cepha*, otherwile *Fortis Petra*: below it, it hath *Mosfal* or *Mosel*, from which (as in that which followeth it shall appeare out of *Masius*) it is not about twelue miles distant. Neither is it to trouble vs, that *Mosfal* or *Mosel*, by *Marius Niger* is remembered among the Cities higher vp *Tigris*, in these words. *Iuxta autem Tigrim, Ciuitates sunt Dorbeta prope Taurum montem, quae nunc Mosel dicitur, magna sunt, &c.* (that is) By *Tigris* are these Cities, Dorbeta nere unto mount *Taurus* (which is now called *Mosel*) which is a great one, &c. This opinion of *Niger*, displacing *Mosel*, and making it to be *Dorbeta* (I say) needs not here to trouble vs: seeing for this matter, the testimonie of *Masius* informed by the Christians that dwell there (the Seat of whose Patriarch it is) ought to be of credit, auowing that this *Mosfal* (or *Mozal*) is in the Confinnes of *Mesopotamia* and *Assyria*, seated vpon *Tigris*, and in the neighbor-hood of *Ninive*; and that it is the famous *Selencia Parthorum*. The *Nestorian Christians* in their former Epistle, call it *Attur* in these words: *Ex omnibus Ciuitatibus & pagis quae sunt circum Ciuitatem Mozal (hoc est) Attur in vicinia Ninive; Of all the Cities & Townes which are about the Citie of Mozal (that is) Attur in the neighbour-hood of Ninive.* As also *Niger* acknowledgeth *Ctesiphon*, a Citie thereabout to be called *Assur*, (which is the same as *Attur*, after the Dialect of those Nations, which change *S* into *T*.) Neither is it much that he should mistake *Ctesiphon*, (which is not farre off *Selencia*) for *Selencia*, to be *Assur*. By this then we may come somewhat nere the end of our purpose. For the Ile of Eden, which lyeth in the brest of *Tigris*, is but twelue miles from *Mosfal*, and that ancient Citie, which *Ptolomie* and *Tacitus* call *Ninus*, and the Scriptures *Ninene*, *Philostratus*, and *Simen Sethi*, *Mosla*, and *Iohn Lean Mosal*, others *Mosel*, (though it bee not the same with *Mosfal*) is set but a little higher vpon the same River of *Tigris*, nere *Mosal*: so that we are like to find this Ile of Eden hereabout. For the same *Andreas Masius*, which placeth it about *Mosfal*, makes it to be below *Hafan-chepha*, which is vpon the same River of *Tigris*.

The onely difficultie is this, that some perhaps may thinke, that the words of the *Nestorians* in both their Epistles, speake not of any Ile in *Tigris*, called the Ile of Eden, but of an Ile in *Tigris*, a River of Eden. But this sense of their words in my opinion seemeth the more vnp probable. And yet if this were the meaning heere, we haue a testimony from the Learned of those parts, that not onely *Euphrates*, but also *Tigris* was a River of Eden, and that the name of Eden in those parts is not yet quite worne out, though the Region hath bin subiect to the same change, that all other Kingdomes of the world haue bene, and hath by conquest, and corruption of other Languages, receiued new and differing names. For the South part of Eden, which stretcheth ouer *Euphrates*, was

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after the floud called *Shinar*, and then of the Tower of *Babel*, *Babylonia*, and the North part of Eden is that Tract of *Mesopotamia*, *Assyria*, and *Armenia*, which embraceth both the banks of *Tigris*, betwene Mount *Taurus*, and *Selencia*. And of this Region of Eden that ancient *Ethiopic* maketh mention, (not that latter *Ethiopic*, Disciple of *Callenicus*, otherwile by *Plutarch* and *Athenicus* called *Isir*, who liued in *Aegypt* in the Reigne of *Phyladelphus*, but another of a farre higher and remote time) the same being made Latine out of Greeke by Saint *Hierome*. And though by corruption of the ancient Copie it be written in *Ethiopic*, *Adonis* for *Edenis*, yet *Adonis* being a River of *Phoenicia*, cannot be vnderstood to be the Region named by *Ethiopic*. For *Ethiopic* makes it a Countrey, and not a River, and ioyneth it with *Mesopotamia* and *Ethiopia*, calling the land of *Chus* *Ethiopia*, after the Vulgar, and Septuagint. And lastly, the River which watereth the Regions, (saith *Ethiopic*) falleth into the Gulfe of *Persia*: which River he calleth *Armodius*, for *Tigris*; *Tigris* being but a name imposed for the swiftnesse thereof. And out of *Armenia* both *Tigris* and *Euphrates* haue their originall: for out of Eden came a River, or Rivers, to water the Garden, both which Rivers (to wit) *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, come out of *Armenia*, and both of them trauesse *Mesopotamia*, Regions first of all knowne by the name of Eden for their beautie and fertilitie. And it is very probable, that Eden contained also some part of *Armenia*, and the excellent fertilitie thereof in diuers places, is not vnworthy the name of Eden. For in some part thereof (saith *Strabo*) the leaues are alway green, & therefore therein a perpetual Spring.

Also *STEPHANVS de urbibus* mentioneth the Citie of *Adana* vpon *Euphrates*: the name of Eden was in vse in *Amos* time, though he speake not of Eden in the East, but of Eden in *Calefria*. But to the end I may not burden the Readers patience with too long a Discourse, it may suffice to know, that *Euphrates* and *Tigris* (once ioyned together, and afterward separate) are two of those foure heads, into which these Rivers which are said to water the Garden of Paradise, were diuided: whose courses being knowne, Eden, (out of which they are said to come) cannot be vnknowne. Now that *Hiddekel* and *Perath* were *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, it is agreed by all: for the Seutentie and all others conuert *Perath* by *Euphrates*: & *Hiddekel* *Tigris* omnes exponunt: & *almen* vnderstand *Hiddekel* by *Tigris* (saith *Varable*.) And because that which I haue said of the Ile of Eden, shall not be subiect to the censure of selfe-inuention, I haue heere vnder set downe the words out of the two generall Epistles of the *Nestorians*, as *Masius* (ad verbum) hath conuerted them into Latine. The occasion of those Letters and Supplications to the Pope were, that the *Nestorian Christians*, which inhabit *Mesopotamia*, *Assyria*, *Persia*, *Babylonia*, & haue to this day (at least in Queene *Maries* time they had) fifteene Churches in one Citie called *Selencia Parthorum*, or *Mosel* vpon the River of *Tigris*, hauing no sufficient authoritie to chooſe themselves a Patriarch (which cannot be done without foure or three Metropolitan Bishops at least) sent to the Bishop of *Rome*, in the yeare of Christ 1552. (as afore-said) a Petition to obtaine allowance vnto such an Election as themselves had made: hauing three hundred yeare before that vpon the like defect,

sent one *Marius* thither to be confirmed; and in this negotiation they made knowne to the Bishop of *Rome* the state of the Christian Church in those parts: for vpon the death of their Patriarch (who of a courteous desire to enrich himselfe had forborne to inflitue Metropolitan Bishops, when the places fell void) they all assembled themselves together to consult of the Church-gouernment. And because all the Patriarchs for an hundred yeares had bene of one House and Family to the preiudice of the Church, and that there yet remained one Bishop of the same Stocke and Kindred, who aspired to the same dignitie which his Predecessors had held, the rest of the Professors refused to allow him. Vpon which occasion, and for the choice of a Governour more sufficient, the Teachers in all the Churches assembled themselves. The words of the generall Epistle to the Pope are these about the middle of the said Epistle: *Verum nos non acceptauimus nec proclamauimus ipsum, sed subito conuenimus ex omnibus locis Orientalibus, & ex omnibus Ciuitatibus & pagis quae sunt circum Ciuitatem Mosel (hoc est) Attur, in vicinia Ninive, ex Babylonia, ex Charrha, ex Arbella, ex Insula quae est in medio Tigri, fluminis Eden, ex Tauri Persia, ex Nisibi, &c.* which is: But we did neither accept of this man, neither pronounced him: but suddenly we assembled our selves out of all parts of the East and out of all the Cities and Villages which are about *Mosel* (or *Attur*) neighbouring *Ninive*, & out of *Babylon*, *Carrha*, *Arbella*, and out of the Island which lyeth in the middle of *Tigris*,

gris, a River of Eden, or rather, out of the Ile of Eden, which lyeth in the River Tigris. And in a second Epistle at the same time sent, they vsd these words: *Neg. super sunt apud nos Ateropolite, quorum est ordinare Catholicum, sed soli pauci Episcopi, Episcopus Arbela, Episcopus Salmasi, Episcopus Adurbeigan, en vestigio convenimus in Insulam, que est in Tigrim flumen, Edem, scilicet, compactum inter nos, &c.* (which is) Neither are there remaining among us any Ateropolitan Bishops to whom it belongs to ordaine a Patriarch, but only a few Bishops, as the Bishop of Arbela, the Bishop of Salmasius, and the Bishop of Adurbeigan: but lo, we assembled speedily in the Island Eden, which is in Tigris, and agreed betwene our selues, &c.

Now this Island of Eden Masius describeth with other places; which being well conceiued, the Nestorian Epistles, and the state of the Church may be in those parts (saith he) the better vnderstood. And after he hath distinguished the foure sorts of Christians in those parts of the World, and in the South part of Africa, which hee calleth Nestorians, Iacobites, Maronites, and Coptis, he goeth on in these words: *Mox auditis illius morte, concurrisse alicubi tumultuario in istam quam modo dixi Tigris Insulam, que duodecim circiter passuum millibus supra Mosul posita, decem ferè millia passuum suo ambitu continet, maris undiq. cincta, & a paucis alijs quam Christianis hominibus habitata:* which is, Now hearing of the death of the Patriarch, (as those that came to Rome reported) they ran tumultuously together into that Island of Tigris or Eden before spoken of, which Island is situated about twelue miles above Mosul, containing very neere ten miles in compass, and enerie where incircled with a wall, inhabited by a few other men then Christians. And afterward he maketh a recapitulation of the Christian Churches; among the rest hee addeth the Ile of Eden by the name of Geserta, Insula Tigris: sive Geserta. Furthermore, describing the Citie of Hosan-cappa, or Fortis Petra, he placeth it *supra prædictam Tigris Insulam rupi aspera impositam; Aboue the aforesaid Island of Tigris, being seated on a steep Rock.* Of this Island of Geserta, Andrew Thevet maketh mention in his tenth Booke of his general Cosmographie in these words: *Geserta ou Gese est au milieu de la riuere du Tigre, & pense que c'est une terre des plus fertiles de toute l'Asie, Geserta ou Gese est in the middle of Tigris, the Soyle the most fertile of all Asia.*

By this we see that the ancient name of Eden lieth, and of that Eden which lyeth Eastward from Arabia Petraea, and the Desert where Moses wrote, and that Eden which bordereth Charran according to Ezechiel, and that Eden which is seated according to the assertion of the said Prophet, and ioyned with those Nations of Reseph, Canneh, and Charran, and the rest which traded with the Tyrians, and is found at this day in the parting of the two Regions of Assyria and Babylonia, where the Edenites in T belassar were garriſond to resist the Assyrians, whose displacement Senacherib vaunted of (as aboue written) and lastly, the same Eden, which embraceth Tigris, and looketh on Euphrates, two of the known Rivers of those fowre, which are by all men ascribed to Paradise.

§. XI.

Of the difficultie in the Text, which seemeth to make the foure Riuer: to rise from one ſtreame.

BVt it may be objected, that it is written in the Text, *That a River went out of Eden*: and not Riuer, in the plurall, which scruple Matthew Beroaldus hath thus answered in his Chronologie: The Latine Translation, saith hee, hath these words: *Et fluvius egrediebatur de loco voluptatis ad irrigandum Paradisum, quinque diuidebatur in quatuor capita: Quæ verba melius consentiunt cum rei narratione, & eiusdem explicatione, si ita reddantur. Et fluvius erat egrediens ex Edene, (hoc est) fluvij procedebant ex Edene regione ad rigandum pomarium, & inde diuidebatur, & erat in quatuor capita: which is, And a River went out of the place of pleasure to water Paradise, and thence was divided into foure heads: which words (saith Beroaldus) doe better agree with the narration and explication of the place, if they be thus translated: And a River was going forth of Eden (that is) Rivers went forth, and ran out of the Region of Eden to water the Orchard; and from thence it was divided, and they became foure heads. The Tigris in differs from the Vulgar or Latine, for it converts it thus: *Et fluvius egrediebatur de delicijs, And a River went out of pleasure, in stead of Eden;* and the Latine addeth the word *locus*, or place, *Et fluvius egrediebatur de loco voluptatis; And a River went out of the place**

of pleasure: and so the word (place) may rightly be referred to Eden, which was (of all other) a Region most delightfull and fertile; and so also the word (*inde*) and *thence* was divided, hath reference to the Countrey of Eden, and not to the Garden it selfe.

And for the word (*Riuer*) for Riuer, it is vsuall among the Hebrewes: for it is written: *Let the Earth bud forth the bud of the Herbe that seedeth Seed, the fruitfull Tree, &c.* Here the Hebrew vseth the Singular for the Plurall, *Herbe and Tree*, for Herbs and Trees; and againe, *We eate of the fruit of the Tree*, in stead of (*Trees*): And thirdly, *The man and his wife hid themselves from the presence of God; In medio ligni Paradisi* In the middle of the Tree of the Garden, for (*Trees*). And of this opinion is David Kimhi, and Vatablus, who vpon this place of Genesis say, that the Hebrewes doe often put the Singular for the Plurall, as *illud*, for *numquid illorum*, and hee giueth an instance in this question it selfe, as, *A River (for Rivers) went out of Eden*.

And this answer out of diuers of the Learned, may, not without good reason, be giuen to the objection, That *Moses* speaketh but of one River, from which the heads should diuide themselves. Howbeit I denie not, but with as good (and perhaps better) reason, we may expound the foure heads, to be foure notable passages into famous Countries. And so we may take the word (*Riuer*) Verse the tenth for one Riuer (to wit) Euphrates, as this name comprehendeth all the branches thereof: For this Riuer, (after he is past the place, where we suppose Paradise to haue bin, diuides it selfe, & ere long yedderth foure notable passages into severall Countries, though not all the way downe streame, (for this is no where in the Text) where it is noted, that following the Riuer downward, there is conueyance into the Countreies named in the Text, though part of the way to one of the Countreies (to wit, to Assyria) were vp Tigris.

To this end the Text speaking of Hiddekel, as it riseth from the Riuer of Eden, doth not say it compasseth or waltheth the whole Region of Assyria, (as it had vsed this phrase of *Pison* and *Gehon*) but that it runneth toward Assyria. The first branch *Pison*, is *Nahar malcha*, (by interpretation) *Basilus*, or *flumen regium*, which runneth into Tigris vnder Apamia, whence ariseth the name of *Pasi-tigris*, (as it were) *Piso-tigris*. This leadeth to the Land of *Hauila* or *Susiana*. The second branch *Gehon*, is that which in Histonians is *Nahar fares* or *Narragas*, for *Nahar-ragas*: both which names signifie *flumen derivatum* (a Riuer deriued), also *Acraçanus*, quasi *Ranofus*, by reason of the froggie Fennes which it maketh: this *Gehon* leadeth to the first seat of *Chus*, about the borders of *Chaldea* and *Arabia*, and it is lost at length in the Lakes of *Chaldea*. The third branch, *Hiddekel*, may be expounded the vpper streame of *Pison*, or *Basilus*, which runneth into *Hiddekel* properly so called (that is, into Tigris) aboue *Selencia*, where it sheweth a passage vp Tigris into Assyria: where, because at length it is called *Hiddekel*, or *Tigris*, having before no knowne proper name, the Text in this place calleth it *Hiddekel* from the beginning. The fourth *Perath*, or *Euphrates*, so called *per excelleniam*, being the bodie of the Riuer *Euphrates*, which runneth through *Babylon* and *Otris*. But, be it a Riuer, or Riuer, that come out of Eden, seeing that *Tigris* and *Euphrates* are noted in the Text, there can bee no doubt, but that Paradise was not farre from these Riuer: for that *Perath* in *Moses* is *Euphrates*, there can be no question; and (indeed) as plaine it is that *Hiddekel* is *Tigris*. For *Hiddekel* goeth (saith *Moses*) Eastwards towards *Assur*, as we find, that *Tigris* is the Riuer of *Assyria* proprie dicta, whose chiefe Citie was *Ninive*, as in Genesis the tenth it is written: *That out of that Land* (to wit) *Babylonia*, *Nimrod* went into *Assur*, and builded *Ninive*, which was the chiefe Citie of *Assyria*.

And as for the kind of speech here vsed in the Text, speaking of foure heads; though the heads of Riuer be (properly) their Fountaines, yet here are they to be vnderstood, to be spoken of the beginning of their diuision from the first streame. *Caput aquæ* (saith VLTIANVS) *illud est, unde aqua nascitur; si ex fonte nascatur, fons, si ex flumine, vel ex lacu, priminitia, &c.* If the beginning of the water be out of a Fontaine, then is the Fontaine taken for the head: if out of a Lake, then the Lake; and if from a maine Riuer any branch be separate and diuided, then where that branch doth first bound it selfe with new banks, there is that part of the Riuer, where the branch forsaketh the maine streame, called the head of the Riuer.

§. XII.

p. XII.

Of the strange fertilitie and happinesse of the Babylonian Soile, as it is certaine that Eden was such.

T may also bee demanded, whether this Region of *Eden*, by vs described, bee of such fertilitie and beaurie, as *Eden* the seate of Paradise was: which if it be denied, then must we also consider, that there was no part of the Earth, that retained that fertilitie and pleasure, that it had before the curse: neither can we ascribe the same fruitfulness to any part of the Earth, nor the same vertue to any plant thereon growing, that they had before the flood; and therefore this Region of *Eden* may be now no such flourishing Countrey, as it was when it was first created in his perfection. Yet this I finde written of it: First, in *Herodotus*, who was an eye-witnesse, and speaketh of the very place it selfe; for the Ile of *Eden* is but twelue miles or thereabout from *Ninus*, and so from *Mesal*. *Ex Euphrate exiens in Tigrim, alterum flumen, iuxta quod Urbs Ninus sita erat. Hec regio, omnium quas nos vidimus, optima est, &c.* Where *Euphrates* runneth out into *Tigris*, not farre from the place where *Ninus* is seated, *This Region, of all that we haue seene, is most excellent; and headeth afterward: Cereus autem fructu procreando adeo ferax est, ut nunquam non ferè ducenta reddat, &c.* (that is) *It is so fruitfull in bringing forth Corne, that it yeldeth two hundred fold: The leaues of Wheate and Barley being almost foure fingers broad: As for the height of Millet and Sefame, they 20 are euen in length like vnto Trees, which althoug I know to be true, yet I forbear to speake hereof, well knowing, that those things which are reported of this fruitfulness, will seeme very incredible to those, which neuer were in the Countrey of Babylon.* They haue commonly in all the Countrey Palme Trees growing of their owne accord, the most of them bearing fruit, out of which they make both Meates, and Wine, and Honey, ordering them as the Fig Trees. Thus saith *Herodotus*.

To this Palme-tree so much admired in the East *India*, *Strabo* and *Niger* adde a fourth excellencie, which is, that it yeldeth bread; *Ex quibus panem, & mel, & vinum, & acetum conficiunt; Of which these people make Brad, Wine, Honey, and Vineger.* But *Anonius* the *Eremite* findeth a fifth commoditie, not inferior to any of those foure, which 30 is, that from this selfe-same Tree there is drawne a kind of fine Flaxe, of which people make their Garments, and with which in East *India* they prepare the cordage for their ships; and that this is true, *Athanasius* in the life of *Anonius* the *Eremite*, confesseth, saying: *That he rectified a Garment made thereof from the Eremite himselfe, which he brought with him out of this Region.* So therefore those Trees, which the East *Indies* so highly esteeme and so much admire (as indeed the Earth yeldeth no Plant comparable to this) those Trees (I say) are in this vpper *Babylon*, or Region of *Eden*, as common as any Trees of the Field. *Sunt etiam* (saith *STRABO*) *passim per omnem Regionem Palma sua sponte nascentes; There are of Palmes ouer all the whole Region, growing of their owne accord.* Of this place *Quintus Curtius* maketh this report: *Eunthibus à parte lœua Arabia odorum fertilitate nobilibus, regio campestris interest inter Tigrim & Euphratem, iacens tam vberè & pingui solo, ut à passu repelli pecora dicantur, ne satiati perimat; (that is) As you trauaile on the left hand of Arabia (famous for plenty of sweet Odours) there lieth a Champaine Countrey placed betwene *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, and so fruitfull and fat a soile, that they are said to driue their Cattell from pasture, lest they should perish by satiety. But in anno segetes Babylonij secant; The Babylonians cut their Corne twice a year (saith *Niger*.) And as Countreyes generally are more fruitfull to the Southward, then in the Northerne parts: so we may judge the excellencie of this by that report which *Strabo* maketh of the South part of *America*, which is the North border of *Eden*, or a part thereof; his words be these in the Latine: *Tota enim hæc regio fragibus & arboribus abundat mansuetis itemq. semper virentibus; This Region aboundeth with pleasant fruits, & 40 Trees alwayes greene: which witnesseth a perpetuall Spring, not found elsewhere but in the Indies only, by reason of the Sunnes neighbourhood, the life & stirrer vp of Nature in a perpetuall actiuitie. In briefe, so great is the fertilitie of the ground, that the people are constrained twice to mow downe their Corne fields, and a third time to eate them vp with Sheep: which husbandry the *Spaniards* wanting in the Valley of *Mexico*, for the first fortie yeares, could not make our kind of Wheate beare Seed, but it grew vp as high as the Trees, and was fruitlesse. Besides, those fields are altogether without weeds* (saith*

(saith *Plinie*) who addeeth this singulartie to that soile, That the second yeere the very stubble (or rather falling downe of the feedes againe) yeldeth them a Haruest of Corne without any further labour: his words are these: *Pobertatis tante sunt, ut sequenti anno sponte restitibilis fiat seges.* *Plin. Nat. hist. lib. 18. cap. 47.*

p. XIII.

Of the Riuer *Pison*, and the Land of *Hauilah*.

After the discoverie of *Eden*, and the testimonies of the fertilitie thereof, it resteth to proue that *Pison* and *Gebon* are branches of *Tigris* and *Euphrates*. For that the knowledge and certaintie of these two Riuers should trouble for many wife men it is strange to me, seeing necessitie it selfe (*Tigris* and *Euphrates* being knowne) findeth them out: for *Euphrates* or *Tigris*, or both, be that Riuer or Riuers of *Eden*, which water *Paradis*, which Riuer or Riuers *Moses* witnesseth afterward, diuided into foure heads, whereof the one is called *Pison*, the other *Gebon*, &c. Could there bee a stranger fancie in the world, then when we finde both these (namely) *Tigris* and *Euphrates* in *Assyria* and *Mesopotamia*, to seeke the other two in *India* and *Aegypt*, making the one *Ganges*, and the other *Nilus*? Two Riuers as farre distant, as any of fame knowne or discovered in the world: the Scriptures making it so plaine, that these Riuers were diuided into foure branches, and with the Scriptures, Nature, Reason and Experience bearing witnesseth. 20 There is no error, which hath not some flipperie and bad foundation, or some appearance of probability, resembling truth, which when men (who studie to bee singular) finde out, (training reason according to their fancies) they then publish to the world matter of contention, and jangling: not doubting but in the variable deformitie of mens minds, to find some partakers or sectators, the better by their helpe to nurse and cherish such weak babes, as their owne inuentions haue begotten.

But this mistaking (and first for the Riuer of *Pison*) seemeth to haue growne out of the not-distinguishing of that Region in *India*, called *Hauilah*, from *Hauilah*, which adioyneth to *Babylonia*, afterward knowne by the name of *Susiana*. For *Hauilah* vpon *Tigris* 30 tooke name from *Hauilah* the sonne of *Cush*; and *Hauilah* in *India*, from *Hauilah* the sonne of *Israhel*, the one remembered by *Moses* in the description of *Paradis* the other *Gen. 10. 7.* where *Moses* setteth downe the generations of *Noah*, and his sonnes after the flood. For the sonnes of *Cush* were *Seba*, *Hauilah*, *Sabtah*, and *Raamah*, and the sonnes of *Israhel* were *Ophir*, and *Hauilah*, &c. of which latter (to wit) of *Ophir* and *Hauilah* the sonnes of *Israhel*, that *Iland* of *Ophir*, (whence *Salomon* had gold) and *Hauilah* adioyning had their names. Now because *Ganges* is a great and a famous Riuer of the East *India*, and *Hauilah* a Countrey of the same, and is situated vpon *Ganges*, hence it came that *Ganges* was taken for *Pison*, which Riuer is said by *Moses* to water the land of *Hauilah*. Or perhaps it was supposed that those foure Riuers, named by *Moses*, must of necessitie be 40 of the greatest in the world; whence (supposing that *Ganges* was the next great and famous Riuer after *Tigris* and *Euphrates*) they chose out this Riuer to make one of the foure. And yet certainly there is another Riuer, whom in their respects they should rather haue chosen then *Ganges*; for the Riuer *Indus* on this side *India*, for beaurie, for neerenesse, & for abilitie, giueth no way place to *Ganges*, but exceedeth it in all. And how can any reasonable man conceiue, that *Ganges* can be one of the foure heads, seeing *Indus* cometh betwene it and *Tigris*? and betwene *Tigris* and *Indus* is all that large Empire of *Persia*, consisting of many Kingdomes. And againe, farther towards the East, and beyond *Indus*, are all those ample Dominions of *India* intra *Gangem*, which lie betwene those two proud Riuers of *Indus* and *Ganges* now called the Kingdome of *Mogor*. So as if *Indus* be not accounted for any of the foure, because it is removed from *Tigris* by all the breadth of *Persia*, then how much lesse *Ganges*, which falleth into the Ocean, little lesse then fortie degrees to the Eastward of *Indus*? Surely, who so euer readeth the storie of *Alexander*, shall finde, that there is no Riuer in *Asia*, that can exceede *Indus*. For *Hydaspis* was of that breadth and depth, as *Alexander* thereon in great Gallies transported himselfe, and the greatest part of his armie, and in sayling downe that branch of *Indus*, found it so large and deepe, and by reason thereof so great a billow, as it endangered his whole Fleete, which was ready to bee swallowed vp therein: *Hydaspis* (as afore said) being but one of many branches of *Indus*, comparable to it, and as

great as it, having besides this, the Rivers of *Coas*, of *Suafius*, *Acsefnes*, *Adri* (otherwise *Hirois*, *Hispalis*, and *Zaradas*, all which make but one *Indus*, and by it are swallowed up with all their Children and companions, which being all incorporated and made one freame, it crosseth athwart *Asia*, and then at *Cambaia* vilerth the Ocean Sea.

Gen. 2. 15.

But because *Pifon*, which compasseth *Hauilah*, as also *Gehon*, which watereth *Cush*, must some where be ioyned with the rest in one bodie, or at least be found to proceede out of the same Countrey of *Eden*, out of which the other two heads doe proceede, out of doubt they cannot eyther the one or the other, be *Ganges*, or *Nilus*: for *Nilus* riseth in the vntermost of the South, and runneth Northward into the *Mediterranean* Sea; and the River *Ganges* riseth out of the Mountaine *Imaus*, or (as others will haue it) *Caucasus*, which diuides the Northerne *Scythia* from *India*, and runneth from North to South into the *Indian Ocean*. And as for *Perath* and *Hiddekel* (that is, *Euphrates* and *Tigris*) the one of them is begotten in *Armenia*, neere *Gorgiana* or *Iberia*, the other not farre off in the same *Armenia*, by the *Gordicane* Mountaines, so as *Ganges*, who onely trauaileth in her owne *India*, and *Nilus* through *Ethiopia* and *Egypt*, neuer saw the land of *Eden*, or ioyned themselves in one channell, either with themselves, or with either of the other; and therefore could not at any time from thence be separated, or diuided into foure heads or branches, according to *Moses*.

Gen. 2. 15.

Therefore the River *Pifon*, which enricheth *Hauilah*, is the same which by ioyning it selfe with *Tigris*, was therefore called *Pifis-tigris*, or *Piso-tigris*, of *Pifon* and *Tigris*, which Kiur watereth that *Hauilah*, which *Hauilah* the Sonne of *Cush* gaue name vnto, and not *Hauilah* of *India*, so called of *Hauilah* the Sonne of *Ishtan*, who inhabited with his brother *Ophir* in the East. And this *Hauilah* of the *Cushites* had also Gold, Bellium, and the Onyx stone. This Bellium is a Tree, of the bignesse of an Oliue, whereof *Arabia* hath great plenty, which yeeldeth a certaine gum sweeter to smell to, but bitter in taste, called also Bellium. The Hebrewes take the Load-stone for Bellium. *Serodius* affirmeth, that *Bela* in Hebrew signifieth Pearle: so doth *Engubinus*; and *Hierome* calls it *Oleaster*: be it what it will, a tree bearing Gum or Pearle: *Hauilah* or *Susiana* hath plenty of both. Now this Countrey of *Susiana* or *Hauilah* stretcheth it selfe toward the North, as farre as the Altars of *Hercules*, and from thence embraceth all the Tract of Land Southward, as farre as the *Persian Gulfe*, on the East side thereof: from which East side had the *Shebans* (which traded with the Citie of *Tyre* according to *Ezekiel*) their great plenty of gold, which *Sirabo* also witnesseth, as was shewed before.

Struch.
Etoph. de Par.

The Greekes had a conceit, that *Pifon* was *Danubius*: the *Rabbines* take it for *Nilus*. *Aben-ezra* (sayth *Hepkins*) out of *Rabbi Saadia*, translateth *Pifon* into *Nilus*: But *Nilus* findeth the same impossibility that *Ganges* doth: and *Danubius* hath the Sea of *Hellefont* and all *Asia* the lesse, betwene it and *Tigris*. Now *Pifon*, which runneth through *Hauilah* or *Susiana*, doth to this day retaineth some signe of this name; for where it and *Tigris* embraceth each other vnder the Citie of *Apamia*, there doe they agree of a ioyned and compounded name, and are called *Piso-tigris*. And it is strange vnto me, that from so great antiquitie there should be found remaining any resembling sound of the first name: for *Babylon* it selfe, which dwelleth so neere these Riueres, is by some writers knowne by the name of *Bandas*, as, by *Positellus*, by *Cassaldus*, of *Baldach*: by *Barins*, of *Bagdad*; and of *Bonghedor*, by *Andrew Theuet*; and yet all those that haue lately seene it, call it *Bagdat*. To this Riuer of *Pifon*, *Ptolomie* indeede with many others giue the name of *Basilius* or *Regius*, and *Gehon* they terme *Mabar-jares* and *Marsus*, and *Basar-jares*. So is *Euphrates*, neere the Spring and Fountaine, by *Sirabo* and *Plinie* called *Pixires*: by *Iunius*, *Puckperah*, out of the Hebrew (that is) The profusion, or comming forth of *Euphrates*: where it breaketh through the Mountaine *Taurus*, it takes the name of *Omyra*. *Plutarch* calls it *Medus* and *Zaranda*: the Hebrewes *Parath*, (sayth *Ar. Mentanus*): *Pagnion*, *Perath*: *Iosephus*, *Phorab*; *Eusebius*, *Zozimus*: *Ammianus*, *Chalymicus*: *Gistilanus*, and *Coluinianus* terme it *Cohar*: which *Ezechiel* calleth *Chebar*; but this is but a branch of *Euphrates*. The *Affryans* know it by the name of *Armalchar*, or *Nahor Malcha*: but now commonly it is called *Frat*.

Post. Cosmog.
Theuet. i. cymog.
Asia tab. 4.

Pant. lib. 5. c. 24.

The same confusion of names hath *Tigris*, as *Diglitio*, and *Diglat*, *Seilax*, and *Sol-lax*: of the Hebrewes it was called *Hiddekel*: now of the inhabitants *Tegil*.

But *Mercer* vpon *Genesis* conceiveth rightly of these Riueres: for *Euphrates* and *Tigris* (sayth he) freame into foure branches, two of which keepe their ancient names, and the other

other two are called *Pifon* and *Gehon*. The reason, why these two riueres ioyned in one (below *Apamia*) lose their names, and are called *Pifis-tigris*, and the memorie of *Euphrates* extinguished, is, because the best part of *Euphrates* running through the channell of *Gehon*, sinketh into the Lakes of *Chaldea* not farre from *Vr*, the Citie of *Abraham*, and fall not intirely into the *Persian* Sea, as *Tigris* accompanied with *Pifon* doth.

This error that *Pifon* was *Ganges*, was first broched by *Iosephus*, (whose fields, though they be fertile, yet are they exceeding full of weedes) and other men (who take his authoritie to be sufficient in matter of description, whereupon depended no other important consequence (were not curious in the examination thereof. For *Epiphanius*, *Augustine*, and *Hierome*, take this for currant; whereof it followed, that as *Pifon* was transported into the East *India*, to find out *Hauilah*: so was *Gehon* drawne into *Africa*, to compass *Ethiopia*. But if *Hauilah*, whereof *Moses* speaketh in the description of *Paradise*, be found to be a Region, adjoining to *Babylon* on the one side, and *Cush* (which is falsely interpreted *Ethiopia*) fastened to it on the other side, wee shall not neede then to worke wonders (that is) to impose vpon men the transportation of Riueres, from one end of the world to the other, which (among other vses) were made to transport men. Now it was in the Valley of *Shinar*, where *Cush* the Sonne of *Ham* first fate downe with his sonnes *Shebab*, *Hauilah*, *Sabtah*, *Baamah*, *Nimrod*, &c. and of *Hauilah*, the sonne of *Cush*, did that Region take name, which *Pifon* compasseth; and the land (called *Cush*) which *Gehon* watereth, tooke name of *Cush* himselfe: For as the sonnes of *Ishtan*, *Ophir* and *Hauilah*, seated themselves as neere together as they could in *India*, so did the sonnes of *Cush* in *Shinar* or *Babylonia*, where *Nimrod* built *Babel*: for *Hauilah* or *Chauilah* was first *Chusea* of *Cush*; then *Chusa*, *Susa*, and *Susiana*.

From this *Hauilah* vnto the Deserts of *Sur*, did the *Israelites* and *Amalechites* possesse all the interiacent Countreies: for *Saul* smote the *Amalechites* from *Hauilah* to *Sur*: which *Sur*, the *Chaldean Paraphrast* conuerteth *Hagra*, and *Hagra* bordereth the red Sea; but this was not meant from *Sur* vpon the Red Sea, to *Hauilah* in the East *India*, for *Saul* was no such traualer or Conquerour, and therefore *Hauilah* must be found neerer home, where the sonnes of *Ismael* inhabited, and which countrey *Saul* wasted: for *Amalec* & the *Amalechites* possesse that necke of Countrey, betwene the *Persian* Sea, and the Red Sea; *Hauilah* being the extreme of the one towards the East; and *Sur* of the other, towards *Egypt* and the West, leauing that great body of *Arabia felix* towards the South, and they spread themselves with the *Midianites* and *Edumians*, from the East part, or backe side of the Holie Land, to the bankes of *Euphrates*, comprising the best part of *Arabia Petraea* and *Deserta*.

1 Sam. 15. 7.

§. XIII.

Of the Riuer Gehon and the Land of Cush: and of the ill translating of the *Ethiopia* for *Cush*, 2. C. HIRON. 11. 16.

Now, as *Hauilah* in the East *India* drew *Pifon* so farre out of his way thither, so I say did *Cush* (being by the *Septuagint* translated *Ethiopia*) force *Gehon* into *Africa*. For *Cush* being taken for *Ethiopia* by the *Greekes* whom the *Latines* followed, *Gehon* consequently was esteemed for *Nilus*. But *Ethiopiens* are, as much, as *blacks* or *burnt faces*, whose proper Countrey is called *Thebaides*, lying to the Southward of all *Egypt*. And although there bee many other Regions of *Ethiopiens*, and farre South in *Africa*, yet those of *Thebaides* are those so often remembered in the *Egyptian* stories, and out of which Nation they had many times their Kings of *Egypt*: all which *Ethiopiens* are very neere, or else directly vnder the Equinoctiall line, which is very far from that land inhabited by the *Chusites*; who are neither blacke of colour, nor in any sort neighbouring *Torrida Zona*. But this translation of the *Septuagint*, *Pererius* doth forsake in this manner: There are (sayth he) two *Ethiopia*'s, the East, and the West; and this diuision he findeth in *Sirabo*, out of *Homer*. Now because there is no colour to make *Chus* *Ethiopia* in *Africa*, *Pererius* will make *Cush* and the land of the *Chusites* (which is *Arabia Petraea*, and a part of *Arabia the Happy*, with the Region of *Madian*) to bee the East *Ethiopia*.

See more of
this point.
c. 7. §. 10.

Now if it be granted, that *Cush* and the land of the *Chusites*, be that tract from *Sur* to *Hauilah*, according to the Scriptures: *Habitanis* *Ismael* ab *Hauilah* vsq; *Sur*, quare respicit *Gen.* 25. 18. *Egyptum*

Ægyptum introeuntibus Affyrios; ISMAEL dwelt from Haulah unto Sur, that is, towards Ægypt, as thou goest toward Affyria; The same sufficeth to prove that Gehon cannot be Nilus, but a River which watereth Cabb, and not Æthiopia. But this place of Scripture, Habitavit ISMAEL, &c. hath this sense: Ismael dwelt from Haulah, which is the way of Affyria, or the Countrey bordering Affyria; and Sur, which lyeth toward Ægypt, which is as much to say, as, The issues of Ismael (where of there were twelve Princes) whom God had promised to make a great people, inhabited all those Regions between the border of Ægypt and Affyria. And that they were (according to the Word of God) so increased and multiplied, it well appeared, when Zearab the Chusite, which others call Thuramiba, brought an Armie of ten hundred thousand against Asa King of Iuda. Which Armie came not out of Æthiopia beyond Ægypt; for that had been a strange progresse for such a multitude, as ten hundred thousand, hauing so mightie a King as the King of Ægypt, betwene Palestina and Æthiopia. But these were the Chusites, Amalechites, Madianites, Ismaelites, and Arabians. For it is written, that after Asa (strengthened by God) had defeated this world of an Armie, hee in following his victorie tooke some of the Cities of King Zearab round about, as Gerar. Now that Gerar is a Citie of the Æthiopians, it cannot be suspected: for these be the wordes of the Scripture disproving it: And ABRAHAM departed thence toward the South Countrey, and dwelt between Cadsh and Sur, and sojourned in Gerar: Now Sur is that part, vpon which Moses and the Israelites first set their feet after they passed the Red Sea, where the Amalechites in Rephidim set on them, supposing that they had beene wearie, and vnable to resist. Againe, in the storie of Isaac it is written: Wherefore ISAAC went to ABIMELECH, and the Philistims unto Gerar: and I am sure ABIMELECH and the Philistims were no Æthiopians. And lastly, Moses himselfe, where he describeth the bounds of Canaan, hath these words: Then the border of the Canaanites was from Sydon, as thou comest to Gerar: for Sydon was the frontier of Canaan towards the North, and Gerar by Gazah towards the South. But indeed, howsoever Pererius doth with an honest excuse false his translation of Chus for Æthiopia, yet it appeareth plainly, that the Septuagint and Iosephus did altogether misvnderstand this place. And first, for Homers East and West Æthiopia, they are both found elsewhere. For Plinie in his first Booke and eighth Chapter, citeth Homer for an Authour of these two Æthiopia's. But the East Æthiopia is that which compasseth Nilus to the South of Ægypt, and is the South border thereof; now a part of the Empire of the Abyssines, vnder Prester Iohn; And the West Æthiopia is that, which ioyneth it selfe with the River Niger, which wee call Senega and Gambra: for thereabouts are these Æthiopians called Perossi, Duraites, with diuers other names, which Plinie numbred. But all these are in Africa, and beyond the Desarts thereof, saith Plinie out of Homer, Agrippa, and Iuba; which Regions indeede (I meane that of Niger, and that of Prester Iohn, and the Troglodytes) lye due East and West. But as for Cabb and the Region of the Ismaelites, &c. they are extended directly North from that Æthiopia, which is beyond Ægypt. Now, that Iosephus was exceeding grosse herein, it appeareth by that fiction, vvhich he hath of Moses when hee serued Pharaon, in the warres against the Æthiopians: for in that (to make Chus, Æthiopia) hee transporteth Madian by miracle ouer the Red Sea, and beyond all Ægypt, and setteth it in Æthiopia, as shall bee shewed more at large in the Chapter of the Worlds Plantation. Againe, that Gehon was improperly translated Nilus, Pererius confesseth, and layeth it rather to the corruption of the Greeke Copie, than otherwise. And whereas the Septuagint haue conuerted this place of the Prophet HIEREMIZ: And what hast thou now to doe in the way of Ægypt, to drinke the water of Nilus? Quid tibi vis in via Egypti, vt bibas aquam Gehon? to this saith PERERIVS, profecto Hebraice ibi non est vox Gehon, sed Sichor, que significat nigrum & turbidum; Truely (saith PERERIVS) the word Gehon in this place, is not found in the Hebrew, but Sichor, which signifieth blacke and troubled water.

Furthermore, this is a manifest and vnanswerable argument, that Chus was ill taken for Æthiopia. Moses married the daughter of Iethra, Prince and Priest of Madian, whom both the Greeke and Latine call a Madianite, and not Æthiopiissim, as (with Iosephus) the Genens conuers it, though it helpe it a little with a marginall note. Now it is without dispute, that Zipporah was of the Countrey of Madian, which is that part of Arabia

Arabia Petraea, bordering the Red Sea, for it is written in the second of Exodus, that MOSES fled from PHARAO into the Land of Madian, and sate downe by a Well, &c. and a-
gain, in the third of Exodus; When MOSES kept the sheepe of IETHRO his father in law, Priest of Madian, &c. Indee, these four names are eury where mixt in the Scriptures, because they dwell confusely together (to wit) the Madianites, the Ismaelites, the Amalekites, and the Chusites, which were all in one general word, Arabians, and in the Scriptures sometimes called by one of those names, and sometimes by another, as in Gen. 37. v. 25. 27. & 28. that Ioseph was sold to the Ismaelites; and in the same Chapter, v. 36. it is written, that the Madianites sold Ioseph to Putiphar, Pharaos Steward. The Genenians, in a marginall note (to auoid this confounding of the Nations) say, that Moses wrote according to their opinion, who tooke the Madianites and Ismaelites to be all one. But Moses wrote not after any mans opinion, he wrote the truth, and these were all Arabians, & so in this very place it appeareth by their merchandise, which they brought with them, when they bought Ioseph: for their Camels were laden with Spicery and Balme, and Myrrhe, which are the trades of Arabia felix: from whence chiefly, and from the East India, all the World is serued with Myrrhe and Frankincense, and their Spices they receiued from the East side of the Arabian Gulfe, as aforesaid. And in the 39. Chap. it is said: That Putiphar bought Ioseph of the Ismaelites, which the Chaldean Paraphrast in the same place calleth Arabians. Now, to make this the more manifest, it is written in the first of Iudges, That when Israel had sowne, then came vp the Madianites, and the Amalekites, and they of the East, and came vpon them: they of the East, were Arabians of the Desert; so as where before in the buying of Ioseph, the Madianites and the Ismaelites were confused, here the Madianites and Amalekites are made one Nation. For in the prosecution of the Story of Gedeon, the Madianites only are named, as comprehending both Nations; and in the eighth Chapter, v. 24. these Nations are all called Ismaelites, and neither Madianites nor Amalekites. As when Gedeon desired, that euery man would giue him the golden care-rings, which they had taken after the victory against Zebah and Zalmunna, Kings of Arabia, amounting to 1700. shickles of gold, it is written: For they had golden care-rings, because they were Ismaelites. And these Ismaelites were a great and valiant Nation, and euer in action of warre. Manus eius contra omnes, & manus omnium contra eum; His hand (saith God of ISMAEL) shall be against all men, and euery mans hand against him. Of these Ismaelites came the Mahometan Arabians, though some Writers thinke Mahomet to be of the Schenite. And these Ismaelites, which inhabit chiefly in Cedar, and the Desarts of Sur and Pharaon (saith Iosephus) vse poyson vpon their Arrowes, as the Indians doe. Towards the South-east are the Madianites, and Chusites: and beyond them, towards the Desarts of Arabia, the Amalekites; and all are one Nation, and all Arabians.

Lastly, the ill translation of Æthiopia for Chus, is among other places, made most apparant, in the second of Chronicles, in these words: So the Lord stirred up against IERORAM, the spirit of the Philistines, and the Arabians, which confine the Æthiopians; so Hierom reads it: the Genens translation hath it, which were besides the Æthiopians. Now, how far it is off betwene the Philistines, and the Negro's, or the Æthiopians, euery man that looketh in a Map may iudge. For the Philistines and Arabians doe mixe & ioine with the Land of the Chusites, and are distant from Æthiopia about two and thirtie, or three & thirtie degrees, and therefore not their next neighbours, but all Ægypt, and the Desarts of Sur and Pharaon, are betwene them. So as this place of the second of Chronicles, should haue bene translated in these words: So the Lord stirred up against IERORAM, the spirit of the Philistines, and the Arabians, which confine and border vpon the Chusites, who indeed are their next neighbours. * Nulla superest dubitatio quin Æthiopia in Sacris literis sit Arabia propinqua; There remaineth no doubt (saith Stenchius) but Æthiopia in the Scriptures, is taken for that Countrey, which ierneth to Arabia.

Now may we thinke it is probable, or possible, that Moses could be ignorant of Nilus? No, he knew it, no liuing man so well, and therefore would neuer haue named Gehon, for Nilus, or Nilus, for Gehon. Surely, if Moses had meant Nilus, when hee named Gehon, he would haue called the River (into which he was cast vpon Reeds, and preferred by God, working compassion in the Daughter of Pharaon) a River of Ægypt, where in he was borne & bred, & wrought so many miracles. Besides, the River of Nilus is often named in the Scriptures, but neuer by the name of Gehon. And if Moses had told the Israelites,

P. 1. 5. c. 1.

C. 13. v. 3.

C. 1. v. 10.

Israelites, that *Nilus* had bene a Riuer of *Paradise*, they might iustly haue thought, that he had derided them: for they had liued there all dayes of their liues, and found no such *Paradise* at all, nor any memory, or speech thereof; except we shall beleue the *Paradise* of *Hesperides*, where (saith *Plinie*) there was nothing found in his time, but wilde Oliues in stead of golden Apples. But *Nilus* is twice called *Sichor*, once in *Egypt*, & once in the Prophet *Hieremie*; and yet in those places it is not said to be a Riuer of *Ethiopia*, but of *Egypt*. For in a word, the *Israelites* had neuer any communion or affaires with the *Ethiopians*, nor any intelligence, or trade, beyond *Egypt*, to the South; but the Enemies which they had on the South, and East parts, were these Nations of the *Chusites*, *Philistines*, *Ismaelites*, *Amalekites*, and *Madianites*: who being oftengouerned by many little Kings, or *Reguli*, were distinguished in names, according to the Fathers and heads of those Nations; but in one generall name were all *Arabians*. On the North side of *Canaan*, they were afflicted with the *Galestians*, with the *Magogians*, *Tubalines*, and others their adherents; and thirdly within themselves, the Nations, which remained of the ancient *Canaanites*, held the strongest Cities vpon the Sea-coast (as) *Tyre*, *Sidon*, *Acon*, *Gaza*, and many others: yea, *Ierusalem* it selfe was with-held from *Israel* (from the dayes of *Moses*, euen vnto the time of *Dauid*) by the *Tebusites*.

That which now remaineth of most difficultie is, that it doth not appeare, that any part of *Gehon* watereth that part of *Arabia* the tony, which the *Chusites* inhabited in the times of the Kings of *Israel*: and in this *Desart* it was that *Mas. Beroaldus* lost himselfe in seeking out *Paradise*: for he was driuen (to my vnderstanding) to create two Rivers, and call them *Gehon*, and *Pison*; to the end that the one might water *Chus*, and the other *Hauilah*, for I find none such in rerum natura, as he hath described: by which Rivers he also includeth within *Paradise*, euen *Arabia* the *Desart*.

And as he well proued that *Pison* was not *Ganges*; nor *Gehon*, *Nilus*, so where to find them else-where it seemeth he knew not. Certainly this Riuer of *Gehon*, which he maketh to fall into the *Mediterran* at *Gaza*, and whose Springs he findeth farre East in *Arabia*, is but imaginary: for the Current by *Gaza* is but a small streame, rising betwene it and the Red Sea, whose head from *Gaza* it selfe is little more then twenty English miles, as shall appeare hereafter. But questionlesse, hence it comes that many were mistaken. They all considered of the habitations of the *Chusites*, as they were planted when the state of *Israel* stood, and when it flourish'd, being then their neere Neighbours, & neuer looked backe to the first seates and plantation of *Chus*. For after the Flood, *Chus* and his Children neuer rested, till they found the Valley of *Shinar*, in which, and neere which himselfe with his sonnes first inhabited. *Hauilah* tooke the Riuer-side of *Tigris* chiefly on the East, which after his owne name he called *Hauilah*, (now *Sustana*;) *Raamah*, and *Sheba* farther downe the Riuer, in the entrance of *Arabia felix*. *Nimrod* seated himselfe in the best of the Valley, where he built *Babel*, whereof that Region had afterwards the name of *Babylonia*. *Chus* himselfe and his brother *Mizraim* first kept vpon *Gehon*, which falleth into the Lakes of *Chaldea*, and in proceesse of time, and as their people increased, they drew themselves more Westerly towards the Red or *Arabian* Sea: from whence *Mizraim* past ouer into *Egypt*, in which Tract the *Chusites* remained for many yeeres after. Now because there could be no such Riuer found in *Arabia* the stonie, which they might entitle *Gehon*, they translated *Chus* *Ethiopia*, and *Gehon*, *Nilus*. And if we doe examine this mistaking by example, we shall the better perceiue it as it was. For let vs suppose, that *Brute*, or whosoever else that first peopled this *Iland*, had arriued vpon the Riuer of *Tames*, and calling the *Iland* after his name *Britannia*, it might bee said that *Tames* or *Tems* was a Riuer that watered *Britannia*: and when afterwards in proceesse of time, the same *Brute* had also discovered and conquered *Scotland*, which he also intituled by the same name of *Britannia*, after ages might conclude that *Scotland* was no part thereof, because the Riuer of *Tems* is not found therein. Or let vs suppose that *Europa*, the Daughter of the King

Hord. 1. c. 4.

of *Tyre* in *Phenicia*, gaue the name to *Europe*, according to *Herodotus*, and that the first discoverers thereof arriued in the mouth of some Riuer in *Thrace*, which then watered as much of *Europe*, as hee first discovered, shall wee in like sort resolute that *France*, *Spain*, and *Italie*, &c. are no parts of *Europe*, because that Riuer is not found in them, or any of them? in like manner was it said by *Moses* in his description of *Gehon*, that it watered the whole Land of *Chus*; but not the whole Land

which

which the *Chusites* should or might in future time conquer, people, and inhabite, seeing in after-ages they became Lords of many Nations, and they might (perchance) haue bene Masters in time, (as the *Saracens*, which came of them, were) of a great part of the world. For (though the *Babylonian* Empire, which tooke beginning in *Nimrod* the sonne of *Chus*, consisted at the first but of foure Cities, (to wit) *Babel*, *Erech*, *Acad*, and *Chalne*, yet we find, that his Successors within a few yeeres after commanded all the whole World in effect: and the fame of *Babel* consumed the memorie of *Chusea*. For of this *Tower of Confusion* did all that Land take the name of *Babylonia*: and the greatnesse of that Empire founded by *Nimrod* a younger sonne, obscured the name and nation of his father *Cush* in those parts, vntill they crept farther off, and in places not yet entituled, and farther from the *Babylonian* Empire, where the *Chusites* retayned their names, which also they fastned to the Soile and Territorie by themselves afterwards inhabited and held. And we may not thinke, that *Chus* or any of his, could in halfe crepe through those desert Regions, which the length of 130. yeeres after the Flood had (as it were) fortified with Thickets, and permitted euery Bulb and Bryar, Reede and Tree to ioyne themselves (as it were) into one mayne body and Forrest. For if we looke with iudgement and reason into the Worlds plantation, we shall find, that euery Family feared themselves as neare together as possible they could, and though necessitie enforced them, after they grew full of people, to spread themselves, and creepe out of *Shinar* or *Babylonia*, yet did they it with this aduice, as that they might at all times resort, and succour one another by Riuer, the fields being then (without all doubt) impassable. So *Nimrod*, who out of wit and strength vsurped dominion ouer the rest, fate downe in the very confluence of all those Rivers, which watered *Paradise*: for thither it was to which the greatest troupes of *Noahs* children repayed; and from the same place whence Mankind had his beginning, from thence had they againe their increase. The first Father of men *Adam*, had therein his former habitation. The second Father of Mankind *Noah*, began from thence his dispersion.

Now as *Nimrod* the yongest, yet strongest, made his choice of *Babel* (as aforesaid) which both *Tigris* and *Euphrates* cleauid and enriched; so did *Hauilah* place himselfe vpon *Piso*: *Tigris*: *Raamah* and his sonne *Sheba* farther downe vpon the same Riuer, on the Sea-coast of *Arabia*: *Chus* himselfe vpon *Gehon*, the fairest branch of *Euphrates*. And when they began to spread themselves farther off, yet they alwayes fastened themselves to the Rivers sides: for *Nimue*, *Charran*, *Reseph*, *Cannab*, &c. in *Chaldea*, and the other first-peopled Cities were all founded vpon these nauigable Rivers, or their branches, by which the one might giue succour and assistance to the other; as is already often remembered.

§. XV.

A conclusion by way of repetition of somethings spoken of before.

BE now to conclude this dispute, it appeareth to me by the testimonies of the Scriptures, that *Paradise* was a place created by God, and a part of this our Earth and habitable World, seated in the lower part of the Region of *Eden*, afterward called *Aram fluuiorum*, or *Mesopotamia*, which taketh into it also a portion of *Shinar* and *Armenia*: this Region standing in the most excellent temper of all other, (to wit) 35. degrees from the *Aequinoctiall*, and 55. from the North-pole: in which climate the most excellent Vines, Fruits, Oyle, Graine of all sorts are to this day found in abundance. And there is nothing that better proueth the excellency of this said soile and temper, then the abundant growing of the Palme-trees, without the care and labour of man. For wherein focusse the Earth, Nature, and the Sunne can most vaunt, that they haue excelled, yet shall this Plant be the greatest wonder of all their workes: this Tree alone giueth vnto man whatsoeuer his life begetteth at Natures hand. And though it may be said, that these Trees are found both in the East and West *Indies*, which Countries are also blessed with a perpetual Spring and Summer, yet, lay downe by those pleasures and benefits the fearefull and dangerous Thunders and Lightnings, the horrible and frequent Earthquakes, the dangerous diseases, the multitude of venomous Beasts and Wormes, with other inconueniencies, and then there will bee found no comparison betwene the one and the other.

What

What other excellencies this Garden of *Paradise* had, before God (for mans ingratitude and crueltie) cursed the Earth, we cannot iudge; but I may safely thinke, that by how much *Adam* exceeded all living men in perfection, by being the immediate workmanship of God, by so much did that chosen and particular Garden exceede all parts of the Vniuersall World, in which God had planted (that is) made to grow the Trees of Life, of Knowledge, Plants onely proper, and becoming the *Paradise*, and Garden of so great a Lord.

The summe of all this is, That whereas the eyes of men in this Scripture haue beene dimme-sighted (some of them finding *Paradise* beyond our knowne World: some, about the middle Region of the Ayre: some, eleuated neere the Moone: others as farre South as the Line, or as farre North as the Pole, &c.) I hope that the reader will be sufficiently satisfied, that these were but like Castles in the Ayre, and in mens fancies, vainly imagined. For it was Eastward in *Eden* (saith *Moses*) Eastward, in respect of *Judas*, that God planted this Garden, which *Eden* wee finde in the Prophets where it was, and whereof the name (in some part) remaineth to this day. A Riuer went out of *Eden* to water this Garden, and from thence diuided it selfe into foure branches; and we find that both *Tigris* and *Euphrates* swimming through *Eden*, doe ioync in one, and afterward taking wayes apart, doe water *Chus* and *Hauilah* according to *Moses*: the true seates of *Chus* and his Sonnes then being in the Valley of *Shinar*, in which *Nimrod* built *Babel*. That *Pison* was *Ganges*, the Scripture, Reason, and experience teach the contrary: for that which was neuer ioyned, cannot be diuided; *Ganges*, which inhabiteth *India*, cannot be a branch of the Riuer of *Eden*; That *Gehon* was *Nilus*, the same distance maketh the same impossibilitie, and this Riuer is a greater stranger to *Tigris* & *Euphrates*, then *Ganges* is: for although there are betwene *Tigris* and *Ganges* about foure thousand miles, yet they both rise in the same quarter of the World; but *Nilus* is begotten in the Mountaines of the Moone, almost as farre off as the Cape of good hope, and falleth into the *Mediterran* Sea: and *Euphrates* distilleth out of the Mountaines of *Armenia*, and falleth into the *Gulfe of Persia*: the one riseth in the South, and trauielleth North: the other riseth in the North, and runneth South, three score and three degrees the one from the other. In this leafe following, I haue added a *Chorographickall* description of this terrestriall *Paradise*, that the Reader may thereby the better conceiue the preceding Discourse; and this is the reward I looke for, that my labour may but receiue an allowance suspended, vntill such time as this description of mine be reprocured by a better.

CHAP. IIII.

Of the two chiefe Trees in the Garden of *Paradise*.

§. I.

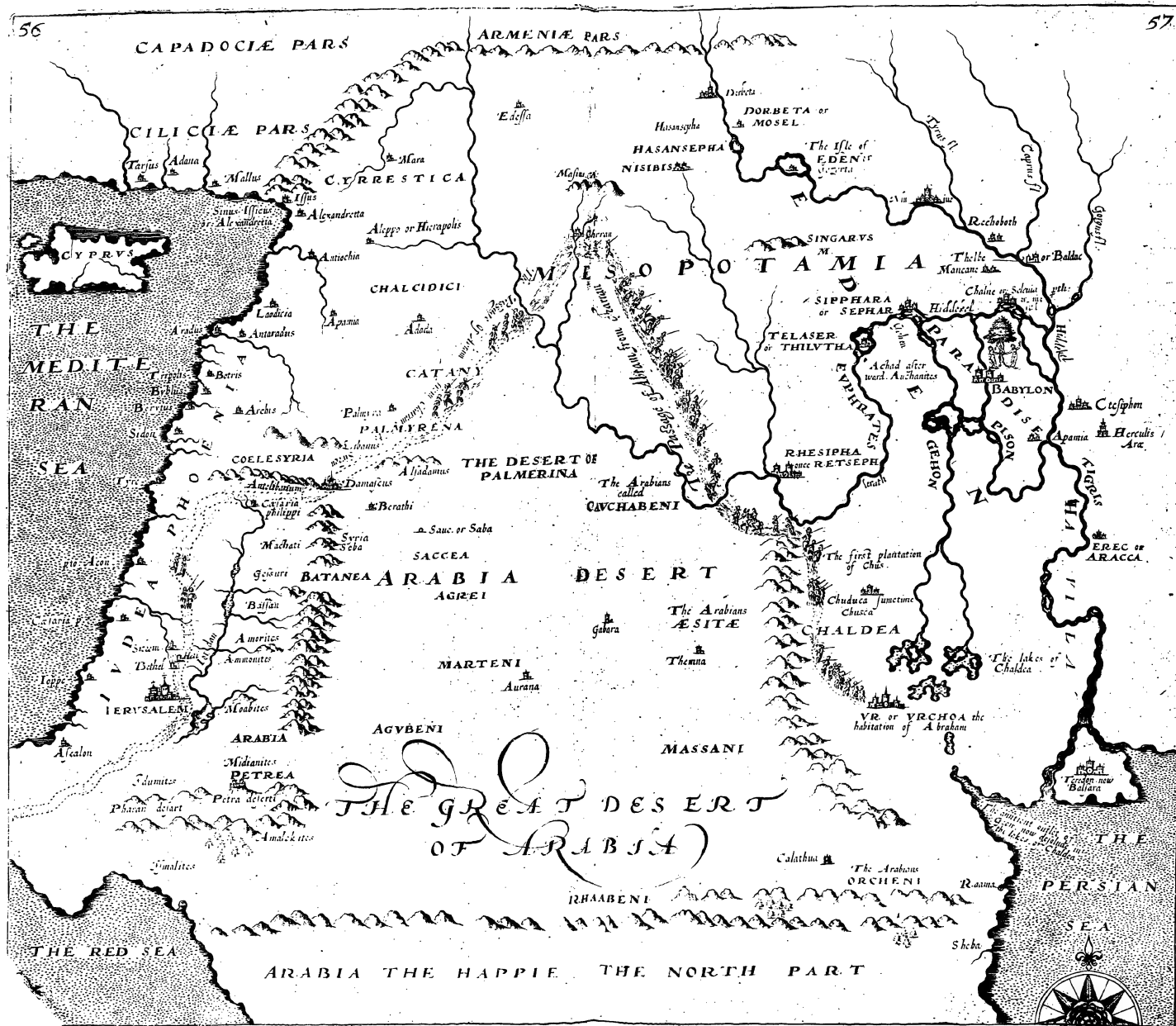
That the tree of Life was a materiall tree: and in what sense it is to be taken, that man by his eating the forbidden fruit, is made subiect to death.



Or eating the forbidden fruit of the tree of Knowledge was *Adam* driven out of *Paradise*, in *exilium uitae temporalis*, into the banishment of temporall life, saith *Beda*. That these Trees of Life and Knowledge were materiall Trees (though Figures of the Law and of the Gospell) it is not doubted by the most religious and learned Writers: although the wits of men, which are so volatile, as nothing can fixe them, and so slipperie, as nothing can fasten upon them, haue in this also deliuered to the World, an imaginarie doctrine.

The Tree of Life (say the *Hebrewes*) hath a plurall construction, and is to be vnderstood, *Lignum uitae*, The Tree of liues, because the fruit thereof had a propertie, to preserue both the growing, sensitiue, and ratiouall life of man; and not onely (but for *Adams* transgression) had prolonged his owne dayes, but also giuen a durefull continuance to all posteritie; and that, so long, as a body compounded of Elements could last.

And although it is hard to thinke, that flesh and bloud could be immortall, but that it must once perill and rot, by the vnchanged Law of God imposed on his creatures, Man



Man (notwithstanding) should haue enioyed thereby a long, healthfull, and vngrievd life: after which (according to the opinion of most Diuines) he should haue bene translated, as *Enoch* was. And as before the Flood, the dayes of men had the long measure of eight hundred or nine hundred yeeres; and soone after the flood, of two hundred yeeres and vpwards, euen to five hundred: so if *Adam* had not disobeyed Gods first and easie Commandement, the liues of men on Earth might haue continued double, treble, or quadruple to any of the longest times of the first age, as many learned men haue conceived. *Chrysostome*, *Rupertus*, *Tostatus*, and others were of beleeft, that (but for *Adams* fall and transgression) *Adam* and his Posteritie had bene immortal. But such is the infinite Wisdome of God, as he foresaw that the earth could not haue contained Mankind; or else, that millions of soules must haue bene vngenerated, and haue had no being, if the first number, wherewith the Earth was replenished, had abode thereon for euer: and therefore that of *Chrysostome* must bee vnderstood of immortalitie of bodies, which should haue bene translated and glorified.

But of what kind or *Species* this Tree of Life was, no man hath taken on him to teach: in which respect many haue conceived, that the same was not materiall, but a mere Allegorie, taking their strength out of *Salomon*, where Wisdome is compared to the Tree of Life, and from other places, where also *Christ* is called the Tree of Life, and out of the *Apocalypsis*, I will gree to him that ouercommeth, to eate of the Tree of Life, which is in the Paradise of God. But to this place *Saint Augustines* may luffice, (which is) That the one doth not exclude the other, but that, as there was a terrestriall Paradise, so there was a celestially. For although *Agar* and *Sara* were Figures of the Old, and New Testament, yet to thinke that they were not Women, and the Maide and Wife of *Abraham*, were meere foolishnesse. And so in this place the sense of the Scripture is manifest. For God brought out of the earth every Tree faire to the sight, and sweete to taste; the Tree also of Life in the midst of the Garden: which sheweth, that among the trees, which the Earth by Gods commandement produced, the tree of Life was one, and that the fruit thereof was also to be eaten. The report of this Tree was also brought to the ancient Poets: for as from the indigested matter or Chaos, *Hesiodus*, *Homer*, *Ouid*, and others, stole the inuention of the created World; so from the Garden of Paradise they tooke the Plat-forme of the Orchard of *Alcinous*; and another of the *Hesperides*: and from the Tree of Life, their *Nectar* and *Ambrosia*; for *Nectar*, according to *Suidas*, signifieth making young, and *Ambrosia*, immortalitie; and therefore said to bee the meate and drinke of the gods.

§. II.

Of *Becanus*'s opinion, that the Tree of Knowledge was *Ficus Indica*.

Now for the Tree of Knowledge of good and euill, some men haue presumed farther, especially *Goropius Becanus*, who giueth himselfe the honour to haue found out the kind of this Tree, which none of the Writers of former times could deuise, he luffice at, whereto *Goropius* much maruaileth. But as hee had an inuentive braine, so there neuer liued any man, that beleeued better thereof, and of himselfe. Surely, howsoeuer his opinion may be valued, yet hee surpeth the praise due to others, at least if the inuention bee at that price at which hee setteth it. For *Moses Barcephas* hath tied on this coniecture about sixe hundred yeeres before *Becanus* was borne: and *Barcephas* himselfe referreth the inuention to an antiquitie more remote, citing for his Author *Philoxenus Mabrogensis*, and others, whose very words *Goropius* vseth, both concerning the Tree, and the reasons wherewith hee would induce other men to that beleeft. For *Moses Barcephas* in his Treatise of Paradise (the first Part and fol. 48.) saith, That the Tree of Knowledge was *Ficus Indica*; The Indian Fig-Tree, of which the greatest plentie (saith *Becanus*) are found vpon the banks of *Euphrates*, one of the Rivers which falleth into *Indus*; where *Alexander* built his Fleet of Gallies in, or neere the Kingdome of *Porsus*.

This Tree beareth a fruit of the bignesse of a great Peaze, or (as *Plinie* reporteth) some what bigger, and that it is a tree, *sempiterna*, *Almaies* planting it selfe; that is preadeth it selfe so farre abroad, as that a troope of horsemen may hide themselves vnder it. *Strabo* saith, that it hath branches bending downwards, & leaues no lesse then a shield.

Aristobolus

Aristobolus affirmeth, that fiftie Horsemen may shadow themselves vnder one of these Trees. *Oueserius* rayleth this number to four hundred. This tree (saith *Plinius* *theophrastus*) exceedeth all other in bignesse, which also *Plinius* and *Oueserius* confirme: to the trunk exceedeth all other in bignesse, which also *Plinius* and *Oueserius* confirme: to the trunk of which, these Authors giue such a magnitude, as I shame to repeat. But it may bee, that all speake by an ill-vnderstood report. For this *Indian* Fig-tree is not so rare a plant, as *Becanus* conceiueth, who because hee found it no where else, would needs draw the Garden of *Paradise* to the Tree, and set it by the *Riuer* *Acclines*. But many parts of the world haue them, and I my selfe haue seene twentie thousand of them in one Valley, not farre from *Paria* in *America*. They grow in moist grounds, and in this manner: After they are first shot vp some twentie or thirtie foot in length (some more, 10 some lesse, according to the soile) they spread a very large top, hauing no bough nor twig in the trunk or stemme: for from the vmoest end of the head branches there issueth out a gummy iuyce, which hangeth downward like a cord or sinew, and within a few moneths reacheth the ground; which it no sooner toucheth but it taketh roote, and then being filled both from the top boughes, and from his owne proper roote, this cord maketh it selfe a Tree exceeding hastily. From the vmoest boughes of these yong Trees there fall againe the like cords, which in one yeare and lesse (in that World of a perpetuall Spring) become also trees of the bignesse of the neather part of a Lance, and as straight, as arte or nature can make any thing, casting such a shade, and making such a kind of Groue, as no other Tree in the world can doe. Now, one of these Trees 20 considered with all his yong ones, may (indeed) throwd foure hundred or foure thousand Horsemen, if they please; for they couer whole Vallies of ground where these Trees grow neare the Sea-banke, as they doe by thousands in the inner part of *Trinidad*. The cordes which fall downe ouer the banks into the Sea, shooting alway downward to finde roote vnder water, are in those Seas of the *Indies*, where *Oysters* breede, intangled in their beds, so as by pulling vp one of these cordes out of the Sea, I haue seene fise hundred *Oysters* hanging in a heape thereon; whereof the report came, that *Oysters* grew on Trees in *India*. But that they beare any such huge leaues, or any such delicate fruit, I could neuer finde, and yet I haue trauiell'd a dozen miles together vnder them: but to returne to *Gorapinus Becanus*. This Tree (saith 30 hee) was good for meate and pleasing to the sight, as the Tree of Knowledge of good and euill is describ'd to bee.

Secondly, this Tree hauing so huge a trunk (as the former Authors report; and *Becanus* beleueeth) it was in this Tree that *Adam* and *Eue* hid themselves from the presence of God, for no other tree (saith he) could contayne them. But first it is certayne, that this Tree hath no extraordinarie magnitude, as touching the trunk or stemme, for among ten thousand of them it is hard to finde any one bigger then the rest, and these are all but of a meane size. Secondly, the words of *Moses* translated, *in media ligni*, are by all the Interpreters vnderstood in the plurall number (that is) *in the midst of the Trees*. But his third argument (or rather the argument of *Moses Bar-ce-40 phas*, word for word) is, That when *Adam* and *Eue* found themselves naked, they made them breeches of Fig-leaues; which proueth (indeed) that either the tree it selfe was a Fig-tree, or that a Fig-tree grew neare it: because *Adam* being posselt with shame, did not run vp and downe the Garden to seeke out leaues to couer him, but found them in the place it selfe; and these leaues of all other were most commodious by reason of their largenesse, which *Plinius* auoweth in these words: *Latitudo foliorum peltis effigiem Amazonia habet; The broadth of the leaues hath the shape of an Amazonian shield: which also Theophrast* confirmeth; the forme of which Targets *Virgil* toucheth:

*Ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis
Penthesilea furem.*

The *Amazon* with Crescent-formed shield:
Penthesilea leads into the field.

Here *Becanus* desireth to be beleued, or rather threatneth vs all that reade him, to giue credite to this his borrowed discourse, vying this confident (or rather cholerike) speech: *Quis erit tam impudenter obstinatus, si hac à nobis de sicu hac ex antiquis scriptoribus cum Moyses narratione comparet, ut audeat dicere aliam arborem inueniri posse, que cum illa magis quadret? Who will be so impudently obstinate, if he compare these things; which*

we haue reported of this Fig-tree, and out of ancient Writers deliuered, with the narration of *Moyses*, as to dare to auow, that any other Tree can bee found, which doth more properly answer, or agree therewith? But for my selfe, because I neither find this Tree, sorting in body, in largenesse of leaues, nor in fruit to this report, I rather incline to the opinion of *Philo*: That the Earth neuer brought forth any of these trees neither before nor after; but I leaue euery man to his owne beliefe, for the matter is of no great weight as touching his kinde: onely thereby, and by the easie Commandement by God giuen to *Adam*, to forbear to feede thereon, it pleased God to make triall of his obedience: *Prohibitum, non propter aliud, quam ad commendandum parum ac simplicis Obedientie bonum; Being forbidden, not for any other respect, then thereby to commend the goodness of pure and simple Obedience.* *Augustinus Cuius. Dei, l. 1. c. 10.*

¶ III.

OF *BECANUS* his not vnwisly allegorizing of the story of his *Ficus Indica*.

IN this I must doe *Becanus* right, that he hath very wittily allegorized this Tree, allowing his supposition of the Tree it selfe to bee true. The effects whereof, because his discourses are exceeding ample, I haue gathered in these few words. As this Tree (saith he) so did man grow straight and vpriht towards God, vntill such time as he had transgressed and broken the Commandement of his Creator; and then like vnto the boughes of this tree, he began to bend downward, and stooped toward the earth, which all the rest of *Adams* posteritie after him haue done, rooting themselves therein, and fastning themselves to this corrupt world. The exceeding vnbragiousnesse of this tree, he compareth to the darke and shadowed life of man, through which the Sunne of iustice being not able to pierce, wee haue all remained in the shadow of death, till it pleased *Christ* to climbe the tree of the Crosse for our enlightning and redemption. The little fruit which it beareth, and which is hard to find among so many large leaues, may be compared (saith hee) to the little vertue, and vnperceiued knowledge among so large vanities, which obscure and shadow it ouer. And as this 30 fruit is exceeding sweet, and delicate to the taste and palate: so are the delights and pleasures of the world most pleasing, while they dure. But as all those things which are most mellifluous, are soonest changed into choller and bitterness: so are our vanities and pleasures conuerted into the bitterest sorrowes and repentances. That the leaues are so exceeding large, the fruit (for such leaues) exceeding little, in this, by comparison we behold (saith he) the many cares and great labours of worldly men, their sollicitude, their outward shewes, and publick ostentation, their apparent pride and large vanities; and if we seeke for the fruit, which ought to bee their vertuous and pious actions, we find it of the bignesse of the smallest peaze; glorie, to all the world apparent; goodness, to all the world insensible. And furthermore, as the leaues, body, and 40 boughes of this Tree, by so much exceed all other Plants, as the greatest men of power and worldly abilitie surpass the meanest: so is the little fruit of such men, and such trees, rather sifting and becoming the vnworthiest Shrub, and humblest Bryar, or the poorest and basest Man, than such a flourishing statelynesse, and magnitude. Lastly, whereas *Adam*, after hee had disobeyed God, and beheld his owne nakednesse and shame, sought for leaues to couer himselfe withall, this may serue to put vs in minde of his and our finnes, as often as we put on our garments, to couer and adorne our rotten and mortall bodies: to pamper and maintayne which, wee vfe so many vncharitable and cruell practices in this world.

¶ IPII.

Of the name of the tree of Knowledge of good and euill: with some other notes touching the storie of *Adams* sinne.

NOW, as touching the sense of this tree of Knowledge of good and euill, and what operation the fruit thereof had, and as touching the propertie of the Tree it selfe, *Moses Barcephas* an ancient Syrian Doctour (translated by *Ma-* 25 *lies*) giueth this iudgement: That the fruit of this Tree had no such vertue or qualitie,

as that by the tasting thereof, there was any such knowledge created in *Adam*, as if hee had beene ignorant before; but as *Iunius* also noteth: *Arbor scientie boni & mali (ideft) experientie boni & mali ab euentu; The Tree of Knowledge of good and euill (that is) the experience of good and euill by the euent.* For thus much we may conceiue, that *Adam* being made (according to the *Hebrew* phrase) by the workmanhip of Gods owne hand, in greater perfection then euer any man was produced by generation, being (as it were) the created Plant, out of whose seed, all men liuing, haue growne vp; and hauing receiued immortallitie from the breath or spirit of God, he could not (for these respects) bee ignorant, that the disobeying of Gods Commandement was the fearefullest euill, and the obseruation of his Precepts the happiest good. But as men in perfect health doe (notwithstanding) conceiue, that sickness is grieuous, and yet in no such degree of torment, as by the suffering and experience in themselves they afterwards witness: so was it with *Adam*, who could not be ignorant of the punishments, due to neglect and disobedience; and yet felt by the prooffe thereof in himselfe another terror then he had fore-thought, or could imagine. For looking into the glasse of his owne guiltie soule, he beheld therein the horror of Gods iudgements, so as he then knew, he feelingly knew, and had triall of the late good, which could not be prized, and of the new purchased euill, which could not be exprest. Herthen saw himselfe naked both in body and mind; that is, deprived of Gods grace and former felicitie: and therefore was this tree called the tree of Knowledge, and not because the fruit thereof had any such operation, by any selfe qualitie or effect: for the same phrase is vsed in many places of the Scriptures, and names are giuen to Signes and Sacraments, as to acts performed, and things done. In such sort as this tree was called the tree of Knowledge, by cause of the euent (as is aforesaid:) so was the Well of contention therefore called *Esek*, and the Well of hatred *Sinath*, because the *Heardsmen of Isaac and Gerar* contended for them; and the heape of Stones, called the heape of witness, betwene *Jacob and Laban*, north that the stones bare witness, but for a memorie of the Covenent: So *Jacob* called the house of God *Bethel*: and *Hagar*; the Well in the Desert, *Vientis, & videmus*.

But *Adam* being both betrayed and mastered by his affections, ambitious of a farther knowledge then he had perceiued in himselfe, and looking but slightly (as all his issues doe) into the miseries and sorrowes incident, and greatly affecting the supposed glorie which he might obtayne by tasting the fruit forbidden, he was transported and blowne forward, by the gentle winde of pleasing persuasions, vnawares; his progression being strengthened by the subtile arguments of Satan, who laboured to poyson mankind in the very roote, which he moyntined with the liquor of the same ambition, by which himselfe perished for euer.

But what meanes did the Deuill find out, or what instruments did his owne subtilty present him, as fittest and aptest to worke this mischiefe by? euen the vnquiet vanitie of the woman; so as by *Adams* harkning to the voice of his wife, contrary to the expresse commandement of the liuing God, Mankind by that her incantation became the subject of labour, sorrow, and death: the woman being giuen to man for a Comforter and Companion, but not for a Counsellor. But because thou hast obeyed the voice of thy wife, &c. (saith God himselfe.) *Cursed is the earth for thy sake, in sorrow shalt thou eate of it all thy life.* It is also to be noted, by whom the woman was tempted; euen by the most vgly and unworthy of all beasts, into whom the Deuill entred and perswaded.

Secondly, what was the moue of her disobedience? euen a desire to know what was most vnfitting her knowledge, an affection which hath euer since remayned in all the posteritie of her sex. Thirdly, what was it that moued the man to yeeld to her persuasions? euen the same cause which hath moued all men since to the like consent, namely, an vnwillingnesse to grieve her and make her sad, lest shee should pine and be ouercome with sorrow. But if *Adam* in the state of perfection, and *Salomon* the sonne of *David*, Gods chosen seruant, and himselfe a man endued with the greatest wisdom, did both of them disobey their Creator, by the perswasion and for the loue they bare to a Woman, it is not so wonderfull as lamentable that other men in succeeding ages haue bene allured to so many inconuenient and wicked practices, by the perswasions of their wives, or other beloued Darlings, who couer ouer and shadow many malicious purposes with a counterfeite passion of dissimulate sorrow and vnquietnesse.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of diuers memorable things betwene the Fall of *Adam*, and the Flood of *Noah*.

S. I.

Of the cause and the reuenge of *Cains* sinne: and of his going out from God.

10 **T**He same Pride and Ambition which began in Angels, and afterward possessed *Adam*, *Cain* also inherited: for *Cain* (enuius of the acceptance of his Brothers Prayer and Sacrifice) slue him, making himselfe the first Murtherer, and his Brother the first Martyr: the reuenge of which vnnatural Murther, although it pleased God to mitigate, when *Cain* cried out that his punishment was greater then he could beare. For the same offence chiefly (where with the Sonnes of *Adam*, as it were, vrged and prouoked God) hee destroyed all Mankind, but *Noah* and his Family: for it is written, *The Earth also was corrupt before God:* of which in the same place *Moses* giueth a reason, for saith he, *The Earth was filled with crueltie:* and anon after, God himselfe made the cause knowne vnto *Noah*, saying; *An end of all flesh is come before me, for the Earth is filled with crueltie thorough them, and behold, I will destroy them with the Earth, or from the Earth.* Neither was this crueltie meant to haue bene in taking away the liues of men only, but in all sorts of Iniustice and Oppression. After this Murther of *Abel*, *Cain* went out from the presence of the Lord, and dwelt in the Land of *Nod*, towards the East side of *Eden*: in which words, The going out of *Cain* from the presence of the Lord, is not to be vnderstood after the literal sense; God being wholly in all parts of the World: *Totus in celo est, totus in terra, non alternis temporibus, sed vtrunque simul;* God (saith Saint *Augustine*) is wholly in Heauen, and wholly in Earth, not by interchanged times, but all at once; And that this is true, *David* witnesseth: *Ist be in Heauen (saith *David*) thou art there; in Hell, thou art there also.* But what is meant thereby? *Exijt a facie Dei* (saith *Chrysostome*) *Cain* went out from the presence of the Lord (that is) he was left of God, disfauoured and bereaued of his protection.

S. II.

Of *Cains* dwelling in the Land of *Nod*: and of his Citie *Enoch*.

10 **H**is word *Nod* or *Naid*, *S. Hierome* and many others vnderstand to signifie wandering or incertaine habitation: vexation or agitation, saith *Iunius*; but the Septuagint conuert it otherwise, and take *Nod* for the proper name of a Countrey, and so doth *Iosephus*. But it seemeth to me, that *Cain* was rather a Vagabond or Wandering in his cogitations, then any thing else, and that his thoughts and conscience had no quiet or rest, in regard of the Murther committed, iustly fearing (by his owne words) the like violence: *And whosoever findeth me (saith *Cain*) shall slay me.* Now that *Nod* or *Naid* was a Region wherin *Cain* inhabited, appeareth by the word (dwelt) for dwelling signifieth an abiding: and wee call those people *Vandering* and *Vagabonds* that haue no dwelling place. And to make this dwelling and abiding more manifest, *Moses* teacheth in what part of the Earth this his habitation was, which he affirmeth towards the East side of *Eden*. Secondly, it is said by *Moses*, that after *Cain* departed from the presence or fauour of God, he built a Citie, and called it by the name of his first-borne, *Enoch*; which sheweth that he feared to wander, and rather sought to fortifie himselfe against reuenge. *Cyrillus* saith, that *Cain* and *Abel* were figures of Christ, and of the *Iewes*; and that as *Cain* after that he had slaine *Abel* vniuilly, had thenceforth no certaine abiding in the World: so the *Iewes*, after they had crucified the Sonne of God, became Runnegates: and it is true, that the *Iewes* had neuer since any certaine Estate, Common-weale, or Prince of their owne vpon the Earth. Now this Land of *Nod*, *Iunius* taketh to be in *Arabia Deserta*, a Region of *Nomades*; but *Arabia* the Desert is not Eastward, or on the East part of *Eden*, neither are these *Nomades* any particular People or Nation. For all these, in what part of the World soeuer, which in old time liued by Pastorage, and fed (as

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we call it in *Ireland* vpon white meate, without tilling of the ground, are called by the *Greekes*, *Nomades*, and by the *Latines*, *Pastores vagi*; as the Northerne *Tartarians*, the *Cetulians*, and *Numidians* in *Africa*, the ancient *Brittains*, and the Northerne *Frisch*: yea, such were the Inhabitants of *Italy* it selfe, till such time as *Italy* (who gaue them that name) taught them the Husbandry of tillage, vsed at this day. But the Region Eastward from *Eden* is that part of *Assyria*, called by *Ptolemie*, *Calena*, which also might be deniued of *Carena*, the country of *Cain*. And that *Cain* inhabited in those parts it may be gathered by the first possession of his Father *Adam*; for thus it is written, *Gen. 3. Therefore the Lord God sent him forth from the Garden of Eden to till the Earth whence he was taken*: and in the Verse following: *Thus hee cast out man, &c. and at the East side of the Garden of Eden he set the Cherubims*: which sheweth that the entrie into Paradise was from the East, by which entrance *Adam* was cast out, and therefore inhabiting on that side of Paradise which was Eastward, according to the Text, *Cain* also in the same Region sought his dwelling place. Now, if the word *Nod* or *Naid* doe signifie *profugus*, that is, a fugitive, we can giue no longer time to this vncertaine habitation of *Cain*, then till he built the Citie of *Enoch*, the first of the World, which hee indolced either for his owne defence, or (as *Iosephus* writeth) to oppress others thereby. So as for mine own opinion, I am resolu'd with the *Septuagint*, that *Nod* was the proper name of a Region; and for the word (Vagabond) which *Cain* vseth of himselfe, it seemeth by the perclose of the same Verse, that (Vagabond) is therein vnderstood for such an one as trauaileth in feare 20 of reuengement: *for whosoever findeth me* (saith *Cain*) *shall slay me*; or else (Vagabond) is taken for a man without protection, and cast out from the fauour of God.

And because these *Henochians*, so called of the Citie *Enoch*, were the first societie and ciuill assembly of all other, it is likely that the same of these people (either for crudelie, strength, or other actions) liued in the memorie of *Noah* and his Sonnes; so that after the Flood (as there were of all sorts of: natures, some veruiously, some impiously disposed, and euery active minde setting before it whom to follow or imitate) those people, which delighted in crudelie and oppression tooke on them their names whose natures they most liked and allowed; of whom these *Henochians* were not the least. Perchance the place it selfe where *Enoch* stood before the Flood, and whereof the Monuments 30 might remayne (as the Pillars or the foundation of *Ioppe* did) gaue occasion to the Planters of that place to call themselves by the same name: for of those *Henochians* there were many Nations in the borders of *Pontus*, and *Colchis* in *Iberia*, *Segdiana*, and *Bactria*, and of the same name many Mountaines, as those which are otherwise called *Coraxici*. And seeing that it is hard to find out the truth of these things, which the most aged Time hath couered ouer or defaced, we may (according to the counsell of *Plato*) exceedingly reioyce, and therewith satisfie our selues, if of so great and almost worn-out Antiquity, if of the eldest peoples names & Nations there remain any print or foot-steps to Posterity.

In * *Plinie*, *P. Mela*, *Strabo*, *Valerius Flaccus*, *Lucan*, *Stephanus*, wee finde those *Henochi* described, though diuersly written, as in *Plinie*, sometimes *Heniochi*, in *Mela* 40 *Eniochi*, in *Flaccus* *Heniochi*, in *Lucan* *Enochy*, all which inhabit vpon the Sea *Euxinus*, but yet none of these are on the Eastside of *Eden*, or (according to *Moses* wordes) Eastward from *Eden*. For *Moses*, in all places where he describeth any Region, was so exceeding precise, as sometime he vseth the word East or South without borrowing or addition, at other times with a borrowing, as Eastward or Southward, or towards the East or South. In the place of *Genesis* the cleuenth hee writeth the word (East) simply and directly. *And as they went from the East, they found a Plaine in the Land of Shinar*, but in this of *Cain* he addeth the word (towards) as, *in the Land of Nod, towards the East side of Eden*; which may be taken, as inclining some one point or two either to the North or to the South of the East.

But as we may coniecture that these Nations tooke name of *Enoch* the Citie of *Cain*, or of the Region wherein it stood, when the same was re-peopled after the Flood: so it is probable that these *Henochy* of *Colchis*, & other parts adioyning were not the first of that name, after the Sonnes of *Noah* began to till the World againe: because, had this *Enoch* the City of *Cain* stood in any of these parts, it had then bin seated North, and not East or Eastward from *Eden*. But as *Plinie* findeth their habitation towards *Pontus*, so afterwards hee goeth on Eastward, till hee tracke them or trace them out to their originall. For hee calleth these of *Colchis* (now *Atengrelia*) *Sanni Heniochi*; *Ptolemie* *Zani*; beyond which 50

an hundred and fifty mile Eastward hee findeth another Nation of them about *Iberia* and *Albania*; and beyond these he againe discouereth a third Nation, from whence all the rest tooke beginning, which inhabited on the West side of the Mountaines of *Panipus*, betwene them and the great Riuer of *Oxus*, which bordereth *Bactria* on the North side; and these *Henochy* are due East from the Region of *Egypt*, and Eastward from the very Garden it selfe.

And although wee cannot bee assured, that these *Henochy* tooke name from the memorie of the Citie of *Enoch* directly, yet because they inhabited due East from Paradise, and afterwards spread themselves Westward (as all *Noahs* Sonnes did that came 10 into *Shinar*) the coniecture is farre more probable, then that of *Ammius* the Frier, who sets *Enoch* in *Phenicia*, quite contrary to *Moses* word: *Phenicia* from all parts of *Eden* being directly West.

And besides these severall Nations of the *Henochy*, *Stephanus* findeth a Region called *Henochia*, and the same also in the East, with diuers Mountaines about *Bactria* and *Sogdiana*, of the same name. Onely the *Gracians* (according to their fabulous inuentions of all things else) out of the word (*Heniochi*) which signifieth Carts or Coach-men; make these Nations to haue sprung from the Waggoners of *Castor* and *Pollux* (to wit) *Amphites* and *Telebins*, who attended them in the enterprise of *Iason* into *Colchis*. And though I doe not deny, but that *Iason* with other *Greekes* ranged the Coasts of *Asia* the 20 lesse in an open Boat or kind of small Galley, * of whom I shall speake in his owne time: yet no man doubreth but that the Tale of the Golden Fleece was for the most part Poeticall; and withall that in such an open Boat, which could hardly carry their owne Rowers, being 54. there was no place, and lesse vse of Coach-horses or Waggoners.

§. III.

Of *Moses* his omitting sundry things concerning *Cains* Generation.

BVt of the remembrance and testimonies of the name of the Citie of *Enoch* in prophane Storie, thus much may suffice; Now it followeth to answer some 30 few Objections against certaine particulars in the fourth and fifth Chapter of *Genesis*: against which for the first it is demanded, how it was possible for *Cain* (hauing no other alliance then his Sonne *Enoch*) to performe such a Worke as the building of a Citie, seeing there is thereto required so many hands, and so great a masse of all sorts of Materials? To which it is answered, that we are first to consider, That of *Cain* (because he was the Parent of an impious Race) *Moses* vseth no ample declaration; and so it best agreeth with his diuine Reason, seeing that hee containeth the whole Storie of the first Race, which lasted by the least account, 1636. yeares, in five short Chapters. Yet thus much may euery man borrow of his owne weakest reason, That seeing it pleased God to bestow on the first Generations of men liues so long a measure, as 800. and 900. 40 yeares, that in such a space *Cain* had not want of leisure and meanes to build many such Cities as *Enoch*, be the capacitie answering to what other of the World soeuer: for in what Age of *Cains* life he built it, the Scriptures are silent: as of whole times, and the times of his Issues *Moses* had the least care. And as it was said of *Cain*, that hee built a City: so was it said of *Noah*, that his three Sonnes peopled all the World; but in both, the proccesse of time required to be vnderstood: which aduice seeing *Moses* vseth where the space lesse requireth it, as knowing that hee writ the Scriptures to reasonable men, wee may easily vnderstand, that such was his meaning also in all reports of like nature. For in making but a difference betwene the Birth of *Abel*, and Oblation of *Cain*, he spake it in this sort, *Eni autem post dies multos a fine diuini* (that is) in proccesse of time, it 50 came to passe that *Cain* brought an Oblation. And therefore it is in like sort to bee vnderstood of *Cain*, that many yeares fore-gone, and when his people were increased, hee built the Citie of *Enoch* or *Henoch*.

And where it is written, as of *Cain*, that hee built *Enoch*, so of *Salomon*, that hee built the Temple of *Hierusalem*; yet it is well knowne of *Salomon*, that hee employed in that Worke, 150000. Labourers: for this phrase or speech is common with our kinses to say, The King inuaded; when he caused an inuasion to be made: and hee built, when he commanded such a building. And therefore seeing we find that *Moses* had no regard to the ages, to the birth, or to the death of any of *Cains* Issues, it is not to be maruailed at, why he also passeth

Gen. 4. 17.

18.

C. 5. v. 5.

passeth ouer in a word the building of *Enoch*, without addition of any circumstance: for of *Cain*, *Moses*, writeth in this manner: *Cain also knew his Wife, who conceived and bare Enoch, and he built a Citie, and called the name of the Citie after the name of his sonne Enoch. And to Enoch was borne IRAD, and IRAD begat MEHVIAEL, and MEHVIAEL begat METHVSAEL, and METHVSAEL LAMECH.*

Now of *Seth*, *Moses* writeth farre otherwise, and in this manner. *And SETH lived an hundred and five yeares, and begat ENOCH, and SETH lived after he begat ENOCH 807 yeares, and begat Sonnes & Daughters: so as all the dayes of SETH were 912. yeares, and he dyed: as for the yeares & times of the wicked, they were not numbred in libro viuentium, saith Cyril. But in Seth was the Church of God established, from whom Christ descended, as touching his manhood: and therefore this way and worke Moses walked in, and finished it with care, passing ouer the Reprobate Generation (as aforesaid.) Of the Line of Adam by Cain, Moses remembreth but eight Generations, reckoning Adam for one, and of the Line of Adam by Seth ten, counting Adam also therein, as followeth:*

I. ADAM.

2 Cain.	7 Lamech, who by	2 Seth	7 Enoch.
3 Enoch.	Ada had	3 Enosh.	8 Mathusalem.
4 Irad.	8 Tubal and Tubal, &	4 Cainan:	9 Lamech, and
5 Mahiuel.	by Silla Tubalcain,	5 Mahaleel.	10. Noah.
6 Mathusael.	and Noëma.	6 Larad.	

These be the Generations of Adam by Cain, which the Scriptures mention: but *Iosephus* giueth vnto *Lamech* threecore and seuentene Sonnes and Daughters, by his two Wiues *Ada* and *Silla*: and to these three Sonnes of *Lamech*, *Moses* ascribeth the Inuention of Pastorage, of Musicke, and the working in Metall; for it seemeth that *Tubal* first gathered together, and made familiar those beasts which formerly were vntamed, and brought them into Heards and Droues: *Tubal* inuented Musicke, and *Tubalcain* the working in Brasse and Iron: the one being addicted to Husbandry, the other was Mechanicall, the third giuen to Idleness and Pleasure. In whom beganne these three manner degrees of Shepheards, Handy-crafts-men, and Musicians. And in the Issues of *Seth* began the Seruices of God, Diuinitie, Prophecie, and Astronomie: the Children of the one beheld the Heauens, the other the Earth.

II. IV.

Of the diuersities in the Ages of the Patriarchs when they begat their Children.

A Second scruple hath beene made, How it came to passe that the Patriarchs begat their Children at so diuers Ages, as *Cainan* or *Cenan* at seuentie yeares, *Mahaleel* and *Enoch* at threecore and five yeares, whereas *Lared* begat not any of his vntill hee was 162. yeares old: *Mathusalem* begat at 187. *Lamech* at 182. and *Noah* at 500. yeares. Now this difference hath bin the more enforced, because it cannot bee coniectured, that either *Lared*, *Mathusalem* or *Lamech* abstained from Marriage out of the Religion of Abstinence, seeing that *Enoch*, who was translated by God for his singular Sanctities, begat children before hee was threecore and ten yeares old.

The apparent difference hereof ariseth in this, that *Moses* did not number the Generations before the Floud precisely, according to the first begotten and eldest sonnes of the Patriarchs, but he drew downe the Line of *Noah* from *Seth*, and afterward from *Noah* to *Abraham*, by their true Ancestors, were they elder or younger as he found them: for it is likely that *Enoch* was not the eldest of *Lared*, nor *Lamech* the first-borne of *Mathusalem*, nor *Noah* of *Lamech*; neither is there any thing knowne to the contrary, but that *Noah* might haue had many Sonnes before *Shem*, *Ham* and *Iaphet*, though these three were only named, and suruiuing, and which by God were referred to be the Fathers of Mankind after the Floud; and therefore when we find *Mahaleel* to bee begotten by *Cenan* at threecore and ten yeares who was the first Sonne of *Cenan*, and then reckon that *Mathusalem* begat *Lamech* in the 187. yeares of his life, the difference seemeth strange, where *Lamech* is taken for the eldest. But *Moses* reiecteth all the other sonnes of *Mathusalem* but *Lamech* only, because hee was the Father of *Noah* as aforesaid. Of this

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Gen. 1. 20. 21. 22.

Saint *Augustine* hath somewhat else in his twentieth and one and twentieth Chapters, *De Ciuitate Dei.*

But as *Moses* counted the Generations of the first Age, & so to *Abraham*, and the children of the Promise after him, so doth Saint *Matthew* recite the Genealogie of Christ, nor by the eldest sonnes, but from those whom God had chosen and blessed, without respect of the first-borne, who haue hereby the prerogative in Elates, worldly and transitorie only; and therefore the Euangelist nameth *Isaac*, and not *Ismael*, though *Ismael* were first in time: so doth he take *Jacob* the younger, and not *Esaue* the elder, neither is Christ deriued from any of the three eldest Patriarchs, *Reuben*, *Simcon*, or *Leui*, but from *Iuda* a fourth Brother; and so from *Dauid* a younger sonne of *Iessai*; and lastly, wee find, that the Kingdome selfe of *Iuda* was not giuen to the Heire in Nature, but to the Heire of Grace, namely *Salomon*.

III. V.

Of the long liues of the Patriarchs: and some of late memorie.

The third Obiection is, that the great difference of yeares betweene those of the first Age, whereof some of them had well-neere scene a thousand yeares, makes it disputable, whether the account of times were of the same measure as in after-Ages, seeing, that soone after the Floud, men liued not a third part of that time, and in succeeding Ages and to this day, not the tenth.

They that haue hereon resolved that those yeares were but Lunarie yeares, (to wit) of a Month or thereabouts, or Egyptian yeares, are easily confuted. For whereas *Seth* begat *Enosh* in the yeare of his life an hundred and five, if those yeares be taken but for Moneths, then had *Seth* liued but eight yeares, and one Moneth when hee begat *Enosh*: & if the time of *Enosh* haue the same allowance, when he begat *Cenan*, then could *Enosh* at that time haue beene but fixe yeares and fortie eight weekes old; and so it may bee gathered of the rest excepting only *Adam*, who was created perfect in his kind, as were the Trees in their kinde, bearing fruit and seed. But this were too ridiculous to imagine. For to giue an abilitie of Generation at six, seven or eight yeares, agreeth with the short liues of the *Pigmies*, and not with the constitutions of our first Fathers, who being descended from *Adam*, the workmanship of Gods hands, and begotten and borne in the strong youth of the Word, had length of dayes and abilitie of body agreeable. Again, if we allow this idle conceit of the Lunarie yeares, then there would follow this extremitie, that those which liued longest, and vpwards of nine hundred yeares, had by that account but the time of fourecore and ten and odde yeares; which were not only lesse by farre then the Patriarchs liued after the Floud, but short of many mens liues in this decrepit Age of the World, wherein many exceed fourecore, & some a hundred yeares. Further (if need be) to disprove this reckoning, whereas it is written, *Gen. 25.* That *Abraham* dyed in a good Age, an old man, and of great yeares: all which (if the former account were of Lunary yeares) makes but seuentene and an halfe of our yeares.

And if we seeke for a cause of this long life in Nature, then is it reasonablen, that the first man, created in highest perfection, should also beger Children of equall strength or little differing: for of the first and purest feed there must of necessity spring vp the fairest and fruitfulllest Plants. Secondly, the Earth it selfe was then much lesse corrupt, which yielded her increase, and brought forth fruit and food for man, without any such mixture of harmefull qualitie, as since that time the Curse of God for the crudelie of mans heart brought on it and Mankind: Neither had the Waters of the Floud infused such an impuritie, as thereby the naturall and powerfull operation of all Plants, Herbs, and Fruits vnder the Earth recieued a qualification and harmefull change. And as all things vnder the Sunne haue one time of strength, and another of weaknesse, a youth & beautie, and then age and deformitie: so Time it selfe (vnder the deathfull shade of whose wings all things decay and wither) hath wasted and worne out that liuely vertue of Nature in Man, and Beasts, and Plants; yea, the Heauens themselves being of a most pure and clesned matter, shall waxe old as a Garment; and then much more the power generative in inferior Creatures, who by the ordinance of God recieue operative Vertue from the superiour.

But besides the olde age of the World, how farre doth our education and simplicitie

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of

Psal. 102. v. 25.

of liuing differ from that old time? the tender bringing vp of Children, first fedde and nourished with the Milke of a strange Dugge; an ynnaturall curiositie hauing taught all Women (but the Begger) to find out Nurles, which necessitie only ought to commend vnto them: The hasty Marriages in tender yeares, wherein Nature being but yet greene and growing, we rent from her and replant her branches, while her selfe hath not yet any root sufficient to maintaine her owne top; and such halfe-ripe Seeds (for the most part) in their growing vp wither in the bud, and wax old euen in their Infancie. But about all things the exceeding luxuriousnesse of this gluttonous Age, wherein wee presse Nature with ouer-weightie burdens, and finding her strength defectiue, wee take the worke out of her hands, and commit it to the artificiall helpe of strong Waters, hot Spices, and prouoking Sawces; of which *Lucan* hath thetse elegant Verses:

Phes. 4.

*O prodigarum
Luxuries, nunquam paruo contenta parata:
Et questorum terra pelagoq; ciborum
Ambitiosa fames, & lauta gloria mensæ,*

*Discite quàm paruo liceat producere vitam:
Et quantum Natura petat.
Non auro myrrhâq; bibunt: sed gurgite puro
Vita redit: satis est populis flumina, Ceresq;.*

O wastfull Riot, neuer well content
With low-priz'd fare; hunger ambitious
Of Cates by Land and Sea furre fetcht and sent:
Vaine glorie of a Table sumptuous,
Learne with how little life may be preserved,
In Gold and Myrrhe they need not to carouse,
But with the Brooke the peoples thirst is serued:
Who fed with Bread and Water are not sterued.

Pier. Hierog. l. 1.

The *Egyptians* affirme, that the longest time of mans life is a hundred yeares, because the heart in a perfect bodie waxeth and groweth to strength fiftie yeares, and afterwards by the same degree decayeth and withereth. *Epigenes* findeth in his Philosophie, that the life of man may reach to the period of an hundred and twentie yeares, and *Berosus* to a hundred and seuentene yeares. These opinions *Plinie* repeareth and reprovet, producing many Examples to the contrarie. In the last taxation, number and reuiue of the 30 eighth Region of *Italie*, there were found in the Roll (saith *Plinie*) foure and fiftie persons of an hundred yeares of age: seuen & fiftie of an hundred and ten: two, of an hundred and fise and twentie: foure, of an hundred and thirtie: as many that were hundred and fise & thirtie, or hundred and seuen and thirtie yeares old: & last of all three men of an hundred and fortie: and this Search was made in the times of *Vespasian* the Father and the Sonne.

Isa. 44. l. 13. & 3.
Pier. l. 7. c. 29.

The simple dyet and temperate life of the *Essians* gaue them long account of many yeares: so did it to the Secretaries of *Egyptian* Ceremonies, to the *Persians* Magicians and *Indian* Brachmans. The *Greeks* affirme out of *Homer*, that *Nestor* liued three Ages, and *Tiresias* six, *Sybilla* three hundred yeares, *Endymion* of the lesse *Asia* little lesse: Also *Masanissa* of *Numidia* liued very long, and *Dando* of *Illyria*. Among the Kings of *Arcadia* many liued 40 three hundred yeares (saith *Ephorus*.) *Hellenicus* affirmeth of the *Epelians*, that some of them liue full two hundred yeares: and so doth *Diodorus Siculus* of the *Egyptians*; and that these reports are not fabulous; *Iosephus* bringeth many witnesses with himselfe, as *Marethon*, *Berosus*, *Mochus*, *Elius*, *Hieronymus*, *Egyptius*, *Hecateus*, *Ephorus*, and others. And *Anthony Fume* an Historian of good reputation reporteth, that in the yeare 1570. there was an *Indian* presented to *Solyman*, Generall of the *Turkes* Armie, who had out-liued three hundred yeares. I my selfe knew the old Countesse of *Desmond* of *Inchiquin* in *Müller*, who liued in the yeare 1589. and many yeares since, who was married in *Edward* the 40 Fourth time, and held her Ioynture from all the Earles of *Desmond* since then; and that this is true, all the Noblemen and Gentlemen of *Manster* can witness. *Srozzius Cicogni*, out of *Torquemada Massens*, and the like Authors, telleth of some that haue not only far exceeded the terme prescribed by *Epigenes*; but bene repayed from the withered estate of decrepit Age to fresh youth. But for length of life, if wee note but the difference betweene the abilitie of men in those dayes wherein *Galen* the Philisian liued, it may easily proue vnto vs what Reeds we are in respect of those Cedars of the first Age. For *Galen* did ordinarily let blood six pound weight, whereas we (for the most part) stop at six Ounces. But to conclude this part, there are three things (not counting Constellations) which are the naturall causes of a long and healthfull life; (to wit) strong Parents, a pure and

and thin Ayre, and temperate vse of dyet, pleasure, and rest: for those which are built of rotten timber, or mouldring stone, cannot stand long vpright; on Ayre we feed alwayes and in euery instant, and on meates but at times: and yet the heavy load of abundance, wherewith we oppress & ouercharge Nature, maketh her to sinke vnauaries in the mid-way; and therefore with a good constitution, a pure Aire, and a temperate vse of those things which Nature wanteth, are the only friends and companions of a long life.

§. VI.

Of the Patriarchs deliuering their knowledge by Tradition: and that *Enoch* writ before the Flood.

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Fourth scruple hath bene made, How the certaine knowledge of the Creation came to *Moses*, seeing there was no Storie thereof written, and if any such had bene, yet it is conceiued, that all memorie of Antiquitie perished in the Vnruerfall Flood.

But if we consider the curiositie and policie of elder ages, we shall find, that knowledge was the greatest treasure that men sought for, and which they also couered and hid from the vulgar sort, as Jewels of inestimable price, fearing the irreuerent construction of the ignorant and irreligious: so as whatsoeuer was attained vnto concerning God, and his working in nature, the same was not left to publike dispute, but deliuered ouer by heart and tradition from wife men to a posteritie equally zealous; *Ex animo in animum sine litteris, medio intercedente verbo*: From minde to minde without Letters, by way of tradition or word of mouth. And it was thought by *Esdras*, *Origen*, and *Hilarus*, (as *Mirandula* conceiue) that *Moses* did not onely vpon the Mount receiue the Law from God, but withall, *secretorum & veram legis enarrationem*; a more secret and true explanation of the Law, which (saith he, out of the same Authors,) he deliuered by mouth to *Iosuah*, and *Iosuah* to the Elders: For to teach these mysteries, which he called *secretiora*, to the rude multitude, were no other *quàm dare sanctum canibus, & inter porcos spargere Margaritas*, then to giue holy things to Dogges, and to cast Pearles before Swine. In succeeding times this vn- 30 derstanding and wisdome began to be written in Ciphers, and Characters, and Letters bearing the forme of beasts, birds, and other creatures; and to be taught onely to such as serued in their Temples, and to their Kings and Priests. Of the first the *Cabala* of the *Jews* was an imitation; the inuention of the other is ascribed to *Zoroaster*, *Mercurius*, *Cadmus*, and others; but falsely.

This *Cabala* importeth a Law, receiued by tradition and vnwritten. *Cabala* in Hebrew is receptio in Latine, and a rectiuing in English. And this custome was also held by the *Druids* and Bards of our ancient *Brittaines*, and of later times by the *Irish* Chroniclers called *Bymers*. If then such as would seeme wisest in the vse of reason, will not acknowledge, that the storie of the Creation or beginning of all things was written by inspiration, the 40 holy Ghost guiding the hand of *Moses*; yet it is manifest, that the knowledge thereof might by tradition (then vsed) be deliuered vnto him by a more certaine presumption, then any or all the testimonies which prophane antiquity had preferred and left to their successors: which their wife men (as they terme them) did lay vp and defend from the iniurie of the time and other hazzards. For, leauing to remember that *Adam* instructed *Seib*, and *Seib* his children and successors, which cannot be doubted of, it is manifest, that *Methusalem* liued together with *Adam* himselfe two hundred fortie and three yeares, and *Noah* with *Methusalem* no lesse then fise hundred yeares: and before *Noah* died, *Abraham* was fiftie and eight yeares old; from whence this knowledge by an easie and ordinarie way might come to *Israel*, and so to *Moses*.

But besides this tradition, it is questionlesse, that the vse of letters was found out in the verie infancie of the World, proued by those prophecies written on pillars of stone and bricke by *Enoch*, of which *Iosephus* affirmeth, that one of them remayned euen in his time (meaning belike some ruine or foundation thereof, which pillars by others are ascribed to *Seib*. But of these prophecies of *Enoch*, Saint *Iude* tellifieth; and some part of his Bookes (which contained the course of the Starres, their names and motions) were afterward found in *Arabia felix*, in the Dominion of the Queene of *Saba* (saith *Origen*) of which *Tertullian* affirmeth that he had seene and read some whole Pages. It is not therefore strange, that *Moses* came to the knowledge of the Creation, and storie 10 of

Cabala est scientia theologiae non reuelata, P. M. 82. Mirand. 110. 66.

Ios. l. 1.

Iud. Ep. 2. c. 4.

Origen Homil. 1. in Num.

of the first Age, seeing he might receiue it both by tradition and letters, had not the spirit of God instructed and inspired him as it did: which also his many and strange miracles (performed before he wrote the Scriptures) make more manifest.

Now for the Bookes of *Enoch*, howsoever some men make question of them, sure I am that *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Augustine*, *Beda*, *Procopius*, *Gazus*, (with others) cite them in their writings: although *Medina*, for an argument to proue them vnwritten traditions, allegeth that *Pope Gelasius* among other the *Apocryphall* Scriptures (which he receiued) named not these of *Enoch*; but that whatsoeuer was remembered out of them, the same was deliuered by Tradition from the *times*. But I rather thinke with *Pererine*, that such a Booke there was, and that the same was corrupted after the death of the Apostles, and 10 many things added thereunto by Hereticks, who tooke occasion vpon the antiquitie thereof, and out of that place of *Michael* contending with the Deuill about the bodie of *Moses*, to frame and adde thereunto many inuentions of their owne. One of the greatest arguments against these Bookes, is, that neither *Philo*, nor *Iosephus* (the most diligent searchers of Antiquitie) make mention thereof. But against it I will set this opinion of Saint *Augustine*, *Scriptisse quidem nonnulla diuina Enoch illum septimum ab Adam negare non possumus: That Enoch the seventh from Adam did write diuine things we cannot denie*. Now his writings which came afterwards to light, were suspected because of the antiquitie, and of fables of Giants, supposed to be begotten of Angels, and others; and by so much the more, because no such Booke was found amongst those *Canonically* Scriptures, kept by the diligence of the Hebrew Priests in *Armario Iudaico* (saith *Tertullian*) who yet affirmeth that this Booke might be preferred by *Noah*. Surely, that *Enoch* wrote the prophecies remembered by *Iude*, no man can denie; how they were deliuered to posteritie I know not, whether by the *times Cabala*, or by what other means, the same is but mans coniecture. And (certainely) by the knowledge ascribed to *Noah* of the motions of the Heauens, and of the Natures and coniunctions of the Starres; and afterwards to some of his sonnes, to *Zoroaster*, and then to *Abraham*, it is verie probable that *Noah* had seene and might preferue this Booke. For it is not likely, that so exquisite knowledge therein (as these men had) was suddenly inuented and found out, but left by *Seth* to *Enoch*, and by *Enoch* to *Noah*, as hath beene said before. And therefore if letters 30 and arts were knowne from the time of *Seth* to *Enoch*, and that *Noah* liued with *Metushalem*, who liued with *Adam*, and *Abraham* liued with *Noah*, it is not strange (I say) to conceiue how *Moses* came to the knowledge of the first Age, be it by letters, or by *Cabala* and tradition, had the vndoubted word of God need of any other prooffe then self-authority.

§. VII.

Of the men of renoune before the Flood.

Now let vs consider the relation of *Moses*, who nameth seuen descents of *Cains* children, and of *Adam* by *Seth* ten: *Seth* being giuen by God in stead of *Abel*; 40 and of *Seth* was *Enosh* begotten, in whose time men began to professe Religion, and to offer sacrifice in publique. For although *Adam* instructed his children in the knowledge of God their Creator, as appeared by the sacrifice offered by *Cain* and *Abel*, yet it seemeth that after the birth of *Enosh* men began publicquely to call on the name of the Lord, that is, they serued and praised God by Communion and in publique manner, or calling vpon the name of the Lord, and thereby were the sonnes of God or the godly distinguished from the wicked. From the birth of *Enosh* the sonne of *Seth*, to the time of *Enoch* the sonne of *Iared*, there is nothing remembered by *Moses*, but their owne births, the births of their sonnes, the length of their liues, and deaths. But of *Enoch* it is written, *That he walked with God, and he was no more seene*: for God tooke him away. By that, that he walked with God, was meant, that he was a iust and vpriight man, 50 and that he feared, loued, and obeyed God. For the same phrase *Moses* vseth of *Noah*: *Noah was a iust and vpriight man in his time, and Noah walked with God*. The Seuentie conuert it, *Enoch placuit Deo; Enoch pleased God*. And although *Aben-Ezra* and others vnderstand this place, (*uiui cum Deus: scilicet, mortuus est; God tooke him away, (that is) he dyed*, which (indeed) agreeth both with the phrase of the Scripture, and with our manner of speech to this day, to say, God tooke him away, when he died; yet the difference which *Moses* maketh betweene the pietie of *Enoch*, and the rest of the *Pa-* 60 *triarchs*,

triarchs, and by omitting the word (death) which he vseth to all else, makes it manifest, that *Enoch* was not dissolued as the rest. For to all the rest of the *Paetriarchs*, *Moses* vseth these words, *And he dyed*; but of *Enoch* he spake otherwise, saying onely, *he was missing, or he was not seene*. Et non inueniebatur (saith the Apostle to the Hebrewes) quia Deus eum transtulit; And he was not found, for the Lord tooke him away. In the same place it is expressely added, *that he saw not death*.

But whether this taking away of *Enoch* were not with the same kind of changing, which *S. Paul* promisseth, when he saith, that when the end shall come, we shall not all dye, 1. cor. 15. 51. but all shall be changed, I leave it to the learned Diuines.

After *Enoch*, *Moses* passeth ouer to *Metushalem* and *Lamech*, remembering (as of the rest) the times of their birth and death: sauing that *Lamech* prophesied of his sonne *Noah*, saying, *This same shall comfort vs concerning our worke, and sorrow of our hand; as touching the earth which the Lord hath cursed*. Of *Noah*, *Moses* writeth more 10 amply, then of any of the rest of *Adams* children by *Seth*, beeing the last of the ten generations of the first Age, whom God (with his Familie) preferred, because hee was an vpriight man in his time, and feared God. Gen. 5. 29. Gen. 11. 9.

But of the warre, peace, gouernement, and policie of these strong and mightie men, so able both in body and wit, there is no memorie remaying: whose stories if they had bin preferred, and what else was then performed in that newnesse of the World, there could nothing of more delight haue bene left to posteritie. For the exceeding long liues 20 of men (who to their strength of body and naturall wits had the experience added of 800. and 900. yeares) how much of necessitie must the same adde of wisdom and vnderstandings? Likely it is, that their workes excelled all whatsoeuer can be told of after-times, especially in respect of this old age of the World, when wee no sooner begin to know, but we begin to die; according to *Hippocrates*: *Vita brevis, ars longa, tempus paucis*; (which is) *Life is short, Art is long, and Time is headlong*. And that those people of the first age performed many things worthy admiration, it may be gathered out of these words of *Moses*: *These were mightie men, which in old time were men of renoune*. Gen. 6. 4.

But these men of renoune (whom the Scripture afterwards calleth Giants, both for strength of body, and crueltie of mind) trusted so much to their owne abilities, as they forgot altogether the pietie of *Seth*, and the waies wherein *Enoch* walked: for all the imaginations of their hearts were euill, onely euill, and continually euill. And this wickednesse 30 was not only found in the issues of *Cain*, but it was then vniuersal, when the children and sonnes of God (or of the godly) were corrupted and mis-led by their idolatrous wiues, the Daughters of *Cain*, or of those other men, louing themselves and the world only. Apor. 1.

That these sonnes of God were Angels, which being taken with the beautie of women, accompanied them and begat Giants, some of the Fathers supposed, namely, *Lactanius* and *Eusebius*, mis-led by *Iosephus*: of whom I cannot doubt, but that they afterward changed their former opinions. And of this mistaking many Writers haue taken great aduantage, and haue troubled themselves with large answers and vey needlesse: the 40 question being vncapable of dispute, especially since *S. Chrysostome* and *S. Augustine* haue answered it largely long agoe. For, that good and godly men were honoured with the title of Gods children, it doth euery where appeare in the Scripture; and on the contrary, to thinke that Angels, who (as *Christ* witnesseth) behold the face of God, (that is) alwaies attend his Commandements, should after a separation from the rest which fel with *Lucifer*, forsake the glorious presence of their Creator, and become *Incubi*, or *Succubi*, contrarie both to Nature and Grace, were more then madnesse to imagine. Gen. 6. v. 4.

§. VII.

That the Giants by *Moses* so called, were indeed men of huge bodies: as also diuers in later times.

These Giants which *Moses* calleth mightie men, *Horapion* Becanus an *Antuerpian* (who thought his owne wit more Giganticall then the bodies of *Nimrod* or *Hercules*) hath written a large discourse, intituled *Gigantomachia*, and Rayned his braines to proue, that there were neuer any such men: his reasons (whosoever desires to lose time) he may finde them in the Treasuries before named. It is true that *Cyrollus* reproues the *Grecians* Poets for their monstrous fictions: who affirme shamelesly, That 1

That the Giants haue in elder times not onely cast vp Mountaines vpon Mountaines, but remoued Islands out of the Sea, with like fooleries. And for that inuention of casting vp Hills, and making warre with the Gods, no doubt but that the same was borrowed out of the storie of *Nimrod*, as before remembered; and euen out of this Scripture, That the Sonnes of God saw the Daughters of Men, of whom the first Giants were begotten, was that conceit taken of *Orpheus* and *Hesiodus*, That Giants were the sonnes of the Heauen and the Earth; meaning by the Heauens the sonnes of God, and by the Earth the Daughters of men: which verses of *Orpheus* are by *Iohn Cassian* (who hath written a witty discourse of this subiect) thus changed into Latine:

*Nomine caelestes illos dixere Gigantes,
-Orti quod terrâ fuerint & sanguine cæli.*

From the Earth, and from thy blood, O heauen, they came,
Whom thereupon the Gods did Giants name.

But what will not Opiniators and selfe-beleeuing men dispute of, and make doubt of, if they cannot conceiue that there were in the first Age such kind of men; and of which there haue beene in all times since? Seeing the Scriptures auow the one manifestly, and common experience the other?

And for that superlatiue straying of words, and the meaning of them, that the name of Giants was giuen to Oppressors and Tyrants, and nor to strength of body and eminent stature: such men might with better reason call them Oppressors, because they were Giants, and therefore had abilitie to oppress; then say, That they were called Giants onely, because Oppressors. For first, *Moses* himselfe calleth them mightie men; which sheweth a strength surpassing others: and afterwards, men of renowne, (that is) of great vnder-taking and aduenterous action. And if the same stature of body, and ability had not beene found among diuers Nations after the generall flood, then might this place of *Moses* haue more willingly harkened to a dispute, and yielded to interpretation.

But besides all these famous Giants found in prophane Histories (which I will reserue to accompanie the Giants of *Albion*, in the storie of *Britanie*) the Scriptures doe cleerely and without all allegorical construction auow, That, besides *Nimrod*, there were found 30 of these Giants in the time of *Abraham*, of *Moses*, of *Iosua*, and of *Dauid*; namely, the *Rephaims* in *Asteroth*; the *Zuzai* or *Zanzummims* in *Ham*, and the *Emims*, which dwelt anciently in the Land of *Moab*: whom *Moses* (for stature) compareth with the *Anakims*, which dwelt in *Hebron*; for they also were taken for Giants as the *Anakims*: Likewise, where *Moses* speaketh of the Land of *Ammon*, he vseth these words: *That also was taken for a land of Giants, for Giants dwelt therein afore-times: & whom the Ammonites call Zanzummims: a people that was great, and many, and tall as the Anakims.* And these Giants called *Rephaims* in *Asteroth* and *Karnaim*, and the *Zuzai* or *Zanzummims*, *Chedorlaomer* King of *Elam* ouer-threw, asslitted by other Kings his associates. Also the Prophet *Amos* found among the *Ammonites* men of Giant-like stature, whom he compareth to the *Cedar*, and whose strength to the *Oke*; and the Prophet *Baruch*, *These were the Giants famous from the beginning, that were of so great stature, and so expert in warre.* Particularly it is written of *Og*, King of *Basan*, that his bed of yron was nine cubits long, and foure cubits broad: for onely *Og* King of *Basan* remained of the remnant of the Giants, who commanded the Kingdome of *Basan*, foure hundred yeares after the Expedition of *Chedorlaomer*. Moreover, those Discoverers and Searchers of the Land of Promise (sent by *Moses* from *Cadesbarne* in *Paran*) made report at their returne of the great stature of those people in generall, and especially of the sonnes of *Anak*, in these words: *All the people which we saw in this land are men of great stature: for there we saw Giants, the sonnes of Anak, which come of the Giants, so that we seemed in our fights like Grasshoppers, and so wee were in their fight,* (that is) the Searchers found in their owne iudgements a marvellous difference betweene the *Anakims* and themselves: inasmuch that the *Israelites* were so stricken with feare, as they rather sought and desired to return againe into *Egypt*, and were more willing to endure their former slauerie, then to fall by the strokes of those fearefull Nations. Furthermore, the Scriptures put vs out of doubt, that *Goliath the Philistine of Gath*, was a Giant of fixe cubits and a span long: the Armour which he wore weighed five thousand thickles of brasse: the shaft of his speare was like a Weauers beame, and his speare-head weighed sixe hundred thickles of yron. Also in *Samuel* there is mention of another *Goliath*

of another *Goliath*, surnamed *Gerbeus*, because he was of *Gath*: and of three other Giants; of which the first was slaine by *Iehonathan*, *Dauids* Nephew, who had twelue fingers, and as many toes: a man of great stature, and his fingers were by sixes, euen foure & twenty.

Also that *Samson* was of surpassing strength, no man doubteth, who tore a Lion as it had beene a Kid, and after fixe thirtie of the *Philistines*, and (after that) a thousand more of them with a law-bone of an Asse: And lastly, hee tooke the gates of *Azzah*, and the two Posts, and lifted them away with the barres, and put them vpon his shoulders, and carried them to the top of the Mountaine before *Ebron*. If then it be approved by euery iudgement, that both Nature and the Heauens waxe old, and that the great age of Time hath (with it selfe) infiebled and almost worne out the vertue of all things, then I say, That as in all other kindes the Earth (before that Sinne had increased the curse and corruption) brought forth her young ones more strong and beautifull, than it did in after-ages: so also those Giants, those mightie men, and men of renowne as farre exceeded the proportion, nature, and strength of those Giants, remembered by *Moses* of his owne time, and after him their successors, as the ordinarie proportion of all men in generall, soone after the flood and in times farre off, exceeded the bulkes and bodies of men which are now borne in the withered quarter and Winter of the World. If therefore Giants were common in the third and fourth age, much more in the first flourishing youth and newnesse of the world.

But the wickednesse (especially in crueltie and oppression) of these men was such, as God therefore by the flood gaue end to all flesh, but to the iust *Noah* and his Family. And God repented him that hee had made man, which *S. Augustine* thus expoundeth: *Neq. enim sicut hominem, ita Deum facti sui paenitet, cuius est de omnibus omnino rebus tam fixa sententia, quam certa presentia. Sed si non vultur Scriptura salubris verbis, non se quodammodo familiaris insinuat omni generi hominum, quibus vult esse consultum: ut & perterreat superbes, & excitet negligentes, & exerceat quærentes, & alac intelligentes; God (saith he) doth not repent him of any thing which he hath done: (as men vse to doe) but if the Scripture did not vse those words or the like, it should not (in a sort) insinuate it selfe familiarly to all sorts of men, for whom it would provide: thus it might terrifie the proud, stir up the negligent, exercise the searchers of truth, and mountrish those that vnderstand.*

CHAP. VI.

Of idolatrous corruptions, quickly rising, and hardly at length vanishing in the world: and of the Reliques of Truth touching these ancient times, obscurely appearing in Fables and old Legends.

p. I.

That in old corruptions we may finde some signes of more ancient truth.

Ere before we proceed any further, the occasion offereth it selfe for vs to consider, how the *Greekes* and other more ancient Nations; by fabulous inuentions, and by breaking into parts the Storie of the Creation, and by deliuering it ouer in a mysticall sense, wrapping it vp mixed with other their owne trumperie, haue sought to obscure the truth thereof; and haue hoped, that after-ages, being thereby brought into many doubts, might receiue those inter-mixt discourses of God and Nature, for the inuentions of Poets and Philosophers, and nor as any thing borrowed or stolne out of the Bookes of God. But as a skilfull and learned *Chymist* can aswell by separation of visible elements draw healthfull medicines out of poyson, as poyson out of the most healthfull herbes and plants (all things hauing in themselves both life and death) so, contrarie to the purposes and hopes of the *Heathen*, may those which seeke after God and Truth finde out euery where, and in all the ancient Poets and Philosophers, the Storie of the first Age, with all the works and maruailes thereof, amply and liuely express.

p. II.

§. II.

That the corruptions themselves were verie ancient : as in the Family of Noah,
and in the old Egyptians.

BVt this defection and falling away from God, which was first found in Angels,
and afterwards in Men (the one hauing erred but once, the other euer) as con-
cerning mankind it rooke such effect, that thereby (the liberrall grace of God be-
ing with-drawne) all the posteritie of our first Parents were afterwards borne and bred
in a world, suffering a perpetuall Eclipse of spirituall light. Hence it was that it produ-
ced plants of such imperfection and harmefull qualitie, as the waters of the general flood 10
could not so wash out or depure, but that the same defection hath had continuance in
the very generation and nature of mankind. Yea, euen among the few sonnes of Noah,
there were found strong effects of the former payson. For as the children of Sem did in-
herite the vertues of Seth, Enoch, and Noah; so the sonnes of Cham did possesse the vices
of the sonnes of Cain, and of those wicked Giants of the first Age. Whence the Chal-
deans began soone after the flood to ascribe diuine power and honour to the Creature,
which was only due to the Creatour. First, they worshipped the Sunne, and then the
fire. So the Egyptians and Phenicians did not onely learne to leaue the true God, but
created twelue funerall gods, and diuine powers, whom they worshipped; and vnto
whom they built Altars and Temples. For Herodotus saith, *Duodecim Deorum nomina 20*
primos Egyptios in usu habuisse, atque Græcos ab illis cepisse mutatos, eosque prius aras, & im-
magines, & templa Dijs sibi erexisse. The Egyptians (saith he) first deuised the names of the
twelue gods, which the Greekes receyued from them, who first erected vnto themselves Altars,
Images, and Temples for the gods.

Herod. in Eu-
terpe.

§. III.

That in prolesse of time these lesser errors drew on greater : as appeareth in the
grosse Superstitions of the Egyptians.

BVt as men once fallen away from vndoubted truth, doe then after wander fore-
uer more in vices vnkowne, and daily trauaile towards their eternall perdition : 30
so did these grosse and blind Idolaters euery Age after other descend lower and
lower, and thirke and slide downwards from the knowledge of one true and very God;
and did not thereby erre in worshipping mortall men onely, but they gaue diuine reue-
rence, and had the same respect to Beasts, Birds, Fishes, Fowles, Windes, Earth, Wa-
ter, Ayre, Fire, to the Morning, to the Euening, to Plants, Trees and Rootes, to Passi-
ons and Affections of the Minde, to Palenesse, Sicknesse, Sorrowes, yea to the most vn-
worthy and basest of all these. Which barbarous blasphemie, Rhodius Anaxandrides
derideth in this manner :

Nat. com. l. 1. c. 7.

Bonem colū, ego Deū maīto bovem.

Tu maximum Anguillam Deum putas : ego

Obsoniorum credidi suauissimum.

Carnes suillas tu canes, at gaudeo

Hys maxime : canem colū, quem verbero

Edentem ubi deprehendo fortē obsonium.

I sacrifice to God the Beefe, which you adore.

I broyle the Egyptian Eccles, which you (as god) implore:

You feare to eate the flesh of Swine, I finde it sweet.

You worship Dogges, to beate them I thinke meet,

When they my store deuoure.

And in this manner I VERNAL.

Porrum aut cape nefas violare aut frangere morsu :

O sanctas gentes, quibus hæc nascuntur in hortis

Numina !

The Egyptians thinke it sinne to root vp, or to bite

Their Leekes or Onyons, which they scue with holy rite:

O happy Nations, which of their owne sowing

Haue store of gods in euerie Garden growing !

50

§. IIII.

§. IIII.

That from the reliques of ancient Records among the Egyptians and others, the first Idols &
Fables were inuenced : and that the first IVPITER was CAIN, VULCAN, TVBALCAIN, &c.

BVt in so great a confusion of vanities, where among the Heathens themselves
there is no agreement or certainty, it were hard to find out from what example
the beginnings of these inuentions were borrowed, or after what ancient pat-
terne they erected their building, were it not certayne, that the Egyptians had know-
ledge of the first Age, and of whatsoeuer was done therein, partly from some inscriptions
vpon stone or metall remaying after the Flood; and partly from Mizraim the sonne of
Cham, who had learnt the same of Cham, and Cham of his father Noah. For all that the
Egyptians write of their ancient Kings, and date of times, cannot be sayned. And though
other Nations after them had by imitation their Iupiters also, their Saturnes, Vulcanes, and
Mercuries with the rest, which S. Augustine out of Varro; Eusebius out of many pro-
phane Histories; Cicero, Diodorus Siculus, Arnobius, and many more haue obserued,
to wit, the Phenicians, Phrygians, Cretians, Greek, and other Nations; yet was Cain the
sonne of Adam (as some very learned men conceiue) called and reputed for the first and
ancient Iupiter; and Adam for the first Saturne : for Iupiter was said to haue inuented
the founding of Cities; and the first Citie of the World was built by Cain, which he cal-
led Enoch, of whom were the Henochij before remembered. And so much may be gathe-
red out of Plato in Protagoras, which also Higinus in his 275. Chapter confirmeth. For,
besides that many Cities were founded by diuers men; Tamen primam latissimam à
primo & antiquissimo Ioue ædificatam : yet the first and largest was built by the first and
most ancient IVPITER, seated in the East parts, or in India, according to that of Moses :
And CAIN dwelt towards the East side of Eden, &c. where also the Henochij were found
after the Flood. And therefore was Iupiter by the Athenians called Polieus, a Founder of
Cities, and Hercæus, an incloser or strengthener of Cities; (say Phormus and Pau-
lania) and that to Iupiter Hercæus there were in very many places Altars and Temples
erected. And that there were Cities built before the Flood, Plato also witnesseth, as may
be gathered in this his affirming, that soone after mankind began to increafe, they built
many Cities; for which as his meaning he deliuereth in plaine termes, in his third Booke
of Lawes : he saith, that Cities were built an exceeding space of time before the de-
struction by the great Flood.

This first Iupiter of the Ethnickes was then the same Cain, the sonne of Adam, who
marrying his owne Sister (as also Iupiter is said to haue done) inhabited the East, where
Stephanus de urbibus placeth the Citie Henochia. And besides this Citie of Enoch, Philo
Iudeus conceiue that Cain built fixe others, as Maich, Jared, Tebe, Iesca, Selet, and Gebas:
but where Philo had this I know not. Now as Cain was the first Iupiter, and from whom
also the Ethnickes had the inuention of Sacrifice: so were Tubal, Tubal and Tubalcain (in-
uectors of Pastorage, Smiths-craft, and Musick) the same, which were called by the an-
cient prophane Writers, Mercurius, Vulcan, and Apolo; and as there is a likelihood of
name betwene Tubalcain and Vulcan : so doth Augustine expound the name of Noema
or Naamath, the sister of Tubalcain, to signifie Venus, or beautifull, Voluptas, or pleasure,
as the wife of Vulcan is said to be Venus, the Ladie of pleasure and beautie. And as A-
dam was the ancient and first Saturne, Cain the eldest Iupiter; Eua, Rhea, and Noema or
Naamah the first Venus : so did the Fable of the diuiding of the World betwene the
three Brethren the Sonnes of Saturne arise, from the true Storie of the diuiding of the
Earth betwene the three Brethren the Sonnes of Noah : so also was the Fiction of those
Golden Apples kept by a Dragon, taken from the Serpent, which tempted Eua: so was
Paradise it selfe transported out of Asia into Africa, and made the Garden of the Hesper-
ides : the prophecies, that Christ should breake the Serpents head, and conquer the power
of Hell, occasioned the Fables of Hercules killing the Serpent of Hesperides, and descen-
ding into Hell, and captiuating Cerberus : so out of the taking vp of Henoch by God, was
borrowed the conuersion of their Heroes (the inuectors of Religion, and such Arts as the
life of man had profit by) into Starres and Heauenly Signes, and (withall) that leauing
of the World, and ascension of Astræa; of which Ouid.

Prima celestium terras Astræa reliquit :

Astræa last of heauenly Wights the Earth did leane:

G

For

Aug. l. 9. c. 22.
De ciuit. Dei.
Euseb. l. 1. rep.
Euan. 4. 7. c. 14.
2. c. 23.
Cic. l. de nat.
Deorum.
Astr. 4. c. 1. c. 19.
Gen. 4. 16.

Phorm. de na.
tur. Deorum.
Paul. l. 4. c. 5.
c. 10. 19.
Phrag. 9.

Gen. 4. 20. 31. 22

Lat. l. 4. c. 37.

Ouid. Met. l. 1.

Nal. Com. J. A. 2.

Ves. 5.
Gen. 7.
Gen. 5. 22. 24.

L. de Ciuit. Dei.

Euseb. l. 1. contra
Apostat.

Plut. in Iside.

Strabo. l. 17.

For although thereby the *Ethnickes* would vnderstand Iustice it selfe to haue fayled, as it is a vertue abstract, and may bee considered without a person; yet as it is vsuall among the ancient Poets to describe Vertues and Vices by the persons of men and women, as Desire by *Cupid*, Valour by *Mars*, Beautie or Lust by *Venus*, so doe they also the persons of Men by like Vertues and Vices, and therefore by Iustice and *Astraea*, *Enoch*: the iustice and pietie of *Enoch* being in the same manner exprest, as that of *Noah* was by *Moses*, for *Noah* was said to be a iust man; And *Noah* walked with God. And of *Enoch* it is written, *That hee walked with God, and hee was no more seene: for God tooke him away.*

From this storie also of the first Age, and from that part where *Moses* remembreth the Giants begotten by the sonnes of good men vpon the daughters of the wicked (whom *Moses* calleth mightie men, and men of renoune) did they steale those wondrous great acts of their ancient Kings, and powerfull Giants; and againe their warre vndertaken against the gods, from the building of the Tower of *Babel* by the Giant *Nimrod*, as Saint *Augustine* termeth him. Which warre of their Giants, *Corneilius Senerius* thus describeth:

*Tentaure (neas) olim detrudere mundo
Sydera, captiuis, Iouis transferre Gigantes
Imperium, & victo leges imponere caelo.*

The Giants did aduance their wicked hand
Against the Starres, to thrust them headlong downe;
And robbing Ioue of his Imperiall Crowne,
On conquered Heauens to lay their proud command.

Whereby was meant that *Nimrod* purposed to raise the building of *Babel* to that height, as God neither by drawing waters from the deepe, nor by any coniunction of the starres, should bury them vnder the moylture of a second Floud, but that by this building (if they had bene herein victorious) they would haue giuen the Law to Heauen it selfe. Also the making of leagues, peace and couenants among Heathen Nations and Kings, confirmed by sacrifice, whereof *Virgil* both in the eight and twelfth of his *Aeneides* hath a touch, was (as it seemeth) borrowed from *Moses*, *Exod. 24*. Who when he read the Booke of the Couenant, sprinkled the people with bloud.

We find also many remembrances of *Seth*, the paternall Ancestor of *Enoch* and *Noah*: for *Amenophis*, the same King of *Egypt*, which reigned at such time as *Moses* carried thence the children of *Israel*, (as of late some learned men, mistaking his time, supposed) called his sonne and succellour *Setho*, of *Seth*; and of the same *Seth* (as many men of good iudgement haue granted) were the Princes of *Thrace*, called *Seuthes*, whereof there were many very famous. But herein was the memorie of *Seth* most manifestly preferred, that the *Egyptians* worshipped *Seth*, as their most ancient parent, and of the first tradition: in honour of whom they called a principall Prouince *Sethesia*. We also finde in *Bithynia* the Citie of *Sethia*, and others of the same name elsewhere. And sure, from the *Egyptians* did the *Grecians* borrow this kinde of Theologie, though they scorned to acknowledge any antiquitie preceding their owne; and that they might not seeme to learne elswhere, they gaue the same names to their owne Idols, which the *Egyptians* did to theirs.

p. V.

Of the three chiefeſt IVPITERs; and the strange storie of the third.

BVt of all those armies of *Iupiters* remembred by the Ancients, *Cicero* maketh but three, because those were of most fame: which other Writers haue also done, who fought out, and laboured in their originals

The first was *Iupiter*. the sonne of *Ether* and *Dies*, so called, because the one had reference to his celestiall conditions (for *Ether* is as much as shining or pure fire): the other discovered his naturall vertues, which dayes and times make more perfect, and are the witness: of mens actions.

The second was said to be the sonne of *Caelum* or Heauen, for the same former respect; and this *Iupiter* was an *Arcadian*, and King of *Athens*.

The

The third of whom all the *Gracian* fables were deuised, was of *Crete* (now *Candia*) the sonne of *Saturne* and *Ops*. The name deriued from the Latine is taken of *Iuuanis* *Pater*, from the Greeke word *Zeus*, it signifieth life, but somewhat strayned. *Boccas* in his Genealogie of the gods, conceiveth, that his name was borrowed from *Iupiter* the Planer; but whether that starre had such a name, before the same was giuen to men, I know not. *Iupiter* is hot and moist, temperate, modest, honest, aduenturous, liberall, mercifull, louing, and faithfull, (that is) giuing these inclinations. And therefore those ancient Kings beautified with these conditions, might be called thereafter *Iupiter*; but howsoeuer they were, or were not with those vertues enriched, yet, by imitation, all Kings in the eldest times assumed those Titles and Sir-names: great Princes affecting as high Titles of honour and reputation in the world, (howsoeuer deserued) as the worthyest; that euer were, acquired by their well desertings. Ioue omnes Reges vocarunt antiqui; The Ancients called all Kings IVPITERs, as *Tzetzes* in his *Varia historia* confirmeth: Reges olim IOVES vocarunt omnes; In old times all Nations called their Kings IVPITERs. But where this last and most remembred *Iupiter* was borne, it is vncertaine. Some there are that make him of *Crete*: others, that he was but sent thither by his mother *Ops* or *Opis*, to be fostered and hidden from the furie of *Titan* his vnkle: because it was conditioned betweene *Saturne* and *Titan*, that *Saturne* being a younger brother, and reigning (for his owne life) by *Titans* permission, hee should put to death all his male children, lest the *Titans* might be interrupted by any of them in their succession; which agreement, because *Saturne* performed in his first borne, it is fayned that *Saturne* deuoured his owne children. Hereof *Lycophron*, thus turned into Latine;

*Haud sit pinguior,
Crudis sepulchrum quid sit ipse filijs.* | *Saturne* to be the fatter, is not knowne, By being the graue and buriall of his owne.

This composition betweene *Titan* and *Saturne*, *Syllia* also witnesseth in these; *Conceptis verbis; TITAN inuare coegit SATVRNVM, de se natum ne nutrias vllum, Quo possint regnare semis post fata Deopot.*

Things thus agreed: *Titan* made *Saturne* sweare No sonne to nourish; which by reigning might Vsurpe the right of *Titans* lawfull heire.

But *Opis* the mother of *Iupiter*, being deliuered at once both of *Iupiter* and *Iuno*, conueyed *Iupiter* (first called *Lysanias*) into *Cræte*, as hee did afterwards his two brothers, *Nephtine* and *Pluto*: where he was brought vp in *Gnosus*, the chiefe Citie of that Iland, by *Cressa* the King, or by the *Curetes*, a people and nation thereof.

Other challenge him to be of *Thebes*, and a *Thebane*: others call him an *Arcadian*: others make him of *Messena*. The like contention is found among the *Greekes* touching his education and first fostering. Some affirme, that hee was fed by Hony-bees: in recompence whereof hee changed their blacke coats and skins into yellow; a reward well fitting such a god: others, that he was nourished by Beares: others, by Goats: and of all these the idle *Greekes* haue many pretty tales. But in the end when *Titan* had knowledge, that *Saturne* had broken his faith, he set on him, and tooke him and his wife prisoners, whom *Iupiter* againe rescued and deliuered.

But lastly, the father and the sonne equally ambitious, the one doubted the other. *Saturne* being the lesse powerfull fled into *Italie*, and left his Kingdomes in *Greece* to his sonne. And although this Prince at the first purchased great honour, and for his many vertues the name of *Iupiter* was giuen him; yet, after hee was once settled and became potent, he gaue himselfe ouer wholly to palliardize and adulterie, without all respect of Honour, Law, or Religion. And it is reported by such as doe ascribe the actions of many to one *Iupiter*, that not therewith satisfied, hee was afterwards knowne to offend in the sinne of *Sodome* with *Ganimedes* and others; and did not onely begin with incest, marrying his owne sister *Iuno*, but he rauished, betrayed, stole away; and tooke by strong hand all the beautifull women borne in his time, within the limits of his owne Kingdomes, or bordering them. Among whom these hereafter written were of greatest fame, *Niobe*, *Laodamia*, and *Alcmena*, the wife of *Amphytrion*, by whom hee had *Pelagus*, *Sarpidon*, *Argus*, and *Hercules*: by *Taygete* he had *Taygetus*; of whom the Mountayne *Taygetus* tooke name, with another sonne called *Saon*, of whom *Saon*:

by *Antiope* he had *Amphion* and *Zetus*: by *Lada*, *Castor* and *Pollux*, *Helen* and *Clytemnestra*: by *Danae*, *Perseus*: by *Iordana*, *Deucalion*: by *Charme* (the daughter of *Euboeus*) *Britomartis*: by *Protegeia*, he had *Athlius* the father of *Endymion*: and by *Io* (the daughter of *Inachus*) *Epaphus*, the founder of *Memphis* in *Aegypt*: which *Epaphus* married *Libya*, of whom that Country tooke name, for so the *Greeks* afterward called *Africa*. Hee-raiuled *Aegina* the daughter of *Aeolus*, and carryed her into the Iland *Oceopia* or *Oenotria*, afterward called *Aegina*, on whom he begat *Aacus*: by *Torthebia* hee had *Archebulus* and *Carbus*: by *Ora*, *Colaxes*: hee had also *Dardanus* by *Heletra*, who built *Dardanium*, afterward *Ilium* and *Troy*. He begat the brothers *Talici*, on *Thalia*, and on *Garamantis*, *Hiarhes*. He had besides these (if they beleye not their chiefe God) *Phileus* and *Pilumhus*, inventors of *Bakers craft*; and I know not how many more; but I know well that he could not be father to all these, who were borne in ages so farre differing. And of these his severall raiulments, betrayings, stealing away of mens wiues, daughters, and sonnes, buying of virgins, and the like, came in all those ancient fables of his transformations into howes of gold, eagles, buls, birds, and beafts; and of him, and by him (in effect) all that rabble of *Gracian* forgeries. And yet did not the *Greeks* and *Romans* feare to entitle this Monster, *Optimus Maximus*, though *Cicero* in his second Booke, *de natura Deorum*, affirme, that hee deferred nothing lesse; and in his Oration, *pro domo jani*, reprocheth *Cleodius* for his incest, by the name of *Iupiter*. His buriall was in *Crete* (saith *Lucian*). *Cretenses non solum natum apud se* 20 *sepulchrum Iovis restant, fed etiam sepulchrum eius offendunt*; *The Cretians or Candians do not onely avow that Iupiter was borne and buried among them, but they shew his grave and sepulchre*: which *Epiphanius* also confirmeth, forin his time there remayned the monuments of his tombe in the Mountayne *Iasus*. This *Callimachus* in his hymnes also witnesseth, but as offended thereat, saith thus:

The *Cretians* euer lyars were, they care not what they say:
For they a tombe haue built for thee, O King, that liu'ſt alway.

Diod.L.2.c.5.

Diodorus Siculus tels by way of report from the *Libyan* fables, confirmed (as hee saith) by some *Greek* Writers, that the originall of these gods was from the *Venerable* parts of *Africk*. For there among the *Atlantida* reigned one *Vranus* (which significth Heauen) called so for his great skill in *Astrologie*, and for his knowledge, and benefits to the people, honoured by them as a god after his death. He had by many wives 45. sons; but by his principall wife *Tiea*, he had fountene sonnes and two daughters, all which were called after their mothers name the *Titanes*. Of *Tiea*, likewise it is said, that three for her goodnesse was canonized as a goddesse, being dead, and called the Earth, as her husband was titled Heauen. But of all the children of *Tiea*, her daughter *Baflea* (which name soundeth as *Queen* in *English*, there is by the Latine translator of *Diodorus* called *Regina*) excelling the rest as farre in vertue as in yeares, was by general consent of her brethren, and of the people, appointed to rule as *Queen* after her fathers death, being as yet a Virgin. Shee tooke to husband her brother *Hyperion*, to whom shee bare a sonne and a daughter, called *Sonne* and *Moon*. The beautie and towardnesse of these children moued her brethren to enuy, and bred in them a feare of being excluded from the succession: wherefore they tooke the boy and drowned him in the Riuer *Eridanus*, now called *Poe*. The losse of this child caused his sister to breake her owne necke; and the losse of both her children made the mother to play many mad pranks, dancing with Cymbals, after a wilde fashion, in sight of all the people, before whom shee is said to haue vanished away. Ere shee dyed, her sonne (as the fable hath it) signified vnto her in a dreame, that hee and his sister, by the prouidence of God, should become immortal, that also the *Sonne* and *Moon*, should be called by their names, and that their death should be reuenged vpon the murderers. According to which it is said, that the people did so call those two Planets. and vntill held her selfe as a goddesse, and termed her the great Mother, which name they had formerly giuen to her, for her motherly care in cherishing her brethren whilst they were young. *Hyperion* and his Race being extinguished, the other sonnes of *Vranus* diuided the Kingdom, Of these *Atlas* and *Saturne* were chiefe. *Atlas* reigned ouer the countries lying about the Mountaynes, which afterward bare his name; a iust and wife Prince, deeply skillfull in *Astrologie*, and for inuention of the *Sphere*, said to haue supported Heauen.

He had many sonnes; but the principall of them called *Hesperus*, being of his fathers qualities and studies, was said to haue beene carried away by the winde, from the top of an high Hill in the midt of his contemplations, and his name in honour of him, imposed by the people vpon the morning starre. The seuen daughters of *Atlas* were also said to haue beene excellent Ladies, who accompanying such as came to be Deified, or registered among the Worthies, brought forth children, answerable in qualitie to those that begat them. Of these it is held, that the seuen starres called *Pleades* tooke name. *Saturne*, the brother of *Atlas*, reigned in *Sicilia*, part of *Africk* and *Italie*. *Iupiter*, another of the sonnes of *Proanus*, reigned in *Crete*; who had ten sonnes which he called *Curetes*; he called that *Iland* after his wifes name, *Idea*; in which Ile hee dyed, and was buried. But this *Iupiter* must not haue beene that great one, but vncke to the great *Iupiter*, if these fables of the *Libyans* were true. *Saturne* (as these *Libyans* tell the tale) was a great Tyrant, and fortified strong places, the better to keepe his people in subiection. His sister *Rhea* was married to *Hammon*, who reigned in some part of *Africk*. *Hammon* louing others as well as his wife, or better, got a daughter, called *Minerua*, neare to the Riuier *Triton*, who thereupon was called *Tritonia*. Hee also begat on *Amalthea* a sonne called *Bacchus*, whom hee caused secretly, for feare of his life, to be brought vp at *Nysa*, an *Iland* in the Riuier *Triton*, vnder the tuition of his daughter *Minerua*, and certayne *Nymphs*. To *Amalthea* he gaue in reward a goodly Country, that lay on the Sea-coast, bending in forme of a horne, whence grew the tale of *Amalthea*'s plentifull horne, famous among the Poets. When *Rhea* heard these newes, she fled from her husband to her brother *Saturne*, who not onely enterrained her as a sister, but tooke her to wife, and at her instigation made warre vpon *Hammon*, vanquished him by assistance of the *Titanes*, and made him flee into *Crete*. The *Curetes*, *Iupiter*'s children before mentioned, held the *Iland* at that time; which was new named *Crete* by *Hammon*, after the name of *Creta* the Kings daughter, whom hee tooke to wife, and had with her (women, as may seeme, being very gracious in those times) the Kingdome. *Bacchus* was growne a proper young man, had found out the making of wine, the arte of planting trees, and many things else commodious for mankind before the flight of his mother in law. Now therefore hearing report of all that had hapned, and that *Saturne* was coming against him with the *Titanes*; hee leuyed an Armie, to which the *Amazons*, liuing not farre from *Nysa*, added great forces, in loue of *Minerua*, who was entred into their profession. So *Bacchus* leading the men, and *Minerua* the women, they set forward against *Saturne*, met him, ouerthrew him, and taking many of the *Titanes* prisoners, returned to *Nysa*; where pardoning the prisoners, that promised to become his true followers, he prepared for a second Expedition. In the second Expedition he behaued himselfe so well, that he vvan the loue of all the people by vvhom he passed; insomuch that partly for good affection to him, partly in hatred of *Saturnes* rigoros gouernment, he was greatly strengthened, and the enemy as much infeebled by daily reuolts. Comming to the Citie of *Hammon*, he wan a battaile of *Saturne*, vnder the very walls. After which, *Saturne* with his wife *Rhea* fled by night, setting the Towne on fire to despight *Bacchus*. But they were caught in their flight, pardoned by *Bacchus*, and kindly entreated. *Saturne* had a yong sonne by *Rhea*, called *Iupiter*. This child, *Bacchus* tooke with him in a great Expedition that he made into the East Countries; and comming into *Egypt*, he left this *Iupiter*, being then a boy, Gouernour of the Country; but appointed vnto him as an Quer-ter, one *Olympus*, of vvhom *Iupiter* grew to be called *Olympus*. Whiles *Bacchus* traualled through all Nations, as farre as into *India*, doing good in all places, and teaching many things profitable to the life of man; the *Titanes* had found out his father *Hammon* in *Crete*, and began to warre vpon him. But *Bacchus* returned out of *India*, with whom *Iupiter* from *Egypt*, and his sister *Minerua*, together with the rest, that afterwards were held as gods, Ioyning all their forces, went into *Crete*, ouerthrew the *Titanes*, chafed them, tooke, and slew them, and freed the world of them all. After all this, when *Hammon* and *Bacchus* were dead, they were deified; and the great *Iupiter*, the sonne of *Saturne*, succeeding them, reigned Lord alone ouer all the world, hauing none of the *Titanes* leftaliue, nor any other to disturbe him. Betweene this tale of the *Libyan* gods, and the *Egyptian* fables of *Osiris*, there is a rude resemblance, that may cause them both to be taken for the crooked Images of some one true historio. For the Expeditions of *Osiris*, and of

In Titus.

De Legib. l. 10.

Lactius.

quod existit; For MOSES saith, He who is; PLATO, That which is. Now of Gods incomprehensible nature, and of the difficultie either to conceiue, or expresse the same, hee giueth this testimonie: Genitorem vniuersitatis tam difficile est inuenire, quam inuentum impossibile digne profari; It is as hard to find out the Creator of the vniuersall, as it is impossible, if he were found, to speake of him worthily. And what can be more agreeable to the Maieſtie of Gods Nature, then this propertie by Plato acknowledged? Deus bonus, & quidem, Deus causa bonorum: malorum autem omnium non causa; God is absolutely good, and so assuredly the cause of all that is good: but of any thing that is euill he is no cause at all: and againe, Charitas Dei fuit causa factionis mundi, & originis omnium rerum; The love of God was the cause of the worlds creating, and the originall of all things. APULEIUS the Platonist: Summus Deus infinitus est, non solum loci exclusione, sed etiam natura dignitate: Et nihil est Deo similis & gratius, quam vir animo perfectio bonus; The most high God is also an infinite God, not only by exclusion of place, but by the dignitie of nature: neither is there any thing more like or more acceptable to God then a man of a perfect heart. THALES affirmed that God comprehended all things, and that God was of all things the most ancient: Quia nunquam esse cepit; Because he neuer had any beginning. ZENO, that God beheld euen the thoughts of men. Athenodorus, that therefore all men ought to be careful in the actions of their life, because God was euerywhere present and beheld all done. But what can be more agreeable to Moses storie of the Creation, then this opinion and description of the Worlds beginning in Euripides, Scholler of Anaxagoras?

Cælum terraq; vniue forme fuit:
Sed cum fuissent abiuncta amplexu matuo,
Emerſit omnis in lucem res progenita,
Arbores, aues, ferae, quaq; aſſert mare,
Genusq; mortalium.

Heauen and Earth one forme did beare:
But when diſſoynd once they were
From mutuall embraces,
All things to light appeared then;
Of trees, birds, beasts, fishes, and men
The still-remayning races.

And as in Pythagoras, in Socrates, and in Plato: so we find the same excellent vnderstanding in Orpheus, who euerywhere expresse the infinite and sole power of one God, though he vse the name of Iupiter, thereby to auoide the enuie and danger of the time; 30 but that hee could attribute those things to the sonnes of men, and mortall creatures, which hee doth to this Iupiter, there is no man who hath euer heard of God, that can imagine.

Nomina Deorum (saith MIRANDULA) quos ORPHEVS canit, non decipientium demonum, à quibus malum & non bonum prouenit; sed naturalium virtutum diuinarumq; sunt nomina: The names of those Gods whom ORPHEVS doth sing, are not of deceiuing Devils, from whom euill comes, and not goodnesse; but they are the names of naturall & diuine vertues. Yea, that he yet reacheth higher, and speaketh of God himselfe, this his instruction to Musæus, and the Hymne following teach vs: Respiciens verò ad diuinum hunc sermonem ei diligenter animum aduertit, intendens cordia rationis capax conceptaculum: rectam autem ascendende viam, & solum aspicie mundi Regem. Vnus est ex se genitus, ex eo omnia nata sunt: ipse verò in illis versatur, nec quisquam cum intueri potest mortalium, sed ipse nihilominus omnes intuetur.

Then marking this my sacred speech, but truly lend Thy heart; that's reasons sphere, and the right way ascend, And see the worlds sole King. First, he is simply one Begotten of himselfe, from whom is borne alone All else; in which hee's still, nor could it ere befall A mortall eye to see him once, yet hee sees all.

And againe the same Author,

IVPITER omnipotens, & primus, & vltimus idem;
IVPITER est caput & medium: IOVIS omnia munus.
IVPITER est fundamen humi & stellantis Olympi.
IVPITER & mas est, & semina nescia mortis.
Spiritus est cunctis, validis vis IVPITER ignis.
Et pelagi radix, SOL, LVNA, est IVPITER ipse
Rex & origo simul rerum est, & terminus idem.
Nam prius occuluit, magno post numine, sacrum
Cor reſerans bonus in dulcem dedit omnia lucem.

The first of all is GOD, and the same last is he.
GOD is the head and midst, yea from him all things be.
GOD is the Base of earth, and of the starred skie.
He is the male and female too, shall neuer die.
The spirit of all is GOD, the SVNNE and MOONE, and what is higher.
The King, th'originall of all, of all the end.
For cloſe in holy brest he all did comprehend,
Whence all to blessed light, his wondrous power did send.

Now besides these former testimonies, that all the learned men of ancient times were not so stupid and ignorant, as the Egyptians, Gracians, and other Nations by them infected were, I will only repeat two or three other opinions, and leaue the Reader to those large and learned Collections of Iustine Martyr, Clemens, Lactantius, Eusebius, Eusebium, Pencer, Plessis, Danew, and others. For Cleanthes the Stoick, being demanded of what nature God was, described him by these attributes and properties: Bonus, iustus, sanctus, scilicet pſidens, vtilis, speciosus, optimus, ſeuerus, liber, ſemper commodus, tutus, glorioſus, charitas, &c. Good, iust, holy, poſſeſſing himſelfe, profitable, beautiful, beſt, ſeuere, free, alwayes doing good, ſafe without ſtate, glorious and ſeſſe-charitie. EPICHRANVS affirmed, that God who beheld all things, and pierced euery nature, was onely and euerywhere powerfull: agreeing with DEMOCRITVS: Rex omnium ipſe ſolus; Hee is the only King of Kings: and with Proclus the Poet, Deus vnus, Pater, creator ſummus, atq; optimus artifex, qui progreſſus ſingulis diuerſos ſecundum merita præbet; One God, the Father, the moſt high Creator, and beſt artiſer, who giueth to euery thing diuerſ proceedings according to their deſerts. This God (saith ANTIſTHERES) cannot be reſembled to any thing, and therefore not elſewhere knowne; Niſi in patria illa perenni, cuius imaginem nullam habet: Saue onely in that euerlaſting Countrey, whoſe image thou haſt none at all. Hereof alſo XENOPHANES COLOPHONIUS: Vnus Deus inter deos & homines maximus, nec corpore, nec mente mortalibus ſimilis; There is one God among gods and men moſt powerfull, neither corporally, nor mentally like vnto mortals: and XENOPHON, Deus qui omnia quatit, & omnia quiete facit, magnus poteſtis, quod omnibus pater: qualis autem forma ſit, nemini pater, niſi ipſi ſole, qui luce ſua omnia perluſtrat; God who ſhaketh all things, and ſetteth all things at reſt, is great and mightie, as is manifeſt to all: but of what forme hee is, it is manifeſt to none, ſaue onely to himſelfe, who illuminateth all things with his owne light. Finally, Plato ſaith: Totius rerum naturæ cauſa, & ratio, & origo Deus, ſummus animi genitor, æternus animantium ſoſticator, aſſiduus mundi ſui opifex, ſine propagatione genitor, neq; loco, neq; tempore vſlo comprehenſus, eoq; paucis cogitabilis, nemini effabilis; God is the cauſe, ground, and originall of the whole nature of things, the moſt high Father of the ſoule, the eternall preſerver of liuing creatures, the continual framer of his world; a begetter without any propagation, comprehended neither in any place, nor time; therefore a few can conceiue him in thought, none can expreſſe what hee is. Therefore was it ſaid by S. Hierome, Si enim cunctis Philoſophorum reuolues libros, necſſe eſt vſ in eis reperias aliquam partem vſalorem dici, vſ apud PLATONEM, fabricatorem mundi, Deum: apud XENONEM Stoicorum Principem, inferos & immortales animas &c. If thou conſider all the bookes of the Philoſophers, thou canſt not but find in them ſome part of the Deſſels of God, as in PLATO, God the Creator of the world: In ZENO Prince of the Stoicks, Hell and immortal ſoules, &c. And this is certaine, that if we looke into the wiſedome of all Ages, wee ſhall find that there neuer was man of ſolid vnderſtanding or excellent iudgement: neither any man whole minde the Arte of education hath not bended; whoſe eyes a fooliſh ſuperſtition hath not afterwarnd blinded; whoſe apprehenſions are ſober, and by a penſiue inſpectiō 30 on aduſed; but that he hath found by an vneſtable neceſſitie, one true God; and euerlaſting being, all for euer cauſing, and all for euer ſuſtaining; which no man among the Heathen hath with more reuerence acknowledged, or more learnedly expreſſed, then that Egyptian Hermes, how ſo euer it ſayd afterwarnd in his poſteritie: all being at length by deuillith policie of the Egyptian Priests purpoſely obſcured; who inuented new gods, and thoſe innumerable, beſt ſorting (as the Deuill perſwaded them) with vulgar capacities, and ſtreſt to keepe in awe and order their common people.

Hieron. in Com.
in Dan. la pſe
cip.

§. VIII.

That Heathenisme and Iudaisme, after many wounds, were as length about the same time under IULIAN miraculously confounded.

BVe all these are againe vanished: for the inuentions of mortall men are no lesse mortall then themselves. The Fire, which the *Chaldeans* worshipped for a God, is crept into euery mans chimney, which the lacke of fuelle starueth, water quencheeth, and want of ayre suffocateth: *Iupiter* is no more vexed with *Iunoes* ielousies; *Death* hath perswaded him to chastitie, and her to patience; and that Time which hath deuoured it selfe, hath also eaten vp both the Bodies and Images of him and his: yea, 10 their stately Temples of stone and durefull Marble. The houses and sumptuous buildings erected to *Baal*, can no where be found vpon the Earth, nor any monument of that glorious Temple consecrated to *Diana*. There are none now in *Phenicia*, that lament the death of *Adonis*; nor any in *Libya*, *Creta*, *Thessalia*, or elsewhere, that can aske counsaile or helpe from *Iupiter*. The great god *Pan* hath broken his Pipes, *Apollos* Priests are become speechlesse; and the Trade of riddles in Oracles, with the Deuills telling mens fortunes therein, is taken vp by counterfeit *Aegyptians*, and coozening *Astrologers*.

But it was long ere the Deuill gaue way to these his ouer-throws and dishonours: for after the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos* (one of his chiefe Mansions) was many times robbed, burnt, and destroyed; yet by his diligence the same was often enriched, repay- 20 red, and reedified againe, till by the hand of God himselfe it receiued the last and viter subuersion. For it was first robbed of all the Idols and Ornaments therein by the *Eubean Pyrates*: Secondly, by the *Phlegians* vterly sackt; Thirdly, by *Pyrros* the sonne of *Achilles*: Fourthly, by the Armie of *Xerxes*: Fifthly, by the Captaines of the *Phoenes*: Sixty, by *Nero*, who carried thence five hundred brazen Images: all which were new made, and therein againe set vp at the common charge. But whatsoever was gathered betwene the time of *Nero* and *Constantine*, the Christian Armie made spoile of, defacing as much as the time permitted them; notwithstanding all this it was againe gloriously rebuilt, and so remayned till such time as *Julian* the *Apostate* sent thither to know the successe of his *Parthian* enterprise, at which time it was vterly burnt and consumed 30 with fire from Heauen; and the Image of *Apollo* himselfe, and all the rest of the Idols therein molten downe and lost in the earth.

The like successe had the *Temple* in the same *Julians* time, when by his permission they assembled themselves to rebuild the Temple of *Hierusalem*: for while they were busied to lay the foundations, their buildings were ouerthrowne by an Earthquake, and many thousands of the *Tewes* were ouerwhelmed with the ruines, and others flaine, and scattered by Tempest and Thunder: though *Am. Marcellinus* report it more fauourably for the *Tewes*, ascribing this to the nature of that Element. For, saith hee, *Alypius* and the Ruler of the Prouince of *Iudaea*, being by *Julian* busied in the reedifying of this Temple, flaming Balls of fire issuing neere the foundation, and oft consuming the Workemen, 40 made the enterprize frustrate.

§. IX.

Of the last refuges of the Deuill to maintaine his Kingdome.

NOW the Deuill, because hee cannot play vpon the open Stage of this World (as in those dayes) and being still as industrious as euer, findes it more for his aduantage to creepe into the mindes of men; and inhabiting in the Temples of their hearts, workes them to a more effectuall adoration of himselfe then euer. For whereas hee first taught them to sacrifice to Monsters, to dead stones cut into faces of 50 Beasts, Birds, and other mixt Natures; he now sets before them the high and shining Idoll of glorie, the All-commanding Image of bright Gold. Herels them that truit is the Goddesse of dangers and oppressions: that chastitie is the enemy of Nature; and lastly, that as all vertue (in generally) is without taste: so pleasure fatisheeth and delighteth euery sense: for true wisdom (saith he) is exercised in nothing else, then in the obaying of power to oppress, and of riches to maintayne plentifully our worldly delights. And if this *Arch-politician* find in his pupils any remorse, any feeling or feare of Gods future Iudgement, he perswades them that God hath so great neede of mens soules, that 10 he

he will accept them at any time, and vpon any conditions: interrupting by his vigilant endeours all offer of timefull returne towards God, by laying those great blockes of rugged poutie, and despised contempt in the narrow passage leading to his diuine presence. But as the minde of man hath two Ports, the one alwaies frequented by the entrance of manifold vanities; the other desolate and ouer-growne with grasse, by which enter our charitable thoughts and diuine contemplations: so hath that of death a double and twofold opening: worldly miserie passing by the one, worldly prosperitie by the other: at the entrance of the one wee find our sufferings and patience to attend vs: (all which haue gone before vs to prepare our ioyes) at the other our cruelties, couetousnesse, 10 licentiousnesse, iniustice, and oppressions (the Harbingers of most fearefull and terrible sorrow) staying for vs. And as the Deuill our most industrious enemy was euer most diligent: so is he now more laborious than euer: the long day of Mankind drawing fast towards an euening, and the Worlds Tragedie and time neere at an end.

CHAP. VII.
Of NOAHS Flood.

§. I.

Of Gods fore-warning: and some humane testimonies: and some doubting touching the truth of NOAHS Flood.

IF this destruction it pleased God to giue warning vnto *Noah*: who (saith *Iosephus*) fearing to perish among the rest, *Secedens cum suis in aliam regionem* 10 *migravit*: He departed with his children, and trailed into another Region. And of these Giants from whom *Noah* withdrew himselfe, *Berosus* writeth in this manner; That they exceeded in all sorts of inhumane and vnnatural wickednesse, and that they were contemptors & religionis & Deorum, contemptors of religion and of the Gods: among which mightie men (saith *Berosus*) *vnus erat qui Deorum* 20 *venerantior, & prudentior cunctis, &c. vnic nomen erat NOAH*, There was one more wise and reuerencing the Gods then the rest, whose name was *NOAH*: who with his three sonnes *Sem*, *Japhet*, and *Cham*, and with their Wiues, and the Wife of *Noah*, (namely, *Tisea* the great, *Pandora*, *Noela*, and *Noegla*) preferred themselves in the Arke. This Arke God commanded *Noah* to prepare: And God said vnto *NOAH*, Make thee an Arke of 30 *Pine-trees*: thou shalt make Cabines in the Arke, and shalt pitch it within, and without with Pitch. For God made *Noah* to know that an end of all flesh was at hand, and that the graues of the rebellious and cruell Generations were already fashioned in the Cloudes, 40 which soone after should swallow vp and couer all liuing creatures, which breathed in the Ayre: *Noah* and his family excepted.

But this vniuersall graue of waters, and generall Deluge hath not beene receiued by all: for diuine testimonies doe not perswade all naturall men to those things, to which their owne reason cannot reach: *Dum euoluta in obscuro veritas latet*: Whilst the truth lieth wrapt up in obscuritie. Many there are who haue disputed against the vni- 50 uersalitie of this ouerflowing, and haue iudged that this Flood of *Noah* fell but in some particular places and Kingdomes: moued so to thinke, because in elder ages there haue beene many other Floods (as they suppose) of that nature. Hereof *Nicholus Damascenus* writeth in this manner, as his words are cited by *IOSEPHVS*: *Est super Arminiam* 10 *dam excelsus mons in Armenia, qui Baris appellatur, in quo multos confugientes sermo est diluuij tempore liberatos, & quendam simul in Arca deuicium in huius vertice habuisse, reliquias multo tempore conseruatas, qui fortasse is fuit, de quo etiam Moyses Inducorum Legislator scribit*: thus saith this Author. There is (saith he) above *Mimada* (or the Countrey of *Minye*) an exceeding high Mountaine in Armenia, called *Baris*: on which it is reported, that many hauing fled thither, were saved in the time of the Deluge: and that one was carried in an Arke, and rested vpon the top of the Mountaine, whereon there remayned a long time after certayne pieces thereof; and this might bee the same, of which 10 *MOSES* the Law-giner of the *Tewes* maketh mention. And of this opinion were the

Thal-

*T*hal mudifis (saith *Annins*) that many Giants faued themfelues vpon Mount *Sion*.

But *Berosus* (who after *Moses* was one of the most ancient, howfoeuer he haue bene since deformed and corrupted) doth in the substance of all agree with *Moses* as touching the generall Flood, taking from thence the beginning of his History in these words: *Anie aquarum cladem famolam, qua vniuersus perijt Orbis, &c.* Before that famous destruction of Waters, by which the World vniuersall perished: witnessing withall, that *Noah* with his wife *Tites*, and his three Sons with their wiues (in all eight persons) were only faued.

2. II.

Of the Flood in the time of *Ogyges*: and that this was not *Noahs* Flood.

BVt from the vanitie of the *Greeks*, the Corrupters of all truth, (saith *Lactantius*) who without all ground of certainty vaunt their Antiquitie, came the error first of all: who therein flattering themselves also, sought to perwade the world, that there was no Flood preceded the Flood of *Ogyges*, King of the *Thebans* in *Boetia*, or rather of *Attica*; and therefore (saith *Rhodoginus*) *Ogyges* id appellatur Poeta, tanquam in peruetus dixeris; ab *Ogyge* vetustissimo: The Poets gaue the name of *Ogygia* to things exceeding ancient, as of *Ogyges* the most ancient.

But let *Ogyges* be as ancient as those men can make him, yet it is manifest, that he liued but in *Jacobs* time (though *Eusebius* makes him later, and in *Moses* time) and was borne 67. yeeres after him. There is also an opinion, that *Ogyges* was *Cadmus* (and then was he farre later) as *Rhodoginus* in the ninth Booke of his Antiquities remembereth: *Sunt tamen qui in Aegypto regnasse autumant hunc: unde sit Cadmus qui in Graciam profectus Thebas condidit, à boue inquilato sic nuncupatus; quoniam Syrorum lingua bos dicitur Thebe. There are (saith he) who thinke that this Ogyges did reigne in Aegypt, whereby he should be Cadmus, who trauiailing into Greece built Thebes, so named of a Daefie slaine: because in the Syrian Language, a Beeffe is called Thebe.*

But this Flood of *Ogyges* fell in the yeere of the World 3440. according to *Eusebius*, who followed the account of the *Septuagint*: and the Flood of *Noah* in the yeere 3242. after the same account; and so there came 1200. betweene these Floods, wanting but two, though herein *Eusebius* was much mistaken, and corrected this opinion in his *Chronologie*. Now although the very yeere and time of this ouerflowing in *Achaia*, or rather *Attica*, be not precisely set downe, but that there is a great difference among Writers, yet whosoever makes it most ancient, finds about 500. yeeres difference betwene that and the generall Flood.

For *Paulus Orosius* affirms, that this tempest fell vpon the *Athenians*, but 1040 yeeres before *Rome* built. *Bucholzernus* saith, it was 1043. elder then *Rome*; which was founded (according to the same *Bucholzernus*) in the worlds yeere 3219. though after the account which I follow. (and whereof I will giue my reasons in the Story of *Abraham*) it was built in the Worlds yeere 3280. Now the generall Flood preceded the building of *Rome* (saith *Bucholzernus*) 1563. yeeres: and the Flood of *Ogyges* (as before) 1043. Hence it followeth by easie calculation, that (if he place *Ogyges* in his true age) the difference betwene these two Floods must be 520. yeeres, to which we (allowing 60. more) find 580. And that this of *Ogyges* was not the same of *Noah* (except we call *Noah, Ogyges Prifus*, as some doe) it appeares by this, that the Flood of *Ogyges* then King of *Attica* or *Ogygia*, did not extend it selfe any further then the banks of *Archi-pelago*, or the *Aegean* Sea. For whereas *Mela*, *Plinie*, and *Solinus* witness, that the Cite of *Ioppe* in *Iudea* was founded before the Flood; and that (notwithstanding the waight of Waters) there remayned on certayne Altars of stone the Tide of the King, and of his Brother *Phineus*, with many of the grounds of their Religion: sure, it is no where found among prophane Historians nor in the Scriptures, that euer the Flood of *Ogyges* spred it selfe ouer any part of *Syria*, much lesse ouer all the Earth. But that it drowned both the Regions of *Attica* about *Athens*, and that of *Achaia* in *Poloponnesus*, it is very probable. For it seemeth that at that time it was, when *Helice* and *Bura* were swallowed vp (Cities seated on the North part of *Poloponnesus*) of which *Ouid*:

*Si quaras Helicen, & Buran, Achaïdos vrbes,
Inuenies sub aquis.*

Bura

*Si quaras Helicen, & Buran, Achaïdos vrbes,
Inuenies sub aquis.*

Bura and *Helice*, on *Achaian* ground
Are sought in vaine, but vnder Sea are found.

Of this Flood of *Ogyges* was inuented the Fable of *Apollo* and *Diana*. For *Latona*, the daughter of *Caeus*, the sonne of *Titan*, being beloued and forced by *Iupiter*, and by him gotten with child, *Ino* thereat enraged, permitted her (as they say) no part of the Earth to be deliued on; and withall, caused the monstrous Serpent *Pythion* to follow & affrighte her, wherefoeuer she travelled: till at length arriving at the Ile of *Ortygia*, she was there receiued; in which Ile was deliuered, first of *Diana*, and then of *Apollo*, being Twins: whereof *Barlaam* makes this exposition: That at such time as the Deluge (which happened in *Ogyges* his reigne) ceased, out of the abundant moisture of the Earth (heat by putrefaction being thereto mixed) there were exhaled such thick mists and foggies, that in *Attica*, and along the Coasts of the *Aegean* Sea, neyther the beames of the Sunne by day, nor of the Moone by night, could pierce the ayre, or be perceived by the inhabitants: so as when at length (the Earth being dried, and these vapours dissipated) the ayre began to be cleare, the people of *Ortygia* espyed the light of the Moone somewhat before day, and in the same morning the Sunne also appeared: fabulously (because *Diana* represented the Moone, and *Apollo* the Sunne) they were reported to be borne in the Ile of *Ortygia*, thereof afterwards called *Delos*; which signifieth manifestation.

And surely it is not improbable, that the Flood of *Ogyges* being so great, as Histories haue reported it, was accompanied with much alteration of the ayre, sensibly discerned in those parts, and some vnusuall face of the Skyes. *Varro* in his Bookes de *gene populi Romani* (as he is cited by Saint *Augustine*) reporteth out of *Cassius*, that so great a miracle happened in the Starre of *Venus*, as neuer was seene before, nor in after-times: For the colour, the greatnesse, the figure, and the course of it, were changed. This fell out, as *Adrahus Cyzicenus*, and *Dion Neapolites*, famous Mathematicians, affirmed, in the time of *Ogyges*.

Now concerning the course of that or any other Planet, I doe not remember, that I haue any where read of so good Astrologers flourishing among the *Greekes*, or elsewhere in those dayes, as were likely to make any calculation of the reuolutions of the Planets so exact, that it should need no reformation. Of the colour and magnitude. I see no reason, why the difference found in the Starre of *Venus*, should be held miraculous; considering, that lesser mists and foggies than those which covered *Greece* with so long darknesse, doe familiarly present our senses with as great alterations in the Sunne and Moone. That the figure should varie, questionlesse it was very strange: Yet I cannot hold it any prodigie: for it stands well with good reason, that the side of *Venus* which the Sunne beholds, being enlightened by him, the opposite half should remaine shadowed; whereby that Planet would, vnto our eyes, descreyning onely that part whereon the light falleth, appaere to be horned, as the Moone doth seeme; if distance (as in other things) did not hinder the apprehension of our senses.

A worthy Astrologer now liuing, who by the helpe of perspective Glasses hath found in the Starres many things vknowne to the Ancients, affirmeth so much to haue bene discovered in *Venus*, by his late obseruations. Whether some wairie disposition of the ayre might present as much to them that liued with *Ogyges*, as *Gaius* hath seene through his Instrument; I cannot tell: sure I am, that the discouerie of a truth formerly vknowne, doth rather conuince Man of ignorance, than Nature of error. One thing herein is worthy to be noted, that this great, but particular Flood of *Ogyges*, was (as appeareth by this of Saint *Augustine*) accompanied with such vnusuall (and therefore the more dreadfull, though naturall) signes, testifying the concurrence of causes with effects in that inundation; whereas the Flood of *Noah*, which was generally, and altogether miraculous, may seeme to haue had no other token, or fore-shewing, then the long preaching of *Noah* himselfe, which was not regarded: for they were eating and drinking, when the Flood came suddenly, and tooke them all away.

H

2. III.

*Ouid. Metam.
lib. 15. 303.*

Rib. 15. 433.

*Euseb. de prep.
Evang. lib. 10. c. 5.
Ca. 22.*

Lib. 1. 4. 7.

*Xenophon. An-
nals.
Mela. lib. 3.
Plin. lib. 5.
Sol. seq. 47.
Ioyce oppidum
antiquissimum
arborescens et
ante inundationem
non terrarum
conditum. Solin.
lib. 1.*

*Ouid. Metam.
lib. 15. 303.*

Nat. Com. lib. 1. 6.

Plin. 1. 4. 6. 11.

*Aug. de Ciuit.
Dei. lib. 1. cap. 8.*

Luke. 17. 37.

ð. III.

Of DEVCALIONS Flood: and that this was not NOAH'S Flood: nor the Vmbri
in Italie a remnant of any vniuersall Flood.

A Second Flood of great fame, and of which the time is more certaine, was that of
Deucalion in Thessalia; of which, S. Augusline out of Varro: *Hic temporibus (ut
VINERO scribit) regnante Atheniensibus CECROPS, successore CECROPS (ut au-
tem nostris, EUSEBIUS & Hieronymus) adhuc eodem CECROPE permanente, diluuium
fuit, quod appellatum est DEVCALIONIS: (that is) in these times (as Varro reporteth)
CECROPS the successor of CECROPS: gouerning the Athenians, or (as our EUSEBIUS and IO
Hierome say) CECROPS yet living; that Flood (called DEVCALIONS) happened.*

And in the beginning of the eleventh Chapter of the same eighteenth Booke, he vseth
these words: *Eduxit ergo MOSES ex Aegypto populum Dei nouissimo tempore CECROPS
Atheniensium Regis, cum apud Assyrios regnaret ASCATADES, apud Sicyonios MARATHVS,
apud Argiados TRIOPAS: MOSES led the people of God out of Aegypt about the latter times
of CECROPS King of the Athenians, ASCATADES reigning over the Assyrians, over the
Sicyonians MARATHVS, and over the Argines TRIOPAS.* So as leaving the curiositie of a
few yeeres, more or lesse, it appeareth, that this Flood of Deucalion was cyther at the e-
gression of the children of Israel out of Aegypt, or neere it: and then after Noah 753.
yeeres, according to Functius, who makes Cecrops to liue in the yeere of the World 2409. 20
or if we follow Mercator, then 739. yeeres after Noah, and in the yeere of the World
2395. But if Deucalion were borne in the age of the World 2356. according to Codo-
manus; then giuing vnto Deucalion 40. yeeres of age when this Flood happened, it falleth
within one yeere of Mercators account. But Deucalion by all approued Historians is
said to haue bene 82. yeeres old at that time. Now Clemens Alexandrinus dates the
time of this Flood of Deucalion, and the conflagration and burning in Phaetons time, by
the reigne of Crotopus, King of the Argines; but Crotopus liued King of the Argines fixe
yeeres after Israel departed Aegypt, which makes twentie yeeres difference, according to
Functius, who will haue this Flood and Burning to haue fallen 14. yeeres before Moses
left Aegypt: for he gaue of the Worlds yeeres to the Flood and Burning the yeere 2440. 30
and to Moses his egression the yeere 2454. And yet Cedrenus thinks that Moses was
more ancient, and liued with Inachus; but that cannot be true: for then had the Flood
of Deucalion, and the burning of Phaeton, preceded the Flood of Ogyges, which is denied
by all: for that of Thessalie (called Deucalions) followed that of Attica (called Ogygia)
atleast 250. yeeres, or thereabouts. Eusebius in his Chronologie makes it 230. and so doth
P. Orosius: Eusebius about the 50. yeere of Moses life, and Cyrillus about the 69. and
both after Noahs Flood 770. yeeres: for these be Clemens Alexandrinus his words: *Fuit
autem in Graecia tempore quidem PHORONEI, qui fuit post INACHVM inundatio qua fuit
tempore OGYGIS: There happened in Greece in the time of PHORONEVS, who liued after
INACHVS, the Flood of OGYGES.* Now if the Flood of Ogyges in Attica were 1020. or 40
1016. yeeres before the first Olympiad, according to Eusebius and Orosius; (as before) then
is it manifest, that taking 763. out of this number of 1020. it falls out, that Ogyges Flood
happened before the Hebrewes left Aegypt 250. yeeres, or 260. yeeres, according to the
difference between the opinions of Eusebius and Orosius. And for my selfe, who rather
follow those Chronologers, which giue 60. yeeres more to Abraham after the Flood,
then the rest) I reck on the times which come between these Floods in this sort. The
generall Flood was in the yeere of the World 1656. Iacob was borne in the yeere of the
World 2169. so as from the beginning of the Flood to Iacobs birth, there were con-
fumed 513. yeeres. Ogyges Flood happened 100. yeeres after Iacob was borne; and there-
fore after the generall Flood 613. yeeres. Now Deucalion was borne in the yeere of the 50
World 2356. and had liued 82. yeeres, when his Kingdome of Thessalie was ouerwhel-
med; (which added to 2356. make 2438.) his Flood was after Noahs Flood ended, 782.
yeeres. And hereto Annus his Xenophon agreeth, who makes 700. yeeres betweene the
generall Flood and Deucalions birth; to which add 82. yeeres of his Age (as before)
and then the Flood of Thessalie followed the generall 782. yeeres. The words of that
Xenophon are these: *Ab inundatione terrarum ad ortum DEVCALIONIS, secundo annu
SPHAEI, septingenti supputantur anni, qui natus anno duos & octoginta Thessaliam vidit
inundatam: From the drowning of the World to the birth of DEVCALION, in the second
yeere*

Cedren. l. 1. c. 34.

Clem. Alex.
stro. ex Clif.

Euseb. in Chron.

yeere of SPHAEVS, are numbered 700. yeeres, and when DEVCALION was 82. yeeres old,
he saw Thessalia drowned. This Flood happened in the Winter time about Parnassus:
witnesseth Aristo in the first of his *Meteoros*. And Varro (whom Saint Augustine so of-
ten citeth for his excellent Learning, especially in Antiquities) findeth this Flood of De-
ucalion to haue happened in the time of Cranaus, who succeeded Cecrops: Orosius thinks
it somewhat later, Amphitryon reigning in Athens, the third from Cecrops. Onely this
of Deucalion was very great, and reached not onely ouer Thessalie it selfe, and the Regi-
ons adioyning Westward, but it couered the greatest part of Italie: and eyther the
same, or some other particular Flood then happening, oppressed Aegypt, sayth Eusebius.

And therefore did the Greekes eyther thinke it, or faine it to be vniuersall; and Deucalion
then King, sauing himselfe and some others on the Mountaine of Thessalie (of all other
the highest, sayth Solinus) was by reason thereof (as Strabo witnesseth) sayd to be the
preseruer of Mankind. That this Flood couered a great part of Italie, Plinie and Solinus
make it probable, who affirme, that the people then inhabiting Italie, were therefore cal-
led *Itali*: quia ab imbris diluuij superfuissent; and therefore also were they esteemed
the most ancient Nation, as Strabo confirmeth in his first Booke, and Trezentius in his
second; which Vmbri these Authors make the Parents of the Sabines, and the Sabines
to be the Parents of the Samnites, Piceni, Lucani, Brutij, and all others inhabiting anci-
ently the banks of the Mediterranean Sea. But that these Vmbri were not the Inhabiters
of Italie before the Flood of Noah, and so tooke name by sauing themselves vpon the
Apennine Mountaines, the Scriptures teach vs; theuing who, and who onely then were
preserued: which is sufficient. Report hath aduenced further, telling vs, that the first
people which after the generall Flood inhabited Italie, were the Camesenes; (so named
from Camefe, whom CATO in *originibus*, another of Annus his Authors, names for a con-
sort of Ianus) which people liued altogether a sauage life; till such time as SATURNVS ar-
riuing on those Coasts, deuised Lawes to gouerne them by: the memorie of whose Acts
in that Region, Diodor and Thallus among the Greekes, Nepos, Gellius, and Varro among
the Latines haue preferred; and of whom Virgil:

*Primus ab aethera venit SATURNVS Olympo,
Arma Iovis fugiens, & regni exul adeptus,
Is genus indocile, ac dispersum montibus altis
Composuit, legesq; dedit; Latiumq; vocari
Moluit.*

SATVRNE descending from the Heauens high,
Fearing the Armes of IVPITER his Sonne,
His Kingdome lost, and banisht thence, doth flie.
Rude people on the Mountayne tops he wonne
To liue together, and by Lawes: which done,
He chose to call it Latium.

And afterward in the Verses following he speake of the Ausones, and after them, of the
Sicani: Nations, which againe fought to dis-plant the ancient Inhabiters:

*Tum manus Ausonia, & gentes venere Sicani,
Then came the Ausonian Bands, and the Sicanian Tribes.*

Of these Sicani (which left Spaine, and sat downe in Italie) Thucydides and Plinie giue te-
stimonie: who were againe expelled by the Ligij, sayth Thucydides. After all these plantati-
ons and replantations came the Vmbri, descended of the Etruskes (sayth Annus) not of those
Gaules of France, but of those of Scythia, who commanded a great part of Italie, even all
50 Etruria and Campania; as Herodotus, Plinie and Diogenes haue assured vs: and therefore
this Flood of Deucalion was long after that of Noah: For all those Nations were planted
in Italie, and dispossessed of Italie againe, before the Vmbri were euer heard of, or had being.
So that Kingdome was first called Camesenes, then Latium, or Saturnia, then Ausonia then
Sicania; before the Vmbri (in whose time Deucalions Flood happened) possessed the same,
about 306. yeeres before the Warre of Troy: Lycam then gouerning Arcadia, who being
the father of two and twentie sonnes, the youngest called Oenotrius invaded Italie, who
gave it the name of Oenotria. This name it held vntill Italus of the same Nation changed
it into Italie, after his owne name, about 250. yeeres before the fall of Troy. After these,
Virg. l. 3. Aen.

Thucyd. l. 6.
Plin. l. 3. c. 5.Annus ex Sa-
muele Thucy-
dides, l. 2. c. 1.
Herod. l. 1.
Plin. l. 3. c. 5.
Dion. l. 1. c. 2.Pausan. Arcad.
lib. 3.

Virg. Pol. l. 7. c. 10.

Hered. l. 2.
Plin. l. 2. c. 4.

came the *Pelagii*, of whom *Plinie* in his third Booke and fifth Chapter, and *Strabo* in his fifth, *Thucydides* in his sixth, speaks at large: and after them the *Lydi*, vnder *Tyrrhenus* their Captaine, that gaue name to the *Tyrrheni*; who calling thence the *Vmbri*, tooke from them three hundred Castles, and built therein twelue Cities: to which (after they had possit and past ouer the *Appenine* Mountaines) they added diuers others, wherof *T. Etsina* (afterward *Bononia*) was one.

Now that there was not anciently such a Nation, as these *Vmbri*, in those parts, I doe not affirme; having respect to the testimonies before repeated. And *Stephanus* thinks, that the name was deriued from the Greeke word *Ombros*; but that these *Vmbri* of *Italie* were descended of the Nation of *Scythians* (called *Galli*) it shall be shewed hereafter. 10

§. IIII.

Of some other Records testifying the vniuersall Flood: and of two ancient Deluges in Egypt: and of some elsewhere.

E Aint *Augustine* out of *Varro* affirmeth, that the *Greekes* and *Latines* made not any mention of the Vniuersall Flood, because they had nothing of Antiquitie foregoing that of *Ogyges*; and therefore (according to *Rhodoginus*, before remembered) were all things among the *Greekes* (which antiquitie had worne out of knowledge) called *Ogygia*, which we in *English* commonly call (worme-eaten) or of defaced date. But as all the parts of the Earth were successufully planted and peopled; and as all Nations had their proper times, and not their beginning at once and at the instant: so did euery Familie, which afterward became a great People, with whom the knowledge of diuine Letters was not recieued, finde no Parent of more antiquitie, than such as they had themselves, nor allow of any before their owne; and as the *Gracians*, so did others vaunt themselves to be *Indigena*, and growing out of the Earth, or inuent some other prophane or ridiculous beginning. But the *Chaldeans* had certaine knowledge of *Noahs* Flood, as *Berosus* witnesseth; and *Nicolaus Damascus* maketh particular mention thereof (as is aforesaid) though he also affirme by heare-say, that some Giants saued themselves vpon the Mountaines *Baris* in *Armenia*, but speaketh not thereof as from any authentic approoued: vntill the word *Sermo est*; That such a speech there was. And *Eusebius* remembereth a place out of the ancient Historian *Abydenus*: who writeth, that *Sisithrus*, to preserue himselfe from a Flood fore-told him by *Saturnus*, fled to the Hills of *Armenia* by ship, ad *Armenian* nauigio confugiebat: who the third day (after the Waters were fallen) sent forth birds, that finding no land to rest on, returned againe; which hee also did a second time, but at the third returne the birds feet were couered with mudde and slime. To this effect are *Eusebius* words out of *Abydenus*, which may seeme a true description (though in other termes) of *Noahs* Flood.

Cyillus also affirmeth, that *Alex. Polyhistor* maketh mention of this generall Flood. And *Plato* in *Timeo* produceth an *Egyptian* Priest, who recounted to *Solon* out of the holy Bookes of *Egypt*, the storie of the Flood vniuersall, which (saith he) happened long before the *Gracian* inundations. Fryer *Annus* his *Xenophon* remembereth a third Flood, which also *Diodorus Siculus* confirmeth, somewhat more ancient then that of *Ogyges* in *Attica*. For he named the generall Flood for the first, which happened (saith he) vnder the old *Ogyges*, Sub *prisco* *Ogyge*, which was *Noah*; he calleth the second *Niliaca*: *Hercules* and *Prometheus* then liuing, 44. yeeres before that of *Attica*, in the 34. yeere of *Bela-chus* King of the *Assyrians*, though I doe not beleue him as touching the time. But this Flood couered a great part of the neether *Egypt*, especially all that Region subiect to *Promethens*; and hereof came the fable of the Culture on *Promethens* his Liuer, afterward slaine by *Hercules* of *Egypt*: which fiction *Diod. Siculus* deliuereth in these words: *Flauiam propter cursus velocitatem, profunditatem, aquarum Aquilam tunc appellatum, Herculeum cum consilio magnitudine, non virtute, vultum vestigio compressisse, & aquarum impetum ad priorem cursum conuertisse*: Vnde & *Graci* quidam Poete rem gestam in fabulam vertentes, *HERCULEM* tradidit *AQUILAM* *PROMETHEI* iecur depascemem occidisse; This Flood (meaning of *Nilus*) for the swiftnesse of his course, as also for the depth, was in those dayes called the Eagle: but *Hercules* by his great indgement and vertue did againe compress and straighten this River, so farre extended and over-spread, turning it into the old channels: Whence certaine *Grecke* Poets (concerning this labour and worke of *Hercules* into a fable).

Diod. l. 2.

Nat. Com. l. 2. c. 4.

fable) denis'd, that *HERCULES* slew the Eagle which fed on *PROMETHEUS* Liuer; meaning that he deliuered *Promethens* of that sorrow and torment, which for the losse of his People and Countrey (by the Waters destroyed and couered ouer) he suffered.

A fourth Flood chanced about *Pharus* in *Egypt*, where *Alexander Macedon* built *Alexandria*, as *Annus* conceiueh out of his *Xenophon*, who in this briefe fort writeth of all these Inundations: *Inundationes plures fuerunt: prima nouissime in inundatio terrarum sub prisco* *Ogyge*: *secunda Niliaca*, &c. There were many Inundations (saith this same *Xenophon*): the first, which was vniuersall, of nine Moneths, and this happened vnder the first *Ogyges*: the second was *Niliaca*, and of one Moneths continuance, in the time of *Hercules* and *Promethens*, *Egyptians*: a third of two Moneths, vnder *Ogyges Atticus*: the fourth of three Moneths, in *Theffalia*, vnder *Deucalion*: and a fifth of the like continuance (called *Pharonica*) vnder *Proetus* of *Egypt*, about the time of *Helens* rape. *Diodorus* in his fifth Booke and cleuenth Chapter, taking the *Samotheaces* for his Authors, remembereth a Flood in *Asia* the lesse, and elsewhere, of no lesse destruction then any of the other particular Inundations, saying, that the same happened before that of *Deucalion*; the Sea of *Pontus* and *Hellspont* breaking in ouer the Land.

But there haue been many Floods in diuers times, and ages, not inferior to any of these two last remembered, *Niliaca* and *Pharonica* in *Egypt*: as in the yeere of our Redemption 550. when in *October* of the same yeere, *Gregorie* then being Bishop of *Rome*, there happened a maruellous ouerflowing in *Italie*, and especially in the *Venetian* Territorie, and in *Liguria*, accompanied with a most fearefull storme of thunder and lightning: after which followed the great Plague at *Rome*, by reason of the many dead Serpents cast vp and left vpon the Land, after the Waters decreased and returned. And in the yeere 1446. there perished 10000. people, by the breaking in of the Sea at *Dordrecht* in *Holland*: of which kind I take that Flood to be of *Achaia* or *Attica*. Before that, and in the yeere 1238. *Tri-themius* speaketh of an Earthquake, which swallowed many thousands: and after that, of a Flood in *Friseland*, in which there perished 100000. persons. *Sirofius Sigog.* in his *Magia amissaria*, telleth of an Inundation in *Italie*, in the time of Pope *Damalus*, in which also many Cities of *Sicily* were swallowed: another in the Papacie of *Alexander* the sixt: also in the yeere 1515. *Maximilian* being Emperor. He also remembereth a peccilous ouer-flowing in *Polonia*, about *Craconia*, by v. which many people perished. Likewise *Viginier* a French Historian speaketh of a great Flood in the South part of *Langue-doc*, which fell in the yeere of our Lord 1557. with so dreadfull a tempest, as all the people attended therein the very end of the VWorld, and Iudgement Day; saying, That by the violent descent of the Waters from the Mountaines, about *Nismes* there were removed diuers old heapes and mountures of ground, and many other places come vp and rent: by which accident there was found both Coyne of Silver and Gold, diuers pieces of Plate, and Vessels of other Metall, supposed to be hidden at such time as the *Goshes* inundated that Prouince, in the yeere 1156.

Munster.

Euseb. de terrae
militum cantibus
multa hominum
multa oppresse-
runt. Frisia quod
per maritimos
fluctus tota rione
submersa fuit &
perierunt in f-
quam 1000000.

§. V.

That the Flood of *NOAH* was supernaturall, though some say it might haue beene fore-seene by the Starres.

NOW howsoeuer all these Floods, and many other, which haue couered at severall times severall Regions, not only in these parts of the World, but in *America* also, (as I haue learned of some ancient Southlayers among them) may be ascribed to naturall causes and accidents; yet that vniuersall Flood (in the time of *Noah*) was powred ouer the whole face of the Earth by a power aboue Nature, and by the speciall commandement of God himselfe, who at that time gaue strength of influence to the Starres, and abundance to the Fountaines of the Deepe: whereby the irruption of Waters was made more forcible, then any abilitie of Nature could effect, or any second causes by whatsoeuer vnion could performe, without receiuing from the Fountaine of all power strength, and faculties supernaturall. *Hieronymus Mechliniensis* a Scholler of *Albertus Magnus*, in his Commentaries vpon the great coniunctions of *Alba Major* obserueth, that before the Flood of *Noah*, the like coniunction of *Iupiter* and *Saturne*, happened in the last degree of *Cancer*, against that constellation, since called the ship of *Argos*; by which the Flood of *Noah* might be fore-told, because *Cancer* is both a watric Signe, and the House

Alfo de Cancer,
dia Theolog. &
Astralog.
Gen. 7. 11.

* The word
catastrophe
properly signi-
fies any place
of stoppage, a
gainst which
the force of
the water be-
ing naturally
carried down-
wards, dash-
eth and breac-
keth; of
catastrophe
allido, or
frang. Hence,
because Win-
dors do not
only open, but
also shut, the
word hath
been expon-
ded (Windors)
for Barres or
Floud-gates.

of the *Moone*, which is the *Ladie* of the *Sea*, and of *Moyfture*, according to the *rules* of *Aftonomie*, and common experience. And this opinion *Petrus de Aliaco* vpon *Genefis* confirmeth, affirming, that although *Noah* did well know this *Floud* by diuine reuelation, yet (this coniunction being notorious) he could not be ignorant of the second causes thereof: for those were not onely signes, but also working causes, by strength receiued from the first cause, which is *God himselfe*: and further, that by * *Cataractæ Celi* (Englified the *Windores* of *Heauen*) *Moses* meant this great and warrie coniunction; the word (*Cataractæ*) signifying flowing downe or comming downe. Now (saith *P. de Aliaco*) it pleased *God* to ordaine by the course of the *Heauens* such a conflagellation, by which all men might behold therein their destruction towards, and thereby forsake those wicked wayes wherein they walked, and call vnto *God* for mercy.

Of this iudgement was *Gul. Parisiensis*, who vnderstood, that the words *Cataractæ Celi*, or *Windores* of *Heauen*, were to be taken for the former coniunction, or for these warrie Signes, *Cancer*, *Pisces*, *Pleides*, *Hyades*, and *Orions*, and of the Planets, *Mars*, *Venus*, and the *Moone*: which are the forcible causes of the greatest Inundations. His owne words are these: *Nondum intelligo Prophetam Hebræorum Cataractas Celi vocasse, nisi partes illas Celi, quæ generatiue sunt pluuiarum & inundationum aquarum, quales sunt signa aquatica, vt Cancer, &c.* as aforesaid. As yet (saith he) I perceive not what the *Prophet* of the *Hebrewes* meaneth by those words (*Cataractæ Celi*, or *Windores* of *Heauen*) whilest he thereby vnderstandeth those *Celestiall powers*, by whose influences are engendered the *Raine*, and 30 Inundations of *Waters*, such as are the warrie Signes of *Cancer*, &c.

But in a word, as it might please *God*, that in the course of his vnsearchable Wisdome this coniunction should at such time be: so did he (as aforesaid) adde vigor and faculty, and gaue to euery operation encrease of vertues, violent eruptions to Springs and Fountaynes, commanding them to cast out the whole treasure and heape of their waters; taking retention from the Clouds, and condensing ayre into water by the ministerie of his Angels, or howsoever else best pleased his All-powerfullest.

§. VI.

That there was no need of any new Creation of Matter to make the vniuersall Floud: And what are *Cataractæ Celi*,

GEN. 7. VERS. II.

Now if it be objected, that *God* doth not create any thing of new; (for *God* resteth the seventh day: (that is) he did not then after create any new species) which is granted, it may seeme that then all the *Earth* and *Ayre* had not waters sufficient to couer the habitable *World* fiftene Cubits aboue the highest Mountaines. Of this proposition, whether *God* hath so restrained himselfe, or no, I will not dispute; but for the consequent (which is) that the *World* had want of water to ouer-couer the highest Mountaines, I take that conceit to be vnclearned and foolish: for it is written, that the *Fountaines of the great Deepe were broken up* (that is) the waters forsooke the very bowels 40 of the *Earth*; and all whatsoever was dispersed therein, pierced and brake through the face thereof. Then let vs consider, that the *Earth* had aboue one and twentie thousand miles, the *Diameter* of the *Earth* according to that circle seven thousand mile, and then from the *Superficies* to the Center some three thousand five hundred miles: Take then the highest Mountain of the *World*, *Caucasus*, *Taurus*, *Olympus*, or *Atlas*, the Mountaines of *Armenia* or *Sybia*, or that (of all other the highest) in *Teneris*, and I do not find, that he that looketh highest, stretcheth aboue thirte miles vpright: It is not then impossible, answering reason with reason; that all those waters mixed within the *Earth* three thousand five hundred miles deepe, should not well helpe to couer the space of thirte miles in height, this thirte miles vpright: being found in the depths of the *Earth* one hundred and fixtene times: for the *Fountaines of the great Deepe were broken up*, and the waters drawne out of the bowels of the *Earth*. Secondly, if we consider what proportion the *Earth* beareth to the extension of the *Ayre* ouer and aboue it; we shall find the difference exceeding great. If then it pleased *God* to condense but so much of this *Ayre*, as euery where compasseth and embraceth the *Earth*, which condensation is a conuersion of *Ayre* into *Water*, a change familiar in those Elements; it will not seeme strange to men of iudgement, yea but of ordinarie vnderstanding, that the *Earth* (*God* so pleading) was couered ouer with *Waters*, without any new Creation.

Lastly,

Lastly, for the opinions of *Gulielmus Parisiensis*, and *Aliacensis*, to which I may adde *Berelius* and others, That such a coniunction there was, fore-shewing that destruction by *Waters* which followed; and that by the word *Cataractæ Celi*, or *Windores* of *Heauen*, was meant this coniunction; there needs no other answer then that obseruation of *Ludovicus Vines*, who affirmeth, That by the grauest *Astrologian* it was obserued, that in the yeere 1524. there should happen the like coniunction as at *Noahs* Floud; then which (saith he) there was neuer a more faire, drie, and seasonable yeere: the like destruction was prophesied of the yeere 1588. But *Picus Earle* of *Mirandula* proueth, that there could not be any such coniunction at that time.

- 10 To conclude, I find no other mystrie in the word *Cataractæ Celi*, then that the clouds were meant thereby: *Moses* vsing the word *Windores of Heauen* (if that be the sense of the word) to expresse the violence of the Raynes, and pouring downe of *Waters*. For whosoever hath scene those fallings of water, which sometimes happen in the *Indies*, which are called the *Spowrs*, (where clouds doe not brake into drops, but fall with a resistible violence in one body) may properly vse that manner of speech which *Moses* did; That the *Windores* or *Floud-gates* of *Heauen* opened: (which is) That waters fell contrarie to custome, and that order which wee call naturall. *God* then loosened the power retentive in the vppermost ayre, and the waters fell in abundance: Behold (saith 106. 12. v. 15. 108) he which holdeth the *Waters*, and they drie up, or better in Latine, Et omnia secantur, 20 And all things are dried up; but when he sendeth them out, they deluge the Earth: And in the 26. Chapter: He bindeth the *Waters* in the Clouds. But these Bonds *God* loosed at that time of the generall Floud, and called up the *Waters* which slept in the great Deepe, and these ioyning together, couered the *Earth*, till they had performed the worke of his will: which done, he then commanded them to returne into their darke and vast Caues, 60. 3. 11. and the rest (by a winde) rarified againe into ayre, formerly condensed into drops.

§. VII.

Of some remainder of the memorie of *Noah* among the Heathen.

- 30 **N**OA H commanded by *God*, before the fall of those *Waters*, entered the *Arke* which he had built, with his owne Wife, and his Sonnes, and his Sonnes Wiues, taking with them of euery Creature which tooke life by generation, seven of the cleane, and of the vncleane, two. *Noah*, according to *Philo*, signifieth quietness: after others, and according to the prophetic of his Father *Lamech*, restation; to whom after-times gaue many Names, answering his antiquitie, zeale, vertue, and other qualities: as, The first *Ogyges*, because in the time of the *Grecian Ogyges* there was also a great Floud of *Achaia*: *Sauirne* they called him, because he was the Father of Nations: Others gaue him the Name of *Prometheus*, who was said to steale away *Iupiters* fire: fire in that place being taken and vnderstood for the knowledge of *God* and heavenly things. Others 40 thinke, that he was so called for his excellent wisdome and foresight. He had also the Name of *Ianus*, (id est) *vinusius*, because *Iain* signifieth Wine in the *Hebrew*. And so *Terentian* findes him written in *Libri Rimalibus*, in the *Bookes of Ceremonies*, preceding both *Saturne*, *Vranus*, and *Ioue*: which three enioyed an elder time then all the other ancientest fayned gods. And this Name *Iain* is taken from the *Hebrew* and *Syrian*, and not from the *Latine*: for it was in vse before there was any *Latine* Nation, or any Kingdome by that Name knowne. Of the antiquitie of *Ianus*, *Fabius Pistor* giueth this testi- 50 monie: *IANI ætate nulla erat Monarchia, quia nonnullis pectoribus nondum hebesca villa regnandi cupiditas, &c.* *Vinum & Far* primo populus docuit *IANVS* ad sacrificia: primo enim *Aras & Pomeria* & sacra docuit. In the time of *IANVS* (saith he) there was no Monarchie: for the desire of rule had not then folded in selfe about the beards of men. *IANVS* first taught the people to sacrifice Wine and Meate: he first set up Altars, instructed Gardens and solitary Groves, wherein they used to pray; with other holy Rites and Ceremonies. A greater testimony then this there cannot be found among the Heathen, which in all agree so well with the Scriptures. For first, whilest *Noah* flourished, there was not any King or Monarch; *Nimrod* being the first that tooke on him soueraigne authority. Secondly, *Noah* after the Floud was the first that planted the Vine, and became a Husbandman; and therefore offered the First-fruits of both (to wit) Wine and Meate. Thirdly, he was the first that rayled an Altar, and offered sacrifice to *God*; a thanksgiving 60. 3. 20. for

Alfo de Concor-
dia Theolog. &
Astralog.
Gen. 7. 11.

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ing naturally
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wards, dash-
eth and brea-
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of the *Moone*, which is the *Ladie of the Sea*, and of *Moysture*, according to the rules of *Astronomie*, and common experience. And this opinion *Petrus de Aliaco* upon *Genesis* confirmeth, affirming, that although *Noah* did well know this *Flood* by diuine reuelation, yet (this coniunction being notorious) he could not be ignorant of the second causes thereof: for those were not onely signes, but also working causes, by strength receiued from the first cause, which is God himselfe: and further, that by * *Catastrophe Celi* (Englified the *Windores of Heauen*) *Moses* meant this great and warric coniunction; the word (*Catastrophe*) signifying flowing downe or coming downe. Now (saith *P. de Aliaco*) it pleased God to ordeine by the course of the Heauens such a conflagellation, by which all men might behold therein their destruction towards, and thereby forsake tho those wicked wayes wherein they walked, and call vnto God for mercy.

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But in a word, as it might please God, that in the course of his vnsearchable Wisdome this coniunction should at such time be: so did he (as aforesaid) adde vigor and faculty, and gaue to euery operation encrease of vertues, violent eruptions to Springs and Fountaynes, commanding them to cast out the whole treasure and heape of their waters; taking retention from the Clouds, and condensing ayre into water by the ministration of his Angels, or howsoeuer else best pleased his All-powerfullest.

¶ V I.

That there was no need of any new Creation of Matter to make the vniuersall Flood: And what are *Catastrophe Celi*,

GEN. 7. 11.

NOW if it be objected, that God doth not create any thing of new; (for God resteth the seventh day: (that is) he did not then after create any new species) which is granted, it may seeme that then all the Earth and Ayre had not waters sufficient to couer the habitable World fifteen Cubits above the highest Mountaines. Of this proposition, whether God hath so restrained himselfe, or no, I will not dispute; but for the consequent (which is) that the World had want of water to ouer-couer the highest Mountaines, I take that conceit to be vnclearned and foolish: for it is written, that the *Fountaines of the great Deepe were broken up* (that is) the waters forooke the very bowels of the Earth; and all whatsoever was disperst therein, pierced and brake through the face thereof. Then let vs consider, that the Earth had about one and twentie thousand miles, the *Diameter* of the Earth according to that circle seven thousand mile, and then from the *Superficies* to the Center some three thousand five hundred miles: Take then the highest Mountaine of the World, *Caucasus, Taurus, Olympus, or Atlas*, the Mountaines of *Armenia* or *Sybia*, or that (of all other the highest) in *Tenneris*, and I doe not finde, that he that looketh highest, stretcheth above thirtie miles vpright: It is not their impossible, answering reason with reason; that all those waters mixed within the Earth three thousand five hundred miles deepe, should not well helpe to couer the space of thirtie miles in height, this thirtie miles height being found in the depths of the Earth one hundred and sixtine times: for the *Fountaines of the great Deepe were broken up*, and the waters drawne out of the bowels of the Earth. Secondly, if we consider what proportion the Earth beareth to the extension of the Ayre ouer and about it; we shall finde the difference exceeding great. If then it pleased God to condense but so much of this Ayre, as euery where compasseth and embraceth the Earth, which condensation is a conuersion of Ayre into Water, a change familiar in those Elements; it will not seeme strange to men of iudgement, yea but of ordinarie vnderstanding, that the Earth (God so pleased) was couered ouer with Waters, without any new Creation.

Lastly,

Lastly, for the opinions of *Guilelmus Parisiensis*, and *Aliacensis*, to which I may adde *Berosus* and others, That such a coniunction there was, fore-seeing that destruction by Waters which followed; and that by the word *Catastrophe Celi*; or *Windores of Heauen*, was meant this coniunction; there needs no other answer then that obseruation of *Ludovicus Vines*, who affirmeth, That by the grauest *Astrologian* it was obserued, that in the yeere 1524. there should happen the like coniunction as at *Noahs Flood*; then which (saith he) there was neuer a more faire, drie, and seasonable yeere: the like destruction was prophesied of the yeere 1588. But *Picus Earle of Miranda* proueth, that there could not be any such coniunction at that time.

- 10 To conclude, I find no other mysterie in the word *Catastrophe Celi*, then that the clouds were meant thereby: *Moses* vsing the word *Windores of Heauen* (if that be the sense of the word) to expresse the violence of the Raynes, and powring downe of Waters. For whosoer hath scene those fallings of water, which sometimes happen in the *Indies*, which are called the *Spowts*, (where clouds doe not brake into drops, but fall with a resistible violence in one body) may properly vse that manner of speech which *Moses* did: That the *Windores* or *Floud-gates* of Heauen opened: (which is) That waters fell contrary to custome, and that order which wee call naturall. God then loosened the power retentive in the vppermost ayre, and the waters fell in abundance: Behold (saith *Isaiah*) he which holdeth the Waters, and they drie up, or better in Latine, *Et omnia siccantur*, 106. 12. 9. 15. And all things are dried up; but when he sendeth them out, they deluge the Earth: And in the 26. Chapter: He bindeth the Waters in the Clouds. But these Bonds God loosed at that time of the generall Flood, and called vp the Waters which slept in the great Deepe, and these ioyning together, couered the Earth, till they had performed the worke of his will: which done, he then commanded them to returne into their darke and vast Caues, 66. 3. 1. and the rest (by a winde) rarified againe into ayre, formerly condensed into drops.

¶ VII.

Of some remainder of the memorie of *Noah* among the Heathen.

- 30 **N**OA H commanded by God, before the fall of those Waters, entred the Arke which he had built, with his owne Wife, and his Sonnes, and his Sonnes Wiues, taking with them of euery Creature which tooke life by generation, seuen of the cleane, and of the vncleane, two. *Noah*, according to *Philo*, signifieth quietnesse: after others, and according to the prophetic of his Father *Lamech*, cessation; to whom after times gaue many Names, answering his antiquitie, zeale, vertue, and other qualities: as, *The first Oegies*, because in the time of the *Grecian Oegies* there was also a great Flood of *Achaia*: *Saurne* they called him, because he was the Father of Nations: Others gaue him the Name of *Prometheus*, who was said to steale away *Zephus* fire; fire in that place being taken and vnderstood for the knowledge of God, and heavenly things. Others thinke, that he was so called for his excellent wisdome and foresight. He had also the Name of *Ianus*, (id est) *vinosus*, because *Iain* signifieth Wine in the Hebrew. And so *Tertullian* findes him written in *Libris Ritualibus*, in the Bookes of Ceremonies, preceding both *Saturne*, *France*, and *Ioue*: which three enioyed an elder time then all the other ancientst fayned gods. And this Name *Iain* is taken from the Hebrew and Syrian, and not from the Latine: for it was in vse before there was any Latine Nation, or any Kingdome by that Name knowne. Of the antiquitie of *Ianus*, *Fabius Pictor* giueth this testimony: *IANI atate nulla erat Monarchia, quia mortalibus pectoribus nondum haberat villa regnandi cupiditas, &c. Vinum & Feri primis populis docuit IANVS ad sacrificia: primus enim Aras & Pomeria & sacra docuit.* In the time of *IANVS* (saith he) there was no Monarchie: for the desire of rule had not then folded in selfe about the beards of men. *IANVS* first taught the people to sacrifice Wine and Meate: he first set up Altars, instructed Gardens and solitary Groues, wherein they used to pray, with other holy Rites and Ceremonies. A greater testimonie then this there cannot be found among the Heathen, which in all agreeeth so well with the Scriptures. For first, whilst *Noah* flourished, there was not any King or Monarchie; *Nimrod* being the first that tooke on him soveraigne authority. Secondly, *Noah* after the Flood was the first that planted the Vine, and became a Husbandman; and therefore offered the First-fruits of both (to wit) Wine and Meale. Thirdly, he was the first that rayed up Altar, and offered sacrifice to God; a thanksgiving for

Gen. 9. 20.

Gen. 8. 12.

for his mercifull goodnesse towards him. *Noah* was also signified in the Name of *Bifrons* (which was given to *Ianus*) because he beheld the times both before and after the Flood. *Quia praterita nouerit, & futura profpexerit*, saith *ARNOBIUS*; Because he knew what was past, and provided for what was to come. He was also in the person of *Ianus* shadowed by the Name of *Chaos*, and *Semen orbis*, The Seed of the World: because as out of that confused Heape was drawne all the kinds of Beasts and Plants, so from *Noah* came all Mankind. Whereof *Onid* in the person of *Ianus*:

*Me Chaos antiqui (nam sum res prisca) vocabant,
Aspice quàm longi temporis acta cano.*

The ancient call'd me *Chaos*: my great yeares
By those old times, of which I sing, appears.

He was also intitled *Calum* and *Sol*, *Heauen* and the *Sunne*, for his excellent knowledge in *Astronomie*: *Vernannus*, *Bacchus*, and *Liber Pater*; not that latter, which *Diod. Siculus* and *Alex. Aphrodisiens* so call, because he was the restorer of the *Greekes* to their former libertie, but in respect of the Flood. For the *Greekes* called *Liber pater*, and his Nurfes *Hyades*, of Rayne, because *Noah* entred the Arke when the Sunne ioyned with the Starres *Hyades*, a constellation in the Brow or Necke of *Taurus*, and euer after a Monument of *Noahs* Flood. He was also by others surnamed *Triton*, a Marine god, the sonne of *Neptune*; because he liued in sasseine on the Waters. So was he knowne by the name of *Dionysus*, quasi *diarionem*, mentem purgens, Bisc-braine, or Wit-finger, though *Diodorus* so conceiue otherwise, and deriue that name à *patri* & *loco*; Of his Father, and the place of his Birth, (to wit) of *Ioue*, and *Nysa*, a Towne of *Arabia felix*, saith *Suidas* out of *Orpheus*. Hee had also the by-name of *Taurus*, or *Taurrophagus*; because hee first yoked Oxen, and tyled the ground: according to that of *Moses*; And *Noah* became an Husbandman. Now howsoeuer the *Grecians* vaunt of their *Theban Bacchus* (otherwise *Dionysus*) it is certaine, that the Name was borrowed, and the Inuention stolne from *Noah*. But this Name of *Bacchus*, more anciently *Boucks*, was taken (saith *Gul. Stuckius*, and out of him *Danues*) from *Noachus*, (*N*) being changed into (*B*); and it is the more probable, because it cannot be doubted but that *Noah* was the first planter of the Vine after the Flood: and of *Noah* (the first and ancient *Bacchus*) were all those fables deuised, of which *Diodorus* complaineth in his fourth Booke and fifth Chapter. This first *Bacchus* (to wit) *Noah*, was surnamed *Nysus*, of the Mountaine *Nysa* in *India*; where the *Grecian Bacchus* neuer came, whatsoeuer themselves faue of his enterprises: and these Mountaines of *Nysa* ioyned with those of *Parapanisus*; and those other *Easterne* Mountaines, on which the Arke of *Noah* rested after the Flood.

Furthermore, to the end that the memorie of this second Parent of Mankind might the better be preserved, there were founded by his Issues many great Cities, which bare his Name, with many Riuer and Mountaines; which oftentimes forgot that it was done in his regard, because the many Names giuen him brought the same confusion to places as to himselfe. Notwithstanding all which, we find the Cite of *Noah* vpon the banks of the red Sea, and elsewhere: the Riuer of *Noah* in *Thrace*, which *Strabo* calleth *Noarus*; *Ptolomie*, *Danuis*; diuiding *Ilyria* from *Pannonia*. This much for the Name.

§. VIII.

Of sundry particulars touching the Arke: as the place where it was made, the matter, fashion, and name.

Now in what part of the World *Noah* built the Arke, it doth not appear in the Scriptures, neyther doe I finde any approved Author that hath written thereof: onely *Goropius Becanus* in his *Indo-Scythia* conceiue, that *Noah* built his Arke neere the Mountaines of *Caucasus*, because on those Hills are found the goodliest Cedars: for when *Alex. Macedon* made the warre amongst people, called *Nysas*, inhabiting the other side of *Caucasus*, he found all their Burials and Sepulchers verbrught ouer with Cedar. To this place (saith *Becanus*) *Noah* repaired, both to separate himselfe from the reprobate Giants, who rebelled against God and Nature, as also because he would not be interrupted in the building of the Arke; to which also he added the conueniencie of Riuer, to transport the Timber which he vsed, without troubling any other Carriages.

Only

Onely this we are sure of, that the Arke was built in some part of the Easterne World, and to my vnderstanding, not farre from the place where it rested after the Flood. For *Noah* did not vse any Mast or Sayle (as in other Ships) and therefore did the Arke no otherwise moue, then the Hulke or Body of a Ship doth in a calme Sea. Also, because it is not probable, that during these continuall and downe-right Raines there were any Windes at all, therefore was the Arke little moued from the place where it was fashioned and set together: for it is written, God made a Wind to passe vpon the Earth, and the Waters ceased. And therefore, it may be gathered, that during the fall of the Waters, there was not any Storme or forcible Winde at all, which could drie the Arke any great distance from the place where it was first by the Waters lifted vp. This is also the more probable, if that ancient opinion be true, as it is very likely, that the Arke had *fundum planum*, a flat bottome, and not rayled in forme of a Ship, with a shapenesse forward, to cut the waues, for the better speed.

This kind of Vessell the *Hebrewes* call *Thebet*, and the *Greekes* *Larnax*, for so they termed *Deucalions* Ship: and some say, that the Hill *Parnassus*, to which in eight dayes he arriued, was first called *Larnassus*, and by the change of (*L*) into (*P*) *Parnassus*; but *Pausanias* thinks that it tooke name of a Sonne of the Nymph *Cleodora*, called *Parnassus*, the Inuentor of *Auguration*.

Petrus findes the word (*Parnassus*) to haue no affinitie with the *Greeke*, but thinkes it derived from the *Hebrew* word *Nahas*, which signifieth *Auguration* and *Distinction*: or from *Har* or *Parai*, as in his Chapter of Oracles in the Lease before cited.

Iosephus calls the Arke *Machina*, by the general name of a huge Frame; and *Epiphanius* *Epiph. in Ancor.* out of the *Hebrew*, *Aron*; but herein lyeth the difference betweene *Aron* and *Thebet*, that *Aron* signifieth properly the Arke of the Sanctuarie, but *Thebet* such a Vessell, as swimmeth, and beareth it safe vpon the Waters.

Lastly, this Arke of *Noah* differed from the fashion of a Ship in this, that it had a Couer and Roofe, with a Crest in the midst thereof; and the sides declining like the Roofe of an House: to the end, both to cast off the Waters, and that thereunder *Noah* himselfe and his children might shelter, and separate themselves from the noysome felle of many Beasts, which filled the other roomes and parts of the Arke.

Of what Wood the Arke was built, it is vncertaine. The *Hebrew* word *Gopher* once and in this place onely vsed, is diuersly vnderstood: and though the matter be of little importance, yet this difference there is, that the *Chenean* Translation calls it Pine-tree; the *Rabbine*, Cedar; the *Seuentic*, square Timber; the *Latine*, smooth Timber. Others will haue it Cypres Trees, as dedicated to the dead, because Cypres is worne at Funerals. But out of doubt, if the word *Gopher* signifie any speciall kind of Timber, *Noah* obeyed the voyce of God therein; if not, he was not then curious as touching the kind or nature of the wood, hauing the promise of God, and his grace and mercie for his defence. For with *Noah* God promised to establish his covenant.

Plinie affirmeth, that in *Aegypt* it was the vse to build ships of Cedar, which the worrnes eat not; and he auoweth, that he saw in *Vtica*, in the Temple of *Apollo* Cedar beames, laid in the time of the foundation of the Cite, and that they were still found in his time, which was about 1183. yeares after: prouing thereby, that this kind of wood was not subiect to putrifying or moulding in a very long time. But in that it is easie to cut, light to carie, and of a sweete saueur, lasting also better then any other wood, & because neere the place where the Arke rested, there are foid great store of these Cedars trees, as also in all the mountaines of the East, besides those of *Libanus*, it is probable enough that the Arke might be of that wood: which hath besides the other commodities the greatest length of Timber, and therefore fittest to build ships withall. *Petrus* conceiue, that the Arke had diuers sorts of Timber, and that the bottome had of one sort, the decke and partition of another; all which may be true or false, if *Gopher* may be taken for Timber in general. True it is, that Cedar will serue for all parts of a Ship, as well for the Body, as for Masts and Yards. But *Noah* had most respect to the direction receiued from God: to the length, breadth, and height, and to the partitions of the Arke; and to pitch it, and to diuide it into Cabines: thereby to seuer the cleane beasts from the vncleane, and to preserve their severall sorts of food; and that it might be capable of all kind of liuing creatures, according to the numbers by God appointed. All which when *Noah* had gathered together, hee cast his confidence wholly on God; who by his Angels steered this Ship without a Rudder, and directed it without

without the helpe of a Compass, or the North starre. The Pitch which *Noah* vsed, is by some supposed to haue beene a kind of *Bitumen*, whereof there is great quantitie about the Valley of *Sedome* and *Gomorrah*, now the dead Sea, or *Alphaltes*, and in the Region of *Babylon*, and in the West *India*: and herein it exceedeth other Pitch, that it melts not with the Sunne, but by the fire onely, after the manner of hard Wax.

Peregrina.

§. IX.

That the Arke was of sufficient capacite.

THe Arke, according to Gods commandement, had of length three hundred 10 Cubites, fiftie of bredth, and thirte deepe or high: by which proportion, it had fixe parts of length to one of bredth, and ten times in length to one of depth; of which S. AUGUSTINE: *Proculdubio figura est peregrinantis in hoc seculo Cinitatis Dei, (hoc est) Ecclesie, que fit salua per lignum, in quo pependit Mediator Dei & hominum, homo Christus Iesus: nam & mensura ipsa longitudinis, altitudinis, latitudinisq; eius significat corpus humanum, in cuius veritate ad homines prænunciatus est venturus, & venit, &c. Without doubt (sayth he) it is a figure of the Citie of God, traualing in this World as a stranger (that is) of the Church, saued by the Tree whereupon the Mediator betwene God and Man, the Man Iesus Christ did hang: for euen the very measure of the length, height, and bredth, answereth the shape of Mans body, in the truth whereof the comming of Christ 20 was fore-told and performed.*

De Ciuit. Dei, lib. 4. c. 6.

By what kind of Cubite the Arke was measured, it hath beene a disputed question among the Fathers, and others; and the differences are in effect these: The first kind of Cubit (called the Common) containeth one foot and a halfe, measured from the sharpe of the elbow to the point of the middle finger. The second (the Palme-Cubit) which taketh one handfull more then the common. The third is called *Regius Cubitus*, or the Persian Cubit, which exceedeth the common Cubit three ynches: The fourth is the facred Cubit, which containeth the common or vulgar Cubit double, wanting but a quarter or fourth part. Lastly, there is a fift, Cubit, called Geometrical, which containeth fixe common Cubits. But of all these sorts, which were commonly measured by the vulgar 30 Cubit, the alteration and diminution of mens figures hath made the difference: For as there is now a lesse proportion of bodies, so is the common Cubit, from the sharpe of the elbow to the point of the middle finger, of lesse length then it was in elder times.

S. AUGUSTINE considering the many sorts of Beasts and Birds which the Arke held, with their food and water, was sometimes of opinion, that the Arke had proportion after the Geometrical Cubit, which containeth almost fixe of the Common: For measuring the Arke by the vulgar Cubit, it did not exceed the capacite of that Vessell built by *Hiero* of *Syracuse*, or the Ship of *Ptolomie Philopater*. But S. AUGUSTINE (who at the first was led by *Origen*) changed his iudgement as touching the Geometrical Cubit; and found, vpon better consideration, that there needed not so huge a Body to preserve all 40 sorts of Creatures, by God appointed to be reuered. For it was not needfull to take any kindes of Fishes into the Arke, because they were kept liuing (saith S. AUGUSTINE) in their owne element. *Non fuit necesse conseruare in Arca que possent in aquis viuere, non solum morsia sicut Pisces, verum super-nascentia, sicut multa alites: It was not needfull to conserue those Creatures in the Arke, which could liue in the Waters; and not onely Fishes which can liue vnder water, but also those Fowles which sit and swim on them. And againe, Terra, non aqua, maledicta, quia ADAM non buit, sed illius fructum vetitum comedit: It was the Earth, and not the Waters, which God cursed; for of the forbidden fruit of the Earth, and not of the Sea, did ADAM eat. So as S. AUGUSTINE gathereth hereupon (as aforesaid) that so huge a Frame needed not.*

Athen. dignosc. lib. 4. Plutar. in vita Demetrii. 2.

Aug. de Ciuit. Dei, lib. 5. c. 7.

And if we looke with the eyes of iudgement hereunto, we shall finde nothing monstrous therein; although the imaginations of men, who (for the most part) haue more of mischiefe and of ignorance, then of any reuerend reason, finde many impossibilities in this worke of God. But it is manifest, and vpdoubtedly true, that many of the Species, which now seeme differing, and of several kindes, were not then in *rerum natura*. For those Beasts which are of mixt natures, eyther they were not in that age, or elsie it was not needfull to preserve them, seeing they might be generated againe by others: as the Mules, the *Hyams*, and the like; the one begotten by Ases and Mares, the other 50 by

by Foxes and Wolves. And whereas by discouering of strange Lands, wherein there are found diuers Beasts and Birds differing in colour or stature from those of these Northern parts; it may be supposed by a superficial consideration, that all those which weare red and pyed Skins, or Feathers, are differing from those that are lesse painted, and were plaine russet or blacke; they are much mistaken that so thinke: And for my owne opinion, I find no difference, but onely in magnitude, betwene the Cat of *Europe*, and the Owne of *India*; and euen those Dogges which are become wilde in *Hispagnia*, with which the *Spaniards* vsed to deuoure the naked *Indians*, are now changed to Wolves, and begin to destroy the breed of their Cattell, and doe also oftentimes reare 10 a funder their owne Children. The common Crow and Rooke of *India* is full of red feathers in the drownd and low Islands of *Caribana*; and the Black-bird and Thrush hath his feathers mixt with blacke and carnation, in the North parts of *Virginia*. The Dog-fish of *England* is the Sharke of the South Ocean: For if colour or magnitude made a difference of Species, then were the *Negro's*, which we call the *Blacke-Mores*, non animalia rationalia, not Men; but some kind of strange Beasts: and so the Giants of the South *America* should be of another kind, then the people of this part of the World. We also see it dayly, that the natures of Fruits are changed by transplantation, some to better, some to worse, especially with the change of Clymate. Crabs may be made good Fruit by often grafting, and the best Melons will change in a yeere or two to common Cowcumbers, by being set in a barren Soyle. Therefore taking the kinds precisely of all Creatures, as they were by God created, or out of the Earth by his Ordinance produced; the Arke, after the measure of the common Cubit, was sufficiently capacious to contayne of all, according to the number by God appointed: For if we adde but halfe a foot of measure to the common Cubit, which had a foot and a halfe of Giantly stature (and lesse allowance we cannot giue to the difference betwene them and vs) then did the Arke containe 600. foot in length, and 100. foot in bredth, and 60. foot deepe.

Acq. h. i. Ind.

But first of all, to make it manifest that the Geometrical Cubit is not vsed in the Scripture, the stature of the Giants therein named may suffice. For if the Bed of *Og*, 10 King of *Basam*, had beene nine Geometrical Cubites long, it had taken 54. Cubites of the common, which make 80. foot: and *Goliath*, who had the length of six Cubites and a handfull, which makes nine foot and a handfull (a proportion credible) if these Cubites had beene Geometrical, then had beene 54. foot in height, and vpwads, which were monstrous and most incredible: for (according to this proportion) had the head of *Goliath* beene nine foot long, and faire waightier and bigger then all *Dauids* bodie, who carried it away. 1 Sam. 17. 4.

Again, if the Geometrical Cubit had beene vsed for a Measure in the Scripture, as many Commenters haue obserued, then had the Altar (appointed to containe fixe Cubites of length, fixe of bredth, and three of height) haue reached the length of 27. foot 40 vpright, and so must their Priests haue ascended by Steps or Ladders to haue performed their Sacrifices thereon, which was contrarie to Gods Commandement, giuen in these words: *Thou shalt not goe up with steppes vnto mine Altar, that thy shame be not discouered thereon*; and therefore was the Altar but three common Cubites high, which make four foot, that their Priests standing thereby might execute their Office: Wherefore I may conclude, that the Cubit mentioned in the Scriptures was not the Geometrical, but the ordinarie Cubit of one foot and a halfe, according to the measure of Giantly stature; which measure (doubtlesse) might giue much the more capacite to the Arke, although it be also probable, that as the Men were, so were the Horses whercon they rode, and all other creatures of a correspondent size. And yet (as I take it) though by 50 this meanes there were not any whit the more roome in the Arke, it were not hard to conceiue, how all the distinct Species of Animals, whose liues cannot be preserved in the Waters, might according to their present quantites be contained in a Vessell, of those dimensions which the Arke had; allowing to the Cubit one foot and a halfe of our now vsual measure: whence it followeth of necessity, that those large Bodies which were in the dayes of *Noah* might haue roome sufficient in the Arke, which was measured by a Cubit of length proportionable.

How the appointed number of creatures to be saued, (that is) (scuen of the cleane, two of the vnclane (with necessarie foode) might haue place in the Arke, *But* hath very lear-

learnedly declared: the briefe summe of whose discourse to that purpose, is this. *The length of the Arke was three hundred Cubits, which multiplied by the breadth, namely fiftie Cubits, and the product by the height of thirtie Cubits, sheweth the whole Concanitie to haue bene 450000.* Now whereas the posts, walls, and other partitions of Lodgings may seeme to haue taken vp a great part of the hollow: the height of the rooffe, which (the perpendicular being one Cubit) contained 7500. cubicall Cubes, was a sufficient recompence: If therefore in a Ship of such greatnesse we seeke roome for 89. distinct Species of Beasts, or (lest any should be omitted) for 100. feuerall kinds, we shall easily find place both for them, and for the Birds, which in bignesse are no way answerable to them, and for meat to sustaine them all. For there are three sorts of Beasts, whose bodies are of a quantitie best knowne; the Beeffe, the Sheepe, and the Wolfe: to which the rest may be reduced, by saying, (according to *Aristotle*) that one Elephant is answerable to foure Beeces, one Lyon to two Wolves, and so of the rest. Of Beasts, some feede on vegetables, others on flesh. There are one and thirtie kinds of the greater sort, feeding on vegetables: of which number, onely three are cleane, according to the Law of *Moses*, whereof feuen of a kind entred into the *Arke*, namely, three couples for breede, and one odde one for sacrifice: the other eight and twentie kinds were taken by two of each kinde, so that in all there were in the *Arke* one and twentie great Beasts cleane, and six and fiftie vnclene, estimable for largenesse as ninetie one Beeces; yet for a supplement (lest perhaps any Species be omitted) let them be valued, as a hundred and twentie Beeces. Of the lesser sort feeding on vegetables, were in the *Arke* fixe and twentie kinds, estimable with good allowance for supply, as foure score Sheepe. Of those which deuoure flesh were two and thirtie kinds, answerable to threescore and foure Wolves. All these two hundred and eightie Beasts might be kept in one storie or roome of the *Arke*, in their feuerall Cabbinnes; their Meate in a second: the Birds and their prouision in a third, with place to spare for *Noah* and his family, and all their necessaries.

§. X.

That the *Arke* rested vpon part of the Hill *Taurus* (or *Caucasus*) betweene the East Indies, and *Scythia*.

†. I.

A preterition of some questions lesse materiall: with a note of the vse of this question, to finde out the Metropolis of Nations.

What time *Noah* tooke to build the *Arke*, I leaue to others to dispute: but he receiued the Commandement from God a hundred yeeres before the waters fell; and had therefore choice of time and leysure sufficient. As for the number of Deekes and Partitions, which *Origen* diuides into foure, *S. Augustine* into three, I will not trouble the Reader with the controuersie: or whether those creatures which sometimes rest on the Land, other times in the Waters, as the Crocodiles (now called *Alegarios*) the Sea-Cowes or Sea-Horses, were kept in the *Arke*, or no, I thinke it a needlesse curiositie; and yet to this sayth *Peterius*, and others before him, that a Fish-pool might be made as well within the *Arke*, as in *Hiero* his Ship of *Syracuse*. Lastly, to consider or labour to disproue the foolerie of the *Hebrewes*, who suppose that the *Arke* was lightened by a Carbuncle, or had Windores of Crystall to receiue in Light, and keepe our Water, were but to reuiewe the buried vanities of former times. But that which I seeke most to satisfie my selfe and others in, is in what part of the World the *Arke* rested after the Flood: because the true vnderstanding of some of these places (as the Seat of the terrestrial *Paradise*, and the resting of the *Arke*) doe onely and truly teach the Worlds Plantation, and the beginning of Nations, before and after the Flood; and all storie, as well generall as particular, thereby may be the better vnderstood.

†. II.

A proposall of the common opinion, that the *Arke* rested vpon some of the Hills of Armenia.

And first, for the true place where the *Arke* rested after the Flood, and from what part of the World the Children of *Noah* traualled to their first settlement and plan-

plantation, I am resolu'd (without any presumption) that therein the most writers were vitally mistaken. And I am not lesso to thinke out of my Humour or newnesse of opinion, or singularity; but doe herein ground my selfe on the Original and first truth, which is the word of God, and after that vpon reason, and the most probable circumstances thereon depending. For whereas it is written, that the *Arke* staied vpon one of the mountaines of *Ararat*, which the *Chaldean Paraphrast* hath conuerted *Kardu*, meaning the hills *Gordai* or *Gordaii* in Armenia the greater. (as the words *Gordai* and *Kardu*, seeme to be one and the same) of which opinion also the most of our Interpreters are; I finde neither Scripture nor reason which teacheth any such thing: (to wit) that it rested on that part of *Ararat*, which is in the greater Armenia. *Nicolaus Damascenus* calls this mountaine the Fryer *Annius* (citing this place out of *Iosephus*) makes him finde another adioyning, called *Ocila*, and to say that the *Arke* (of which *Moses* the Lawgiuer of the Hebrewes wrote) did first take ground on this *Ocila*. But I doe not finde any such mountaine in being, as this *Ocila*; neither is there any mention of it in the place of *Iosephus*. *Strabo* remembreth a Promontorie in Arabia felix, of that name, and *Plinie* findes a Mart-towne so called in the same, which *Polomius* calls *Ociliis*, *Pinetus Acyla*, and *Niger Zidon*. But this *Ocila* of *Damascenus*, or rather of *Annius*, seemeth to bee one and a part of the Armenian mountaines. *Berosus* calleth those mountaines of Armenia *Gordai*, and *Curtius Cordai*: *Ptolomius* *Gordai* and *Gordai*: of which the Countrey next adioyning is by this *Nicolaus Damascenus* called *Nimada*, perhaps (as *Becanus* coniectures) for *Milys*, or rather *Minni*: which word is vsed for Armenia Minor. And the very word of Armenia seemes to be compounded of this word *Minni*, and *Aram*: as if we should say *Nimins* of Syria; for that Armenia also was a part of Syria, *Plinie* witnesseth. *Epiphanius* placeth the *Cardyes* about these mountaines, whom others call *Gordienis* or *Gordeni*. The mountaines are seated apart from all other to the North of that Ledge of the mountaines called *Taurus*, or *Niphates* in the plaines of Armenia the great, neere the Lake *Tibastis*: whence the Riuer of *Tigris* floweth in 75. degrees of longitude, and 41. and 12. degrees of latitude. One of the mountaines *Gordai* (that which surmounteth the rest) *Epiphanius* calls *Lubar*, which in the Armenian signifieth a place of descent: but this out of *Iosephus*; which name (saith *Iunius*) was of the euent, because of *Noahs* coming downe with his children. But this also I take to be a supposed euent; seeing any hill, from whence on euery side we must descend, may thus be called: as *Iunius* corrects the place in *Iosephus* *uabaque* (*Kubari*). That the place is thus to be read, he coniectureth, because *Ioseph. l. 1. c. 4.* sayes, the place is called *uabastiqu* (as it were the descent or coming downe) and *Epiphan. l. 2. contr. Hæres.* calls it *uab*: which word in the Armenian and Egyptian tongue signifieth descent, of *Lubar*, which is to descend; whence also *Lubra* is a Synagogue, because it was commonly built on some high place: whereof also the Latine *Delubrum* may seeme to bee deriued; and *Act. 6. 9.* they that belonged to the Synagogue of the Egyptians are called *Libertini*, for *Lubra* seru. Yet this opinion hath bene embraced from age to age, receiuing a habit of strength by time, and allowance without any farther examination; although the name of *Lubar* might otherwise rightly be giuen, especially to that mountaine, by reason that the passage was more faire, vp and downe vnto it, then to any of the rest adioyning.

†. III.

The first argument against the common opinion. They that came to build Babel, would haue come sooner, had they come from so neere a place as Armenia.

But there are many arguments to perswade me, that the *Arke* of *Noah* did not rest itselfe in any part of Armenia, and that the mountaine *Ararat* was not *Bari*, nor any one of the Gordian mountaines.

For first, it is agreed by all which follow *Berosus*, that it was in the 130. yeece, or in the yeece 131. after the flood, when *Nimrod* came into the valley of *Shinar*, which Valley was afterward called *Babylonia*, *Chush*, and *Chaldea*. If then the *Arke* had first found land in Armenia, it is very vnprobable, that the children of *Noah* which came into that valley could haue spent so many yeeres in so short a passage: seeing the Region of *Mesopotamia* was onely interiacent, which might by easie journeyes haue bene past ouer in twenty

twentie dayes; and to hasten and helpe which passage the nauigable riuer of *Tigris* offered it selfe, whichis eury where transpassable by boates of great burden: soas where the Defart on the one side resisted their expedition, theiuer on the contrary side serued to aduance it; the riuer rising out of the same Ledge of mountains, or at the foote of them, where the *Arke of Noah* was first supposed to settle it selfe; Then if the Nations which followed *Nimrod* still doubted the surprize of a second flood (according to the opinions of the ancient Hebrewes) it foundeth ill to the care of reason, that they would haue spent many yeeres in that low and ouerflowne Valley of *Mesopotamia*, so called of the many Riueris which imbroyder or compass it: for the effects witnessed their afflictions, and the workes, which they vnderooke, their vnbeliefe; being no sooner arrived in *Shinar*, but they began to prouide themselves of a defence (by erecting *Babel*) against any future or feared inundation. Now at *Babel* it was that *Nimrod* began his Kingdome, the first known Citie of the world founded after the flood, about 131. yeeres, or (as others suppose) ten yeeres later: though (for my selfe) I rather thinke, that they vnderooke that worke in two respects, first, to make themselves famous, *To get vs a name* (saith the Text :) Secondly, thereby to vsurpe dominion ouer the rest.

Gene. 10. 10.
Gen. 11.

†. IIII.

The second argument, That the Easterne people were most ancient in populositie, and in all humane glory.

FOR a second Argument: The ciuilitie, magnificence and multitude of people (wherein the East parts of the world first abounded) hath more weight then any thing which hath bene, or can be said for *Armenia*, and for *Noahs* taking land there. And that this is true, the vse of Printing and Artillerie (among many other things which the East had) may easily perswade vs, that those Sunne-rising Nations were the most ancient. The certaintie of this report, that the East *Indians* (time out of minde) haue had Gunnes and Ordnance of batterie, confirmed by the *Portugals* and others, make vs now to vnderstand, That the place of *Philoftratus in vita Apollonij Tiani*. l. 2. c. 14. is no fable, though exprest in fabulous words: when he saith, that the wise men, which dwell betwene *Hyphasis* and *Ganges*, vse not themselves to goe forth into battaile: but that they driue away their enemies with thunder and lightning sent from *Iupiter*. By which meanes there it is said, that *Hercules Aegyptius* and *Bacchus*, ioyning their forces were defeated there; and that this *Hercules* there cast away his golden shield. For the inuention of letters was ignorantly ascribed to *Cadmus*, because hee brought them first into Greece: of which the people (then rude and savage) had reason to giue him the honour, from whome they received the benefit. But it is true; that letters are no lesse ancient then *Seth* or *Enoch* were: for they are said to haue written on pillars of stone (as before remembred) long before the flood. But from the Easterne world it was that *Iohn Gutenberg a Germane*, brought the deuice of Printing: by whom *Conradus* being instructed, brought the practice thereof to *Rome*: and after that *Nicholaus Gersan a Frenchman*, bettered both the letters and inuention. And notwithstanding that this myserie was then supposed to be but newly borne, the *Chinians* had letters long before either the *Aegyptians* or *Phenicians*; and also the Art of Printing, when as the Greekes had neither any ciuil knowledge, or any letters among them.

And that this is true, both the *Portugals* and *Spaniards* haue witnessed, who about an hundred yeeres since discouered those Kingdomes, and doe now enioy their rich trades therein: for the *Chinians* account all other Nations but Saluages, in respect of themselves.

And to adde strength to this argument, the conquest and storie of *Alex. Macedon* may iustly be called to witness, who found more Cities and sumptuositie in that little Kingdome of *Perus*, which lay side by side to the East *India*, then in all his other trauals & vnder takings. For in *Alexanders* time learning and greatnesse had not trauielled so far to the West as *Rome*: *Alexander* esteeming of *Italie* but as a barbarous Countrie, and of *Rome* as of a Village. But it was *Babylon* that stood in his eye, and the fame of the East pierced his eares. And if we looke as farre as the Sun-rising, and heare *Paulus Venetus* what hee reporteth of the vttermost Angle and *Island* thereof, wee shall finde that those Nations haue sent out, and not receiued, lent knowledge, and not borrowed it from the West. For the farther East (to this day) the more ciuill, the farther West the more saluage.

And

And of the *Isle of Japan* (now *Zippingariz*) *Venetius* maketh this report: *Incola religioni, literis, & sapientie sunt addictissimi, & veritatis indagatores accuratissimi; nihil illis frequentius oratione, quam (more nostro) sacris in delubris exercent: vnum cognoscunt Principem, vnum Deum adorant. The Islanders are exceedingly addicted to religion, letters, and Philosophie, and most diligent searchers out of truth: there is nothing among them more frequent then prayer, which they vse in their Churches, after the manner of Christians. They acknowledge one King, and worship one God. The antiquitie, magnificence, ciuilitie, riches, sumptuous buildings, and policie in government, is reported to be such by those who haue bene employed into those parts, as it seemeth to exceede (in those formerly named, and deuers other particulars) all other Kingdomes of the world.*

†. V.

The third argument, From the wonderfull resistance which *SEMI-RAMIS* found in the East Indies.

BUT for a third argument, and also of a treble strength to the rest, I lay the inuasion of *Semiramis* before the indifferent and aduised Reader: who may consider in what age shee liued, and how soone after the worlds new birth shee gathered her Armie (as *Diodorus Siculus* out of *Ctesias* reporteth) of more then three Millions to inuade *India*, to which hee adioyned also 50000. Horse, and 100000 Waggon: whereof if wee beleene but a third part, it shall suffice to proue that *India* was the first planted and peopled Countrie after the flood. Now as touching the time wherein shee liued: All Historians consent, that shee was the wife of *Ninus*; and the most approued Writers agree, that *Ninus* was the Sonne of *Belus*, and *Belus* of *Nimrod*, that *Nimrod* was the Sonne of *Cush*, *Cush* of *Cham*, and *Cham* of *Noah*. And at such time as *Nimrod* came to *Shinar*, hee was then a great Nation, as by the building of the Citie and Tower of *Babel* may appeare; and being then so multiplied and increased, the two descents cast betwene *Nimrod* and *Semiramis*, brought forth in that time those multitudes, whereof her Armie was composed. Let vs then see with whom shee encountered in that warre with this her powerful Armie: euen with a multitude, rather exceeding, then equalling her owne, conducted by *Staurobates* King of *India* beyond *Indus*; of whose multitudes this is the witness of *Diod. Siculus*. *STAUROBATES, autis maioribus quam quae erant SEMIRAMIDIS copijs. STAUROBATES gathering together greater troupes then those of SEMIRAMIS*. If then these numbers of *Indians* had bene increased but by a *Colonie* sent out from *Shinar*, (and that also after *Babel* was built, which no doubt tooke some time in the performance (this encrease in the East, and this Armie of *Staurobates* must haue bene made of stone, or somewhat else by mirade. For as the numbers which *Semiramis* gathered might easily grow vp in that time, from so great a Troupe as *Nimrod* brought with him into *Babylonia* (as shall bee demonstrated hereafter in the Storie of *Israel*) so could not any such time, by any multiplication naturall, produce so many bodies of men, as were in the *Indian* Armie victorious ouer *Semiramis*, if the *Colonies* sent thither had bene so late as *Babel* ouerturned, and the confusion of Languages. For if wee allow 65. yeeres time after the Flood, before *Nimrod* was borne: of which, thirty yeeres to *Cush* hee begat *Seba*, after whom hee had *Hauilah*, *Sabiah*, *Raamah*, and *Sabtecha*: then thirty yeeres to *Raamah*, ere hee begat *Sheba* and *Dedan*, both which were borne before *Nimrod*: and fife yeeres to his fife elder brothers, which make sixtie fife, and then twice thirtie yeeres for two Generations more, as for *Nimrod*, *Sheba* and *Dedan* with others, to beget their sonnes; and that a third Generation might grow vp, which makes in all an hundred twenty fife yeeres, there will then remaine sixe yeeres to haue bene spent in trauiailing from the East, ere they arrived in *Shinar* in the yeere after the Flood 131. And so the followers of *Nimrod* might bee of sufficient multitude. But as for those which make him to haue arrived at *Shinar* in the yeere 101.: and the confusion to haue bene at *Pelegis* birth, these men doe all by mirade: they beget whole Nations without the helpe of time, and build *Nimrads* Tower in the Ayre; and not on those low and marish grounds (which require sound foundations) in the Plains of *Shinar*. For except that huge Towre were built in a day, there could bee no confusion in that yeere 101. or at *Pelegis* birth. And therefore it is farr more probable, that *Nimrod* vsurped Regall authority in the 131. yeere after

Gen. 10. 2.

Chy. in Gen. &
de Turris fimo
Sine. fol. 173.

after the Flood, (according to *Berosus*) and that the worke of *Babel* lasted forty yeeres (according to *GLICAS*) *Hominibus in ea perficienda totis 40. annis incassum laborantibus*. Men labouring in vaine 40. yeeres to finish it. By which account it falls out, that it was 170. yeeres after the Flood, ere a *Colony* was sent into *East India*; which granted (the one being the maine body, and the other but a Troupe taken thence) it can hardly be beleued, that *Semirambates* could haue exceeded *Semiramis* in numbers: who being then Emperesse of all that part of the world, gathered the most of Nations into one bodie.

†. VI.

The fourth Argument from diuers considerations in the persons of NOAH.

Fourthly, it is no way propable, that *Noah*, who knew the world before the flood, and had liued therein the long time of 600. yeeres, was all that space 130. yeeres after the flood, without any certaine habitation: No; it will fall out, and better agree with reason, that *Nimrod* was but the conductor of those people, by *Noah* destined and appointed to fill and inhabit that middle part of the earth and the Westerne world; (which trauailes *Noah* put ouer to yong and able bodies) and that *Noah* himselfe then covered with many yeeres, planted himselfe in the same place which God had assigned him: which was where he first came downe out of the *Arke* from the waters: for it is written, that after *Noah* came downe out of the *Arke* hee planted a Vineyard, and became a Husbandman: whose businesse was to dresse and manure the earth; and not to range ouer so many parts of the world, as from *Armenia* into *Arabia felix*, where hee should (if the tradition be found) haue left certaine Colonies: thence into *Africa* towards *Tripoli*; then into *Spain*, where they say he settled other companies, and built Cities after the names of *Noela* and *Noegla* his sonnes wiues: from thence into *Italy*, where they say hee found his sonne *Cham* the *Saturne* of *Egypt*, who had corrupted the people and subiects of *Gomer* in his absence: with whom *Noah* (as they make the storie) had patience for three yeeres; but then finding no amendment, they say hee banished him out of *Italy*. These be but the fancies of *Berosus Annianus*, a plaine imitation of the *Græcians* fables. For let euer reasonable man conceiue, what it was to trauaile firre in such a Forrest as the World was, when after so great a rotting of the earth by the flood, the same lay waste and ouer-growne for 130. or 140. yeeres, and wherein there could hardly be found either port or passage through which men were able to creepe for woods, bushes and bryars that in those yeeres were growne vp.

And there are so many reasons, proving that *Noah* neuer came into the valley of *Shinar*, as we need not suspect his passage into *Italy* or *Spain*: For *Noah*, who was Father of all those Nations, a man reuerenced both for his authority, knowledge, experience and pietie, would neuer haue permitted his children and issues to haue vnderaken that vnbeleuung presumptuous worke of *Babel*. Rather by his presence and preualent perswasions he would haue bound their hands from so vaine labours, and by the authority which he receiued euen from God himselfe, hee would haue held them in that awfull subiection, as whatsoever they had vainely conceiued or feared, yet they durst not haue disobeyed the personall commandment of him, who in the beginning had a kinde of Regall authority ouer his children and people. Certainly, *Noah* knew right well, that the former destruction of mankind was by themselves purchased through crueltie and disobedience; and that to distrust God, and to raise vp building against his Almighty power, was as much as in them lay, a prouocation of God to lay on them the same, if not a more sharpe affliction. Wherefore, there is no probability, that euer he came so farre West as *Babylonia*; but rather, that hee sent those numbers which came into *Shinar* (being the greatest troupe, because they had the greatest part of the world to plant) vnder *Nimrod*, or those vpon whom he vsurped. *Nauclerus* and *Calestinus* take the testimony of *Methodius* Bishop of *Tyre* for currant, that there were three Leaders of the people after their encrease (to wit) *Nimrod*, *Suphene*, and *Ischan*: of which *Nimrod* commanded the issues of *Cham*, *Ischan* of *Sem*, and *Suphene* of *Iaphet*. This opinion I cannot iudge of; although I will not doubt, but that so great a worke as the worlds plantation, could not be effected without order and conduction.

Of the sonnes of *Sem*: *Ischan*, *Hauilah*, and *Ophir*, are especially noted to haue dwelt in the *East India*. The rest of *Sems* issues had also the Regions of *Perjsia* and the other adioyning

adjoyning to *Indus*, and held also a part of *Chaldea* for a time: for *Abraham* inhabited *Hy*, till hee was thence called by God; and whether they were of the Sonnes of *Ischan*, or of all the rest a certaine number (*Cham* and his issue onely excepted) that *Noah* kept with himselfe, it cannot be knowne. Of which plantation I shall speake at large in the Chapter following.

Now another reason which mooues me to beleue, that *Noah* stayed in the East far away from all those that came into *Shinar*, is, that *Moses* doth not in any word make mention of *Noah* in all the storie of the Hebrewes, or among any of those Nations which contended with them. And *Noah*, being the Father of all mankind, and the chosen servant of God, was too principall a person, to be either forgotten or neglected, had hee not (in respect of his age and wearisome experience of the world) withdrawne himselfe, and rested apart with his best beloued, giving himselfe to the seruice and contemplation of God and heavenly things, after he had directed his children to their destined portions. For he landed in a warme and fertile soile, where hee planted his Vineyard, and drest the earth; after which, and his thanksgiuing to God by sacrifice, he is not remembered in the Scriptures, because he was so farre away from those Nations of which *Moses* wrote: which were the Hebrewes chiefly, and their enemies and borderers.

†. VII.

Of the senselesse opinion of ANNIVS the Commentor vpon BEROSVS: who finds diuers places where the Arke rested, as the Caspian and Cordæan hills which are three hundred miles asunder, and also some place of Scythia.

It remaineth now that we examine the Arguments & authorities of *Frier Annivus*, who in his Commentaries vpon *Berosus* and others, laboureth maruailously to proue, that the *Arke* of *Noah* rested vpon the *Armenian* mountaines called *Caspj*; which mountaines separate *Armenia* from the vpper *Media*, and doe equally belong to both. And because all his Authours speake of the mountaines *Cordæi*, hee hath no other shift to vnit these opinions, but by vnitng those farre distant mountaines together. To effect which, he hath found no other inuention, then to charge those men with error, which haue carefully ouerseene, printed, and published *Ptolimies* Geographic, in which they are altogether disfigured. For that last edition of *Mercators*, sets these hills fve degrees (which makes three hundred English miles) asunder. And certainly, if we looke into those more ancient copies of *Villanovanus* and others, we shall finde nothing in them to helpe *Annivus* withall: for in those the mountaines *Caspj* stand seven degrees to the East of the *Cordæi*, which make 420. miles. And for those Authours by whose authoritie *Annivus* strengtheneth himselfe, *Diodorus* whom he so much followeth, giueth this iudgment vpon them in the like dispute. *Aberrantur verò omnes, non negligentia sed regnorum situs ignorantia; They haue all erred (saith he) not through negligence, but through ignorance of the situation of Kingdomes.* But for an inuention, to proue that the *Arke* of *Noah* stood on the mountaines of *Armenia*, hee beginneth with the antiquity of the *Scythians*: and to proue the same hee citeth *Marcus Porcius Cato*, who auoweth that 250. yeeres before *Ninus*, the earth was ouerflowne with waters, & in *Scythia* *Sagæ renatum mortale genus*, and that in *Scythia* the stocke of mortall men was renewed. The same Author also teacheth that the *Embri* before remembered (who were so called, because sliued from *Dencalions* flood) were the Sonnes of the *Galli*, a Nation of the *Scythians*. *Ex his venisse IANVM cum DVIRI & Galli progenitibus Embrorum, From these Scythians, he saith, that IANVS came with DVIRI and with the Galli the progenitours of the Embri*; And againe, *Equidem principatus originis semper Scythijs tribuitur*, Certainly, so the *Primæ antiquitate of off-spring* is alway giuento the *Scythians*. And herein truly I agree with *Annivus*, that those Regions called *Scythia* and now *Tartaria*, and by some Writers *Sarmatia*, *Asiatica*, were among the first peopled: and they held the greatest part of *Asia* vnder tribute till *Ninus* time. Also *Plinie* called the *Embri* which long since inhabited *Italy*, *Gens antiquissima, a most ancient Nation*, who descended of these *Scythians*. Now that which *Annivus* laboureth, is to proue that these ancient *Scythians* (meaning the Nephewes of *Noah*) did first inhabit that Region of the mountaines, on which the *Arke* rested; and confessing that this great ship was grounded in *Armenia*, hee saith a nation of *Scythians* called *Araxe*, taking name of the mountaine *Ararat*, neere the Riuer of *Araxes*. And because his Author *Cato* helpeth him in part

(to wit, That in *Scythia* mankind was restored after the great flood, 250. yeares before *Ninus*) and in part vterly destroyeth his conceit of *Armenia*, by adding the word *Saga*, as in *Scythia Saga renatum mortale genus*; In *Scythia Saga* mankind was restored, he therefore in the *Promus* of his Commentarie vpon *Berosus*, leaueh out the addition of *Saga* altogether in the repetition of *Cato* his words, and writes, *homines in Scythia siluatis*, for *Scythia Saga* or *Saca*, is vndoubtedly vnder the Mountaynes of *Paropamisus*, on which, or neare which it is most probable that the *Arke* first tooke ground; and from those East parts (according to *Moses*) came all those companies which erected the Tower of *Babel* in *Shinar* or *Babylonia*.

But now the best authoritie which *Annius* hath, is out of *Diodorus*: where hee hath 10 read, that the *Scythians* were originally *Armenians*, taking name à *Scytha Rege eorum*, from *Scytha* their King. But (in a word) wee may see his vanitie, or rather (indeede) his fallhood in citing this place. For *Diodorus* a most approoued and diligent Author be- ginneth in that place with these words: *Fabulantur Scythæ, The Scythians fable*: and his Interpreter in the table of that worke giueh this title to that very Chapter. *Scytharum origo & successus, fabula, The originall and successe of the Scythians, a fable*. And (indeede) there needs no great disproofe hereof, since *Ptolomie* doth directly delineate *Scythia Sa- ga* or *Saca*, and sets them in 130. degrees of longitude: and the *Persians* (saith *Herodo- tus*) call all the *Scythians*, *Saca* which *Plinie* confirmeth: for in respect that these *Saca* (saith *Plinie*) are the next *Scythians* to the *Persians*, therefore they giue all the rest that 20 name. Now that any nation in *Armenia* can neighbour the *Persians*, there is no man beleueh. But this supposed *Scythia Araxea* in *Armenia* lyeth in 78. degrees of longi- tude (thar is) 42. degrees distant from the *Saca*; and the Countrie about *Araxes* *Pto- mie* calleth *Colibene* and *Saduceene* and *Sacape* without any mention of *Scythia* at all: and yet all those which are or were reputed *Scythians* either within *Imaus* or without, to the number of 100. feuerall Nations are by *Ptolomie* precisely set downe.

But to come to those later Authors, whereof some haue written, others haue seene a great part of those North-east Regions, and searched their antiquities with great dili- gence: First, *Marius Niger* boundeth *Scythia* within *Imaus*, in this manner: (for *Scythia* without these Mountaines is also beyond our purpose.) *Scythia intra Imaum montem ea 30 est, que proprio vocabulo Gassaria hoc tempore dicitur: ab Occasu Sarmatia Asiatica: ab Oriente Imao monte: à Septentrione terra incognita: à Meridie Saccis, Sogdianis, Margianis, & que ostia Oxæaninis in Hyrcanum mare exeuntis; & parte ipsius maris hinc vsq; ad Rha flu- minis ostia terminatur: Scythia within the Mountaine Imaus is that part of the World, which in their owne speech is at this time called Gassaria; and the same is bounde d on the West side by Sarmatia Asiatica, (or of Asia) on the East by the Imaus Mountaines: on the North by vn- knowne Lands: on the South by the Saccæ (which are the Saccæ) the Sogdiani, and the Mar- gians, to the mouth of Oxus, falling into the Hyrcan Sea, and by a part of the same Sea as farre as the mouth of Rha.*

Now if *Niger* sets all *Sarmatia Asiatica*, to the West of *Scythia*, then *Sarmatia* (que 40 magna sanè Regia est, & que innumeras nationes complectitur) Which is a great Region, com- prehendeth innumerable Nations (saith *Niger*) much of it being betwene *Scythia* and *Armenia*, doth sufficiently warrant vs, that *Armenia* can be no part of *Scythia*; and to make it more plaine, he discovereth *Sarmatia* it selfe from any part of *Armenia*, by the Regions of *Colchis*, *Iberia*, *Albania*, which he leaueh on the right hand of *Sarmatia*, and yet makes *Sarmatia* both the West bound of *Scythia*.

And for *Paulus Venetus*, he hath not a word of *Armenia* among the *Tartarian* or *Scy- thian* Nations; neyther doth his fellow Frier *Iohn Planconius* (cited by *Vincetius* in his description of *Scythia*) make any mention of *Armenia*; neyther doth *Haytonus*, an *Ar- menian* borne, of the blood of those Kings (though after ward a Monk) euer acknow- 50 ledge himselfe for a *Tartarian*, or of the *Scythian* Race: defended: though he write that storie at large, gathered by *Nicholaus Salcuni*, and (by the commandment of Pope *Cle- ment* the fifth) in the yeere 1307. published.

Neyther doth *Mathias a Michon* (a Canon of *Cracouia* in *Polonia*) a *Sarmatian* borne, and that traualled a great part of *Sarmatia Asiatica*, finde *Armenia* any way within the compasse of *Tartaria*, *Scythia*, or *Sarmatia*; and yet no man (whose Trauailes are extant) hath obserued so much of those Regions as he hath done: prouing and disproving ma- ny things, heretofore subiect to dispute. And among others he burieh that ancient and received

received opinion, That out of the Mountaines *Riphei*, and *Hyperborci* in *Scythia*, spring the Riuer of *Tanais* or *Don*, *Volga* or *Edel*; prouing by vnanswerable experience, that there are no such Mountaines in *rerum natura*; and (indeed) the Heads and Fountaines of those famous Riuer are now by the Trade of *Muscovia* knowne to euery Merchant, and that they arise out of Lakes, low, wooddie, and marish grounds. The Riuer of *Ta- nais* or *Don*, ariseth to the South of the Citie *Tulla*, some twentie English miles, out of a Lake called *Iwanoveero*, in the great Wood *Okenikiles* or *Leiphanolis*. *Volga*, which *Ptolomie* calls *Rba*, and the *Tartars* call *Edel*, riseth out of a Lake called *Fromon*, in the great Wood *Vodkonzki*: from which Lake the two other famous Riuer flow of 80-
10 *ryphenes* (now *Neper*) and *Dsuina* or *Diridna*. And this famous *Polonian* doth in this fort bound the *European Sarmatia*. In *Sarmatia* of Europe are the Regions of *Russians*, *Lithuanians*, *Muscouians*, and those adioyning, bounded on the West by the Riuer of *Vissa*, the Name perchance mis-printed *Vissa* for *Vistula*, a Riuer which parts *Germanie* and *Sarmatia*: and for the East border he nameth *Tanais* or *Don*. *Sarmatia Asiatica* he cutteth from Europe by the same Riuer of *Tanais*, and the *Caspian Sea*, to with-hold it from stretch- ing farther East: this *Asian Sarmatia* being part of that *Scythia* which *Ptolomie* cal- leth *Scythia intra Imaum montem*: *Scythia within the Mountaine Imaus*. And the same *Mathias Michon* farther affirmeth, that the *Scythians* (which Frier *Annius* would make *Armenians*) came not into *Sarmatia Asiatica* it selfe about three hundred and a few odde 20 yeers before his owne time: thefe be his words: *Constat eam esse gentem nouam, & aduentitiam à partibus Orientis (mutatis sedibus) paulo plus abhinc trecentis annis Asia Sarmatiam ingressam*: It is manifest (saith he, speaking of the *Scythian* Nation) that this is a late plantid Nation, come from the coasts of the East: from whence they entred into Asia, and gas new seates a litle more then 300. yeeres since: For (indeed) before that time the *Goths* or *Pouloei* inha- bited *Sarmatia Asiatica*. And this *Mathias* liued in the yeare 1511. and this his Discourse of *Sarmatia* was printed at *Augusta* in the yeare 1506. as *Bucholzerus* in his *Chronologie* witnesseth. Now these *Scythians* (saith he) came from the East, for in the East it was that the *Arke* of *Noah* rested; and the *Scythia Saca* were those people which liued at the North foot of those Mountaines of *Taurus* or *Ararat*, where they encounter or begin to mixe 30 themselves with the great *Imaus*. And were there no other testimony then the generall description of the Earth now extant, and the witness of *Ptolomie*, it is plaine, that betwene all parts of *Armenia* and *Scythia*, there are not only those three Regions of *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania*, but the *Caspian Sea*: on the East shore of which Sea, but not one the West, or on that part which any way toucheth *Armenia*, there are (indeed) a Nation of *Scythians* (called *Ariace*) betwene *Iaxartes* and *Iactus*; but what are these *Scy- thians* to any *Ariace*, or *Scythia Araxea*, which *Annius* placeth in *Armenia*, more then the *Scythians* of Europe?

†. VIII.

40 The first Argument, The Vine must grow naturally nere the place where the *Arke* rested.

TO this if we adde the consideration of this part of the Text, That *NOAH* planted a Vineyard, we shall find that the fruit of the Vine or Rayfin did not grow naturally in that part of *Armenia*, where this resting of the *Arke* was supposed: for if the Vine was a stranger in *Italie* and *France*, and brought from other Countries thither, it is not prob- able that it grew naturally in *Armenia*, being a farre colder Country: or *Tyrrhenus* first brought Vines into *France*, and *Saturnus* into *Latium*: yea at such as *Brennus* and the *Gauls* inuaded *Italie*, there were few or no Vines in *France*. For (saith *Plutarch* in the life of *Camilus*) the *Gauls* remained betwene the *Pyrenæi* and the *Alpes*, nere vnto the 50 *Sonnes*, where the continued along time, vntill they drunke Wine, which was first brought them out of *Italie*; and after they tasted thereof they hasted to inhahite that Country, which brought forth such pleasant fruit: so as it appeared, that the Plant of the Vine was not naturall in *France*, but from *Italie* brought thither; as by *Saturne* from else where into *Italie*.

Now it is manifest, that *Noah* traualled not farre to seeke out the Vine. For the Plan- tation thereof is remembered, before there was any counsaile how to dispose of the World among his children: and the first thing he did, was, to till the ground, and to planta Vin- yard, after the Sacrifice and Thanksgiuing to God; and wherefoerer the *Arke* rested, there

Berq. 1.1.

Pto. Asia tab. 7.

Gen. 11.3.

L. 6. c. 17.

Tab. Asia. 7. c. 8.

Rha now Volga.

Com. Asia. fol. 47.

Ad meridiem fl. in supbo-
pate Scythia-
nis pante Eu-
xini fl. in offi-
Caraca fluxu:
unde reliquis à
parte dextra
Colchis, Iberia,
Albanisq; in li-
tus Hyrcani
maris prouenit
Spec. lib. 30.

Sig. Heber. 16.

Crispus calleh
this Riuer: Wi-
lius, Niger Dra-
conum. Pto-
ma. 2. 10. 11.
Vistula.Scriuim. Aeneid.
Eutropius.

there did the Vine grow naturally. From whence it doth no where appeare, that he tra-
uailed farre: for the Scriptures teach vs, that he was a Husbandman, & not a Wanderer.

†. I. X.

*Answere to an obiection out of the words of the Text: The Lord scattered them
from thence upon the face of the whole earth.*

AND that all the children of Noah came together into Shinaar, it doth not appeare,
saying that it may be inferred out of these words (from thence) because it is written:
So that the Lord scattered them from thence upon all the earth; which hath no other sense,
but that the Lord scattered them (to wit) those that built this Towre: for those were
from thence dispersed into all the Regions of the North and South, and to the West
ward. And by these words of Sybilla (as they conuerted) it seemeth that all came not
together into Shinaar; for they haue this limitation: *Quidam eorum turrem aedificauit,
altissimam, quasi per eam caelum essent ascensuri: Certaine of them built a most high Towre, as
if: they meant thereby to haue scaled the Heauens,*

†. X.

*An answer to the obiection of the name of Ararat, taken for Armenia: and
the height of the Hills there.*

BEFORE I conclude this part, it is necessarie to see and consider, what part of Scrip-
ture, and what reason may bee found out, to make it true or probable, that the Arke
of Noah was forsaken by the waters on the Mountaines of Armenia. For the Text hath
only these words: *The Arke rested on (or vpon) the Mountaines of Ararat, or Armenia,*
saith the marginal note of the Geneva, the Chaldean Paraphrast calls it *Kardu;* of which,
the highest hath the name of *Lubur;* saith Epiphanius. Now this Ararat (which the Sep-
tuagint doe not conuert at all, but keepe the same word) is taken to be a Mountaine of
Armenia, because Armenia it selfe had anciently that name: so as first out of the name,
and secondly out of the height (which they suppose exceeded all other) is the opinion
taken, That the Arke first lay thereon.

But these suppositions haue no foundation: for neither is Ararat of Armenia alone, nei-
ther is any part, or any of those Mountaines of equall stature to many other Moun-
taines of the World; and yet it doth not follow, that the Arke found the highest Moun-
taine of all other to rest on: for the Plaines were also vncouered, before Noah came out
of the Arke. Now, if there were any agreement among Writers of this Ararat, and that
they did not differ altogether therein, wee might giue more credit to the conceit. For in
the Bookes of the Sybils it is written, that the Mountaines of Ararat are in Phrygia, vpon
which it was supposed that the Arke stayed after the Flood. And the better to parti-
cularize the place and seate of these Mountaines, and to prooue them in Phrygia, and not
Armenia, they are placed where the City of Caenes was afterward built. Likewise in the
same discription I see maketh mention of Masys, a Riuer which runneth through part
of Phrygia, and afterward ioyneth it selfe with the Riuer Meander, which is farre from
the Gordiean Mountaines in Armenia. We may also find a great mistaking in Iose-
phus (though out of Berossus, who is in effect the Father of this opinion) that Iose-
phus sets Ararat betwene Armenia and Parthia, toward Adiabene, and affir-
meth withall, that in the prouince of Caron by others Kairos and Arnos, so called by
reason that the waters haue from thence no descent, nor issue out, the people vaunt
that they had in those dayes reserved some pieces of Noahs Arke. But Parthia toucheth
no where vpon Armenia, for Armenia bordereth Adiabene, a Prouince of Assyria: so
that all Media and a part of Assyria is betwene Parthia and Armenia. Now whereas the
discovery of the Mountaines Gordiei was first borrowed out of Berossus by Iosephus; yet
the Text which Iosephus citeth out of Berossus, differs far from the wordes of that Berossus,
which wandreth vp and downe in these dayes, set out by Annias. For Berossus cited by
Iosephus, hath these wordes: *Fertur & nauigij huius pars in Armenia apud montem Co-
diaorum superesse, & quosdam bitumen inde abrasum secum reportare, quo vice amuleti loci
huius homines vis solent: (which is) It is reported also that a part of this ship is yet remai-
ning in Armenia vpon the Cordiean Mountaines; and that diuers doe scrape from it the Bitu-
men or Pitch, and carrying it with them, they vse it in stead of an amulet.* But Annias his
Edition

Edition of the Fragment of Berossus vseth these wordes: *Nam eleuata ab aquis in Gordia
montis vertice quiescit, cuius adhuc dicitur aliqua pars esse, & homines ex illa Bitumen
tolleere quo maximè vniuntur ad expiationem: For the whole Arke being lifted up by the
waters, rested on the top of the Gordiean Mountaines, of which it is reported that some parts
remaine, and that men doe carry thence of the Bitumen to purge by Sacrifice therewith: so as
in these two Texts (besides the difference of wordes) the name is diuersly written. The
ancient Berossus writes Gordiei with a (C.) and the Fragment Gordiei with a (G.) the
one that the Bitumen is vsed for a preservative against Poyson or Inchantment; the o-
ther in Sacrifice; And if it be said that they agree in the generall, yet it is reported by
neither from any certaine knowledge, nor from any approued Anthour: for one of
them vseth the word (fertur) the other (dicitur) the one, that so it is reported, the
other, that so it is said; and both but by heare-say, and therefore of no authority nor
credit. For common bruit is so infamous an Historian, as wise men neither report af-
ter it, nor giue credit to any thing they receiue from it.*

Furthermore, these Mountaines which Ptolemie calls Gordiei, are not those Moun-
taines which himselfe giueth to Armenia, but he calleth the Mountaines of Armenia
Molchici. These be his owne wordes: *Montes Armenia nominantur ij, qui Molchici
appellantur, qui protendantur vsq; ad superiacentem partem Ponti Cappadocum; & mons
qui Paryardes dicitur: The Mountaines of Armenia are they which are called Molchici,
stretch along to the higher part of Pontus of the Cappadocians: also the Hill which is called
Paryardes; which Mountaines Plinie calleth Paryedri, and both which lye to the North
of Gordia or Baris, in 43. and 44. and a halfe; and the Gordiean Mountaines in 39. and
a halfe: from the Northernmost of which did the Georgians take their names, who were
first Gordians and then Georgians, who amidst all the strength of the greatest Infidels of
Persia and Turkie, doe still remaine Christians. Concerning the other suppositions, that
the Mountaines of Gordia, otherwise Baris Kardu or Lubar, (which Ptolemie calleth
Targodiaion) are the highest of the World, the same is absolutely false.*

†. XI.

Of Caucasus, and diuers farre higher hills then the Armenian.

FOR the best Cosmographers with other, that haue scene the Mountaines of Armenia,
find them farre interior, and vnder-set to diuers other Mountaines euen in that part
of the World, and else where: as the Mountaine Athos betwene Macedon and Thrace,
which Ptolemie calls Olympus, now called Lucas, (saith Castaldus) is farre surmounting
any Mountaine that euer hath beene scene in Armenia: for it casteth shade three hun-
dred furlongs, which is seuen and thirtie miles and vpwards: of which Plutarch: *Athos
adambat latera Lemnia bouis: Athos shadoweth the Cow of Lemnos. Also the Mount of
olympus in Thessalie, is said to be of that height, as neither the Windes, Cloudes or
Raine ouertop it. Again, the Mountaine of Antandrus in Mysia, not farre from Ida,
whence the Riuer Scamandrus floweth, which runneth through Troy, is also of a farre
more admiration then any in Armenia, and may be scene from Constantinople. There
are also in Mauritania neere the Sea, the famous Mountaines of Atlas, of which Hæro-
dotus: *Extat in hoc mari Mons cui nomen Atlas, ita sublimis esse dicitur, vt ad illius
verticem oculi mortalium peruenire non possint: Ppon this Coast there is a Mountaine called
Atlas, whose height is sayde to be such, as the eye of no mortall man can discern the top thereof.*
And if we may beleue Aristotle, then are all these inferior to Caucasus, which he ma-
keth the most notorious both for breath and height: *Caucasus Mons omnium maximus,
qui aestium ad ortum sunt, acumine atq; latitudine, cuius iuga a Sole radiantur vsq; ad con-
tinctum ab ortu: & iterum ab occasu; Caucasus (saith Aristotle) is the greatest Moun-
taine both for breadth and height of all those in the North-east, whose tops are lightened by
the Sun-beames, vsq; ad continctum (which is saith Macrobius) betwene the first crowing
after mid-night and the breake of day: Others affirme, that the top of this Mountaine
holds the Sunne-beames when it is darke in the Valley; but I cannot beleue eyther:
for the highest Mountaine of the World knowne is that of Tenerife in the Canarie;
which although it hath nothing to the Westward of it for 1000. Leagues together but
the Ocean Sea, yet doth it not enioy the Sunnes company at any such late hours, Besides
these Mountaines which Aristotle calleth Caucasus, are those which separate colchis from
iberia;**

Iberia; though (indeed) *Caucasus* doth diuide both *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania* from *Sarmatia*: for hee acknowledgeth that the River of *Phasis* riseth in the same Mountayne, which himselfe calleth *Caucasus*, and that *Phasis* springeth from those Hills which sunder *Colchis* from *Iberia*, falling afterward into *Euxinus*: which River (it is manifest) yeldeth it selfe to the Sea, two degrees to the North of *Trapesus* (now *Trabesunda*) howsoever *Mercator* bring it from *Peryardes*.

†. XII.

Of diuers incongruities if in this storie we should take *Ararat* for *Armenia*.

SO as it doth first appeare, that there is no certaintie what Mountaine *Ararat* was: for the Bookes of the *Syblis* set it in *Phrygia*, and *Berosus* in *Armenia*: and as for *Berosus* authority, those men haue great want of proofes that borrow from thence.

Secondly, that *Baris* was the highest Hill, and therefore most likely that the *Arke* grounded thereon, the assertion and supposition haue equall credit: for there are many Hills which exceed all those of *Armenia*; and if they did not, yet it doth not follow (as is before written) that the *Arke* should sit on the highest.

Thirdly, it cannot be proued that there is any such Hill in *Armenia*, or in *rerum natura*, as *Baris*: for *Baris* (sayth *Hierome*) signifieth high Townes: and so may all high Hills be called indifferently; and therefore we may better giue the name of *Baris* to the Hills of *Caucasus* (out of which *Indus* riseth) then to any Hills of *Armenia*. For those of *Caucasus* in the East, are vndoubtedly the highest of *Asia*.

Fourthly, the Authours themselues doe not agree in what Region the Mountaines *Gordiaz* stand: for *Ptolomie* distinguisheth the Mountaines of *Armenia* from the *Gordiazan*, and calleth those of *Armenia* *Moschici* and *Paryardes*, as aforesaid. Now *Paryardes* is seated neere the middle of *Armenia*, out of which on the West-side riseth *Euphrates*, and out of the East-side *Araxis*: and the Mountaines *Moschici* are those Hills which diuoyne *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania* (now the Country of the *Georgians*) from *Armenia*.

†. XIII.

Of the contrary situation of *Armenia* to the place noted in the Text: and that it is no maruaile that the same Ledge of Hills running from *Armenia* to *India*, should keepe the same name all along: and men in *India* be called *Ararat*.

LASTly, wee must blow vp this Mountaine *Ararat* it selfe, or else wee must digge it downe, and carry it out of *Armenia*; or find it else where, and in a warmer Country, and (withall) set it East from *Shinaar*: or else we shall wound the Truth it selfe with the weapons of our owne vaine imaginations.

Therefore to make the mistaking open to euery eye, we must vnderstand, that *Ararat* (named by *Moses*) is not any one Hill, so called, no more then any one Hill among those Mountaines which diuide *Italie* from *France* is called the *Alpes*: or any one among those which part *France* from *Spaines* the *Pyrenian*; but as these being continuations of many Hills keepe one name in diuers Countries: so all that long Ledge of Mountaines, which *Plinie* calleth by one name *Taurus*, and *Ptolomie* both *Taurus*, *Niphates*, *Coatras*, *Coronus*, *Sariphi*, vntill they encounter and crosse the Mountaines of the great *Imaus*, are of one generall name, and are called the Mountaines of *Ararat* or *Armenia*, because from thence or thereabout they seeme to arise. So all these Mountaines of *Hircania*, *Armenia*, *Coraxis*, *Cassij* *Moschici*, *Amazonici*, *Hemiochi*, *Scythici*, (thus diuerly called by *Plinie* and others) *Ptolomie* calls by one name *Caucasus*, lying betwene the Seas *Caspium* and *Euxinus*: as all those Mountaines which cut asunder *America*, euen from the new Kingdome of *Granado*, to the streight of *Magellan*, are by one name called *Andes*. And as these Mountaines of *Ararat* runne East and West, so doe those maruaillous Mountaines of *Imaus* stretch themselves North and South; and being of like extent well-neere, are called by the name of *Imaus*, euen as *Plinie* calleth these former hills *Taurus*, and *Moses* the hills of *Ararat*. The reason of severall names giuen by *Ptolomie* was, thereby the better to distinguish the great Regions and Kingdomes, which these great mountaines bound and disscuer: as *Armenia*, *Mesopotamia*, *Assyria*, *Media*, *Susiana*, *Persia*, *Parthia*, *Caramania*, *Aria*, *Margiana*, *Bactria*, *Sogdiana*, and *Paropanisus*: ha-

Plinie in his description of *Asia*, l. 5. c. 27.

uing all these Kingdomes either on the North or South side of them. For all the mountaines of *Asia* (both the lesse and the greater) haue three generall names, (to wit) *Taurus*, *Imaus*, and *Caucasus*: and they receiue other titles, as they seuer and diuide particular places and regions. For these mountaines which sunder *Cilicia* from the rest of *Asia* the lesse on the North side, are called *Taurus*; and those mountaines which part it from *Comagena* (a Prouince of *Syria*) are called *Amannus*: the mountaines called *Taurus* running East and West, as *Imaus* doth North and South. Though *Taurus* the River of *Euphrates* forceth her passage, leauing the name of *Amannus* to the mountaines on her West banke; and on her East side the mountaines are sometimes knowne by the name of *Taurus*, (as in *Ptolomies* three tables of *Asia*) and sometimes *Niphates*: (as in the fourth) retaining that vncertaine appellation so long as they bound *Armenia* from *Mesopotamia*: and after the River of *Tigris* cutteth them asunder, they then take the name of *Niphates* altogether, vntill they separate *Assyria* and *Media*; but then they call themselves *Coatras*, though betwene the vpper and nether *Media*, they doe not appeare, but altogether discontinue. For at *Mazada* in *Media* they are not found, but runne through the Easterne *Media* by pieces: in the middle of which Region they call themselves *O-vantes*, and towards the East part *Coronus*; out of the Southerne part whereof the River of *Bagradas* riseth, which diuideth the ancient *Persia* from *Caramania*: and then continuing their course Eastward by the name of *Coronus*, they giue to the *Parthians* and *Hyrcanians* their proper Countries. This done, they change themselves into the mountaines of *Sariphi*, out of which riseth the River *Margus*, afterward yeelding her selfe to *Oxus*: (now *Abia*) and drawing now neere their wayes end, they first make themselves the South border of *Bactria*, and are then honoured with the Title of *Paropanisus*, and lastly of *Caucasus*, euen were the famous River of *Indus* with his principall companions *Hydaspis* and *Zaradrius* spring forth, and take beginning. And here doe these Mountaines build themselves exceeding high, to equall the strong Hills called *Imaus* of *Scythia*, which encounter each other in 35. 36. and 37. degrees of Latitude, and in 140. of Longitude: of the which the West parts are now called *Delanguer*, and the rest *Nagracot*; and these Mountaines in this place onely are properly called *Caucasi* (saith *Ptolomie*) that is, betwene *Paropanisus* and *Imaus*: and improperly, betwene the two Seas of *Caspium* and *Pontus*.

†. XIII.

Of the best Vine naturally growing on the South side of the Mountaines *Caucasi* and toward the East Indies: and of other excellencies of the soile

NOW in this part of the World it is, where the Mountaine and River *Imaus*, and the Mountaine *Nysus* (so called of *Bacchus Nysus* or *Nosh*) are found: and on these highest Mountaines of that part of the world did *Goropius Becanus* conceiue that the *Arke* of *Noah* grounded after the Flood: of all his coniectures the most probable, and by best reason approved. In his *Indoscythia* he hath many good Arguments, though mixt with other fantasticall opinions of this subiect. And as the same *Becanus* also noteth; that as in this part of the world are found the best Vines: so it is as true, that in the same Line, and in 34. 35. and 36. degrees of Septentrional Latitude are the most delicate Vines of the World, namely, in *Iudea*, *Candia*, and other parts of *Greece*: and likewise in this Region of *Margiana*, and vnder these Mountaines, *Strabo* affirmeth, that the most excellent Vines of the World are found; the clusters of Grapes containing two Cubits of length: and it is the more probable, because this place agreeth in Climate with that part of *Palestina*, where the searchers of the land by *Moses* direction found bunches of equal bignes at *Esfol*. The fruitfulness of this place (to wit) on the South bottom of these Hills, *Curtius* winneth. For in *Margiana* neere the Mountaines of *Meros* did *Alexander* feast himselfe and his Armie ten dayes together, finding therein the most delicate Vine of all other.

†. XV.

The conclusion, with a briefe repeating of diuers chiefe points.

AND therefore to conculde this opinion of *Ararat*, it is true, that those Mountaines doe also traueise *Armenia*: yea, and *Armenia* it selfe sometime is knowne by the name

L. 54. 7.

name of *Ararat*. But as *Plinie* giueth to this ledge of high Hills, euen from *Cilicia* to *Paroponius* and *Caucasus*, the name of *Taurus*: and as the Hills of *France* and *Germanie* are called the *Alpes*: and all betwene *France* and *Spaine* the *Pyrenes*: and in *America* the continuacion of Hills for 3000. miles together, the *Andes*: so was *Ararat* the generall name which *Moses* gaue them; the diuersitie of appellations no otherwise growing, then by their diuiding and bordering diuers Regions and diuers Countries. For in the like case doe we call the Sea, which entreth by *Gibraltar*, the *Mediterran* and inland Sea; and yet where it walseth the Coasts of *Carthage*, and ouer against it, it is called *Tyrrhenum*: betwene *Italie* and *Greece*, *Ionium*: from *Venice* to *Durazzo*, *Adriaticum*: betwene *Athens* and *Asia*, *Egeum*: betwene *Sesius* and *Abydos*, *Hellepont*: and afterward *Pontus*, *Propontus*, and *Bosphorus*. And as in these, so is the Ocean to the North-east part of *Scotland* called *Denealedomycum*: and on this side, the *Brittaine* Sea: to the East, the *Germane* and *Baltick*, and then the *Frozen*.

For a final end of this question we must appeale to that Iudge which cannot erre, euen to the word of Truth, which in this place is to be taken and followed according to the plaine sense: seeing it can admit neither distinction, nor other construction then the words beare literally, because they are vsed to the very same plaine purpose of a description, and the making of a true and precise difference of places. Surely, where the sense is plain (and being so vnderstood, it bringeth with it no subsequent inconuenience or contrariety) we ought to be warie, how we fancie to our selues any new or strange exposition; and (withall) to resolue our selues, that euery word (as aforesaid) hath his weight in Gods Booke. And therefore wee must respect and reuerence the testimonies of the Scriptures throughout, in such sort as *S. Augustine* hath taught vs touching the Gospell of *CHRIST IESVS* (which is) *Nequis aliter accipiat (quod narrantibus Discipulis Christi) in Euangelio legerit, quam si ipsam manum Dei, quam in proprio in corpore gestabat, conspexerit; That no man otherwise take or vnderstand that which he readeth in the Gospell (the Disciples of Christ hauing written it) then if he had seene the very hand of the Lord, which he bare in his owne body, setting it downe.*

Gen. 11. 31.

The wordes then of *Moses* which end this dispute, are these: *And as they went from the East, they found a Playne in the land of Shinaar, and there they obode: which prooueth* without controuersie, that *Nimrod* and all with him came from the East into *Shinaar*; and therefore the *Arke* of *Noah* rested and tooke land to the East-ward thereof. For wee must remember, that in all places wherefoeuer *Moses* maketh a difference of Countries, he alwayes precisely nameth toward what quarters of the world the same were seated: as where he teacheth the plantation of *Lothian*, he nameth *Sephar*, a Mount in the East: where he remembreth *Cains* departure from the presence of God, he addeth: *And Cain dwelt in the land of Nod towards the East-side of Eden*: And when he describeth the Tents and Habitations of *Abraham* after hee departed from *Sechem*, hee vseth these wordes: *Afterwards removing thence vnto a Mountaine Eastward from Bethel, he pitched his Tents: hauing Beibet on the West-side, and Hai on the East*: and afterward in the ninth Verse of the same Chapter it is written. *And Abraham went forth journeying towards the South*: also when *Ezechiel* prophesied of *Gog* and *Magog*, he sheweth that these Nations of *To-gorma* were of the North quarters: and of the Queene of *Saba* it is written, that she came from the South to visit *Salomon*: And the *Magi* (or wisemen) came out of the East to offer presents vnto *Christ*. And that all Regions, and these traualles were precisely set downe vpon the points of the Compasse and quarters of the world, it is most manifest: for *Eden* was due East from *Iudea*, *Saba* South from *Hierusalem*: the way from *Bethel* to *Egypt* directly South; and the *Calefyrans* the *Tubalines* and *Magogians* inhabited the Regions directly North from *Palestina*, and so of the rest. But *Armenia* answereth not to this description of *Shinaar* by *Moses*. For to come out of *Armenia*, and to arrive in that Vally of *Babylonia*, is not a journeying from the East, nor so neere vnto the East as the North: for *Armenia* is to the West of the North it selfe; and we must not say of *Moses* (whose hands the holy Ghost directed) that he erred *1010 calo*, and that he knew not East from West. For the body of *Armenia* standeth in fortie three degrees Septentrional, and the North part thereof in forty five; and those *Gordian* Mountaines, whereon it was supposed that the *Arke* rested, stand in fortie one. But *Babylonia*, and the Vally of *Shinaar* are situated in thirtie five, and for the Longitude (which maketh the difference betwene East and West) the *Gordian* Mountaines stand in 75. degrees, and the

Gen. 19. 30.

Gen. 4. 16.

Gen. 12. 8.

Ezech. 38. 6.

Matth. 12. 42.

Matth. 1. 11.



the Valley of *Shinaar* in 79. and 80. And therefore *Armenia* lyeth from *Shinaar* North-west, ninetic five degrees from the East; and if *Armenia* had bene but North, yer it had differed from the East one whole quarter of the Compass. But *Gregorie* and *Hierome* warne vs. *In scripturis ne minima differentia omitti debet: nam singuli sermones, syllabae, apices, & puncta in diuina Scriptura plena sunt sensibus; In the Scriptures the least difference may not be omitted: for every speech, syllable, note, or accent, and point in diuine Scriptures are replenished with their meanings.* And therefore seeing *Moses* teacheth vs that the children of *Noah* came from the East, we may not beleue Writers (of little authority) who also speake by heare say and by report, *vi fertur, & vi dicitur*, as *Berosus* and *Niclaus Damascenus*, determining herein without any examination of the Text, at all aduenture. But this is infallible true, that *Shinaar* lyeth West from the place where the *Arke* of *Noah* rested after the flood; and therefore it first found ground in the East, from whence came the first knowledge of all things. The East parts were first ciuill, which had *Noah* himselfe for an Instructer: and directly East from *Shinaar* in the same degree of 35. are the greatest grapes and the best Wine. The great Armies also which ouer-topped in number those Millions of *Semiramis*, proue that those parts were first planted: And whereas the other opinion hath neither Scripture nor Reason sufficient: for my selfe I build on his wordes; who in plaine termes hath told vs, that the Sonnes of *Noah* came out of the East into *Shinar*, and there they abode. And therefore did the *Arke* rest on those Easterne Mountaines, called by one generall name *Taurus*, and by *Moses* the Mountaines of *Ararat*, and not on those Mountaines of the Northwest, as *Berosus* first fained, whom most part of the Writers haue followed therein. It was, I say in the plentifull warme East where *Noah* rested, where hee planted the Vine, where hee tilled the ground and liued thereon. *Placuit vero Noacho agricultura studium, in quatrandanda isse omnium peritissimus esse dicitur: ob eam, rem sui ipsius lingua ISH-ADAMATH (heest) telluris vir appellatur celebratusq; est; The studie of Husbandrie pleased NOAH (saith the excellent learned man ARIAS MONTANVS) in the knowledge and order of which it is said, that NOAH excelled all men: and therefore was he called in his owne language a man exercised in the earth.* Which also sheweth that he was no Wanderer: and that he troubled not himselfe with the contentions, beginning againe in the world, and among men, but stayed in his destined places, and in that part of the world, where hee was first deliuered out of prison of the *Arke*, wherinto God had committed him, to preferue him and mankind.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the first planting of Nations after the flood; and of the Sonnes of
NOAH, SEM, HAM, and IAPHET, by whom
the earth was repeopled.

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S. I.

Whether SEM and HAM were elder then IAPHET.



F these Sonnes of *Noah*, which was the eldest, there is a question made. *S. Augustine* esteemed *Sem* for the eldest, *Ham* for the second, and *Iaphet* for the yongest: and herein the oppinions of Writers are diuers. But this we finde euery where in the Scriptures, and especially in *Moses*, that there was neuer any respect given to the eldest in yeeres, but in vertue, as by the examples of *Henoch*, *Abraham*, *Jacob*, and *Dauid*, is made manifest. In a few wordes so this is the ground of the controuersie; The Latine translation, and so the *Genea*, hath conuerted this Scripture of *Genesis* the 10. v. 21. in these wordes: *Vno SEM alio the Father of all the Sonnes of HEBER, and elder brother of IAPHET, were children borne.* But *Iunius* agreeing with the *Septuagint*, placeth the same wordes in this manner: *To SEM alio the Father of all the Sons of HEBER, and brother of IAPHET, the eldest sonne were children borne.* So the transposition of the word (elder) made this difference. For if the word (elder) had followed after *Iaphet*, as it is in the vulgar translation placed before it, then had it bene as plaine for *Iaphet*, as it is by these translations for *Sem*. Now (the matter being otherwise indifferent) seeing Gods blessings are not tyed to first and last in

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bloud, but to the eldest in pietie, yet the arguments are stronger for *Iaphet* then for *Shem*. And where the Scriptures are plainly understood without any danger or inconvenience, it seemeth strange why any man of iudgement should make valuation of conjecturall arguments, or mens opinions. For it appeareth that *Noah* in the five hundredth yeere of his life, begate the first of his three Sonnes, *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Iaphet*: and in the six hundredth yeere (to wit) the hundredth yeere following, came the generall flood; two yeeres after which *Shem* begate *Arphaxad*, which was in the yeere 602. of *Noahs* life, and in the yeere of *Shems* life one hundred: so as *Shem* was but 100. yeeres old, two yeeres after the flood: and *Noah* begat his first borne being 500. yeeres old; and therefore, were *Shem* the elder, he had then beene a hundred yeeres old at the flood, and in the six hundredth yeere of *Noahs* life, and not two yeeres after. Which seeing the Scriptures before remembred hath denied him, and that it is also written: *Then Noah awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger sonne had done unto him (to wit) Ham*; of necessitie the first place doth belong to *Iaphet*. This younger sonne so converted by the vulgar and *Genea*, *Iunius* turnes it *filius minimus*; *His youngest sonne*; but *S. Chrysostome* takes it otherwise, and findes *Cham* to bee the middle or second brother, and *Iaphet* the youngest sonne of all: which *Cham* for his disobedience and the contempt of his Father (whose nakednesse he derided) was disinherited, and lost the preeminence of his birth, as *Esau* and *Reuben* did. *Pererius* conceiveth that *Ham* was called the younger in respect of *Shem* the eldest, but auoweth withall, that the *Hebrew* hath not that precise difference of younger and younger, because it wanteth the comparative degree. It is true that *Shem* himselfe was alwaies named in the first place, yet whereas in the first Verse of the tenth Chapter of *Genesis*, *Shem* is accounted before *Iaphet*: in the second Verse *Moses* leaueth to begin with the issue by *Shem*, and reciteth the children of *Iaphet* first. So the first place was giuen to *Shem* for his election and benediction, and for this weightie respect, that the *Hebrew* Nation, *Abraham*, the *Prophets*, *Dauid*, and *Christ* our Saviour were descended of him. And therefore, whether we shall follow the *Vulgar Pagninus*, and the *Genea*, who agree in this conuersion, *Shem* *Frater IAPHET maior*; or with the *Septuagint*, *Iunius*, and *Tremelius*, *Shem* *fratri IAPHET maioris*; or with *Pererius*, *Shem* *frater IAPHET ille magnus*: inferring that *Shem* was the great and famous brother of *Iaphet*, let the Reader iudge. But for ought that I haue seene to the contrarie, it appeareth to me that *Iaphet* was the eldest. For where *Pererius* qualifieth the strength of the former Argument, That *Shems* age at the time of the flood did not agree with the eldership (with a supposition that the Scriptures tooke no account of smaller numbers) I doe not finde in the Scriptures any such neglect at all: for it is written, that *Shem* was an hundred yeeres old, and begat *Arphaxad* two yeeres after the flood; and againe in the 12. Verse: *So Shem lived after he begat Eber, foure hundred and three yeeres, &c.* so as the number of two yeeres, of three yeeres, of five yeeres, and afterward of two yeeres were alwaies precisely accounted.

§. II.

Of diners things that all reason are to be presumed, touching the first planting of the World, as that all Histories must yield to *Moses*: that the world was not planted all at once, nor without great direction: and that knowne great Lords of the first ages were of the issue of *Ham*.

BUt lets go vnto the Worlds plantation after the flood, which being rightly vnderstood, we shall find that many Nations haue supposed or fained themselves those Ancestors and Fathers, which neuer saw or approached the bounds of their Countries, and of whom they are by no way or branch descended. For it is plain in the Scriptures how the sonnes and issues of *Noah* were distributed, and what Regions were first planted by them, from whence by degrees the rest of the world was also peopled. And if any prophane Author may receive allowance herein, the same must bee with this caution, That they take their beginning where the Scriptures end. For so farre as the storie of Nations is therein handled, we must know that both the truth and antiquitie of the bookes of God finde no companions equall, either in age or authoritie. All record, memorie, and testimonie of antiquitie whatsoever, which hath come to the knowledge of men, the same hath beene

been borrowed thence, and therefore latter then it, as all carefull obseruers of time haue noted: among which thus writeth *Eusebius* in the *Præme* of his *Chronologie*: *Moses is found more ancient then all those whom the Grecians make most ancient, as HOMER, HESIOD, and the Trojan warre; and farre before HERCULES, MVSÆVS, LINVS, CHIRON, ORPHEVS, CASTOR, POLLYX, ÆSCVLAPIVS, BACCHVS, MERCVRIVS, and APOLLO, and the rest of the gods of the Nations, their Ceremonies, or holy Rites, or prophets: and before all the deeds of IVPITER, whom the Greeces haue feasted in the top and highest Turrets of their Diuinitie.*

For of the three *Iupiters* remembred by *Cicero*, the ancientest was the sonne of *Ether*, *Cicero de Nat. Deorum* 3. 3. whose three sonnes begotten on *Proserpina*, were borne at *Athens*, of which *Cecrops* was the first King: and in the end of *Cecrops* time did *Moses* bring the children of *Israel* out of *Egypt*: *Eduxit Moses populum Dei ex Ægypto nouissimo tempore CECROPIS Atheniensis Regis*; *Moses brought the children of Israel out of Ægypt, in the last dayes of CECROPIS, King of the Athenians*, saith *S. Augustine*: and yet was not *Cecrops* the Founder of the Citie it selfe, but *Tefens* long after him. But because the truth hereof is diuersly De Cist. Dei. 1. 3. c. 11. proved, and by many learned Authors, I will not cut asunder the purpose in hand, by alleging many authorities in a needlesse question, but leaue it to the proper place.

20	The SONNES OF IAPHET were,	{ <i>Gomer,</i> <i>Magog,</i> <i>Madai,</i> <i>Javan,</i> <i>Tubal,</i> <i>Meshach,</i> and <i>Tiras.</i>	{ <i>Askenaz,</i> <i>Ripshath,</i> <i>Togorma.</i>
			{ <i>Elisba,</i> <i>Tarsish,</i> <i>Kittim,</i> and <i>Dodanim.</i>

First, we are to consider, that the world after the Flood not planted by imagination, neither had the children of *Noah* wings to flie from *Shinaar*, to the uttermost border of *Europe*, *Africa* and *Asia* in haste, but that these children were directed by a wife Father, who knew those parts of the world before the Flood, to which he disposed his children after it, and sent them not as Discoverers, or at all aduventure, but assigned and allotted to euery Sonne and their issues, their proper parts. And not to harken to fabulous Authors, who haue no other end then to flatter Princes (as *Virgil* did *Augustus*) in the fiction of *Æneas* or else to glorifie their owne Nations: Lets build heerein vpon the Scriptures themselves, and after them vpon Reason and Nature. First therefore wee must call to minde and consider, what manner of face the earth euery-where had in the 130. yeere after the great inundation, and by comparing those fruitfull Vallies, with our owne barren and cold ground, informe our felues thereby, what wonderfull Desarts, what impassable fastnesse of woods, reeds, bryars, and rotten grasse, what Lakes and standing Pooles, and what Marishes, Fens, and Bogs, all the face of the earth (excepting the Mountaines) was pestered withall. For if in this our Climate (where the dead and destroying Winter depresseth all vegetatiue and growing Nature, for one halfe of the yeere in effect) yet in twenty or thirte yeres, these our grounds would not all ouer-grow and be covered (according to the nature thereof) either with Woods, or with other offensive Thickets and Bushments: much more did all sorts of Plants, Reedes, and Trees, prosper in the most fruitfull Vallies, and in the Climate of a long & warme Summer, and hauing withall the start of 130. yeeres, to raise themselves without controulement.

This being considered, it will appeare that all these people which came into *Shinaar*, and ouer whom *Nimrod* either by order or strength tooke the Dominion, did after the confusion of Languages, and at such time as they grew to be a mighty People, disperse themselves into the Regions adioyning to the said Vallie of *Shinaar*, which contained the best part of *Mesopotamia*, *Babylonia*, and *Chaldea*; and from the borders thereof in time they were propagated: some of them towards the South, others towards the West and North. And although there were allotted to *Shem* many Regions, both East and West from *Shinaar*, with the Dominion of *Palestina*, which the *Canaanites* first possesed; yet could he not enioy the lot of his inheritance on the suddaine, but by time and degrees. For wee finde, that *Abraham* the true successour of *Shem*, dwelt in

Chaldea at *Ur*; and from thence (called by God) hee rested at *Charran* in *Mesopotamia*: from whence after the death of *Thare* hee traualled to *Siechem* in *Palestina*: and yet there had passed between *Shem* and *Abraham* (reckoning neyther of themselves) seven Descents, before *Abraham* moued out of *Chaldea*; where, and in *Babylonia*, all those people by *Nimrod* commanded, inhabited for many yeares, and whence *Nimrod* went out into *Assyria*, and founded *Ninive*. Indeede the great Masters of Nations (as farre as wee can know) were, in that Age of the *Iluses of Ham*; the blessing of God giuen by *Noah* to *Shem* and *Iaphet* taking lesse effect, vntill diuers yeares were consumed; and vntill the time arriued, which by the wisdom of God was appointed. For of *Chus*, *Misraim*, and *Canaan*, came the People and Princes, which held the great Kingdomes of *Babylonia*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*, for many Descents together.

§. III.

Of the Isles of the Gentiles in *IAPHETS* portion: of *BEROSVS* his too speedie seating *GOMER* the sonne of *IAPHET* in *Italie*; and another of *IAPHETS* sonnes *TYBAL* in *Spaine*: and of the Antiquitie of Longinque Navigation.

IO beginne therefore (where *Moses* beginneth) with the sonnes of *Iaphet*, among whom the Isles of the Gentiles were diuided: which diuision, as well to *Iaphets* sonnes as to therest which came into *Shinaar*, was (if the diuision were made at *Phalegs* birth) in the year of the World 1757. or 1758. and (by that account) in the year after the Flood one hundred and one, of which question elsewhere.

The habitations proper to the sonnes of *Iaphet* were the Isles of the Gentiles, which include all *Europe* with all the Ilands adioyning; and compassing it about: *Europe* being also taken for an Iland, both in respect that the Sea *Hellepont* and *Aegæum*, *Bosphorus* and *Euxinus* cut is off from the great Continent of *Asia*, as also because *Europe* it selfe is (in effect) surrounded with water, sauing that it is fastned to *Asia* by the North, for it hath those Seas before named to the East, the *Mediterran* to the South and South-west, the Ocean to the West, and *Brittish*, *Germane*, and *Baltick* Sea, with that of *Glaciale* to the North North-east, and North-west. Besides, it hath about it all the *Cyclades* or Isles lying between *Greece* and the lesser *Asia*, and the Isles of *Rhodes*, *Cyprus*, *Crete*, or *Candia*, *Sicilia*, *Corfica*, *Sardinia*, *Malta*, the Isles of *Brittanie* and *Zealand*, with their young-ones adiacent.

Gen. 9. v. 27.

This partition and portion of *Iaphet*, with the part which hee held in *Asia*, and the North, which was also very great, answered that blessing of God by *Noah*, *Dilates Deus IAPHETH*; *Let God spread abroad* (or increase the Posteritie of) *IAPHETH*, and let him dwell in the Tents of *Shem*. For though *Iunius* heere vseth the word (*alliciet*) and not *dilaret*: and the *Geneva* persuades; yet the *Septuagins* haue *dilates* or *amplificet*; and such was the blessing giuen to our Fathers, which God promised to *Abraham* and his Seede for euer. And the dwelling in the Tents or Tabernacles of *Shem* was a blessing by God to the Posteritie of *Iaphet*: noting not only an enlargement of Territories; but that thereby they should be made participant of Gods Church. But to come to *Iaphets* sonnes, of whom *Gomer* is the eldest. This *Gomer* (if wee may beleue *Berosus* and *Annius*, whose authoritie the greatest number of all our late Writers haue followed) did in the tenth year of *Nimrods* Reigne depart from *Babylonia*, and planted *Emili*, *Civitas*, *Italie*: which also *Funicus* confirmeth in these words *Anno decimo NIMRODI, &c.* In the tenth year of *NIMRODS* Reigne, *GOMERVS* GALLVS planted a Colonie in that Land afterward called *Italie*: and in the twelfth year of the same *NIMRODS* Reigne *TYBAL* seated himselfe in *Austuria* in *Spaine* (now called *Biscay*) which was in the 140. and in the 142. yeares after the Flood, according to *BEROSVS*. But this opinion is very ridiculous. For before the confusion of Tongues the children of *Noah* did not separate themselves, at least so many of them as came with *Nimrod* into *Shinaar*. Let vs therefore consider with reason, what time the building such a Citie and Towre required, where there was no prepared matter, nor any ready meanes to performe such a worke as *Nimrod* had erected (and as *Funicus* himselfe out of his Author *Berosus* witnesseth) *ad altitudinem & magnitudinem montium*; To the height and magnitude of the Mountaines. Sure that both this Citie and Towre was almost builded the Scriptures witness: But

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the Lord came downe to see the Citie and Towre; which the Sonnes of men builded. Lees then but alott a time sufficient for the making of Bricks to such a Worke, of the greatest height (and therefore of circuit and foundation answerable) that euer was. For where the vniuersall Flood covered the highest Mountaines fiftene Cubits; *Let vs build vs a Citie and a Towre* (saith *Nimrod*) *whose top may reach vnto the Heauen*: meaning, that they would raise their Worke about fiftene Cubits higher then the highest Mountaine, otherwise they could not assure themselves from the feare of a second inundation: a great part whereof was finished before it fell, and before they left the Worke. They also began this building vpon a ground, the most oppressed with Waters of all the World: as by the great ruine which these waters forcibly ouer-bearing and ouer-flowing; made in the time of the succeeding Emperours, is made manifest; approued also by the Prophet *Hieremie*, speaking of *Babylon* in these words: *Thibabur dwellest vpon many waters*. It cannot be doubted but that there needed a substantiall foundation; for so high a raised building on a marish ground: and to which, *Glycon* vpon *Genesis* giueh fortie yeares. For it seemeth, that the Towre was neere finished when God ouerthrew it: it being afterward written, *So the Lord scattered them from thence vpon all the Earth, and they left to build the Citie*. Out of which place it may be gathered (because the Towre is not then named) that they very neere had performed the Worke of their supposed defence, which was the Towre; and that afterward they went on with the Citie adioyning, wherein they inhabited: It is also to be noted, that vntill such time as this confusion seized them (whereupon the Towre was throwne downe) these Nations did not disperse themselves: for from thence the Lord scattered them vpon all the Earth; (that was) when they perceived not one another's speech. Now to thinke that this Worke in the newness of the World (wanting all instruments and materials) could be performed in ten yeares; and that *Tubal* and *Gomer* in the same year could creepe through 3000. miles of Desert, with Women, Children, and Cartell: let those light Beleevers; that neyther tye themselves to the Scripture, nor to reason, approuit; for I doe not. And if the Ark of *Noah* was 100. yeares in building, or but neere such a time; (and then) when the World had stood 1556. yeares; it were more then foolishness and madness to selfe, to thinke that such a Worke as this could be performed in ten; when the World (from the Flood to the arrival at *Babel*, and beginning of this building there) had but 157. yeares; and whereof they had spent some part in traualing from the East. Again, if all *Asia* set to their helping hands in the building of the Temple of *Diana*; and yet they consumed in that Worke 400. yeares (or be it but half that time) and in such an Age as when the World flourished in all sorts of Artificers; and with abundant plenty of materials and carriages: This Worke of the Towre of *Babel* could hardly (with all the former wants supplied) be erected in those few yeares remembered. And for conclusion, let all men of iudgement weigh with themselves how impossible it was for a Nation or Family of men, with their Wives and Children, and Cartell, to trauaile 3000. miles through Woods, Boggs, and 40 Deserts, without any Guide or Conductor; and we shall find it rather a Worke of 100. yeares then of a 100. dayes. For in the West *Indies* of which the *Spaniards* haue the experience, in those places where they found neither Path nor Guide, they haue not entered the Countrey ten miles in ten yeares. And if *Nimrod's* people spent many yeares by the account before remembered in passing from the East *India* or the higher part thereof, which standeth in 115. Degrees of Longitude, vntill they came into *Shinaar* which lieth in 79. Degrees (the distance betweene those places, containing 36. Degrees, which make 720. Leagues, which is 2160. miles) and did all the way keepe the Mountaines and hard ground; then the difference betweene *Babylon* and *Biscay* is much more: for the bodie of *Biscay* lieth in ten Degrees, and *Babylon* or *Shinaar* (as aforesaid) in 79. so the length of way from *Shinaar* to *Austuria* or *Biscay* is 60. Degrees, which make 1380. Leagues, or of miles 4140. And therefore if *Nimrod* tooke diuers yeares to find *Shinaar*, which was but 2160. miles; or (supposing that the Towre stood in *Armenia*) little above 400. miles: there is no cause to the contrary, but to allow as many yeares to *Gomer* and *Tubal* to trauaile 3000. miles to Countreies less knowne vnto them by farre; then the Land of *Shinaar* was to *Nimrod*. For *Paradise* was knowne to *Noah* before the Flood: and so was the Region of *Eden* by *Moses* afterward remembered; but what hee understood of most part of the World else is vntknowne. And therefore did *Annius* will aduise himselfe to plant *Gomer* in *Italie*, and *Tubal* in *Spaine*, in the tenth & twelfth of *Nim-*

Gen. 11.

Gen. 11.

Gen. 11.

Gen. 11.

road. Reigne: Shall the Earth be brought forth one day, or Shall a Nation be borne one day. But may be objected, That the Sonnes of Iaphet might come by Sea; and so save this great Ravale through Cherts by Land. But we never reade of any Navigation in those dayes, nor long after. Surely they that know what it is to imbarke to greata people as they may iudly suppose those Conductors carryed with them, will not easily beleave, that there were any Vessels in those dayes to transport Armies, and (wchally) their Cartell, by whose Milke they lived and fed their Children: For Milke and Fruit were the banqueting Dulces of our Fore-Fathers. And in the eldest times, even the Kings and Fathers of Nations, valued themselves by the Heards and numbers of their Cartell: who had Flocks of Sheepe, and great Droves and Herds of their owne, and their own Sheep-herds, and Heardmen. Now if *Tubal* had past by Sea from any part of *Palestine*, *Syria*, or *Cilicia*, he might have made good choice within the Streights, and not have ouergone *Cenado*, *Palencia*, and other Provinces in that Tract: past the Streights of *Gibraltar*, did many a *Andalusia* and *Portugal*, with all those goodly Ports and Countreys: and have fought out the yron, woody, and barren Countrey of the World (called *Biscay*) by a long and dangerous Navigation. But before the journey of the *Argentine* there were scarce any Vessels that durd cross the Seas in that part of the world: and yet that which *Jafan* had (if the Tale be true) was but a Galley, and a poore one (God knows) and per chance such as they use this day in *Ireland*: which although it carryed but foure and six Passengers, yet it was farre greater then any of the former times: *Eratosthenes* saith that *Pyramus* made use of a For in former times they used very small Vessels. I deny not but that the *Tyrans* gave themselves of olde to farre-off Navigations, whence *Tubal* ascribed the invention of Ships unto them.

Titub. Eleg. 7.
 Strabon. 16.

And for those Boates called *longe naues*; or Gallies, *Plinie* faith that *Aegelas* ascribeth the
 deuce to *Parasus*; and *Philopolemus* to *Iafon*; *Cleobas* to *Sampyras*; and *Sapphanus* to *Semira-*
mis; *Archimachus* to *Aegon*; to which inuention the *Erythraei* are said to haue added
 certaine numbers of Oares: and then *Ammelius* the *Corinthian* to haue increased them: 3
 the *Carthaginians* afterwards to haue brought them to foure Bankes: the *Quing*, *Romi*
 first to haue beene vied by *Nesibion* the *Salaminian*, with which Vessels in those parts
 of the World, the *Romans* seru'd themselves in the *Punicke* Warre. But these be per-
 haps but the partialities of Writers, or their ignorance. For there are that as constantly
 call the deuising of these Gallies on *Selsitris*; though *Semiramis* yfed them in the passage
 of her Armie ouer *Indus* in *Abraham* time. So is said that *Darius* was the first that
 brought a Ship into *Greece*: and yet the *Samostracians* challenge the inuention; and yet
Crullian (on the contrary) giues it to *Minerva*: others to *Neptune*; *Thucydides* to the
Corinthians. And so ignorant were the people of those Ages, as the *Aegyptians* vied to
 coast the Shores of the Read Seappon raiftes, deuised by King *Erythrus*: and in the time 4
 of the *Romans*, the *Brittains* had a kind of Boat (with which they crost the Seas) made
 of small twigs, and couered ouer with Leather: of which kind I haue scene at the *Dingle*
 in *Ireland*, and elsewhere. *Naves excorsio circumfusa in Oceano Britanico* (saith *Textor*.)
 of which *Lucan* the Poet:

Primus cana salix, madefacta vimine, parthenum
Texitar in puppim, caesog. induta iuueno,
Vetoris patiens tumidum superenatat amnem.
Sic Venerus stagnante Pado, fusog. Britannus
Nauigat Oceano.

The moystned Ofsyer of the hoarie Willow
Is woen first into a little Boat:
Then cloth'd in Bullockes Hide, vpon the billow
Of a proud River, lightly doth it float
Vnder the Waterman:
So on the Lakes of ouer-swelling Pee
Sailes the *Venetian*: and the *Brittain* so
Orn'd out-ford Ocean.

And

And although it cannot be denyed, when *Noah* by Gods inspiration was instructed in
 some particulars concerning the *Arke*, that there many things concerning Navigation
 were first revealed; yet it appeares that there was much difference betweene the *Arke*
 of *Noah*, and such Ships as were for any long Navigation. Yea, ancient Stories shew,
 that it was long after these times, ere any durst presume vpon any long Voyages to Sea
 at least with multitudes of Women, and Children, and Carrell: as also common reason
 can tell vs, that euen now, when this Arte is come to her perfection, such Viouages are ve-
 ry troublesome and dangerous. So as it doth appeare, that there was not in that Age of
Nimrod any Ship, or six of Ships fit for any long Navigation: For if *Gomer* and *Tubal*
 10 had passed themselves and their people by Sea; the exercise of Navigation would not
 haue bene dead for so many hundred yeares after. Leaving therefore the fabulous
 tales, and all men else to their fancies, who haue call'd Nations into Countries far
 off: I know not how, I will follow herein the Relation of *Moses* and the Prophets: to
 which Truth there is ioyned both Nature, Reason, Politie; and necessity: and to the
 rest, neither probability, nor possibility.

8. III. F.

20 Of GOG and MAGOG, TYBAL, and MESHECH, seated first about Asia
the lesse, out of EZECHIEL, CAP. 38. 40.

Now although many Learned and Reuerend men haue formed (I know not whether I hope I may be excused, if I differ at together from them in many particulars. Certainly, that great Learned man of this latter Age, *Arias Montanus* was also in some things much mistaken: and for *Iosephus* as hee hath many good things, and is a Guide to many errors withall, so was he in this Plantation of the World very grosse and fabulous, whereby both *Eusebius*, *Hierosolymitanus*, *Epiphanius*, and others, that haue taken his reſtimonies for current, haue bene by him farre miſſe-led. But the better to concurre what Regions of the World *comer* the first sonne of *Iaphet* possit; as also *Tabel*, it is needfull to begin with *Magog*: because the Scriptures take most knowledge of *Gog* and *Magog*, which two names haue troubled many Commentators, *ſaith Marth Bernaldus*, who hath laboured herein with great diligence, and whom (of all that euer I read) I find most iudicious in the examination of this Plantation. Hee takes authoritie from the Prophet *Ezechiel* chiefly; who in chaps. 38. and 39. Chapter directeth vs, what Nations the *Gomerians*, *Tubalians*, and *Togormians* were, together with the *Magogians*: of which *Gog* was Prince or Chief Conductor in their Attempts against *Iſrael*. For besides the portions of *Europe*, and the North-east parts of the greater *Asia*; which *Iaphet* (Ilius possit, all *Asia* the lesse was peopled by them: And that those of the Issue of *Iaphet* (whom *Ezechiel* speaks of) were ſeſed herabout, it may best appeare, if we conſider the circumſtances of the place, and the dependencie vpon the former Propheſie in the 37. Chapter. For in that 37. Chapter, *Ezechiel* prophesieth of the vniſiting of the two Kingdomes of *Iſrael* and *Iuda*, after their deliuerie from captiuitie.

By which Propheſie of *Ezechiel*, it appeareth, that God purpoſed to gather together his people, to giue life to dead bones, and to rule them by one Prince. For to that purpose is written; And *DAVID* my ſeruant ſhall ſit King ouer them; and they ſhall haue one Sheppard, (that is) they ſhall be vniſted as they were in *DAVID*s time. Hereupon in the 38. Chapter *Ezechiel* prophesieth againſt thoſe Nations, which ſhould ſeek to impeach this Vnion, and diſturb the people of *Iſrael*, whom God purpoſed to reſtore to grace, and to promiſed to reſtore. And ſo in the ſame Chapter are thoſe Nations coupled together, which inſeſted the *Iſraelites* after their returne, and ſought to ſubiet them: all which were the Subjects or Allies of *Gog*, Prince of the *Magogians*, or *Caeſeyrians*, next bordering *Paſtina*, or the holy Land, followed alſo by the reſt of the Nations of *Asia* the leſſe, which lay North from *Iudaea*. The words of *Ezechiel* are theſe: Some of man, ſit thy face againſt *Gog*, and againſt the Land of *Magog*, the chief Princes of *MESECH* (Or *MOSECH* and *TUBAL*: and afterward; *Rebeld*, I come againſt the chief Prince of *MESECH* and *TUBAL*: and in the ſixth verſe; *GOMER* and all his Bands, and the Hoſte of *TOGORMA* of the North quarters: Herein *Ezechiel* hauing firſt deliuered the

p. VI.

That GOMER also and his sonne TOGOMA of the Posteritie of IAPHETH were first seated about Asia the lesse: and that from thence they spread Westward into Europe: and Northward into Sarmatia.

It turne now to the sonnes of Noah, and the Worlds Plantation after the Flood: therein I observe, that as both reason and necessitie taught them; so, when they multiplied in great numbers, and dispersed themselves into the next Countries bordering to their first habitations, and from thence sent forth Colonies elsewhere, it was in such a manner as that they might repayre to each other, and keepe intelligence by River: yet because the Land was Defart and over-prest with Woods, Reeds, Bogs, and rotten Marishes: As when Nimrod seated in Babylonia, Chus took the South part of Chaldaea, downe the River of Gehon, by which he might passe to & fro from Babylon to his own Plantation: those also, which were of the Race of Shem, inhabiting at Vr or Orchoa neere the Lakes of Chaldaea, might by the same River get up to Babylon, and receive succour from thence. All which Tract of Land upon Gehon Southward, Moses in the description of Paradise calleth the Land of Chush: because the Dominion and Empire was then in the hands of Nimrod a Chusite, by whom the children of Shem (which came in to that Valley and stayed nor in the East) were for awhile opprest, till God afterward by the seed of Abraham made them his owne Nation and victorious. Hanielah, the brother of Nimrod, and sonne of Chush, took both bankes of Tigris, especially on the East side of the River: by which River his people might also passe to and fro to Babel.

The Imperiall fear of which Region of Hanielah or Sufian, was anciently called Chusian or Chusan, afterward Susa. Chush himselfe took the Bankes of Gehon, and planted those Countries Westward, and South-westward towards Arabia the Stony, and the Defart, where Ptolemie placeth the Cite of Chusidia, first Chusia.

Seba, and Sheba with the rest that planted Arabia felice, had Tigris to convey them into the Persian gulf, which watheth the bankes of Arabia felice on the East side: so as those sonnes of Chush might take Land downe the River as they pleased. Also the Cite of Ninive was by Nimrod founded on the said River of Tigris; and from thence a Colonie past to Charan, standing also upon a navigable branch of Euphrates. In like manner did Iapheths sonnes settle themselves together, and took their seares in Asia the lesse: from whence they might indifferently stretch themselves Northward, and Westward, into the next parts of Europe, called the Isles of the Gentiles. And it seemeth very agreeable to reason, that both Gomer, Magog and Tubal, sate downe first of all in that part of Syria, to the North of Palestina and Phenicia: and from thence Gomer or his children past on into Asia the lesse, as those of Magog and Tubal did; from whence the Tubalines spread themselves into Iberia: and the Magogians more Northerly into Sarmatia. The first Gomerians, and first Planters in Asia the lesse, held the Country of the Cymmerians (witnesseth Herodotus) the same Region which was afterward by the Gallo-greekes called Galatia, to whom Saint Paul wrote his Epistle fo intituled. This Nation of the Cymmerians (whom the invincible Scythians afterwards dispersed, and forced from their first Plantations) gave names to divers places; as to the Mountaynes about Albania (called Cymmerine) and to the Cite of Cymmeris in Phrygia: also Bosporus Cymmerius took appellation from this Nation, in the out-let whereof was also a Cite of that name, called Cymmerian: which Plinie saith (mistaking the place) had sometime the name of Ciberion; but Ciberion was a Towne in Campania, fo called of the vnhealthfull waters, fauouring of Brimstone, which Augustus caused to be cleansed by letting in the water of the Lake Lucrinus.

The children of Tubal ranged as farre as Iberia, to whom the Moschici were Neighbours, which others write Meshech. The Prophet Ezechiel (coupling them together) calleth Gog the Prince of Meshech and Tubal. For these Meschi (which Ptolemie calleth Moschi) inhabit Syracena a Prouince of Armenia, directly South from the Mountaynes Meschici, in the Valley betweene the Mountaynes Meschici, and the Mountaynes Parjardes: out of whose North part sprinketh the River Phasis; from the East part Araxis; and from the West Euphrates: and of this Meshech are descended also the Moscouians (saith Melanchton) and it may bee, that in proceesse of time some of them inhabited those Regions also: For Meshech (saith Melanchton) signifieth extendens, enlarging or stretching forth.

forth. Togorma also at first did inhabit amongst his parents & kindred. The Togormians were also called Gibles, a people neighbouring the Sydonians in Gabala, a Tetrarchie of Phenicia, the same which Plinie calleth Gaben: from whence Salomon had his most excellent Malons, which hewed stones for the Temple of Hierusalem. Thence the Togormians stretched into the lesse Armenia, whose Kings were hence called Tigranes, and their Cities Tigranokarta: of which Cities Tigranes subdued by Lucullus the Roman, built one, Hierosolimitanus hath planted the Togormians in Barbarie: forgetting the prophetic of Ezechiel against the Tyrians. They of the house of Togorma, brought to shy Fayres horses, and busse-men, and mules, which could not well bee driven ouer the whole length of the Mediterranean Sea, but from the neighbour Countries by land. But Iosephus takes them for the parents of the Phrygians; which I doe not denie, but they might be in the ensuing ages; and so might the Tubalines be of the Spaniards, but it was from Iberia, and many hundred yeeres after the twelfth of Nimrods reigne. The Iewes conceiue that the Turkes came of those Togormians, because their Emperor is called Togar. The Chaldeans make them the Fathers of the Germanes. But Laonicus affirmes, that the Turkes descended of the Crim Tartar, which borders Muscouia. But for these subderinations it were infinit to examine them. Onely of the first and second plantation, and of the first Nations after the flood is the matter which I labour to discover, and thercin to open the ignorance of some, and the corruption of other fabulous Writers. And thus we must Note, that those grand children of Noah which were of a more quiet, or (perchance) of lesse vnderstanding, and had notherfore the leading of Colonies sent out, their proper habitations could bee hardlie knowne: onely reason hath taught vs, that they dwelt among the rest, and were couered with the fame of others, who took on them the Conduccion and Dominion, ouer the rest.

From Madai the third sonne of Iapheth, were the Medes. The Gracians bring them (as before) from Medus the sonne of Medea.

§. VII.

Of Iauan the fourth son of Iapheth: and of Melch, of Aram, and Meshech of Iapheth.

Of Iauan the fourth sonne of Iapheth came the Iones, which were afterwards called the Greeks: and so the Latine and Greeke Interpreters for Iauan write Greece, as in Esay: Et mittam ex eis qui saluati fuerint ad gentes, in mare, in Italian, in Graciam; And I will send those that escape of them to Nations in the Sea, in Italie and in Greece. The Genea here vseth the word (Tarsibis) for Tarsus, a Cite in Cilicia, though Tarsis in many places be taken for the Sea. The Tigurine and the Genea vse the names Tubal and Iauan, and not Italie and Greece: keeping the same Hebrew words. Of the Iones were the Athenians, though themselves dreame that they were Aborigines, or men without Ancesters, and growing (as it were) out of the soile it selfe: who abounding in people sent Colonies into Asia the lesse, of whom came the Iones of those parts. Others deriue the Athenians from Ion the sonne of Xuthus, the son of Deucalion; but the antiquity of Iauan marres the fashion of that supposition, who so many yeres preceded Xuthus, Ion, or Deucalion. Pausanias tels vs that Xuthus stole out of Thessalie with all his Fathers treasure, and his Brothers portions, and arriuing at Athens, hee was graciously received by Erichon, who gaue him his Daughter in marriage; of whom hee received two sonnes, Ion, and Acheus, the supposed Ancesters of the Athenians: (For Attica was called Ionia, saith Plutarch in the life of Thales) who, when he had ioyned Megarato Attica, erected a pillar in that gulf, which fastneth Peloponnesus to the other part of Greece: writing on that part which looketh towards the East, these words: Hec non sunt Peloponnesus, sed Ionia; These Countries are not of Peloponnesus, but of Ionia: and on the other side which looked towards the South, and into Peloponnesus, this: These parts are Peloponnesus, and not Ionia.

Strabo out of Hecateus affirmeth, that the Iones came out of Asia into Greece, which is contrary to the former opinion: That the Iones of Greece transporting certain companies into Asiathe lesse, the name of Iones was thereby therein retained. And though Strabo knew no more thereof then hee learned of the Greeks themselves, yet I finde this coniecture of Hecateus reasonable enough. For though it were to him vnknowne, yet sure I am that Asia the lesse had people before Greece had any: and that Iauan did not flie from

Babylonia into Greece, but tooke Asia the lesse in his passage; and from thence past over the needest way, leaving his owne name to some maritime Province on that side, as he did to that part of Greece so called. But yet Strabo himselfe beleueed, that *Dania* took the name from *Ison* the son of *Xanthus*: for so much he had learned from themselves; which was also the opinion of *Pausanias*. True it is, that the *Greekes* in after-times cast themselves into that part of Asia the lesse, opposite vnto the, which they held for diuers yerres. And howsoever the *Greekes* vaunt themselves to be Fathers of Nations, and the most ancient; yet all approved Historians (not their owne) deride and disprove their pride, and vanitie therein. For this dispute of Antiquity (among prophane Writers) rested betwixt the *Scythians* and the *Aegyptians*, as *Iustine* out of *Trogus*, in the war between *Ptolemy* of *Aegypt*, and *Tanaus* of *Scythia*, witnesseth: which preceded farre the reigne of *Ninus*; and was long before the name of Greece was euer heard of. And it is also manifest, that in *Cecrops* time the *Greekes* were all salvage without law or religion, liuing like brute beasts in all respects: and *Cecrops* (saith Saint *Augustine*) liued together with *Moses*.

Lib. 18. de Civ.
Dei, c. 10.

The sixth sonne of *Iapheth* was *Meshech*, whom the *Septuagint* call *Mosoch*: (a part of those Nations commanded by *Gag* the chiefe Prince of *Meshech* and *Tubal*.) But this we must remember, that betwixt *Meshech* the sonne of *Aram*, and *Meshech* (or *Mosoch*) the sonne of *Iapheth*, there is little difference in name, and both by diuers Interpreters diuersly written. *Montanus* with the Vulgar writeth *Meshech*, the sonne of *Aram*; *Mes*, the *Genesis*, *Mash*, *Iunius*, *Meshech*. But it may be gathered out of the 120. *Psalm*, that either *Meshech* the sonne of *Iapheth*, was the parent of those people, or gave name to that Province wherein *David* hid himselfe: or else (which may rather seeme) that it tooke name from *Meshech* the sonne of *Aram*. For *David* bewailing his exile (while he liued among a barbarous and irreligious People) vseth these words: *Woe is me that I remaine in Meshech, and dwell in the Tents of Kedar*: which *Iunius* conuerteth thus: *Hei mihi quia peregrinor tam diu: habitum tanquam Scenite Kedareni*: The *Septuagint* giues it this sense: *Woe is me because my habitation (or abode) is prolonged, who dwell with the inhabitants of Kedar*; with which this of the *Latine* agreeth: *Heu mihi, quia incolatus meus prolongatus est*; *habitum cum habitantibus Kedar*: The *Chaldean* otherwise, and in these words: *O miserum, quia peregrinatus sum Asiaticis, habitum cum tabernaculis Arabum*: O wretch, that I am, for I haue traueiled among those of Asia: I haue dwelt in the Tabernacles of the Arabians. But howsoever or which soeuer confusion be taken for the best, yet all make mention of *Kedar*: which is a Province of Arabia *Petrea*; and the *Chaldean* putteth Asia in stead of *Meshech*, but the *Hebrew* it self hath *Meshech*. And if it be to be taken for a Nation, (as it is most likely, because it answers to *Kedar*, the name of a Nation) seeing *Meshech* the sonne of *Aram*, 1. *Chron.* 17. is called *Meshech*, it is indifferent whether this Nation tooke name from *Meshech* or *Mash*, both bordering *Iudea*, and like enough to be commanded by one Prince; for so *Ezechiel* makes *Meshech* and *Tubal*. But as for those that take *Meshech* out of the word *Mosoch* (giuen by the *Septuagint*) to be the *Muscouian*: sure they presume much vpon the affinity of names, as aforesaid. And sure I am that *David* neuer traueiled so farre North; (for to him *Muscouia* was vtterly vnknown) but about the border of *Kedar* (it may be he was often in all the time of his persecution: the same being a Citie on the Mountaines of *Sanir* or *Galaad*. And yet *Arius Montanus* makes *Mosoch* the father of the *Muscouians*: and herein also *Melancthon* runnes with the tide of common opinion, and sets *Meshech* in *Muscouia*, though with some better aduce of iudgement; as, first seated in *Cappadocia*, and from thence travelling Northward: expounding the places of the 120. *Psalm*, *Hei mihi quid exulo in Meshech* to signifie, *Genis eius seruauem in signem esse*: That the seruice of that Nation exceeded: which feruente or brutallie of the *Muscouians*, *David* neuer proued, or (perchance) neuer heard of. But the same feritie or crueltie which those Northern *Muscouians* had, may as well be ascribed to the *Arabians* and *Kedarens*. For this Countie tooke name of *Kedar* the second sonne of *Ismael*, of whom a people of equal fiercenesse to any of the world were begotten, both in those times and long after, euen to this day (if the *Arabians*, *Ismaelites*, and *Saracens*, may be accounted one people:) the same being foretold by the speech of the Angell to *Hagar*, *Gen.* 16. v. 12. *And he shall be a wilde man: his hand shall be against every man, and every mans hand against him*. Now Arabia the Desert (saith *Plinie*) confronteth the *Arabians* *Cochles* on the East, and the *Cedraei* Southward, both which ioine together vpon the *Nababates*. So it appeareth before

Gen. 25. 13.

before) that *Meshech*, *Tubal*, *Gomer*, *Togorma*, and *Magog*, neighboured *Canaan* and *Israel*; and that *Kedar* also did ioine to *Meshech*: all which were Regions of *Syria*, or of Asia the lesse, commanded by the Successors of *Seleneus*, enemies of the re-establishment of *Israel* and *Juda*. But (as I haue already said) it might well be, that long after the first plantation the issue of *Meshech* (or *Mosoch*) might passe into *Cappadocia*, and thence into *Hyrcania*, and giue names, both to *Mazega* in the one, and to the Mountaines *Moschici* in the other, and from thence might send people more Northerly into *Muscouia*, and so al opinions saved. But all salvage Nations ouer-growne and vncultivated, doe (for the most part) shew a late plantation, euen as Ciuilitie, Letters, and magnificent Building, witnesseth antiquitie. *Tiras*, the leuenth sonne of *Iapheth*, which *Montanus* reckons among the sons of *Gomer*, was the Father of the *Thracians*, as all Authors (worthe the examination) affirme. *Iosephus* was the first that determined hereof: and because the Scriptures are altogether silent, what part of the world *Tiras* peopled, the coniectures are indifferent, and giue no ground at all of dispute. It followeth now to speake of the sonnes of *Gomer*, which were three,

Ascanes, *Riphath*, and *Togorma*.

§. VIII.

of *Ascanes* and *Riphath*, the two elder Sonnes of *Gomer*.

Ascanes was the Father of those which the *Greeks* call *Regini*, (saith *Iosephus*) but he giues no reason why.

Eusebius makes *Ascanes* the Father of the *Goths*. The *Iewes* in their *Thargum* make him the roote of the *Germane Nation*, but their expositions are commonly very idle. *Plinie* findeth *Ascania* in *Phrygia*, neere the Riuer of *Hylas* and *Cios*: *Melancthon* being of the same opinion, that the *Tuiscomes* were descended of the *Ascanes*, (for *Tuiscomes* saith he, is as much to say, as of the *Ascanes*, *preposito articulo die Ascanes*;) and that the word signifieth a Religious Keeper of fire: it being an ancient superstition to pray at the fire of Sacrifices, as afterwards at the Tombs of Martyrs. Not farre from *Phrygia* was the lake *Ascania*, knowne by that name in the *Romanes* time. And among the Kings which came to the succor of *Troy*, was *Ascanius* (Deo similis, saith *Homer*) like vnto God: because he was beautifull and strong: for in the same manner doth *Virgil* grace *Aeneas*, *O humeris q. Deo similis, in facie et bodie like one of the Gods*. *Virgil* also remembreth such a Riuer, together with the Hills *Gargara*: as, *Illas ducit amor trans Gargara, transq. sonantem* a Riuer, together with the Hills *Gargara*, and the roaring *Ascanius*. But this *Plinie* maketh more plaine in the description of *Phrygia*. For he placeth the City of *Brillium* vpon the Riuer *Ascanius*, which is adioyning to *Myfia*, and is neere the border of the *Troian Empire*: and the Lake *Ascanes* he directvs to finde by the description of *Prusia*, founded by *Hannibal* at the foot of *Olympus*, which lieth far within the Countie of *Bithynia*: and then from *Prusia* to *Nicea* are accounted 25. miles, in which way this Lake lyeth, euen betwixt *Prusia* and *Nicea*. And so *Iunius* (as I conceiue him) takes them of *Ascanes* to be the inhabitants of *Pomus*, and *Bithynia*, and those North parts of *Asia*. *Stephanus de Verbis* makes it a Citie of *Troas*, built by *Ascanius* the son of *Aeneas*: saying, that there was another of that name in *Myfia*. Of *Ascania* a Lake of *Bithynia*, *Ptolome* witnesseth: and *Strabo* giueth *Ascania* both a Lake, a Riuer, and a Towne in *Myfia*, neere vnto *Cio*; which also agreeth with *Plinie*. For *Plinie* findeth *Prusia* (before spoken of) neere *Cio*, and calleth the Islands before *Troy* *Ascanes*.

Now, whether these places tooke name of *Ascanes* the son of *Gomer*, or of *Ascanius* the sonne of *Aeneas*, it might be questioned: sure it is, that *Ascanius* which brought succour to the *Troians*, could not take his name from *Aeneas* sonne, who was then cyther exceeding yong, or rather vnborne: and it seemeth that the Countie whence those succours came, were not out of any part of *Phrygia* or *Myfia*; but farther off, and from the North parts of all Asia the lesse, which by *Hieremie* is called *Ascanes*, by the figure *Synecdoche*, as *Iunius* thinketh. Out of those testimonies therefore which decerne not, we may confidently determine. For of the Prophet *Hieremie* wee shall learne of what Nation the *Ascanes* were, whose words are these: Set up a Standard in the Land, blow the Trumpet among the Nation against her, call up the Kings of *Ararat*, *Minni*, and *Ascanes*. C. 51. v. 27.

against her, *yc.* meaning against the Babylonians. *Ararat* was Armenia the greater, as most Interpreters consent, so called of the Mountaines of *Ararat* which runne through it: *Minni* the lesser Armenia: Armenia being compounded of *Aram* and *Minni*. For *Minni* was the ancient name: (sayth *Iunius* and others before him,) and *Aram* anciently taken for Syria, which contained all that Tract from *Euphrates* to the Sea-coasts of *Phœnicia*, and *Palestina*; and therefore *Mesopotamia* being in elder times but a Prouince of Syria, the Scriptures difference it in the storie of *Jacob* and *Eſau*, and call it *Aram-padan*. Thn if these two Nations were of the Armenians, and *Aſcanes* ioyned with them (who altogether vniued vnder *Cyrus* and *Darius*, came to the spoyle of the Babylonian Empire) we shall erre much to call *Aſkenas* Germanie or *Almaine*, for we heare of no ſwarth Ruttiers at that ſiege. But the *Aſkenas* were of thoſe Nations which were either ſubiect or allied to the *Medes*: of which, if any of them came afterward into *Phrygia*, I know not: for the diſperſion of Nations was in aftertimes without account. But for the opinion of *Eusebius*, who makes them to be *Goths*; or that of *Josephus*, who calls them *Rhegiis*; or of the *Troes*, who will haue them to be *Almaines*; when they confirme it either by Scriptures or Reason, I will thinke as they doe.

Of *Riphat* the ſecond ſonne of *Gomer* there is mention in the first of *Chronicles*. *Beroaldus* and *Pererius* thinke that he wandered farre off from the reſt of his Brothers, and therefore no memorie of his plantation. But I ſee nothing to the contrary, but that hee might ſeate himſelfe with the reſt of his Family: for there wanted no room or ſoile in thoſe dayes for all the ſonnes and Grand-children of *Noah*. Therefore I take it to be well vnderſtood, that the *Riphei* were of *Riphat*, which the *Greekes* afterwards (according to *Josephus*) called the *Paphlagonians*: and *Riphei* (ſaith *Melanchton*) ſignifieth Giants. Theſe people were very famous in the North parts, and in *Sarmatia*: the moſt of number and power among them, *Sarmatarum gens maxima Heneti*. The greateſt number of the *Sarmatians* were the *Heneti*; who ſpake the ancient *Polac*: which being firſt called *Riphei* (for the loue of ſome of their Leaders or Kings) changed their names and became *Heneti*, (a cuſtome exceeding common in thoſe times) and dwelt firſt in *Paphlagonia*, as *Homer* wiſeſeth, and ſo doth *Apollonius* in his *Argonauticks*: Now, when theſe *Riphei* (afterward *Heneti*) fought new Regions, they came along the ſhores of *Euxinus*, and filled the North-part of *Europe*, containing *Ruſſia*, *Lituania*, and *Polonia*. From thence they croſt thwart the Land, and peopled *ſyria*, deſirous (ſaith *Melanchton*) of a warmer ſoile of fruit and Wine. Theſe *Heneti* or *Veneti*, whom *Melanchton* taketh to be one people, filled all that Land betweene the *Baltick* and *Adriaticke* Sea; and to this day the name of the Gulfe *Venedicus* is found in *Ruſſia*. This Nation, after they were poſſeſt of *Lituania* and *Polonia*, diſturb'd the plantation of the *Boij* and *Hermondurij*. Therefore, it ſeemeth to me, that of *Riphat*, came the *Riphei*, afterward *Heneti*; and ſo thinke *Arias Montanus*, firſt ſeared in *Paphlagonia*; but in courſe of time Lords of *Sarmatia*, and thoſe other parts before remembred, chiefly betweene the Rivers of *Viſtula* and *Albis*. The name (ſaith *Melanchton*) ſignifieth Wandering or Wanderers, or *Nomades*: a people which liued by White-meates and fruits, as (indeed) all Nations did in the firſt Ages.

Of the third ſonne of *Gomer*, *Togorma*, I haue ſpoken already; now therefore of *Iuans* children, which were foure:

Elifa, *Tharſis*, *Cethim*, *Dodanim*.

§. IX.

Of the ſome ſonnes of *Iauan*: and of the double ſignification of *Tharſis*, either for a proper name, or for the Sea.

ELISA or ELIPHA, came the *Aeoles*: and of this *Elifa*, all the *Greekes* were called *Hellenes*, ſaith *Montanus*. *Melanchton* makes *Elifa* the Father of the *Aeoles* in *Aſia* ſide: others of *Elis* in *Peloponneſus*; or of both. And ſeeing the *Greekes* were deſcended in generall of *Iauan*, it is probable that the *Aeoles* and the *Elis* took name of *Elifa*, his eldeſt Sonne. *Ezechiel* in the 27. ſpeaking of *Tyre*, nameth the Iſles of *Elifa*, *Hyacinthus* by purpura de inſulis *Elifa* facta (unt operimentum tuum: Blue Silke and Purple brought from the Iſles of *Elifa*, was thy covering: The *Chaldeans* for *Elifa* write *Italia*: but the *Pulgar*, the *Tigurine*, the *Geneſis*, and *Iunius*, keep the word *Elifa*: and ſo I thinke they might doe with reaſon. For there was not found any ſuch Purple Dye in *Italia*

in thoſe dayes, nor ſince, that I can reaſe of: but thoſe Iſles of *Elifa*, were by a better coniecture the Iſles of *Greece*, and the beſt Purple was found afterward at *Tyre* it ſelfe: and before that, among the *Cyclades*, and on the coaſt of *Getulia*.

Tharſis, the ſecond Sonne of *Iauan*, inhabited *Cilicia*, of which *Tharſis* is the *Metropolis*. *Montanus* for *Tharſis* in *Cilicia*, vnderſtands *Carthage* in *Africa*; but (reſeſering the reſpect due to ſo learned a man) he was much miſtaken in that coniecture. The *Chaldean Paraphraſt* puts *Carthage* for *Tharſis*, but it hath no authority nor warrant of reaſon therein. So likewiſe, where it is written, that the Ships of *Salomon* went euery three yeeres to *Tharſis*, and brought thence Gold, Siluer, Elephants teeth, &c. the *Chaldean Paraphraſt* tranſlates *Tharſis* (*Africa*). But *Salomons* Ships were prepared in the Red Sea at *Eſion Gaber*, in the Bay of *Elanu*, neere vnto *Madian*, where *Iethro* (*Moses* Father in Law) inhabited; a Prouince of *Arabia Petraea*, *Idumaea*, or of the *Chusites*; and they ſayled to the higher part of the Eaſt India. For it had beene a ſtrange Navigation to haue ſpent three yeeres in the paſſage betweene *Indea* and *Carthage*, or any other part of *Africa*, which might haue beene ſayled in fixe or ten daies. And if ſo great riches might haue bin found within the bounds of the *Mediterran* Sea, al the other neighbouring Princes would ſoon haue entermain'd that Trade alſo. But this enterprize of *Salomon* is in this ſort written of in the firſt of Kings: *Alſo King Salomon made a Nauie of Ships in Eſion Gaber, which is beſide Elath and the brinke of the Red Sea in the Land of Edom: and Hyram ſent with the Nauie his ſeruants, that were Mariners, and had knowledge of the Sea, with the ſeruants of Salomon: and they came to Ophir, and ſet from thence 420. Talents of Gold, &c.* But as the Nations about *Pontus* thought no Sea in the world like vnto their owne, and doubted whether there were any other Sea but that onely: (whereof it came, that *Pontus* was a word vſed for the Sea in generall) ſo, becauſe the *Iſraelites* and the *Phœnicians* knew no other Sea then that of the *Mediterran* in the beginning; and that the people of *Tharſis* had the greateſt Shippes, and were the firſt Navigators in thoſe parts with ſuch Veſſels, they were therefore called men of the Sea: and the word *Tharſis* vſed often for the Sea. And whereas it is ſaid that the Shippes of *Salomon* went euery three yeeres to *Tharſis*, that phraſe is not ſtrange at all; for we vſe it ordinarily whereſoeuer we navigate, (namely) 30 that the Kings Ships are gone to the Sea, or that they are ſet out euery yeere, or euery three yeeres to the Sea, and therefore *Tharſis* was not therein named, either for *Carthage*, *Africa*, or *India*, but vſed for the Sea it ſelfe. But in this place *Tharſis* is truly taken for *Tharſis*, the chiefe Citie in *Cilicia*, founded by *Tharſis* the ſecond ſonne of *Iauan*, or by his Succellors in memorie of their firſt parent. To this Citie arriued *Alex. Macedon*, before he gaue the firſt ouerthrow to *Darius*, and caſting himſelfe into the Riuer to bathe and waſhe his bodie, hee fell into an extreame Feuer, and great danger of death: and in this Citie of *Tharſis* was *S. Paul* borne. Now this agreeeth with the reaſon and nature of a Plantation. For (*Gomer* and his other ſonnes inhabiting *Aſia* the leſſe, and that part of *Syria* adioyning) *Iauan*, who was to paſſe ouer the Sea into *Greece*, tooke the edge of the ſame Coaſt, and firſt planted the *Iones* on that ſhore: gaue the Iſlands betweene *Aſia* the leſſe and *Greece*, to *Elifa*, and left *Tharſis* vpon the Sea ſide in *Cilicia*; of whom that Citie tooke name.

The third ſonne of *Iauan* was *Cethim*, of whom were the *Romanes* and *Italians*, ſaith *Beroaldus*, but I allow better of *Melanchtons* opinion, who makes *Cethim* the Father of the *Macedonians*. *Cethim* is a voice plurall (ſaith he) and ſignifieth *percussores*, though in that reſpect it may be meant by either. But it ſeemeth more probable, that the place of *Elifa*, 23. (according to *Melanchton*) had relation to *Alexander* and the *Macedonians*: *Haec calamitas ab Elia predicta eſt, qui capite viceſimo tertio inquit, venenos eſſe euſorſores Tyri ex terra Cithim, This calamitie* (ſaith *Melanchton*) *was foreſhewed by Elia the Prophet, who in the three and twentieth Chapter pronounced, that the Deſtroyers of Tyre were to come out of Cithim.* And although the children of *Iſrael* eſteemed all men Iſlanders, which came to them by Sea, and ſeparate from that Continent; (and ſo alſo *Cithim* might be taken for *Italia*, ſaith *Beroaldus*) yet we muſt take the firſt performance of the former Propheſie, which tooke effect by the deſtruction of the *Tyrans* by *Alexander*, who after 7. Moneths ſiege, entred that proud City, and cut in pieces ſeauen thouſand principall Citizens; ſtrangled two thouſand, and changed the freedome of 13. thouſand others into bondage and ſlauey. Now, that *Macedon* was taken for *Cethim*, it doth appeare plainlie in the firſt of the *Marchabees*, in theſe words: *After that Alexander the Macedonian,*

the sonne of Philip, went forth of the Land of Cethim, and slew Darius King of the Persians, and Medes. Iosephus sets Cethim in the Isle of Cyprus, in which (saith hee) thereremained the Citie Citium, the Countrey of Zeno the Philosopher (witnesseth Laertius) which Citie Ptolemy vpon Ezechiel affirmeth, that it stood in Saint Hieromes time. So it may be that all the Islands in ancient times by the Hebrewes were called the Islands of Cethim: and in that sense might Cyprus be so called also; and yet because Tharsis was the very next Port to Cyprus, and directly ouer against it, it is also very probable, that Cethim dwelt by his brother Tharsis: and finding that Island too streight for his people after they were increased, & that the rest of the Coasts, both on Asia side and Greece, were inhabited by his Father and Brothers, he sent Colonies ouer the Aegean Sea, and inhabited Macedonia.

Dodanim the fourth sonne of Iauan, and the yongest Brother (by the most opinions) 10 late downe at Rhodes, as neere Cethim, Tharsis, and Elisa, as he could. For Dodanim and Rhodanim are vsed indifferently by many Translators: the Hebrew (D) and the Hebrew (R) are so like, as the one may easily be taken for the other, as all Hebricians affirm. There is also found in Epirus the Citie of Dodana, in the Prouince of Molossia. And as Cethim, when he wanted soile in Cyprus: so Dodanim (seated in a far lesse Island) did of necessity send his people farther off; and keeping alongst the Coast, and finding Peloponnesus in the possession of Eliza, he passed a little further on the Westward, and planted in Epirus. And though the Citie of Dodana, was not then built, or (perchance) not so ancient as Dodanim himselfe, yet his Posteritie might giue it that name in the memorie of their first parent, as it hapned all the World ouer. For names were giuen to Cities, Mountaines, 20 Riuers, and Prouinces, after the names of Noahs children, and grand-children; not in all places by themselves, but by their successors many yeeres after: euery of their Families being desirous to retain among them by whose memories, out of what branch the milshes were taken, and grafted elsewhere. And because great Kingdomes were often by new Conquerors newly named, and the greatest Cities often fired and demolished: therefore those that hoped better to perpetuate their memories, gaue their own names, or the names of their Ancestors, to Mountaines and Riuers, as to things (after their iudgements) freest from any alteration.

Thus then did Iauan settle himselfe and his children, in the edge and frontier of Asia the lesse, towards the Sea-shore: and afterward in Greece, and the Islands, and neighbor 30 Prouinces thereof, as Iapheth their Father had done in the body of the lesser Asia, together with Iauans brethren, Gomer, Magog, Madai, Tubal, Meserch, and the rest round about him. And in like sort did Chus (the sonne of Cham) people Babylonia, Chaldaea, and the borders thereof towards the West and South-west: and the sonnes of Chus (all but Nimrod, who held Babylonia it selfe) travelled Southward in Arabia felix, and South-westward into Arabia petraea: the rest of his children holding the Regions adioyning to Nimrod. Mizraim the brother of Chus in like manner tooke the way of Egypt: and his brother Canaan the Region of Palestina adioyning. The Sonnes of Canaan had their portions in Canaan, of whom all those Nations came, which were afterward the Enemies both to the Hebrews, and to those of the sons of Shem, which spread themselves towards 40 the West, and the borders of the Mediterran Sea: of which I shall speake hereafter. But first of the sonnes of Cham or Ham, which were foure:

Chus, Mizraim, Phut, and Canaan.

§. X.

That the case of Chus, the eldest son of Ham, was in Arabia, not in Ethiopia: and of strange Fables, and ill Translations of Scripture, grounded on the mistaking of this point.

†. I.

Of Iosephus his Tale of an Ethiopesse wife of Moses, grounded on the mistaking of the case of Chus.

IHat Ham was the Father of the Egyptians, it is made manifest in many Scriptures, as in the 105. Psalm verse 51. Then Israel came to Egypt, and Iacob was a stranger in the land of Ham: and in the 78. Psalm, Hee slew all the first-borne in Egypt, even the beginning of their strength, in the Tabernacles of Ham. There is also

also found a great Citie in Thebaide, called Cherami: (as it were the Citie of Ham) of which name Herodotus also discouers an Island in the same Region. But because Chus is the elder sonne of Ham, it agreeth with order to speake first of him. Now though I have already in the description of Paradise handled this question, and (I hope) proued that Chus could not be Ethiopia: yet seeing it cometh now to his turne to speake for himselfe, I will add some farther proofe to the former. For the manifestation hereof, 10 sens many things straight, which had otherwise very crooked constructions, and (senseless) interpretations. Surely, howsoever the Septuagint and Iosephus haue herein failed, that Chus could not be Ethiopia, but Arabia: (so wit) both that Arabia called Petraea, and a part of Arabia the Happie and the Desart: which Regions Chus and the Chusites presently planted, after they left Babylonia to Nimrod, wherein they first late downe altogether. And there is nothing which so well cleareth this Controvertie, as the true interpretation of the place, Num. 12. v. 1. where Mos: his Wife is called a Chusite; together with some places which speake of Nabuchodonosors Conquests. For whereas Iosephus and the Septuagint in the place, Num. 12. v. 1. as also elsewhere, vnderstand Chus for Ethiopia, we must giue credit to Moses himselfe herein; and then it will appeare that Iosephus was grossly mistaken, or vainly led by his owne inuention. For Iosephus presuming that Chus was Ethiopia, and therefore that the Wife of Moses (which in Scripture, Num. 12. vers. 1. is called a woman of Chus) was a woman of the land of Ethiopia, tinerth 20 that Tharbis the Daughter of the King of Ethiopia, fell in loue with the person and fame of Moses, while he besieged Saba her Fathers Citie; and to the end, to obtaine Moses for her Husband, she practised to betray both her Parents, Countrey, and friends, with the Citie it selfe, and to deliuer it into Moses hands. The Tale (if it be worth the reciting) lyeth thus in Iosephus. After he had described the strength of the Ethiopian Citie Meot, which he saith at length Cambyzes called so from the name of his Sister, (the old name being Saba) he goeth on in these words: Hic cum Moses desideret exercitum otiosum 20000 Anig. l. 2. c. 5. ferre, hinc non audente manus conferre, tale quiddam accidit. Erat Aethiopum Regi filia, nomine Tharbis, &c. which Tale hath this sense in English: When Moses was grieved that his Armie lay idle, because the Enemy besieged, durst not sally and come to hand strokes, there 30 happened this accident in the meane while. The Ethiopian King had a Daughter called Tharbis, whoat some assaults giuen, beheld the person of Moses, and withall admired his valour. And knowing that Moses had not onely up-held and restored the falling estate of the Egyptians, but had also brought the conquering Ethiopians to the very brink of subuersion: these things working in her thoughts, together with her owne affection, which daily increased, she made meanes to send vnto him by one of her trustiest servants to offer her selfe vnto him, and become his wife: which Moses on this condition entertained, that she should first deliuer the Citie into his possession; whereunto she condescending, and Moses hauing taken oath to performe this contract, both the one and the other were instantly performed.

†. II.

A dispute against the Tale of Iosephus.

THIS Tale (whereof Moses hath not a word) hath Iosephus fashioned, and therein also utterly mistaken himselfe, in naming a Citie of Arabia for a Citie of Ethiopia: as he names Ethiopia it selfe to haue beene the Countrey of Moses his Wife, when (indeede) it was Arabia. For Saba is not in Ethiopia, but in Arabia, as both Strabo and all other Geographers, ancient and moderne teach vs, saying that the Sabaeans are Arabians and not Ethiopians; except Iosephus can perswade vs, that the Queene of Saba which came from the South to heare the wisdom of Salomon, were a Negro, or Blacke-Moore. And 50 though Damianus a Goos speake of certaine Letters to the King of Portugall from Prestre Iohn, of the Abyssines: wherein that Ethiopian King would perswade the Portugals that he was descended of the Queene of Saba, and of Salomon; yet it doth no where appeare in the Scriptures, that Salomon had any Sonne by that great Princeesse: which had it been true, it is likely that when Sishac King of Egypt invaded Roboam, and sackt Hierusalem, his Brother (the Sonne of Saba and Salomon) who ioyned vpon Egypt, would both haue impeached that enterprize, as also giuen aide and succour to Roboam against Ieroboam, who drew from him ten of the twelue Tribes to his owne obedience. Neither is it any thing against our opinion of Moses his Wife, so haue beene an Arabian, that the Scriptures teach

vs, that *Moses* married the daughter of *Iethro* Priest of *Midian* or *Madian*: which standing on the North Coast of the Red Sea, ouer against the body of *Egypt*, and neere *Esfon Gaber*, where *Salomon* prouided his Fleet for *India*, in the Region of *Edom*, may well be reckoned as a part of *Arabia*, as the Red Sea is called *Sinus Arabicus*. For *Edumaea* ioyneth to the Tribe of *Inda* by the North, to *Arabia Petraea* by the East, to the *Mediterran* by the West, and to the Red Sea by the South-east. And if wee marke the way which *Moses* tooke when he left *Egypt*, and conducted *Israel* thence, it will appeare that he was no stranger in *Arabia*: in the border whereof, and in *Arabia* it selfe, he had formerly liued fortie yeeres: where it seemeth, that besides his carefull bringing vp in *Egypt*, he was instructed by *Iethro* in the *Egyptians* learning. For *Iosephus* confesseth, and Saint *Stephen* confirmeth, that he was learned in all the wisdom of the *Egyptians*. But on the other side this Text makes much against *Iosephus*, where it is written in *Exodus* the second, Therefore *Moses* fled from *Pharao*, and dwelt in the Land of *Madian* or *Midian*, and not in *Aethiopia*. And in the third Chapter it is as plaine as words can expresse, in what Region *Madian* was, where it is written, when *Moses* kept the sheepe of *Iethro* his Father in Law, Priest of *Madian*, and draue the Flocke to the Desert, and came to the Mountaine of *God in Horeb*. Now that Mount *Horeb* is not in *Aethiopia*, euery Infant knoweth. And if we may beleue *Moses* himselfe, then was not the Wife of *Moses* purchased in that manner which *Iosephus* reporteth (which was for betraying her Countrey and Friends) neither had shee the name of *Tharbis*, but of *Sippora*, or *Zippora*: neither was shee a Negro, but a *Madianitish*. And as *God* worketh the greatest things by the simplest means: so ²⁰ it pleased him from a Shepherd to call *Moses*, and after him *Dauid*, and by them to deliuer his people first and last. For *Moses* sitting by a Well (as disconsolate and a stranger) defended the daughters of *Reguel* from the other shepherds, and drew them Water to water their sheepe: vpon which occasion (by *God* ordained) he was entertained by *Iethro*, whose Daughter he married: and not for any betraying of Townes or Countries.

From hence also came *Iethro* to *Moses* at *Rephidim*, not farre from *Idumaea*, and finding the insupportable gouernement of such a multitude, he aduised him to distribute this weightie charge, and to make *Gouernours* and *Iudges* of euery Tribe and Familie. And if *Iethro* had beene an *Aethiopian*, it had beene a farre progresse for him to haue passed ³⁰ through all *Egypt* with the Wife and Children of *Moses*, and to haue found *Moses* in the border of *Idumaea*: the *Egyptians* hating *Moses* and all that faoured him. But the passing of *Moses* through *Arabia Petraea* (which ioyneth to *Madian*) proueth that *Moses* was well acquainted in those parts, in which the second time he wandered fortie yeeres, and did by these late traualles of his, seek to instruct the children of *Israel* in the knowledge of one true *God* before he brought them to the Land of plentie and rest. For he found them nourished vp with the milke of *Idolatrie*, and obstinate in the Religion of the *Heathen*, and finding that those stiffe plants could not be bowed or declined, either by perswasion or by miracle, he ware them out in the Deserts, as *God* directed, and grafted their branches anew, that from those he might receive fruit, agreeable to his owne desire, and *Gods* ⁴⁰ Commandements.

Lastly, this opinion of *Iosephus* is condemned by *Augustinus Chrysostomus*, where also he reprehendeth *Apollinaris*, who auowed that *Moses* had married both *Tharbis* and *Sephora*: His owne words haue this beginning: *Mentitur etiam Apollinaris duas uxores habuisse Moses, &c.* *Apollinaris* also saith, in affirming that *Moses* had two wives: and who doth not perceiue these things fained by them? for it is manifest that the wife of *Moses* was *Zephora*, Daughter to the Priest or President of *Madian*: and that *Madian* cannot be taken for *Aethiopia* beyond *Egypt*; being the same that ioyneth to *Arabia*: so farre *Chrysostomus*.

†. III.

Chus will expounded for *Aethiopia*, *Ezech.* 29. 10.

Now as *Chus* is by the *Septuagint* conuerted *Aethiopia*, and the wife of *Moses* therefore called *Aethiopia*: so in the conquest of *Nabuchodonosor* is *Aethiopia* written for *Arabia*. For by the words of *Ezechiel*, it is manifest that *Nabuchodonosor* was neuer in *Aethiopia*, Behold (saith *Ezechiel*), speaking of the person of this great *Assyrian* I come ⁵⁰

Ex. 2. 23. 10.

upon thee and upon thy Rivers, and I will make the Land of *Egypt* utterly waste and desolate, from the Tower of *Seuenh*, even to the borders of the blacke *Moors*: which last words should haue bene thus conuerted: From the Tower of *Seuenh* to the borders of the *Chus* or *Arabians*: betweene which two is situated all *Egypt*. For to say, from the borders of *Seuenh* to the *Aethiopians*, hath no sense at all. *Seuenh* is selfe beeing the border of *Egypt*, confronting and ioyning to *Aethiopia*, or the Land of the blacke *Moors*. So as if *Nabuchodonosor*'s conquest had bene but betweene *Seuenh* and the border of *Aethiopia*, it were as much to say, and did expresse no other victory then the conquest of all that Land and Countrey, lying betweene *Middlesex* and *Buckingham*, where both the Countreys ioyn together; or all the North parts of *England*, betweene *Barwick* and *Scotland*; for this hath the same sense with the former, if any man sought to expresse by thesetwo bounds, the Conquest of *England*: *Barwick* being the North border of *England*, as *Seuenh* or *Syene* is the South bound of *Egypt*, seated in *Thebaida* which toucheth *Aethiopia*. But by the words of *Ezechiel* it appeareth, that *Nabuchodonosor* neuer entred into any part of *Aethiopia*, although the *Septuagint*, the *Vulgar*, the *Geneua*, and all other (in effect) haue written *Aethiopia* for *Chus*.

†. IIII.

Another place of *Ezechiel*, cap 30. vers. 9. in the like manner mistaken.

And as the former, so is this place of *Ezechiel* mistaken, by being in this sort conuerted: *In die illa egredientur nuncij a facie mea in triuivium ad conterendum Aethiopia confidendum*: Which place is thus turned in *English* by the *Geneuans*: In that day shall there ²⁰ Messengers goe forth from me in ships to make the carelesse *Moors* afraid. Now the *Latine* for (ships) hath the *Greeke* word *Trieres* for *Triremes* which are Gallies of three banks, and not ships. But that in this place the Translation should haue bene (as in the former) amended by vsing the word *Chus* or *Arabia* for *Aethiopia* or the blacke *Moors*, euery man may see which meanely vnderstandeth the *Geographie* of the World, knowing, that to passe out of *Egypt* into *Aethiopia* there neede no Gallies nor ships, no more then to ³⁰ passe out of *Northampton* into *Leicestershire*: *Aethiopia* being the conterminat Region with *Egypt*, and not diuided so much as by a Riuer. Therefore in this place of *Ezechiel* it was meant, that from *Egypt*, *Nabuchodonosor* should send Gallies alongst the coast of the Red Sea, by which an Armie might be transported into *Arabia* the *Happy* and the *Stonie* (sparing the long wearisome march ouer all *Egypt*, and the Desert of *Pharan*) which Armie might thereby surprise them vnwares in their securitie and confidence. For when *Nabuchodonosor* was at *Seuenh* within a mile of *Aethiopia*, he neede neither Gallie nor Ship to passe into it: being all one large and firme Land with *Egypt*, and no otherwise parted from it, then one In-land shire is parted from another; and if hee had a ⁴⁰ fancie to haue rowed vp the Riuer but for pleasure, he could not haue done it: for the fall of *Nilus* (tumbling ouer high and steepe Mountaines) called *Catadupa Nilis*, were at hand.

Lastly, as I haue already obserued, the sonnes of euery father seated themselves as neere together as possibly they could, *Gomer* and his sonnes in *Asia* the lesse, *Iauan* and his sons in *Greece*, and the Ilands adioyning, *Shem* in *Persia* and Eastward. So the Sons and Grandchildren of *Chus* from the Riuer of *Gehon* (their Fathers first seat) inhabited vpon the same, or vpon some other contiguous vnto it, as *Nimrod* and *Hauilah* on the one side, and *Saba*, *Sheba*, and *Sabtecha* (with the rest) did on the other side. And to conclude in a word, the *Hebrews* had neuer any acquaintance or fellowship, any war, treatie of peace, or other intelligence with the *Aethiopian* blacke *Moors*, as is already remembered in the Chapter ⁵⁰ of *Paradise*.

†. V.

A place, *Esay* 18. v. 1. in like manner corrupted, by taking *Chus* for *Aethiopia*.

And as in these places before remembered, so in diuers other is the word *Aethiopia* put for *Arabia* or *Chus*, which puts the storie (where it is so vnderstood) quite out of square; one Kingdome thereby being taken for another. For what sense hath this part of

of Scripture, *Eſay* 18. *Ve terra Cymbalorum alarum que est trans flumina Aethiopia*, or according to the *Septuagint* in these words: *Ve terra nauium alarum que est trans fluvios Aethiopia*? woe to the land shadowing with wings, which is beyond the Rivers of *Aethiopia*, sending Embassadors by sea, even the vessels of reeds upon the waters. *Ve terra umbrifera*; woe to the Land of the shade coast, saith *Iunius*. The former Translators understand it in this sense; That the waters are shadowed with the sails, which are significantly called the wings of the ships, the other, that the Coast of the Sea was shadowed by the height of the Land.

But to the purpose: That this Land here spoken of by the Prophet *Eſay*, is *Egypt*, no Interpreter hath doubted. For they were the *Egyptians* that sent this message to the *Israhelites* which *Eſay* repeateth, and by the former translation every man may see the transposition of Kingdomes: for hereby *Egypt* is transported vnto the other side of *Aethiopia*, and *Aethiopia* set next vnto *Iudaea*, when it is the Land of *Chush* and *Arabia* indeede that lyeth betwene *Iudaea* and *Egypt*, and not *Aethiopia*, which is seated vnder the *Equinoctiall* line. And of this *Beroaldus* asketh a materiall question, (to wit) what Region that should be, of which the Prophet spake, and placeth it beyond the Rivers of *Aethiopia*: Nam de *ynota* regione dici nequit; For it cannot be said that he treateth of an unknowne Region. Now if *Aethiopia* it selfe be vnder the *Equinoctiall* line, with whom the *Iewes* had neuer any acquaintance, why should any man dreame that they had knowledge of Nations far beyond it againe, and beyond the Rivers of *Aethiopia*? except we shall impiously thinke that the Prophet spake he knew not what, or vied an impertinent discourse of those nations, which were not discovered in 2000. yeeres after, inhabiting as farre South as the Cape of good Hope, commonly knowne by the name of *Bonaesperanza*.

†. VI.

That upon the like mistaking, both *Tethaca* in the storie of *Senacherib*, and *Zera* in the storie of *Ala* are unadvisedly made *Aethiopian*s.

And by this translation is the storie of *Senacherib* vtterly mistaken in the cause of his terrair. For *Senacherib* was first repulled at *Pelusium*, at the very entrance of *Egypt* from *Iudaea*; when hauing certaine knowledge that *Thirrhakeh*, (which all the *Iace*: prates call King of *Aethiopia*) was on the way to sit on him, he began to with-draw himselfe: and fearing to leaue his Armie in two parts, hee sent threatening Messengers to *Ezechias* King of *Iuda*, perswading him to submit himselfe: the Tenor whereof is set downe in the second of *Kings* in these words: *Hume any of the gods of the Nations deliuered his Land out of the hands of the King of Assur? where is the god of Hamath? &c.* By which proud Embassage, if he had obtained entrance into *Ierusalem*, he then meant to haue vnted that great Armie before *Ierusalem*, commanded by *Rabshekeh*, with the other which lay before *Pelusium*, a great Citie vpon the branch of *Nilus* next *Arabia*. For *Senacherib* had already mastered the most part of all those Cities in *Iudaea* and *Beniamin* with a third Armie, (which himselfe commanded) being then at the siege of *Lebna*. But vpon the rumor of that Arabian Armie led by their King *Thirrhakeh* (whom *Iosephus* calls *Tharſaces*) *Rabshekeh* hastened from the siege of *Ierusalem*, and found *Senacherib* departed from *Lachis* and set downe before *Lebna*, which was afterwards called *Eleuthropolis*, as some haue supposed. But while he had ill successe at *Pelusium* and feared *Thirrhakeh*, God himselfe whom hee least feared, trook his Armie before *Ierusalem* by the Angel of his power, so as 158000. were found dead in the place, as in the life of *Ezechias* is hereafter more largely written. And that this Armie of *Thirrhakeh* was from *Arabia*, *Iosephus* himselfe makes it plaine. For he confesseth in the tenth Booke the first Chapter of the *Iewes* Antiquities, that it was come to *Senacherib*s knowledge, that the Armie which was a foot (sooth to releece the *Egyptians* and the *Iewes*) marched towards him by the way of the Desert: Now the Desert which lay indifferent betwene *Ierusalem* and *Pelusium*, was that of *Pharan* or *Sur*, which also toucheth on the three *Arabias*, to wit, the *Stonie*, of which it is a part: the Desert, and the *Happy*; and by no other way indeede could the *Arabians* come on to succour either *Pelusium* or *Ierusalem*. But that there is any Desert betwene *Pelusium* and the South part of *Egypt*, hath neuer yet bene heard of or described by any *Cosmographer* or *Historian*. So then this Scripture of the second of *Kings*, Verse the ninth, hath the same mistaking as the rest. For here the word (*Chush*) is also translated *Aethiopia*; and in this sense haue all the Interpreters, (but *Iunius*) expressed the beginning of the ninth Verse.

He heard also men say of *Thirrhakeh* King of *Aethiopia* &c. whereas it should haue bene thus conuerted with *Iunius*: *Audiens autem de Thirrhakeh Rege Chushi*; Hee heard also of *Thirrhakeh* King of the *Chushites*. For they were the *Chushites* and *Arabians*, whole Houses and Cities were next the fire, and vpon whom the very smoake of *Iuda* flaming was blowne, being their neereſt Neighbours: and so were not the *Aethiopian* black-Moores vnder the *Equinoctiall*, whom neither war nor peace (which discouereth all Regions) euer found out, saith *Plinie*. For this King was no more King of *Aethiopia* then *Zera* was, who invaded *Aſia* King of *Iuda*, with an Armie of a Million, and three thousand Chariots. Indeede, how such an Armie & those Chariots should passe through all *Egypt*, (the Kings of *Egypt* being mightie Kings) let all men that know how these Regions are seated, and how farre distant, iudge. For Princes doe not easily permit Armies of a Million to run through them; neither was there euer such strength of Black-Moores heard of in that part of the World, or elsewhere. Neither are these *Aethiopian*s such trauailers or Conquerors; and yet is this King *Zera*s also called King of *Aethiopia*. But the word *Chush* being first conuerted for *Aethiopia*, the rest of the Interpreters (not looking into the seats of Kingdomes, or the possibilities of attempts, or invasions) followed one another in their former mistakings.

†. VII.

A farther exposition of the place, *Eſay* 18. 1.

Concerning these words in that eighteenth Chapter of *Eſay*, *Nauium alarum*; *Winged ships*, (so the *Septuagint* turne it) or *Cymbalorum alarum* (according to the *Latine*) *ſayles whistling in the windes*, or *terra umbrifera* (after *Iunius*) the Land of a shadowed coast, or the Land shadowing with wings, is our *Engliſh* Genes hath it. The two first interpretations of the *Septuagint* and *S. Hierome* haue one sense in effect. For the sails are commonly called the wings of a ships and we use to say ordinarily when our ships saile slowly, that the wanteth wings: (that is) when her sails are either worne or too narrow; and we also vſe the same phrase of the winde whistling in the sails. And it may be that the *Egyptians* employed so many of those small ships, as their sails were said to giue a shadow ouer the Red Sea. But to make both interpretations good, *Pintus* (vpon *Eſay*) affirmeth, that the word (*Sabul*) doth signifie both to shadow and to gingle (which is) to make a kind of *Cymbaline* sound: so as the meaning of this place (saith *Pintus*) is this: *Woe to thee, O Egypt, which dost promise to others a safeguard, vnder the shadow of thy wings*, which (indeed) seemeth to agree with the argument of the eighteenth Chapter of *Eſay*: and this phrase is often elsewhere vſed, as in the sixteenth Psalm: *Sub umbra alarum tuarum protegeme*; *Defend me vnder the shadow of thy wings*. The Boates of reeds (spoken of are of two kindes; either of basket-willow covered with hides (as anciently in *Brittaine*) or a Tree made hollow in the bottome, and built vpon both sides with Canes. Of the one sort I haue seene in *Ireland*, of the other in the *Indies*.

§. XI.

Of the plantation and antiquities of *Egypt*.

†. I.

That *Mizraim* the chiefe planter of *Egypt*, and the rest of the sonnes of *Ham*, were seated in order, one by another.

THE second sonne of *Ham* was *Mizraim*, (who according to the place of a second brother) was sent somewhat farther off to inhabit. For *Chush* first posselt *Chaldea* on the West side of *Gehon* chiefly: and from thence, as hee increased in people, hee entered *Arabia*, and by time came to the border of the Red Sea, and to the South-east-side of *Iudaea*. *Mizraim* his brother (with *Phut*) past ouer into *Africa*. *Canaan* held *Egypt*: and *Phut* (as a third brother) was thrust farther off into *Mauritania*. *Canaan* tooke the Sea-coast, and held the side of *Palestina*: and these foure brothers posselt all that Tract of Land, from *Gehon* in *Chaldea*, as farre to the West as the *Mediterranean* Sea: comprehending all *Arabia Deserta*, and *Petrea*, all *Canaan* which embraceth *Galilee*, *Samarita*, and

Selah, Heber, and Phalegh) but one hundred and one yeere: I see no cause to doubt, but that in the infancy of the first age, when the bodies of men were most perfect, even within 130. yeeres, the same (if not a greater) number might be increased, and so within 70. yeeres after (that is, by such time as the World had stood 200. yeeres) as well in *Assyria, Syria, and Aegypt* might be possessed before the Flood, as they were within the same or lesse time after it. Neither doth it agree with the circumstance or true Storie of the *Babylonian and Assyrian Empire*, that all those people, which were increased in the first hundred or 130. yeeres after the Flood, came into *Shinaar and Babylonia*. For that ever *Noah* himselfe came out of the East, as there is no Scripture or Authoritie to proue it, so all probable coniecture and reason it selfe denies it. Again, those multitudes and powerfull numbers, which *Semiramis* (but the third from *Nimrod*) found in *India*, considered with her owne Armie of three Millions, (and she left not all her Kingdomes empty) doe well proue, that if the World had such plenty of people in so few yeeres after the Flood, it might also be as plentifully filled in like time before it. For after their owne account *Ninus* gouerned *Babylonia and Assyria* but 292. yeeres after the Flood of *Noah*. And these Troupes of *Semiramis* were gathered out of all those Easterne Kingdomes, from *Media to the Mediterran Sea*; when there had now past from the Flood to the time of this her inuasion, somewhat lesse or more then 360. yeeres: for much more time the true *Chronologie* cannot allow; though I confesse, that in respect of the strange greatnesse of *Semiramis* Armie, and the incredible multitudes gathered, this is as short a time as can well be giuen. And if but one halfe be true of that which is said, That her Armie consisted of 1300000. Footmen, and 500000. Horsemen, it must needs be, that long before *Semiramis* Reigne, the greatest part of *Asia* (whence her huge Armie was gathered) was full of people: yea *Arabia* it selfe (much part whereof is barren) must long before this time of *Semiramis* haue bene plentifully peopled; when *Ninus* having a determination to make himselfe Master of all Nations, entred (notwithstanding) in League with the King thereof: whom therefore he either feared, or sought his assistance. And if *Arabia* were then so well replenished, I see no cause but *Aegypt* might also be peopled. Now if we may beleue *Trogus Pompeius* (*Epitomis. d by Iustine*) *Aegypt* was a most flourishing and magnificent Nation before *Ninus* was borne. For theie be his owne words, speaking of *Ninus*. *Entre quidem temporibus antiquioribus Vexoris Rex Aegypti, &c.* But there were in times more ancient *Vexoris King of Aegypt*, and *Tanais King of the Scythians*: of which the one invaded *Pontus*, the other *Aegypt*. And how full of people all that part of the World was, the Conquests of *Ninus* witnesseth, who subdued with no small force the *Armenians*, the *Medes*, and afterwards the *Bactrians*; yea, all that whole body of *Asia* on this side *India*. For *Diodorus* out of *Ctesias* numbeth the Armies wherewith *Ninus* invaded *Zoroaster*, at 1700000. Footmen, and 200000. Horsemen: and the Stories generally shew, that though *Zoroaster* Armie was farre short of this, yet it was greater then any that those parts of the World euer since beheld. But to what end should I seeke for foreigne authoritie? for no man doubteth but that *Aegypt* was possessed by *Mizraim*, the sonne of *Ham*; and that it was an established Kingdome, filled with many Cities in *Abrahams* time, the Scriptures tell vs. And sure to prepare and cultiue a desolate and overgrown ground, to beautifie it with many Cities, Lawes, and Policies, cannot be effected a labour of a few dayes: and therefore it must be inhabited in a lesse time then 200. yeeres after the Flood; and in the same time (if not in a shorter) before the Flood. For if so many Millions of men were found within 300. yeeres after the generall Flood; so as not onely *Babylon and Assyria*, *Bactria, Armenia, Media, Arabia, Aegypt, Palestina*, yea the farre-off *Lybia* on the one side, and *India* on the other, and *Scythia* (inferiour to neither) were all filled: into what small corners could then all those Nations be comprist, which 1656. yeeres brought forth before the Flood? euen necessitie, which cannot be resisted, cast the abundance of mens bodies into all parts of the knowne World; especially, where Death forbore the Father, and made no place for the Sonne, till he had beheld liuing Nations of his owne body.

† V.

†. V.

Of some other reasons against the opinion of Pererius.

FOR what a strange increase did the long liues of the first Age make, when they continued 800. or 900. yeeres? Surely, we haue reason to doubt, that the World could not containe them, rather then that they were not spred ouer the World. For let vs now reckon the date of our liues in this Age of the World: wher in if one exceede 50. yeeres, ten for one are cut off in that passage, and yet we finde no want of people; nay, we know the multitude such, as if by warres or pestilence they were not sometimes taken off by many thousands, the earth with all the industry of man could not giue them food. What strange heapes then of foules had the first Ages, who enjoyed 800. or 900. yeeres, as aforesaid? These numbers, I say, cannot be counted nor conceived. For it would come to the same reckoning in effect, as if all those which haue bene borne in *Brittaine* since 3. or 4. hundred yeeres before the *Norman Conquest* (sparing such as by accident or by violence were cut off) were now aliue; and if to these there were added as many as by *Polygamie* might haue bene increased. For (to omit, that the Giants and mighty ones of the first Age obserued no law of Matrimony) it is to be thought that those Louers of the world and of pleasure, when they knew the long and liberall time which *Nature* had giuen them, would not willingly or hastily present themselves to any danger which they could flye from or elchew. For what humane argument hath better perswasion to make men careless of life, and fearelesse of death, then the little time which keeps them asunder, and that short time also accompanied with so many paines and diseases, which this enuious old Age of the World mingled together, and sowed with the seeds of Mankind?

Now if that *Berosus* or *Annianus* may be alledged for sufficient Authours, whom *Pererius* himselfe in this question citeth, then is it by them affirmed, and by *Iosephus* confirmed, that the Citie of *Enoch* was seated neere *Lybanus* in *Syria*: and if other parts of *Syria* were peopled in *Cains* time, I see no cause why *Palestina* (which is also a Prouince of *Syria*) and *Aegypt* (which neighboureth it) could be left desolate both all the life time of *Cain*, and all those times betwene his death and the Flood, which were by estimation 700. or 800. yeeres. And sure though this Fragment of *Berosus* with *Annianus* his Comment be very ridiculous in many places (the ancient Copies being corrupted or lost) yet all things in *Berosus* are not to be rejected. Therefore *Saint Hierome* for such Authours giues a good rule: *Bona eorum diligamus, vitemus contraria; Let vs choose what is good in them, and reiect the rest.* And certainly in the very beginning of the first Booke, *Berosus* agreeth (in effect) with *Moses*, touching the generall Flood: and in that first part *Berosus* affirmeth, that those mighty men and Gyants which inhabited *Enoch*, commanded ouer all Nations, and subiected the vniuersall World: and though that phrase (of all the World) be often vsed in the Scriptures for a part thereof; as in the second of the *Acts*; That there were dwelling at *Iherusalem* Taxes: men that feared God of every Nation vnder Heauen: yet by words which follow in *Berosus*, it is plaine that his words and sense were the same: for he addeth from the Sunnes rising to the Sunnes setting, which cannot be taken for any small part thereof. Again, we may safely coniecture, that *Noah* did not part and proportion the World among his sonnes at aduenture, or left them as Discoverers, but directed them to those Regions which he formerly knew had bene inhabited. And it cannot be denied that the earth was more passable and easie to traualle ouer before the Flood, then after it. For *Pererius* himselfe confesseth, that *Atica* (by reason of mud and slime which the water left vpon the Earth) was vninhabited 200. yeeres after *Ozges* Flood; whereby we may gather that there was no great pleasure in passing into farre Countries, after the generall Deluge, when the earth lay (as it were) inclosed for 100. or 130. yeeres together. And therefore was the face thereof in all coniecture more beautifull, and lesse cumbersome to walke ouer, in the first Age, then after the generall outflowing.

M 2

†. VI

†. VI.

Of the words of Moses, Gen. 10. v. ultimo, wherein Pererius grounded his opinion.

LASTLY, whereas Pererius draws this Argument out of the last Verse of the tenth of Genesis, And out of these were the Nations divided after the flood: *Quo significatur eadem divisionem non fuisse ante diluvium*, By which it appeareth (saith Pererius) that there was no such division before the Flood; which he also seeketh to confirme out of the eleventh of Genesis, because the division of tongues was cause of the dispersion of the people. This consequence, *quo significatur, &c.* seemeth to me very weak: the Text it selfe rather teacheth the contrary: for out of this (saith Moses) were the Nations divided in the earth after the Flood; inferring, that before the Flood the Nations were divided out of others, though after the Flood out of these only. But whatsoever sense may be gathered from this place, yet it can no way be drawne to the times before the Flood, or to any Plantation or division in that Age: for if there were none else among whom the earth could be divided after the Flood, but Noah's Sonnes, wherein doth that necessary division controule the planting of the World before it? And whereas it is alleged that the confusion of speech was the cause of this dispersion; it is true, that it was so for that present; but if Babel had never bene built, nor any confusion of Languages at all, yet increase of people and time would have enforced a farther-off and generall Plantation: as Berosus sayes well, that when Mankind were exceedingly multiplied, *Ad comparandas novas sedes necessitas compellebat*, They were driven by necessity to seek new Habitations. For we finde (as it is before said) that within 300. yeeres after the Flood, there were gathered together into two Armies, such multitudes as the Valley about Babylon could not haue sustained those numbers with their increase for any longtime: all Asia the greater and the lesser; all Syria, Arabia, Palestina, and Egypt, with Greece, and the Islands thereof; Mauritania and Libya being also at that time fully peopled. And if wee beleue Berosus, then not only those parts of the World, but (within 140. yeeres after the Flood) Spain, Italie and France were also planted: much more then may we thinke, that within 166. yeeres before the Flood, in the time of the chief strength of Mankind, they were replenished with people. And certainly seeing all the World was overflowne, there were people in all the World which offended.

†. VII.

A conclusion, resolving of that which is most likely, touching the Egyptian Antiquities: with somewhat of Phut (another Sonne of Ham) which peopled Libya.

THEREFORE, for the Antiquity of the Egyptians, as I doe not agree with Mercator nor Iudge with the Vulgar, which give too much credit to the Egyptians Antiquities: so I doe not thinke the report of their Antiquities so fabulous, as either Pererius or other men conceiue it. But I rather incline to this, That Egypt being peopled before the Flood, and 200. or 300. yeeres, more or lesse after Adam, there might remaine vnto the Sonnes of Mizraim some Monuments in Pillers or Altars (of stone or metall) of their former Kings or Gouvernours: which the Egyptians having added to the list and Roll of their Kings after the Flood, in succeding time (out of the vanitie of glory or by some corruption in their Priests) something beyond the truth might be inferred. And that the memory of Antiquity was in such sort preferred, Berosus affirmeth it of the Chaldeans, and so doth Epigenes. For they both write that the use of Letters and the Art of Astro-nomie was knowne to the Babylonians 3634. yeeres before Alexanders Conquest: and this report Annius findeth to agree and reach to the time of Enoch, who was borne 1034. yeeres before the Flood, and wrote of the Worlds destruction, both by Water and Fire; as also of Christs coming in iudgement, as Saint Iude hath witnessed. But leaving these Antiquities to other mens iudgements, and every man to his owne reason, I will conclude this Plantation of Egypt. It is agreed by all, that it was peopled by Mizraim, and that it tooke the name of Egypt from Egyptus the sonne of Belus, as aforesaid. Being divided into two Regions, that part from Memphis or Nicopolis to the Mediterranean Sea, was called the inferior Egypt; surnamed also Delta: because the severall branches of Nilus breaking asunder from one body of the River, gaue it the forme

of the Greeke letter Delta, which is the forme of a Triangle. That branch, which ran toward the North-east and embraced the Sea, next vnto the Desarts of Sur and Pharan, had on it the Citie of Pelusium, where Sennacherib was repulsed: The other branch, which yielded it selfe to the Salt-water towards the North-east, is beautified by that famous Citie of Alexandria: The vpper part of Egypt is bounded betwene Memphis and Syene neere Ethiopia, and had the name of Thebaida, of that ancient Citie of Thebes, which (according to Homer) was adorned with 100. Gates: and therefore called *Civitas centum portarum*; and by the Greeks *Dispolis*: in the Scriptures *No-hamon*, which signifieth multitudes of Inhabitants, exceeding beliefe. Iosephus calls Egypt *Morsin* of Mizraim: and Herodotus affirmeth that it had once the name of Thebais.

10 Plus the third sonne of Ham tooke the next portion of Land to his brother Mizraim, and inhabited Libya: whose people were anciently called Phutai, (saith Iosephus) and Plinie mentioneth the River Fut in Mauritania: which River from the Mountain Atlas (known to the Inhabitants by the name of Dyris) he maketh to be distant the space of two hundred miles. It also appeareth in the thirtieth Chapter of Ezechiel, that Phut, Chubb and Lud were contermini and Associates with the Egyptians.

§. XII.

Of the eleuen Sonnes of Canaan, the fourth sonne of Ham.

†. I.

Of the bounds of the Land of Canaan: with the names of his eleuen Sonnes.

CANAN (the fourth sonne of Ham) posselt all that Region called by the Romans *Galilaea* in the Scriptures *Galilaea*, *Samaria*, and *Iudea*; in the latter times known by the name of the Holy Land and *Iurie*: the limits whereof are precisely set downe by Moses, Genesis the tenth, *Then the border of the Canaanites was from Zidon as thou goest to Gerar vntill Ascalon, and as thou goest vnto Sodome and Gomorha, and Admah, and Zeboim, euen vnto Laspha*. Now howsoever these words of the Hebrew Text (as thou goest) be conuerted, Moses meaning was that Gerar was the South bound of Canaan and Zidon the North; Sodome and Gomorha the East; and the other Cities named stood on the Frontiers thereof. For Gerar standeth in a right Line from Gaza in the way of Egypt, the uttermost Territorie of Canaan Southward: and this was properly the Land of Canaan.

Now the Sonnes of Canaan which posselt this Countrie, and inhabited some part of the borders thereof, were in number eleuen:

1. Zidon.
2. Heth or Chethus.
3. Jebusi or Jebuseus.
4. Emori or Emoreus, or Amoreus.
5. Girgasi or Girgesens.
6. Heth or Chineus.
7. Arki or Harkeus.
8. Seni or Sineus.
9. Araadi or Aradaus.
10. Zemari or Samareus, or Tzemareus.
11. Hamathi or Hamathus, or Chamathus.

Of which the most renowned were the Hethites, Gergesites, Amorites, Hethites, Jebusites, and Perizzites: which Perizzites were descended of Zamari or Samareus, or from some

†. II.

Of the portions of Zidon and Heth.

ZIDON the first borne of Canaan, built the famous Citie of Zidon in Phœnicia, which afterward fell in partition to the Tribe of Affer: for Affer, Zabulon, and Nephthali had a great part of the ancient Phœnicia distributed among them; but the Afferites could never obtaine Zidon it selfe.

The second sonne of Canaan was *Heth* or *Cethus*: of whom came the *Hethites*, or *Hittites*, one of those seven principall Nations (Commanders of Canaan) appointed by God to be rooted out; namely, the *Gergesites*, the *Amorites*, the *Canaanites*, the *Perizzites*, and *Hevites*, and the *Iebusites*. The *Hittites* inhabited about *Bersabe*, and towards *Hebron* neere the Torrent *Befor*, and about *Gerar*, which *Moses* maketh the uttermost limit of Canaan, hauing the Defart of *Pharan* to the South: for about *Bersabe* (otherwise *Puteus iuramenti*) foure miles from *Gaza* dwelt *Heth* and his Posterity, as far to the Northeast as *Hebron*, and *Mamre*, and of *Ephraim* the *Hittite* did *Abraham* buy the field of *Sarab* buriall. Of which Nation *Rebecca* bewailed her selfe to *Isaac*, saying, *That she was weary of her life for the Daughters of Heth*. The Giants *Anakims* were of these *Hittites*, a strong and fierce Nation, whose entertainment by the Kings of *Israel* against them the *Syrians* greatly feared: as in the fourth of the Kings; *Israel* hath hired against vs the Kings of the *Hittites*.

t. III.

Of the *Iebusites* and *Amorites*.

Iebusam, the third sonne of Canaan, of whom came the *Iebusites*, and whose principall seat was *Iebus*, (afterward *Hierusalem*) were also a valiant and stubborne Nation, and held their Citie and the Countrey neere it, till such time as *Dauid* by Gods assistance recovered both: yet were not the *Iebusites* extinguished, but were Tributaries to *Salomon*.

Amoreus was the fourth sonne of Canaan, of whom the *Amorites* tooke name, who inhabited that Land to the East of *Jordan* below the Sea of *Galilee*, hauing *Arnon* and the Mountaines of *Galaad* on the East, and *Jordan* on the West: of whom *Og* (King of *Basun*) and *Sihon* (ouerthrowne by *Moses*) were Princes.

The *Amorites* had also many other habitations dispersed within the bounds of Canaan: as behinde *Libanus* in the edge of *Celestria*, or *Syria Libanica*. They had also their being in the Mountaines of *Iuda*, and in *Idumea* neere the Metropolis thereof, called *Duma*. And hereof it came that all the *Canaanites* were sometime called *Amorites*: as in *Genesis* the fifteenth: For the wickedness of the *Amorites* is not yet full. And that this was also a powerfull Nation, wee finde in the Prophet *Amos*: Yet destroyed I the 30 *Amorite* before them, whose height was like the height of a Cedar, and he was strong as the Oake.

t. IIII.

Of the *Gergesites*, *Hevites*, and *Harkites*.

The fift sonne of Canaan was *Gergesius* or *Gergesum*, (otherwise *Girgasi*) who inhabited on the East side of the Lake of *Tiberias*, or the Sea of *Galilee*, where *Ptolomie* lieth the Citie *Gerula*, which *Iosephus* calls *Gersera* in the Territorie of *Decapolis*. Here it was that *Christ* disposedst the possessed with *Diuels*; and the *Gergesites* desired him to depart their Coasts: because their Swine filled with the euill spirits, drowned themselves in the Sea of *Galilee*. *Gergesius* also built *Berytus* (sometime *Geru*) afterward *Felix Iulias*, three miles from the River *Adonis* in *Phoenicia*: in which the *Romans* held a Garrison: and to which *Augustus* gaue many large priuiledges.

Heneus the sixth sonne, and Father of the *Hevites*, inhabited vnder *Libanus* neere *Emath*. These *Hevites*, howsoever the *Caphborim* expelled a good part of them (as in *Deuteronomie* the second is remembered) yet many of them remained all the warre of *Iosus*, and afterward to the time of *Salomon*. For God was not pleased vterly to roote out these Nations, but they were sometimes made Tributaries to the *Israelites*, and at other times 50 ferued (in their falling away from the true worship of God) to afflict them: for as it is written, *Judges* the third: They remained to proue *Israel* by them, whether they would obey the Commandments of God.

The seventh sonne was *Araceus* or *Harki*, who betwene the foote of *Libanus* and the *Mediterranean* Sea, (ouer against *Tripolis*) built the Citie, of *Arches*, *Arce*, or *Arca*, afterwards *Arachis*.

t. V.

t. V.

Of *Sini* and *Aradi*.

Since the eight son, *Hieronymus* sets at *Caparysa*, which *Ptolomie* findes in *Iudaea*, nor farre from *Telus*: to the South thereof, faith *Ianinus*. But it is more probable, that *Sineus* founded *Sin*, which *S. Hierome* calls *Sim*; *Ptolemie*, *Sinijra*: *Mela* and *Plinie*, *Sinijra*; *Brochard*, *Sylon*, (called *Synichis*) neere *Aeca*. *Pererius* thinks that *Sineus* inhabited the Defarts of *Sini*, or thereabout; but heere there is no other certaine then the report of *Brochard*, who took view of all these places, affirming, that *Sineus* built *Synochis*, as *Zidon* built *Zidon*. There is also another Nation of *Cini* (written with the letter C. otherwise *Kenas*) who descended of *Hobab* the son of *Raguel* the *Madianite*, who assisted the *Israelites* in their conduction through the Wildernes of *Pharan*. But these *Cini* were admitted among the *Israelites*, and had a portion of Land with the *Nephthalims*; beside their habitations with the *Amalekites*: against these *Cini*, *Balaam* prophesied, that they should be destroyed by the *Assyrians*.

The ninth sonne was *Aradeus* or *Aradeus*, who in the Ile of *Aradus* built the Citie *Gul Tyr. Viz. Arados*: opposite against which Iland on the Maine of *Phoenicia*, they founded another Citie of that name, which for opposition was afterwards called *Antaradus*. To this Citie came *S. Peter* (faith *Clement*) & in this Ile preached the Gospell, and founded a Church in honour of our Lady: but wee finde no such worke of his in the *Acts* of the Apostles. Both these two were very famous, and places of skilfull Sea-men: whom *Ezechiel* remembereth in his prophecies against the *Tyrinians*: The inhabitants of *Zidon* and *Arad* were thy Mariners.

t. VI.
Of *Zemari*.

OF *Samarus*, or *Zemari*, the tenth sonne, there are diuers opinions. Some think that he inhabited in *Celestria* at *Edessa*, and founded *Samarium*, which in *Iosus* is placed in the Tribe of *Beniamin*. There is also *Samaragim* (of the same Orthographie) vpon the Mountaines of *Ephraim* (faith *Beroaldus*) mentioned in the second of *Chronicles* c. 13. v. 4. which the *Latine* conuerteth amisse (faith he) by *Semerom*. The *Hieronymitan Paraphrast* makes *Samarus* (of whom were the *Perizzites*) the parent of the *Emissani*, which *Plinie* calls the *Hemisseni*, in *Celestria*; and it may be that it was their first habitation, and that they afterwards inhabited those other places before remembered. But that they founded *Samaris*, both the Hebrew Orthographie, and this place in the first of *Kings* (speaking of *Omri*) disproueth: And he bought the Mountayne *Samaris* or *Shemerom* of one *Shemer*, for two talents of silver, and built in the Mountayne: and called the name of the Citie which hee built, after the name of *Shemer*, Lord of the Mountaine, *Samaris*. But of all these places I shall speake more at large in the conquest of the holy Land, by the children of *Israel*. Of whomsoever the *Samaritanes* were descended, sure I am, that they were euer a perfidious Nation, and base, for as long as the state of the *Jemes* stood vp, they alwaies called themselves *Jemes*: when it suffered or sank, they then vterly denied to be of that Nation or Familie; for at such time as they were returned from their first captiuitie, they became a mixt Nation; partly of the Colonies of the *Assyrians*; and partly of the naturalls.

t. VII.
Of *Hamathi*.

The last of Canaans sonnes was *Hamathus*, or (according to the Hebrew) *Hamathi*, of *Hamath*: (faith *Beroaldus*), of which (the aspiration taken away) the same is pronounced *Emath*, whereof *Hamathus* was present. *Iosephus* and *Saint Hierome* confound *Emath* with *Antioch*, not that *Antioch* with standeth on the River *Orontes*, on the frontier of *Comagena*: betwene the Mountayne *Castus* and the Province of *Pertia*, and *Selencia*, of which *Saint Peter* was Bishop, and in which *Saint Luke* and *Ignatius* were borne: but *Antioch*, surnamed *Epiphania*, as *Beroaldus* supposeth, which standeth betwene *Apamea*

Apamea and *Emesa* in *Cassotis*. Yet, indeed, *Emath* cannot be taken for either: for both that *Antioch* upon *Oronates*, and that which neighboureth *Emesa*, are farther off seated from *Canaan*, than euer any of those Nations straggled. And whereas *S. Hierome* setteth *Emath*, which he confoundeth with *Epiphania*, in the Tribe of *Nephthali*; it is manifest, that *Epiphania*, which standeth to the North of *Emesa*, hath all the Prouince of *Laodicea*, betwene it and any part of the Land diuided. And if *Libanon* is selfe were not shared among the Tribes, then could not *Epiphania* belong vnto them: for both the Prouinces *Laodicea* and *Libanica*, are betwene *Epiphania* and any part of the holy Land: and therefore *Emath* so taken could not be a part of *Nephthali*, as in the thirteenth of *Iosua* is directly proued. For *Iosua* counting the lands that remained vnposselt, reckoneth all Mount *Libanon* towards the Sunne-rising, from *Baalgad* vnder mount *Hermon*, vntill we come to *Hamath*. And this reason (among others) is vsed, that *Emath* was not in *Nephthali*, or any way belonging to the children of *Israel*: because *Dauid* accepted the presents of *Tobu* King of *Emath*, and (therewithall) conditions of peace: which hee would not haue done, if that Territorie had euer belonged to the children of *Israel*, but would haue recovered it without composition, and by strong hand, as he did theret. But this Argument (as I take it) hath no great weight. For if the promise which God made, be considered, as it is written in *Deuteronomie*, then might *Emath* bee comprehended, though seated altogether without the bounds of the Land promised, according to the description of *Moses* and *Iosua*: for *Emath* is indeede situate on the other side of the Mountaine of *Hermon*, which ioyneth to *Libanus*: and is otherwise called *Iturea*. But whereas *Hamath* is named in *Iosua* the 19. v. 35. and written in the *Latine* conuersion *Emath*, therein (saith *Beroaldus*) was *S. Hierome* mistaken. *Emath* or *Iturea* is that ouer the Mountaines, and the Citie in *Nephthali* should be written *Hamath*: and for the *Septuagint* (vnderstanding the difference) write it *Ammath* and not *Emath*, the same which indeede belonged to the *Nephthalims*, seated on the South side of *Libanus*, to the East of *Affedim*: which Citie *S. Hierome* writes *Emath*; *Iosephus*, *Hamath*; others, *Emathin*, or *Amatheos*, and the people *Cap. xij. 12.* *Amathin*: of which (as I take it) *Rabshakeh* vaueth in the second of *Kings*: where is the god of *Hamath*?

§. XIII.

Of the sonnes of Chush (excepting Nimrod) of whom hereafter.

The sonnes of Chush were,	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;">Seba,</div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;">Hauila,</div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;">Sabta,</div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;">Raama,</div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;">Sabteca,</div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;">Nimrod.</div> </div> </div>	} And the sonnes of Raama were,	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;">Sheba,</div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;">and</div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;">Dedan.</div> </div>
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†. I.

That most of the sonnes of Chush were seated in Arabia the Happy: and of the Sabaeans that robbed Iob: and of the Queene that came to Salomon.

Seba or Saba was the eldest sonne of Chush, the eldest sonne of Ham, to make a difference betweene Him and his Nephew Sheba, the son of his brother Raama, or Regma (or Ragma after *Montanus*): his name is written with a single (S) *Samech*, and Sheba the sonne of Regma with an (S) asperate, which is the Hebrew *Schim*. Seba the eldest sonne of Chush, Regma his brother, and Sheba the sonne of Regma posselt both the shores of Arabia Felix. Saba tooketh that part toward the Red Sea, as neerest his Father Chush, and the Land of the Chusites: Regma and Sheba the East coast of the same Arabia, which looketh into the Gulfe of Persia; of which *Plinie*: *Saba* Arabum populi propter thura clarissimi ad utraq. maria porrecti sunt gentibus habitant; The Sabaean people of Arabia, famous for their Frankincense, extending their Nations, dwell along both the Seas, (to witte) the Persian, and the Arabian, or Red Sea. This Countrey was after wards called Arabia, a populi mixtione, saith *Poissellus*. To this agreeth *Ptolomie*, who setteth the Citie of Saba towards the Arabian or Red Sea, and the City Rhegama towards the Persian, with whom also we may leaue Sabia: for so much *Montanus* gathereth out of *Ptolomie*, because

because he remembreth a Nation called *Seabei* neere the Persian Sea; and *Massabatha* which defended of them. But *Montanus* hath sent *Regma*, or (as he calls him) *Rhama* into *Carmania*, for which I see no reason. *Iosephus*, who only attended his owne fancies, hath banished Saba or Seba to the border of *Aethiopia*. But *Beroaldus* thinkes it strange, that the *Sabei*, which stole away *Iobs* Cattle, should runne through all Egypt, and all Arabia Petraea, and finde out *Iob* in *Tracomicia*, betwene *Palastina* and *Celestiria* 1200. miles off. Now, as this coniecture was more then ridiculous, so do I thinke, that neither the *Sabei* on the Red Sea, nor those toward the Persian Sea, could by any meanes execute the stealth upon *Iob*, which soeuer *Beroaldus* shall take for needreft. But these were the *Sabei* of Arabia the Desart, where *Guilandinus* *Melchior* affirmeth out of his owne experience, that the Citie Saba is seated: the same which *Ptolomie* calls *Sane*, now *Semiscasac*: and from this Saba in Arabia the Desart, came those *Magi* or *Wise men* which worshipped *Christ*, saith *Melchior*, whose words are these: The *Magi* came neither out of *Mesopotamia* (as *Chrysostome*, *Hierome*, and *Ambrose* supposed) nor out of Arabia the *Happie*, as many wise men doe beleene, but out of Sabia in Arabia the Desart: which Citie when my selfe was there, was (as I iudged it) called *Semiscasac*. And to approue this opinion of *Guilandinus*, it appeareth that these *Sabei* were neighbours to *Iob*, and lay fit to inuade and rob him. For both the other Nations (as well those on the Persian Sea, as those on the Red Sea) are so disioyned with large Desarts, as there is no possibilitie for strangers to passe 20 them, especially with any numbers of Cattell, both in respect of the Mountaines, of the sands, and of the extreme want of water in those parts: *Vbi nec homines, nec bestie videntur, nec arbes, imò nec arbores, nec germen aliquod, sed non vifum tantum saxosi, altissimi, asperum*; Where there are found neither men, nor beasts, no not so much as birds, or trees, nor any pasture or grasse, but onely sharpe, and high stonie, and cragie mountaines. *Beroaldus* and *Perrinus* conceiue, that the Queene of Saba which came to visit *Salomon*, was of the *Sabei* on the East side of Arabia Felix; but the contrarie seemeth more probable, and that she was Queene of Saba towards the Red Sea: for *Salomon* at that time commanding all that part of Arabia Petraea, twixt *Idumaea* and the Red Sea, as farre downe as *Midian* or *Madian*, and *Eson* *Gaber*: and this Queene of Saba which inhabited the West part of Arabia Felix, being his neighbour, might without any farre traualle enter his Territories, free from all danger of surprize by any other Prince or Nation.

But to auoid tediousnesse, it is manifest that Seba or Saba, Sabta, Raama, or Regma, with his Sonnes Sheba and Dedan, and Sabteca, were all the possessors of Arabia the Happy, and the Desart: onely *Hamilab* and *Nimrod* dwelt together on the East side Chush, who held Arabia Petraea. Now for Sabta, there is found of his name the Citie of *Sabbatha* or *Sabota* in the same Arabia: of which both *Plinie* and *Ptolomie*; who withall nameth *Sabatole*, within the walls whereof there were sometimes found fixtie Temples. *Ezekiel* ioyneth the Father and the Sonne together, The Merchants of Sheba and Raama were thy Merchants. And that they were the Easterne Arabians their merchandise witnesseth, formerly repeated in the Chapter of *Paradise*. For *Iosephus* his fancies, that Saba was the parent of the *Aethiopians* about *Meroe*, and Sabta of the *Aethiopians* *Ashahari*, they be not worthy any farther answer then hath already beene giuen: especially seeing these Cities preferring the memorie of the names of Saba, and of Sabta in Arabia were yet remaining in *Ptolomies* time, though in some letters changed. As also in the coasts adioyning, the names of other of the brethren of the familie of Chush, with little alterations are preferred. In Arabia the Desart is found the Citie Saba or Sane, (now *Semiscasac*) with the Citie of *Rhegana* for *Rhegma*; and the Nation by *Ptolomie* himselfe called *Raabeni* of *Raamah*. In Arabia the happye is found the Citie of *Rhegana*, and *Rabana*; which also keepeth the found of *Rhegma*, the Citie of *Saptha* or *Sapah*, not farre from the East-coast of Arabia: as also the Metropolis and chiefe Citie in the body of the South part of Arabia, called without difference or alteration *Sabattha*; and to the West of *Sabattha* towards the Red Sea the great Citie of Saba; and the Nation adioyning, *Sabei*: and to the South thereof againe toward the streight entrance of the Red Sea, the Region of *Sabe*. To all these his Brothers and Nephewes which were seated on the East side of Arabia, *Hamilab* by the passage of *Tigris* was a neighbour, to whom hee might passe by Boate euen vnto *Rhegma* the Citie of *Raama*, or *Rhegma*, set neere the Riuer of *Lar* towards the mouth of the Persian Sea, which stood in *Ptolomies* time.

t. II.

Iosephus his opinion of Dedan, one of the issue of Chush to haue beene seated in the west *Æthiopia*, disproued out of Ezechiel: and Hieremie.

AND whereas Iosephus (whom in this S. Hierome followeth, as not curious heerein) sent Dedan the sonne of Raamah into West *Æthiopia*, it is strange that Ezechiel should couple *Sheba*, *Raamah* and *Dedan* together; *Dedan* in the 15. Verse, and *Sheba*, and *Raamah* in the 22. Verses, to be the Merchants of Tyre, if *Dedan* had dwelt in West *Æthiopia*, which is distant from *Raamah* and *Sheba* (the habitation of his father and brother) about four thousand miles. Besides which, the merchandise that the *Dedanites* brought to Tyre doth not make them naked Blacke-moores. For they of *Dedan* (saith Ezechiel) were thy Merchants in precious clothes for thy Chariots; and these Westerne *Æthiopi*ans neuer faw cloth, till the Portugalls seeking those Coasts, traded with them: the merchandise of the Countrey being Hides, Elephants teeth, some Gold and Amber, Cinnamon, and Rice, but nothing at all of any manufacture: and all these they exchanged for linnen, or yron chiefly.

But in those dayes the West part of *Africa* within the body of the land was knowne only by imagination: and, being vnder the burnt Zone, was held vninhabitable. And therefore that the *Negros* of the West *Æthiopia*, which inhabite about *Serra Lio*na, or *Niger*, could either passe by Sea or Land to Tyre, in the bottome of the *Mediterranean* Sea, were a strange, or rather a foolish fancie. Now to put it out of dispute that *Dedan* all dwelt by the rest of the children of Chush, which seates they held by that name in the time of Hieremie the Prophet, let vs heare Hieremie his owne words: Fly, yee Inhabitants of *Dedan*, for I haue brought the destruction of Elam vpon him. Hereby it appeareth that *Dedan* was a Neighbour to the *Idumeans*: and *Idumea* is a Prouince of *Arabia Petraea*; and *Dedan* which dwelt on the North part of *Arabia Felix*, ioyned in that part to *Petraea*, the seat of his Grand-father Chush; which neighbourhood and fellowship of *Dedan* and the *Idumeans*, is also confirmed by Ezechiel: I will stretch out my hand vpon *Edom*, and the *Idumeans*, as they of *Dedan* shall fall by the sword.

Ezech cap. 15. vers. 15.

S. XIII.

Of the issue of Mizraim: and of the place of Hieremie, Chap. 9. Vers. 7.

AFTER Chush it followeth to speake of *Mizraims* sonnes, whose names (saith S. Augustine) were plural, to signifie the Nations, which came of them. *Ludim*, the elder sonne of *Mizraim*, was the father of the *Lybians* in *Africa*: and therest of his brothers dispersed themselves into all the Regions adioyning. Among the sons of *Shem* there is also *Lud*; but hee is differenced from *Lud* the sonne of *Mizraim* by the singular number: the sonne of *Shem* being written *Lud*, the sonne of *Mizraim*, *Ludim*; and yet these Names and Nations are often confounded, notwithstanding the apparent difference both of Names and Nations. For that *Ludim* the sonne of *Mizraim* was the parent of the *Lybians* in *Africa*, and that he was seated not farre from *Mizraim* his father, appeareth by the Prophet Hieremie, who ioyneth them in this sort together: Come vp ye Horses, and rage ye Chariots, and let the valiant men come forth, the Black-moores, and the *Lybians* which beare the shield: for those Nations assisted the *Ægyptians* being of one parent descended. And in Ezechiel, *Phis* & *Lud* are ioyned together. *Æthiopia* (or Chush) saith Ezechiel, c. 30. v. 3. And *Phut* and *Lud*, and all the common people, and the men of the Land that are in league shall fall with them by the sword: which is as much to say, as the sons of Chush; (which were the Chushites) the sonnes of *Mizraim*, (which were the *Ægyptians*) and the *Lybians* (descended of his sonne *Lud*) with other the inhabitants of *Ægypt* and *Africa* shall fall together. Hierosolymitanus findes also in *Africa* a Nation of the *Lybians*. And I beleue it: because Hieremie ioyneth the *Lybians*, and *Lydians* together in the place before remembred. But *Lybia* in *Africa* is by the Hebrewes called *Ludim* (saith Arias Montanus) though 2. Chron. 12. 3. they seeme to be called *Lubim* or *Lubai*, a name somewhat nearer the word *Lybians*, and by which it may seeme that the true writing

The termination *im* in the Hebrew, is commonly a signe of the plural number, as *anim* of the dust.

Cap. 46. v. 9.

writing is, not *Lybians*, but *Lybians*. Neither is it heere to be omitted, that *Pintus* (vpon the thirtieth of Ezechiel) vnderstandeth that which is spoken in the third Verse of *Lud*, not to be meant of the *Lybians* at all: for he will haue this threatening to be meant against the people of *Lyda*, a Citie (saith he) between *Ægypt* and *Palestina*, which opinion I could not mislike if the Citie of *Lyda* were so seated. But *Lyda* (which should be written *Lydda* with a double D, and is the same Citie which was afterward *Diospolis*, in which S. Peter cured *Aenes* of the palsy) standeth nere the *Torrent Gaas*, not farre from *Ioppe* the Port of *Hierusalem*. Yet is it not impossible but that this Citie might haue *Lud* for the Founder. For there are many Cities of one name founded in all the Regions of the World, and farre asunder; as after the names of *Alexander*, *Selenus*, and *Antiochus*, many Citie called *Alexandria*, *Selenia*, and *Antiochia*, so of diuers others. S. Hierome maketh *Lebani* to be the Father of *Lybia*, who was the third sonne of *Mizraim*: and so doth *Possellus*; and either opinion may be true.

The rest of *Mizraims* sonnes haue no proper Countreies giuen them in the Scriptures, sauing *Cassubim* and *Caphorim*, of whom came the *Philistims*, whom the Scriptures call *Philisti*.

Their *Cassubim* inhabited *Cassotis*, a Region lying in the entrance of *Ægypt* from *Palestina*, in which the Lake *Sirbonis*, and the Mountaine *Cassius* are found: not farre from whence Pompey was buried.

Caphorim seated nere *Cassubim* in that Tract of *Ægypt* called *Sethrotis*, not farre from *pelajum*. Strabo calls it *Sethrotis*; *Stephanus* and *Plinie*, *Sethrotis*, of the Citie *Sethron*: which *Ortelius* takes to be the same which *Ptoleme* calls *Hercules parua*. Of the *Cassubim* and *Caphorim* came the *Philistims*, which are called by the Septuagint *Allophyls* (which is *Alienigena*, Strangers, or of a strange kindred. These *Philistims* inhabited the South part of the holy Land towards *Ægypt*, of whom *Palestina* took name. For the Hebrews (saith *Isidore*) doe not vie the letter (P) but in stead of it (ph.) Their principall Cities were *Gaza*, *Ascalon*, *Azotus*, *Geth*, and *Accaron*: and the people of them called *Gasei*, *Ascalonites*, *Asotij*, *Gethai*, and *Accaronites*. *Isidore* affirms, that *Ascalon* was first called *Philistim*: and of that Citie the Countrey adioyning. But where *Isidore* had it, I know not.

The first knowne King of the *Philistims* was that *Abimelech*, who had a liking to *Abraham* wife; with whom *Abraham* made a couenant and league. This *Abimelech* dwelt indeed at this time in *Gerar*; but it is written that hee was also King of the *Philistims*, in these words: wherefore *Isaac* went to *Abimelech* King of the *Philistims* vnto *Gerar*. Now in regard that this or some ancienter *Abimelech* governed the commonwealth greatly to his glorie, the rest of his successors called themselves by the same name. The *Philistims* commanded that Tract of land vpon the *Mediterranean* Sea to the Northward, from the Caste of *Pilgrims* (otherwise *Cesarea Palestina*, or *Stratons* Towre) which was the South-border of *Phenicia*, to *Gaza*, or to the Riuer of *Ægypt*. The *Anakis* or strong Gyants were of these *Philistims*: and *Goliath* was of *Geth* one of the fiue Cities aboue named. They had sometimes fiue Kings, saith *Lyranus*. They mastered the *Israelites* at severall times about 150. yeeres, and kept them Tributaries, till they were weakened by *Sampson* and *Samuel*, but in the end this yoke was taken off by *Dauid*, and laid on themselves. It is objected, that because these Cities and the Countreies adioyning, were held by the sonnes of *Mizraim*, therefore did the *Israelites* dispossesse the sonnes of *Mizraim*, and not of *Canaan*, by forcing those places.

To this saith *Pererius*, that although the *Palestines* or *Philistims* held it in the time of *Isa*, yet at the time of the promise it was possesse by the *Canaanites*, as in the second of *Deuteronomie*. The *Heutes* dwelt in the Villages vnto *Gaza*. And what maruaile, if (the *Canaanites* being the greater part) the denomination were from them? For that the *Philistims* were of *Caphor*, and so of *Mizraim* and not of *Canaan*, besides *Moses*, the Prophet Hieremie witnesseth: The Lord will destroy the *Philistims*: the remnant of the issue of *Caphor*. Hier. 47. 4. tor: and in like manner in the ninth of *Amos*, the *Philistims* are said to be the reliques of *Caphorim*; Hane not I brought vp *Israel* out of the land of *Ægypt*, and the *Philistims* from *Caphor*, and *Aram* from *Kir*? so I reade this place with diuers of the learned. For whereas the Vulgar hath, & *Palestinos* de *Cappadocia*, & *Syros* de *Cyrene*, this conuersion *Berwald* condemneth; where *Caphor* is taken for *Cappadocia*, and *Cyrene* for *Kir*. For *Cyrene* is a Citie directly West from *Ægypt*, betwene *Ptolemais* or *Barce* and *Apollonia*: but *Kir* in *Asia* vnder the *Assyrians*: *Iunius* hath it *Kir*, and not *Cyrene*: and so hath the *Genea*.

But

Of which see
in the second
Booke, Chap. 7.
§. 3. †. 5.

Cap. 16. v. 9.

But *Pererius* calls *Cappadocia*, according to the Vulgar translation, to which he is bound: and yet it is not altogether improbable if he meane *Cappadocia* in *Palestina*, and north that *Cappadocia* by the Sea *Pontus* in the North of *Asia* the lesse. For whether they inhabited *Seihreites*, or *Cappadocia* of *Palestina*, it is not certainly knowne: And sure in this manner he may expound *Cappadocia* to be ambiguous, as well as he doth *Cyrene*: taking it here not for *Cyrene* in *Africa*, but for a place in *Media*. For it is written in the second of *Kings*, that *Togiasphalasser* King of the *Assyrians* carried away the Inhabitants of *Damascus* into *Kir*: and so *Iosephus* seemes to vnderstand this *Kir*, for *Cyrene* in *Media*, calling this *Cyrene*, *Media superior*: for it was the manner and policie of the *Assyrians* to transplant the people conquered by them, as they did the *Samaritans* or *Israelites*, and other Nations. And hence it came that *Kir* was called *Syro-Media*: because the *Syrians* by the *Assyrians* were therein captiued.

§. XV.
Of the issue of *Sem*.

†. I.
Of *Elim*, *Assur*, *Arphaxad*, and *Lud*.

It remaineth lastly to speake of the Sonnes of *Sem*, who are these:

1. *Alam*, or *Elam*,
2. *Assur*,
3. *Arphaxad*,
4. *Lud*, and
5. *Aram*.

He posteritie of *Sem*, *Moses* recounteth after the rest: because from them hee proceedeth in order with the Genealogie and Storie of the *Hebrewes*: (For of *Sem* was *Abraham* descended.)

Of these five sonnes the Scriptures remember the length of the life of *Arphaxad* only, and only the children of him & *Aram*, the rest are barely spoken of by rehearsing their names, sauing that it may be gathered, that *Assur* (who was supposed to found *Nimueh*) was also said to be the Father of the *Assyrians*, whose issues, and the issues of *Cham*, instantly contended for the Empire of the East: which sometimes the *Assyrians*, sometimes the *Babylonians* obtained, according to the vertue of their Princes. This is the common opinion, which also reacheth vs, that all the East parts of the World were peopled by *Assur*, *Elam*, and *Lud* (sauing *India*) which I beleeue *Noah* himselfe first inhabited: and to whom *Opbir* and *Hauilah* the sonnes of *Lothan* afterward repayed. His filij *Sem* ab Euphrate flumio partem Asiae usq. ad Oceanum indicum tenuerunt: These sons of *Sem* (saith *S. Hierome*) held all those Regions from *Euphrates* to the *Indian Ocean*.

Is. Ant. l. 1. c. 7

Of *Elam* came the *Elamites*, remembered *Acts* 2. vers. 9. and the Princes of *Persia*: which name then began to be out of vse and lost, when the *Persians* became Masters of *Babylonia*: the East Monarchie being established in them. Some prophane Writers distinguish *Elam* from *Persia*, and make the *Elamites* a people apart. But *Susa* (which the Scriptures call *Susan*) in *Elam* was the Kings seat of *Persia* (witness *Daniel*.) And I saw (saith he) in a vision, and when I saw it, I was in the Palace of *Susan*, which is in the Province of *Elam*. This Citie is embraced by the River *Euleus* (according to *Ptolomie*) in *Daniel*,

Ptol. Asia. lib. 5. Dicit. 3. 1.

and seated in the border of *Susiana*. *Assur* (as most Historians beleeue) the second sonne of *Sem*, was Father of the *Assyrians*, who disdayning the pride of *Nimrod*, parted from *Babel*, and built *Nimueh* of equal beautie and magnitude with *Babylon*, or exceeding it. But we shall in due place disprove that opinion. Every mans hand hath bene in this Storie, and therefore I shall not need herein to speake much: for the *Assyrians* so often invaded and spoyle the *Israelites*, destroyed their Cities, and led them Captiues, as both in Diuine and Humane letters there is large and often mention of this Nation.

But howsoever *Herodotus* and *D. Siculus* extend this Empire, and honor this Nation with

with ample Dominion; yet was not the state of the *Assyrians* of any such power, after such time as *Sardanapalus* lost the Empire. For *Senacherib* who was one of the powerfulest Princes among them, had yet the Mountaine *Taurus* for the vmoft of his Dominion toward the North-east, and *Syria* bounded him toward the West, notwithstanding these vaunts of *Senacherib* in *Esay* the 37. Have the gods of the Nations delivered them? whom my Fathers haue destroyed? as *Gozan*, and *Haran*, and *Refeph*, and the children of *Eden* which were at *Telasar*. where is the King of *Hamath*, and the King of *Arphad*, and the King of the Citie *Sepharuaim*, *Hena* and *Iuah*? All these were indeede but petty Kings of Cities, and small Countries, as *Haramin* in *Palmyrena*: *Hamath* or *Emath* in *Ituraa*, vnder *Libanus*: the Ile of *Eden*: *Sepher*, and others of this sort. Yea, *Nabuchodonosor*, who was most powerfull, before the conquest of *Aegypt* had but *Chaldea*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Syria*, with *Palestina* and *Phenicia* parts thereof. But in this question of *Assur*, I will speake my opinion freely when I come to *Nimrod*, whose plantation I haue omitted among the rest of the *Chusites*, because he established the first Empire: from whom the most memorable storie of the World taketh beginning.

Of *Arphaxad* came the *Chaldaans*, saith *Saint Hierome*, and *Iosephus*, but it must bee those *Chaldaans* about *Ur*: for the sonnes of *Cham* posselt the rest. It is true that he was the Father of the *Hebrewes*: for *Arphaxad* begat *Shela*; and *Shela*, *Heber*; of whom hereafter.

And that *Lud*, the fourth Sonne of *Shem*, gaue name to the *Lydians* in *Asia* the lesse, is the common opinion, taken from *Iosephus* and *S. Hierome*; but I see not by what reason he was moued to straggle thither from his friends.

†. II.
Of *Aram*, and his Sonnes.

Aram the fifth and last Sonne of *Shem* was the parent of the *Syrians*: of which *Damasius* was head. Their name was changed from *Aram* or *Aramites* by *Syrius* (saith *Eusebius* *Esay* 7. v. 8. out of *Iosephus*) which *Syria* liued before *Moses* was borne; the same which others call the sonne of *Apollon*. *Mesopotamia* also being but a Province of *Syria*, had the name of *Aram Naharajin*, which is as much to say, as *Syria duorum flumiorum*, *Syria* compassed with two Rivers: (to wit) *Tigris* and *Euphrates*. The Scriptures call it *Mesopotamia*, *Syria*, and *Padan Aram*: and the Greekes *Mesopotamia* simply.

Arise and get thee to *Padan Aram* (saith *Isaac* to *Jacob*) to the house of *Bethuel* thy mother: and thence take thee a wife. *Strabo* also remembereth it by the ancient name of *Aram* or *Aramea*, as these his owne words conuerted witnesse: Quos nos *Syros* vocamus, *Syri Arameos* & *Arameos* vocant: Those which we call *Syrians* (saith he) themselves call *Arameians* and *Arameans*.

Against this opinion, that *Aram* the sonne of *Sem* was the Father and Denominator of the *Syrians* in generall; (and not onely of those in *Syria Inter-amnis*, which is *Mesopotamia*) some reade, *Genes* 22. 21. *Kemuel*, the Father of the *Syrians*: where other out of the originall read *Kemuel*, the sonne of *Aram*. Neither is it any inconuenience for vs to vnderstand the word (*Aram*) here, not for the Nation, but for the name of some, one of note; *Kemuel*, because in the Historie of *Abraham* and *Isaac* (which was in time long before *Kemuel* Posteritie could be famous) we finde *Mesopotamia* called *Aram*; and that with an addition: sometimes with *Naharajin*, and sometimes of *Padan*, to distinguish it from another *Aram*, which (as it seemes) then also was called *Aram*. For whereas *Iunius* thinkes in his note vpon *Gen* 25. 20. that *Padan Aram* ought to be restrained to some part of *Mesopotamia*, (to wit) to that part which *Ptolomie* calls *Amecobaritis* (so called from the River *Chaboras*, which diuiding it runneth into *Euphrates*) the promiscuous vse of *Padan Aram*, and *Aram Naharajin* (which latter appellation questionlesse comprehends the whole *Mesopotamia*) may seeme to refute this opinion: especially seeing the signification of this appellation agreeth with the whole Region. For it signifieth as much as the yoke of *Syria*, which name agrees with this Region: because the two Rivers, (as it were) yoked together goe along it. The Reliques of the name *Padan* appeare in the name of two Cities in *Ptolomie*, called *Aphadana*: (as *Iunius* hath well noted) the one vpon *Chaboras*, the other vpon *Euphrates*.

The Sonnes of *Aram* were, { *Vz* or *Hus*,
Hul,
Gether, and
*Mes*ch or *Mes*.

Hieron. in trad. l' d'raie. *Vz* or *Hus* inhabited about *Damascus*, and built that Citie, saith *Iosephus* and *S. Hierome*. But *Tostatus* mistaking this opinion, both in them and in *Lyra*, who also followeth *Iosephus*, affirmeth that *Abrahams* Steward *Elzezer* was the Founder thereof; though it were likely that *Hus* the eldest sonne of *Aram* dwelt neere vnto his father, who inhabited the bodie of *Syria*. For *Hus* was a Region of the same, adioyning to *Arabia* the Desart, and to *Batanea* or *Tracensis*: whereof the Prophet *Hieremie*: *Reioyce and be glad O Daughter* 10 of *Edom* that dwellest in the Land of *Hus*. *Hus* therefore is feared beyond *Jordan*, in the East Region of *Tracensis*, adioyning to *Bisan*, hauing *Batanea* *Gaulonitis*, and the Mountaine *Seir* to the East, *Elat* to the South, *Damascus* North, and *Jordan* West: hauing in it many Citie and people, as may also be gathered out of *Hieremie*: And all sorts of people: and all the Kings of the Land of *Hus*. In this Region dwelt *Iob*, descended of *Hus*, the sonne of *Nabor*, the brother of *Abraham* (saith *S. Hierome*) and married *Dina* the Daughter of *Iacob*, saith *Philo*.

Hul the second sonne of *Aram*, *S. Hierome* makes the Father of the *Armenians*: and *Gether* the third sonne, parent to the *Acarnanians* or *Carians*: which opinion, (because I finde not where to set him) I do not disproue, though I see no reason why *Gether* should 20 leave the fellowship of his owne brethren, and dwell among Strangers in *Asia* the lesse. *Iunius* giues *Hul* (whom he writes *Chul*) the Desart of *Palmyrena*, as farre as *Euphrates*, where *Itolomy* setteth the Citie of *Cholle*.

Gether (saith *Iosephus*) founded the *Bactrians*: but *Iosephus* gaue all *Noahs* children feathers, to carrie them farre away in all haste. For mine owne opinion I alwaies keepe the rule of Neighbourhood, and thinke with *Iunius*: (to wit) That *Gether* seated himselfe neere his brothers, in the bodie of *Syria*, and in the Prouince of *Cassiotis*, and *Selencis*, where *Protonie* placeth *Gindarus*, and the Nation by *Plinie* called *Gindareni*.

Iunius also giueth to *Mes* or *Mes*ch the North part of *Syria*, betwene *Cilicia* and *Mesopotamia*, neere the Mountaine *Mafius*. The certaintie of those Plantations can no other- 30 wise be knowne then by this probability, that *Aram* the father (of whom that great Region tooke name) planted his sonnes in the same Land about him: for hee wanted no scope of Territorie for himselfe and them; neyther then when the World was newlie planted, nor in many hundred yeeres after: and therefore there is no reason to cast them in the Desart parts of the World, so farre asunder. And as necessitie and policie held them together for a while: so Ambition (which began together with Angels and Men) inhabiting the hearts of their children, let them asunder. For although these sonnes of *Aram*, and the sons of the rest of *Noahs* children, kept themselves within the bounds of some one large Kingdome; yet therein euery one also sought a Prouince apart, and to themselves; giuing to the Citie therein built their owne names, thereby to leaue their 40 memorie to their Posteritie: the vse of Letters being then rare, and knowne to few.

In this sort did the pride of the *Spaniards* in *America* cast them into so many Prouinces: euery one emulating and displaining the greatesse of other, as they are thereby to this day subiect to inuasion, expulsion, and destruction: so as (*Nona Hispania* and *Peru* excepted, because those Countreies are vnaccessible to Strangers) an easie force will cast them out of all the rest.

Chap. 8. §. 7. *Mes* the fourth sonne is made the parent of the *Maonians*: of whom something hath bene spoken already. *Arphaxad* the third sonne of *Shem*, begat *Shelah*, and *Heber*. *Heber* had two sonnes, *Phaleg* and *Iocan*: and in *Phaleg*'s time was the Earth diuided. 50

t. III.

Of the diuision of the Earth in the time of *Phaleg*, one of the sonnes of *Heber*, of the issue of *Shem*.

THe many people which at the diuision (at *Phaleg*'s birth) were then liuing, and the through Plantation of all the East part of the World (at his death) hath made a doubt, whether the Earth were diuided at cyther. The *Hebrewes* (saith *Pererius* out of

of *Sedar Holam*, one of their Chronicles) affirme that this partition happened at the death of *Phaleg*: and *Phaleg* was borne in the yeere after the Flood 101. and liued in all 239. yeeres, which numbers added makes 340. And therefore was it so many yeeres after the Flood, ere the children of *Noah* seuered themselves. But to this opinion of the *Hebrewes*, and the doubt they make how in so few yeeres as 101. (the time of *Phaleg*'s birth) 10 so many people could be increased, *Pererius* giues this answer, that if 70. persons of the Familie of *Iacob* increased to 600000. fighting men in 215. yeeres, (besides women, children, and impotent persons) how much more is it likely, that so soone after the Flood the children of *Noah* might in a shorter time bring forth many multitudes, hauing received the blessing of God, *Increase and multiplie, and fill the earth*? What strength this answer hath, let others iudge: for the children of *Israel* were 70. and had 215. yeeres time: and the sonnes of *Noah* were but three, and had but 101. yeeres of time, to the birth of *Phaleg*.

Others conceiue that *Phaleg* took that name after the diuision, in memorie thereof: as *Iosephus* and *Saint Augustine*, who reason in this manner. If the diuision were at *Phaleg*'s death (which hapned in the yeere, which is commonly held to be the 48. of *Abraham*, but was by more likely computation 12. yeeres before his birth) then was the diuision 38. yeeres after *Ninus*, who gouerned 52. yeeres: in the 43. yeere of whose reigne *Abraham* was borne. But when *Ninus* began to rule the *Assyrians*, 80. yeeres before this diuision (as this diuision is placed by the *Hebrewes*, *Hierome* and *Chrysostome*) then was 120. the earth so peopled in all the East and Northerne parts, as greater numbers haue not bene found at any time since. For *Ninus* associating to himselfe *Arius* King of *Arabia* a people who at that time (saith *Diod. Siculus*) plurimum opibus atq. armis prestant, Exceeded both in riches and bodies of men, subdued many Citie in *Armenia*, received *Bazarnis* into grace; then invaded *Media*, and crucified *Pharnus* the King thereof, with his Wife and seuen Children; vanquished all those Regions betwene *Nilus* and *Tanais*, the *Assyrians*, *Phenicians*, the Kingdoms of *Syria*, and all the Nations of *Persia*, to the *Hyrcanian* Sea. For the numbers which followed *Ninus* (already remembered out of *Ctesias*) against *Zoraster* and others: and *Zoraster* on the other side, who made resistance with 30 400000. proue it sufficiently, that if the diuision had not happened before the death of *Phaleg*, there had needed no diuision at that time at all. For some of them were so ill satisfied with their partitions, as they sought to be masters of all, and greater Armies were there neuer gathered then by *Ninus* and *Semiramis*: wherefore in this opinion there is little appearance of the truth.

But for that conceit that if the diuision had bene made at the birth of *Phaleg*, there were not then sufficient numbers borne to fill the earth: It was neuer meant that the earth could be filled euery where at the vncertain instant, but by times and degrees. And surely whatsoever mens opinions haue bene here in, yet it is certaine, that the diuision of tongues and of men must goe neere together with the ceasing of the 40 worke at *Babel*: and that the enterprize of *Babel* was left off instantly vpon the confusion of Languages, where followed the execution of the diuision; and so neyther at the birth nor death of *Phaleg*: for *Phaleg* was borne in the yeere 101. after the Flood, which was the yeere that *Nimrod* came into *Shinar*, or tenn yeeres after hee arrived, saith *Berosus*.

Now if it be objected that *Phaleg* (the Etymologie of whose name signifieth diuision) must haue liued without a name, except the name had bene given him at the time of this confusion and partition: to this objection it may be answered, That the change of names vpon diuers accidents is not rare in the Scriptures: for *Iacob* was called *Israel* after he had wrestled with the Angell; *Abraham* was first *Abram*; and *Edom* *Esaú*; and that 50 *Phaleg* being a principall man in this diuision had his first name vpon this accident changed, it is most probable.

And lastly, whereas the *Hebrewes*, *Saint Hierome* and *Chrysostome* account *Heber* for a great Prophet, if that by giuing his sonne the name of *Phaleg*, hee fore-told the diuision which followed: to this I say, I doe not finde that *Heber* deserved any such honour, if hee had thereupon so called his sonne: for diuision and dispersion followeth increase of people of necessitie; and this Prophecie (if any such had bene) might also haue reference to the diuision, which afterwards fell amongst the *Hebrewes* themselves.

But if we giue a reasonable time to the building of the Towre and Citie of *Babel*, in which time many people (by reason and by demonstratiue prooffe) might be increased: and that vpon the fall thereof the confusion and diuision followed (whereupon *Phelag* rooke name) then in this opinion there is nothing either curious or monstrous.

†. IIII.

Of the sonnes of *Iochan*, the other sonne of *Heber*.

The sonnes of *Iochan* were

1. *Elmodad*.
2. *Saleph*, or *Salep*, or *Shaleph*.
3. *Asamath*, or *Chatzar*.
4. *Iare*, or *Iaraab*, or *Ierath*.
5. *Hadoram*.
6. *Vzal*, or *Vxal*.
7. *Dicklach*, or *Diela*.
8. *Obal*, or *Ebal*, or *Hobal*.
9. *Abimael*.
10. *Sheba* or *Seba*.
11. *Ophir*, or *Opir*.
12. *Hauilah*, or *Chasila*, and
13. *Iobab*.

Althoſe ſonnes of *Iochan* (according to Saint *Hierome*) dwelled in the Eaſt parts of the world, or *India*, euen from the Riuer *Cophe* or *Choaſ*, which is one of the branches or heads of *Indus*.

Gen. 10. v. 30. But the certaine places of thoſe thirteen Sonnes cannot be gathered out of the Scriptures, the words of *Mofes* being generall: *And there dwelling was from Meſſia as thou goeſt vnto Separ a Mount in the Eaſt*. Of all theſe thirteen Sonnes, there were only three memorable, (to wit) *Sheba*, *Ophir*, and *Hauilah*. Concerning whoſe names, to auoid confuſion, it is to be obſerued, that among the ſonnes of *Chuſh*, two of them had alſo the names of *Sheba* and *Hauilah*. *Abraham* had alſo a third *Saba* or *Sheba*, his grand-childe by his wife *Keturah*. But *Seba* the ſonne of *Chuſh*, and *Sheba* the ſonne of *Rhegma* his Nephew, we haue left in *Arabia Felix*: and *Hauilah* the ſon of *Chuſh* vpon *Tigris*. *Saba* the grand-childe of *Abraham* was (as ſome haue thought) the Father of the *Sabaens* in *Persia*: of which Nations *Dionyſius de Orbis ſitu*, maketh mention. *Primum Sabæi; poſt hos ſunt Paſſagarda; prope verò hos ſunt Taſci*. The firſt are *Sabæans*: after theſe be *Paſſagarda*; and neere theſe the *Taſci*. And whereas it is written: *But vnto the Sonnes of the Concubines which Abraham had, Abraham gaue gifts, and ſent them away from Iſaac his ſonne* (while he yet liued) *Eaſtward to the Eaſt-Country*: heereupon it is ſuppoſed, that this *Saba* the ſonne of *Abraham* wandered into *Persia*: for *Persia* was accounted the ſouthermoſt Eaſt-Country in reſpect of *Iudea*, which alſo *Ouid* ſetteth vnder the Sun riſing. Yet ſeeing the reſt of *Abraham*'s ſonnes feared themſelues on the borders of *Iudea*, I rather chooſe to leaue *Saba* the ſonne of *Abraham* in *Arabia* the Deſart, where *Ptolomie* ſetteth a Citie of that name.

Gen. 25. v. 5. But *Saba* the ſonne of *Iochan*, the ſon of *Heber*, (as I conceiue) inhabited *India* it ſelfe. For *Dionyſius Afer* in his *Periegeſis*, (or deſcription of the World) which hee wrote in Greeke Verſe, among the Regions of *India* findeth a Nation called the *Sabæi*. *Taxilis inter medios habitas, Sabæus*: In the middleſt of theſe dwell the *Sabæi*; and the *Taxili*, ſayth this *Dionyſius*.

†. V.

Of *Ophir* one of *Iochan*'s ſonnes, and of *Peru*, and of that voyage of *Salomon*.

Ophir alſo was an Inhabitant of the Eaſt *India*, and (as Saint *Hierome* vnderſtands it) in one of the Ilands plentifull with gold, which are now knowne by the name of *Molucca*. *Iosephus* vnderſtands *Ophir* to be one of thoſe great head-lands in *India*, which by a generall name are called *Cherſoneſi*, or *Peninſula*: of which there are two very noxious; *Calicut*, and *Malacoe*. *Pererinus* takes it rightly for an Iland, as Saint *Hierome* doth, but

but he ſets it at the head-land of *Malacca*. But *Ophir* is found among the *Moluccas* farther Eaſt.

Arius Montanus out of the ſecond of *Chronicles*, the third Chapter and ſixth Verſe, gathers that *Ophir* was *Peru* in *America*, looking into the Weſt Ocean, commonly called *Mare del Sur*, or the South Sea; by others *Mare pacificum*. The words in the ſecond of the *Chronicles* at theſe: *And hee overlaid the houſe with precious ſtones for beantie; and the gold was gold of Parauaim*. *Iunius* takes this gold to bee the gold of *Hauilah*, remembered by *Mofes* in the deſcription of *Paradiſe*: *And the gold of that Land is good*: ſi- Gen. 2. 11. & ding a Towne in *Characene* a Prouince of *Suſiana* called *Barbatia*; ſo called (as he thinks) 2 Tim. li. c. 22. by corruption for *Parauaim*: from whence thoſe Kings ſubiected by *Dauid*, brought this gold, with which they preſented him; and which *Dauid* preferred for the enriching of the Temple.

But this ſancie of *Peru* hath deceived many men, before *Montanus*, and *Pleſius*, who alſo rooke *Ophir* for *Peru*. And that this queſtion may be a ſubiect of no further diſpute; it is very true that there is no Region in the World of that name: ſure I am that at leaſt *America* hath none, no not any Citie, Village, or Mountaine ſo called. But when *Francis Piſarro* firſt diſcouered thoſe Lands to the South of *Panama*, arriuing in that Region which *Atabalipa* commanded (a Prince of magnificence, Riches and Dominion inferiour to none) ſome of the *Spaniards* vtterly ignorant of that language, demanding by ſignes (as they could) the name of the Countrey, and pointing with their hand athwart a Riuer, or Torrent, or Brooke that ranne by, the *Indians* answered *Peru*, which was either the name of that Brooke, or of water in generall. The *Spaniards* thereupon conceiuing that the people had rightly vnderſtood them, ſet it downe in the *Diurnall* of their enterpriſe, and ſo in the firſt deſcription made, and ſent ouer to *Charles* the Emperour, all that Weſt part of *America* to the South of *Panama* had the name of *Peru*, which hath continued euer ſince as diuers *Spaniards* in the *Indies* aſſured me; which alſo *Acoſta* the *Jeſuite* in his naturall and morall Hiſtorie of the *Indies* confirmeth. And whereas *Montanus* alſo findeth, that a part of the *Indies* (called *Iucatan*) rooke that name of *Iochan*, who as hee ſuppoſeth nauigated from the vtmoſt Eaſt of *India* to *America*: it is moſt true, that *Iucatan* is nothing elſe in the language of that Countrey, but [*What is that*] or [*What ſay you?*] For when the *Spaniards* aſked the name of that place (no man conceiuing their meaning) one of the *Saluages* answered *Iucatan* (which is) *What aſke you*, or *What ſay you*: The like hapned touching *Paria*, a mountaynous Countrey on the South ſide of *Trinidad* & *Margarita*: for when the *Spaniards* inquiring (as all men doe) the names of thoſe new Regions which they diſcouered, pointed to the Hills a ſtarre off, one of the people answered, *Paria*, which is as much to ſay, as *high Hills* or *Mountaynes*. For at *Paria* begins that maruailous ledge of Mountaines, which from thence are continued to the Straite of *Magellan*: from eight degrees of North latitude to the 52. of South, and ſo hath that Countrey euer ſince retained the name of *Paria*.

40 The ſame hapned among the *Engliſh*, which I ſent vnder Sir *Richard Greeneuile* to inhabit *Virginia*. For when ſome of my people aſked the name of that Countrey, one of the *Saluages* answered, *Wingandacon*, which is as much to ſay as, *You wear good clothes*, or *gay clothes*. The ſame hapned to the *Spaniards* in aſking the name of the Iland *Trinidad*: for a *Spaniard* demanding the name of that elſe place which the Sea incompaſſed, they answered, *Cari*, which ſignifieth an Iland. And in this manner haue many places newlie diſcouered bene intituled, of which *Peru* is one. And therefore wee muſt leaue *Ophir* among the *Moluccas*, whereabout ſuch an Iland is credibly affirmed to be.

Now althoough there may be found gold in *Arabia* it ſelfe (towards *Persia*) in *Hauilah*; now *Suſiana*, and all alongſt that Eaſt *Indian* ſhore, yet the greateſt plenty is taken vp at the *Philippines*, certayne Ilands planted by the *Spaniards*, from the Eaſt *India*. And by the length of the paſſage which *Salomons* ſhips made from the Red Sea (which was three yeeres in going and coming) it ſeemeth they went to the vttermoſt Eaſt, as the *Moluccas* or *Philippines*. Indeepe theſe that now goe from *Portugal*, or from hence, finiſh that nauigation in two yeeres, and ſometimes leſſe: and *Salomons* ſhips went not about a tenth part of this our courſe from hence. But wee muſt conſider, that they euermore kept the coaſt, and crept by the ſhores, which made the way exceeding long. For before the vſe of the Compaſſe was knowne, it was impoſſible to nauigate athwart the Ocean; and therefore *Salomons* ſhips could not finde *Peru* in *America*. Neither was it needfull

for the *Spaniards* themselves (had it not beene for the plentie of gold in the East *India* lands, farre above the mines of any one place of *America*) to saile euery yeere from the West part of *America* thither, and thereto haue strongly planted, and inhabited the richest of those lands: wherein they haue built a Citie called *Manila*. *Salomon* therefore needed not to haue gone farther off then *Ophir* in the East, to haue sped worse: neither could he navigate from the East to the West in those dayes, whereas hee had no coast to haue guided him.

Tolstus also gathereth a fantastical opinion out of *Rabanus*, who makes *Ophir* to be a Countrey, whole Mountaines of gold are kept by *Griffins*: which Mountaynes *Solinus* affirmeth to bee in *Scythia Asiatica*, in these wordes: *Nam cum auro & gemmis affluent, Griffes tenent uniuersa, alites ferocissima, Arimaspi cum his dimicant, &c.* For whereas these Countries abound in gold, and rich stone, the *Griffins* defend the one and the other: a kinde of Fowle the fiercest of all other; with which *Griffins* a Nation of people called *Arimaspi* make warre. These *Arimaspi* are said to haue bene men with one eye onely, like vnto the Cyclopes of *Sicilia*: of which *Cyclopes*, *Herodotus* and *Aristeus* make mention: and so doth *Lucan* in his third Booke: and *Palerius Flaccus*: & *D. Siculus* in the story of *Alexander Macedon*. But (for mine owne opinion) I beleue none of them. And for these *Arimaspi*, I take it that this name signifying One-eyed, was first giuen them by reason that they vied to weare a vizard of defence, with one sight in the middle to serue both eyes; and not that they had by nature any such defect. But *Solinus* borroweth these things out of *Plinie*, who speaks of such a Nation in the extreme North, at a place called *Gysitron*, or the Cae of the Northeast winde. Forthermost, as all fables were commonly grounded vpon some true stories or other things done: so might these tales of the *Griffins* receiue this Morall: That if those men which fight against so many dangerous passages for gold, or other riches of this World, had their perfect senses, and were not deprived of halfe their eye-sight (at least of the eye of right reason and vnderstanding) they would content themselves with a quiet and moderate estate; and not subiect themselves to famine, corrupt aire, violent heate, and cold, and to all sorts of miserable diseases. And though this fable be faired in this place, yet if such a tale were told of some other places of the World, where wilde Beasts or Serpents defend Mountaines of gold, it might be auowed. For there are in many places of the world, especially in *America*, many high and impassable Mountains which are very rich & full of gold; inhabited onely with Tygres, Lyons, and other rauinous and cruell beasts: vnto which if any man ascend (except his strength bee very great) he shall be faine to finde the same warre, which the *Arimaspi* make against the *Griffins*: not that the one or other had any sense of the gold, or seek to defend that metall, but being disquieted, or made afraid of themselves or their yong-ones, they grow iraged and aduenturous. Inlike sort it may be said that the *Alegartos*, (which the *Aegyptians* call the *Crocodyles*) defend those Peales which lye in the Lakes of the Inland: for many times the poore *Indians* are eaten vp by them, when they diue for the pearle. And though the *Alegartos* know not the pearle, yet they finde saueur in the fish and blood of the *Indians*, whom they deuoure.

† VI.

Of *Hauilah* the sonne of *Ioctan*, who also passed into the East *Indies*: and of *Mafus* and *Sephur* named to the bordering of the Families of *Ioctan*: with a Conclusion of this discourse touching the plantation of the world.

OF *Hauilah* the sonne of *Ioctan*, there is nothing else to be said, but that the general opinion is, that he also inhabited in the East *India* in the Continent, from which *Ophir* pass into the lands adioyning. And whereas *Ganges* is said to water *Hauilah*, it is meant by *Hauilah* in the East *India*, which tooke name of *Hauilah* the sonne of *Ioctan*: but *Hauilah*, which *Pisim* compasseth, was so called of *Hauilah*, the sonne of *Chisus* as formerly proposed by this place of Scripture: *Saul smote the Amalekites from Hauilah, as thou commenst to Shur, which is before Egypt*. But that *Saul* euer made Warre in the East *India*, no man hath suspected. For an end we may conclude; that of the thirteene sonnes of *Ioctan*, these thirte, *Saba*, *Hauilah*, & *Ophir*; though at the first feared by their brethren about the hill *Mafus* or *Mesb*, *Gen. 10. 30.* (to wit) betweene *Cilicia* and *Mesopotamia*; yet at length either themselves or their issues remooued into the East *India*, leaving the other

other Families of *Ioctan*, to fill the Countries of their first plantation, which the Scripture defines to haue bene from *Mesb* vnto *Sephar*. And although *S. Hierome* take *Mesb* to be a Region of the East *India*, and *Sephar* a Mountaine of the same (which Mountaine, *Montanus* would haue to be the *Andes* in *America*; those fancies are farre beyond my vnderstanding. For the word (*East*) in the Scriptures, where it hath reference to *Iudea*, is neuer farther extended then into *Persia*. But *Mesb* is that part of the Mountaine of *Mafus* in the North of *Mesopotamia*, out of which the River *Chaboras* springeth which runneth by *Charrah*: and in the same Region we also finde for *Sephar* (remembered by *Moses*, *Sipphara* by *Ptolomie*, standing to the East of the Mountaine *Mafus*; from whence *Ioctan* hauing many sonnes, some of them might passe into *India*, hearing of the beaume and riches thereof. But this was in proceesse of time.

The other fashion of planting I vnderstand not, being grounded but vpon mens imaginations, contrary to reason and possibilitie. And that this Mountaine in the East was no farther off then in those Regions before remembered, it appeareth by many places of the Scripture where the same phrase is vied: as in *Numbers 21*. *Balaac the King of Moab* hath brought me from *Aram*, out of the Mountaine of the East; which was from the East part of *Mesopotamia*. For *Balaac* brought *Balaam* out of *Mesopotamia*, (witnesseth this place of *Deuteronomie*;) *Because they hyred Balaam the sonne of Beor, of Pethor in Aram Nabarraim, to curse thee: for Aram Nabarraim was Syria sinuorum*, which is *Mesopotamia*, as aforesaid.

This plantation of the World after the flood doth best agree (as to me it seemes) with all the places of Scripture compared together. And these be the reports of Reason and probable coniecture, the Guides which I haue followed herein and which I haue chosen to goe after, making no valuation of the opinions of men, conducted by their owne fancies, be they ancient or moderne. Neither haue I any end herein, priuate, or publique, other then the discouery of truth. For as the partialitie of man to himselfe hath disguised all things: so the factious and hireling Historians of all Ages (especially of these latter times) haue by their many Volumes of vnture reports left Honor without a Monument, and Vertue without Memorie: and (in stead thereof) haue erected Statues and Trophies to those, whom the darke forgetfulness ought to haue buried; and covered ouer for euermore. And although the length and dissolving Nature of Time, hath worne out or changed the Names and memory of the Worlds first planters after the flood (I meane the greatest number and most part of them) yet all the four steps of Antiquitie (as appeares by that which hath bene spoken) are not quite worne out nor ouer-grown: for *Babylon* hath to this day the sound of *Babel*; *Phenicia* hath *Zidon*, to which Citie the eldest Sonne of *Canaan* gaue name; so hath *Cilicia* *Tharsis*; and the *Armenians*, *Medes*, *Hiberians*, *Cappadocians*, *Phrygians*, the *Syrians*, *Idumeans*, *Libyans*, *Moors*, and other Nations, haue preferred from the death of forgetfulness some signes of their first Foanders and true Parents.

CHAP. IX.

Of the beginning and establishing of Government.

§. I.

Of the proceeding from the first Government vnder the eldest of Families to Regall, and from regall absolute, to Regall tempered with Lawes.



I followeth now to entreate how the World began to receiue Rule and Government, which (while it had scarcitie of People) vnder-went no other Dominion then Paternitic and Eldership. For the Fathers of Nations were then as Kings; and the eldest of Families as Princes. Hereof it came, that the word (*Elder*) was alwayes vied both for the Magistrat, and for thofe of Age and Grauitie: the same bearing one signification almost in all languages. For in the eleuenth of *Numbers* God commanded *Moses* to gather together 70. of the Elders of the people, and

Gour-

Gouernour ouer them : the Hebrew bearing the same sense, which the Latine word *Senes* or *Seniores* doth. So it is written in *Susanna*, *Then the Assembly beleued them as those that were the Elders and Iudges of the People*. And so in the words of those false Iudges and witnesses to *Daniel*, *Shew it vnto vs, seeing God hath giuen thee the office of an Elder*. *Demosthenes* vseth the same word for the Magistrate among the *Gracians*. *Cicero* in *Cato* giueth two other reasons for this appellation : *Apud Lacedamonios qui amplissimum Magistratum gerunt, vi sunt, sic etiam appellantur Senes* ; Among the *Lacedamonians* the chiefe Magistrates, as they were, so are they called *Eldermen* : and againe, *Ratio & prudentia nisi essent in senibus, non summum Concilium Maiores nostri appellassent Senatum* ; If reason and aduise-ment were not in old men, our Ancesters had neuer called the highest Councell by the name of a Senate.

But though these reasons may well be giuen, yet wee doubt not but in this name of *(Elders)* for *Gouernors* or *Counsaillers* of State, there is a signe that the first *Gouernors* were the *Fathers* of *Families*; and vnder them the eldest *Sonnes*. And from thence did the *French*, *Italian*, and *Spaniard* take the word (*Signor*) and out of it (*Seignourie*) for *Lordship* and *Dominion* : signifying (according to *Loyseau*) puissance in proprietic, or proper power. The kinds of this *Seignourie*, *Seneca* makes two : the one, *Potestas aut imperium* ; *Power* or *command* : the other, *Proprietas aut dominium* ; *Proprietie* or *Mastership* : the correlative of the one is the subiect, of the other the slave. *Ad Casarem* (saith he) *potestas omnium pertinet, ad singulos proprietates* ; *Cesar* hath power ouer all ; and euery man proprietie in his owne : and againe, *Cesar omnis imperio possidet, singuli dominio* ; *Cesar* holdeth all in his power, and euery man possesseth his owne. But as men and vice began abundantly to increafe : so obedience, (the fruit of naturall reuerence, which but from excellent seede seldome ripeneth) being exceedingly ouer-shadowed with pride, and ill examples, vtterly withered and fell away. And the soft weapons of paternall perswasions (after mankind began to neglect and forget the originall and first giuer of life) became in all ouer-weake, either to resist the first inclination of euill, or after (when it became habituall) to constrain it. So that now, when the hearts of men were onely guided and steered by their owne fancies, and toft to and fro on the tempestuous Seas of the world, while wisdom was seuered from power, and strength from charitie : *Necessitie* (which bindeth euery nature but the immortal) made both the *Wife* & *Foolish* vnderstand at once, that the estate of reasonable men would become far more miserable then that of beasts, and that a generall flood of confusion would a second time ouer-flow them, did they not by a generall obedience to order and dominion preuent it. For the mightie, who trusted in their owne strengths, found others againe (by interchange of times) more mighty then themselves : the feeble fell vnder the forcible ; and the equall from equall received equall harmes. In so much that licentious disorder (which seemed to promise a libertie vpon the first acquaintance) proved vpon a better tryall, no lesse perillous then an vndurable bondage.

These Arguments by *Necessitie* propounded, and by Reason maintained and confirmed, perswaded all Nations which the Heauens couer, to subiect themselves to a Master, and to Magistracie in some degree. Vnder which Government, as the change (which brought with it lesse euill, then the former mischiefs) was generally pleasing : so time (making all men wise that obserue it) found some imperfection and corosue in this cure. And therefore the same *Necessitie* which invented, and the same Reason which appoied souereigne power, bethought it selfe of certaine equall rules, in which Dominion (in the beginning boundlesse) might also discern her owne limits. For before the inuention of Lawes, priuate affections in supreme Rulers made their owne fancies both their Treasures and Hangmen : measuring by this yard, and waighing in this ballance both good and euill.

For as wisdom in Eldership preceded the rule of Kings ; so the will of Kings forewent the inuentions of Lawes. *Populus nullis legibus tenebatur : arbitria principum pro legibus erant* ; The people were not gouerned by any other lawes then the wils of Princes : Hereof it followed, that when Kings left to be good, neither did those mens vertues value them which were not fancied by their Kings, nor those mens vices deforme them that were. *Amor interdum nimis videt, interdum nihil videt* ; Love sees one while too much, another while starke nothing. Hence it came to passe, that after a few yeeres (for direction and restraint of Royall power) Lawes were established : and that gouernment which

*Necessitas est
firmitas iudicij
vni & manum
habili prou-
dentia potestas.*

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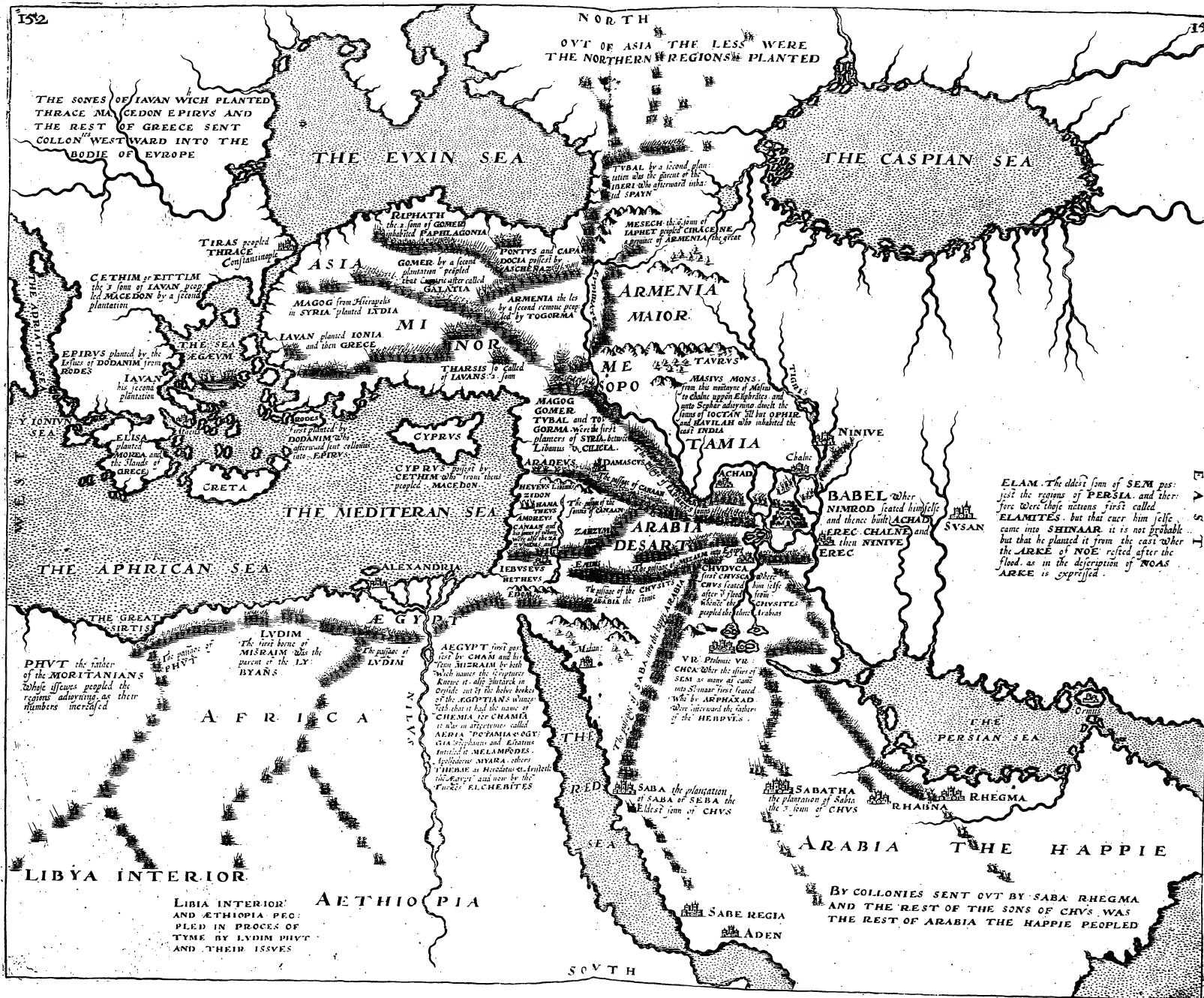
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had



had this mixture of equalitie (holding in an euen ballance supreme power and common right) acquired the title of Regall: the other (which had it not) was knowne for Tyrannicall: the one God established in fauour of his people: the other he permitted for their affliction.

In the infancie of this Regall authoritie, Princes as they were chosen for their vertues onely, so did they measure their powers by a great deale of moderation. And therefore (saith Fabius Piccor) *Principes, quia iustitiant, & religionibus dediti, iure habiti Dij & dii sūt.* De aurore scilicet part. 1. Princes, because they were iust and religious, were rightly accounted and called gods.

And though (speaking humanely) the beginning of Empire may be ascribed to Reason and Necessitie; yet it was God himselfe that first kindled this light in the mindes of men, whereby they saw that they could not liue and be preserved without a Ruler and Conductor: God himselfe by his eternall providence hauing ordained Kings; and the law of Nature Leaders, and Rulers ouer others. For the very Bees haue their Prince, the Deere their Leaders; and Cranes (by order imposed) watch for their owne safetie. *The most high beareth rule ouer the Kingdomes of Men; and appointeth ouer it whomsoever hee* Dan. 5. 21. *pleaseth.* By me (saith Wisdome, spoken by the Sonne of God) *Kings reigne, By me Princes* Prov. 8. 15. *rule, and it is God (saith Daniel) that setteth up Kings, and taketh away Kings:* and that this Dan. 2. 21. power is given from God, *Christ himselfe witnesseth, speaking to Pilate, Thou couldest haue* Iohn 19. 11. *no power at all against me, except it were given thee from above.*

It was therefore by a threefold Iustice that the world hath beene governed from the beginning, (to wit) by a Iustice naturall: by which the Parents and Elders of Families governed their Children, and Nephewes, and Families, in which government the Obedience was called naturall Pietie: Again, by a Iustice diuine, drawne from the Lawes and Ordinances of God: and the Obedience hereunto was called Conscience: And lastly, by a Iustice ciuill, begotten by both the former: and the Obedience to this we call Dutie. That by these three those of the eldest times were commanded: and that the rule in generall was Paternall, it is most euident: for Adam being Lord ouer his owne Children, instructed them in the seruice of God his Creator; as we reade, *Cain and Abel* brought Oblations before God, as they had beene taught by their Parent, the Father of mankind.

§. II.

Of the three commendable sorts of Government with their opposites: and of the degrees of humane societie.

What other Policie was exercised, or State founded after such time as mankind was greatly multiplyed before the flood, it cannot be certainly knowne, though it seeme by probable coniecture, that the same was not without Kings in that first age: it being possible that many Princes of the *Egyptians* (remembered among their antiquities) were before the generall flood: and very likely, that the cruell Oppressions in that Age proceeded from some tyrannic in Government, or from some rougher forme of Rule, then the Paternall.

Berosus ascribeth the rule of the World in those dayes to the Giants of *Libanus*, who mastered (saith he) all Nations from the Sun-rising to the Sun-set. But in the second Age of the World, and after such time as the rule of Eldership failed, three severall sorts of Government were in severall times established among men, according to the diuers natures of Places and People.

The first, the most ancient, most generall, and most approued, was the Government of one, ruling by iust Lawes, called *Monarchie*: to which *Tyrannie* is opposed, being also a sole and absolute Rule, exercised according to the will of the Commander, without respect or obseruation of the Lawes of God, or Men. For a lawfull Prince or Magistrate (saith *Aristotle*) is the Keeper of Right and Equitie: and of this condition ought every Magistrate to be, according to the rule of Gods word: *Judges and Officers, shall thou make thee* Deut. 16. 18. *in thy Cities: And these shall iudge the people with righteous iudgement.*

The second Government is of diuers principall Persons established by order, and ruling by Lawes, called *Aristocracie*, or *Optimum potestas*; as, to which *Oligarchia* (or the particular faction and vsurpation of a few great ones) is opposed: as the *Decemviri*, or *Triumviri*, and the like.

The third is a State popular, (or Government of the people) called *Democratia*, to which is opposed *Ochlocratia*, or the turbulent vniust ruling of the confused multitude, seditionously swaying the State: contrary to their owne Lawes and Ordinances. These three kinds of Government are briefly exprest by *Tholofanus*; *genuis. paucorum, & malorum, of one, of few, of many.*

Now as touching the beginning and order of policie since the second increase of Man-kinde, the same grew in this sort: First of all, every Father, or eldest of the Family, gave Lawes to his owne issues, and to the people from him and them increased. These as they were multiplied into many Houholds (man by nature louing societie) ioyned their Cottages together in one common Field or Village, which the Latins call *Vicus*; of the Greeke *ὄικος*, which signifieth a House, or of the word *Via* because it hath diuers waies and paths leading to it. And as the first House grew into a Village, so the Village into that which is called *Pagus*, (being a societie of diuers Villages) so called of the Greeke *παῖς*, which signifieth a Fountaine: because many people (hauing their habitations not far asunder) dranke of one Spring or Screame of water. To this word the English Hundreds, or (as some think) Shires answereth not vnfitly.

But as men and impetrie began to gather strength, and as emulation and pride between the Races of the one and the other daily increased: so both to defend themselves from outrage, and to preserve such goods as they had gathered, they began to ioine and sit together diuers of their Villages, inuironing them first with banks and ditches, and afterwards with wals: which being so compassed were then called *Oppida*: either *ab opponendo* *se hostibus*, because wals were opposed against Enemies, or *ab opibus* because thicker they gathered their riches for sistance and defence: as also they were called *Vrbes*, *ab urbe*, because when they were to build a Citie, they made a Circle with a Plough (saith *Varro*) therewith measuring and compassing the ground which they went to inclose or fortifie. And although *Vrbs* and *Ciuitas* be often confounded, yet the difference was anciently in this, that *Vrbs* signified no other then the very wals and buildings, and *Ciuitas* was taken for the Citizens inhabiting therein: so called of *Ciuis*, and that, *ab eo quod multis udo ciuibus commingit* together. But all inhabitants within these wals are not properly Citizens, but only such as are called Free-men: who bearing proportionably the charge of the Citie, may by turnes become Officers and Magistrates thereof: the rest goe vnder the name of Subjects, though Citizens by the same generall name of Subjects are also knowne. For every Citizen is also a Subject, but not every Subject a Citizen: perhaps also some Citizen (as the chiefe Magistrate, if he be to be termed one of the Citizens) is no Subject; but of this we neede not stand to inquire. The word (Magistrate) is taken of *Magistro*, from a *Maister*, and the word (Master) from the Aduerbe *Magis* (as also *Magisteria*, Precepts of Art) or else from the Greeke word (*Μεγιστος*): and so the Greekes call them *Μεγιστανες*, whom the Latines call *Magnates*, or *Magistratus*.

The office and dutie of every Magistrate *Aristotle* hath written in few words. *A Magistrate or Prince* (saith he) *is the keeper of right and equitie*; but the same is best taught by Saint Paul, who expretheth both the cause efficient, and final, (that is) by whom Magistrates and Princes are ordained, together with their duties and offices. *A Magistrate is the Minister of God for thy wealth; but if thou doe euill, feare: for he beareth not the sword for nought. For he is the Minister of God, to take vengeance on him that doth euill.* Hee also teacheth in the same place; *That every soule ought to be subiect to the higher powers, because they are by God ordained; and that who soeuer resisteth that power, resisteth God, the giuer and fountaine thereof: and shall not only be therefore subiect to the iudgement and condemnation of Man, but of God: For ye must be subiect* (saith he) *not because of wrath only, but also for conscience sake.*

The examples are not to be numbred of Gods punishments vpon those that haue resisted Authority, by God ordained and established. Neither ought any Subject therefore to resist the power of Kings, because they may be taxed with iniustice or cruelty: for it pleaseth God sometimes to punish his people by a tyrannous hand: and the Commandement of obedience is without distinction. The Prophets and Christ himselfe subiected themselves to the power of Magistrate. Christ commanded that all due to *Cesar* should be giuen vnto him: and he payed Tribute for himselfe and *Peter*. *Hieremie* commanded the *Idolaters* (even those that were Captiues vnder Heathen Kings) to pray for them, and for the peace of *Babylon*. So *Abraham* prayed for *Abimelech*; and *Iacob* blessed the King of

Ethic. 3.

Rom. 13. 4.

Pet. 2. 2.

Ibid. 7. 5.

Hierem. 29. 7.

Gen. 20. 17. 27. 7. 10.

of Egypt: And it is acceptable in the sight of our Saviour (saith Paul) that ye make Supplications and Prayers for Kings, and for all that are in authority: and if for such Kings as were Idolatrous, much more for Christian Kings and Magistrates. And so much did Saint *Christostome* in his Homily to the people preferre Monarchicall Government, as he rather commended the rule of Kings (though Tyrants) then that they should be wanting: *Præstat Regem tyrannum habere, quam nullum; Better a tyrannous King then no King*: to which also *Tacitus* subscribeth: *Præstat* (saith *Tacitus* in the first of his Historie) *sub malo principe esse quam nullo; It is better to haue a bad Prince then none at all.* And be they good Kings (which is generally presupposed) then is there no libertie more safe, then to serue them: *Neg. enim libertas tutior vlla est* (saith *Claudian*) *quam Domino seruire bono: No libertie* (saith he) *more safe for vs then to be seruants to the vertuous.* And certainly howeouer it may be disputed, yet is it safer to liue vnder one Tyrant, then vnder 100000. Tyrants: vnder a wife man that is cruell, then vnder the foolish and barbarous crueltie of the multitude. For as *Agesilaus* answered a Citizen of *Sparta* that desired an alteration of the Government, That kinde of rule which a man would disdaine in his owne house, were very vnfit to gouerne great Regions by.

Lastly, as many Fathers erected many Cottages for their many children: and as (for the reason before remembred) many Houholds ioyned themselves together, and made Villages; many Villages made Cities: so when these Cities and Citizens ioyned together, and established Lawes by consent, associating themselves vnder one Government, and Government, they so ioyned, were called a Commonwealth: the same being sometimes gouerned by Kings; sometimes by Magistrates; sometimes by the people themselves.

§. III.

Of the good Government of the first Kings.

Now this first Age after the Flood, and after such time as the people were increased, and the Families became strong and dispersed into seuerall parts of the World, was by ancient Historians called Golden: Ambition and Couetousnesse being as then but greene, and newly growne vp, the seeds and effects whereof were as yet but potential, and in the blowth and bud. For while the Law of Nature was the rule of mans life, they then sought for no larger Territorie then themselves could compass and manure: they erected no other magnificent buildings, then sufficient to defend them from cold and tempest: they cared for no other delicacie of fare, or curiositie of dyet, then to maintaine life: nor for any other apparell then to couer them from the cold, the Raine and the Sunne.

And sure if we vnderstand by that Age (which was called Golden) the ancient simplicity of our Fore-fathers, this name may then truly be cast vpon those elder times: but if it be taken otherwise, then, whether the same may be attributed more to any one time then to another, (I meane to one limited time and none else) it may be doubted. For good and Golden Kings make good and Golden Ages: and all times haue brought forth of both sorts. And as the infancy of Empire, (when Princes plaied their Prizes, and did then only woo men to obedience) might be called the Golden Age: so may the beginning of all Princes times be truly called Golden. For be it that men affect honour, it is then best purchased; or if honour affect men, it is then that good deservings haue commonly the least impediments: and if euery Liberality ouerflow her banks & bounds, the same is then best warranted both by policie and example. But Age and Time doe not only harden and shrinke the openest and most iuuall hearts, but the experience which it bringeth with it, layeth Princes torne estates before their eyes, and (withall) perswadeth them to compassionate themselves. And although there be no Kings vnder the Sunne whose meanes are answerable vnto other mens desires; yet such as value all things by their owne respects, doe no sooner finde their appetites vnanswered, but they complaine of alteration, and account the times iniurious and yron. And as this falleth out in the Reigne of euery King, so doth it in the life of euery man, if his dayes be many: for our yonger yeeres are our Golden Age; which being eaten vp by time, wee praise those seasons which our youth accompanied: and (indeede) the grievous alterations in our selues, and the paines and diseases which neuer part from vs but at the graue, make

by *Chush*, after his other children were also become Fathers; and of a later time then some of his Grand-children and Nephewes. Howsoever, seeing *Moses* in expresse words calleth *Nimrod* the Sonne of *Chush*, other mens coniectures to the contrary ought to haue no respect.

This Empirie of *Nimrod*, both the Fathers and many later Writers call tyrannicall: the same beginning in *Babel*, (which is) confusion. But it seemeth to mee that *Me- lanchton* conceived not amiss hereof: the same exposition being also made by the Author of that worke called *Onomasticum Theologicum*, who affirms that *Nimrod* was therefore called *Amarus Dominator*, *A bitter or seuerer Governour*, because his forme of rule seemed at first farre more terrible then Paternall authority. And therefore is hee in this respect also called a mightie Hunter: because he tooke and destroyed both Beasts and Theeues. But Saint *Augustine* vnderstands it otherwise, and conuerts the word (*ante*) by (*contra*) affirming therein, that *Nimrod* was a mightie Hunter against God: *Sic ergo in- ligendus est Gigas ille. Venator contra Dominum; So is that Giant to be vnderstood, a Hunter against the Lord.*

But howsoever this word (a mightie Hunter) be vnderstood, yet it rather appeareth, that as *Nimrod* had the command of all those, which went with him from the East into *Shinaar*; so, this charge was rather giuen him, then by him vsurped. For it no where is found, that *Noah* himselfe, or any of the Sonnes of his owne body came with this troupe into *Babylon*: no mention at all being made of *Noah* (the yeres of his life excepted) in the succeeding Story of the *Hebrews*; nor that *Sem* was in this disobedient Troupe, or among the builders of *Babel*.

The same is also confirmed by diuers ancient Historians, that *Nimrod*, *Suphne*, and *Is- chan* were the Captaines and Leaders of all those which came from the East. And though *Sem* came not himselfe so farre West as *Shinaar* (his lot being cast on the East parts) yet from his Sonnes Nephew *Heber*, the name and Nation of the *Hebrewes* (according to the generall opinion) tooke beginning, who inhabited the Southermost parts of *Chaldaa* about the Citie of *Ury*; from whence *Abraham* was by God called into *Charran*, and thence into *Canaan*.

And because those of the Race of *Sem* which came into *Chaldaa*, were no partners in the vnblesseing worke of the Towre: therefore (as many of the Fathers coniecture) did they retaine the first and most ancient language, which the Fathers of the first Age had left to *Noah*; and *Noah* to *Sem* and his Issues: *In familia Heber remansit hac lingua; In the Family of Heber this Language remained* (saith Saint *Augustine* out of *Epiphanius*;) and this Language *Abraham* vsed; yea, it was anciently and before the Flood the generall speech: and therefore first called (saith *Celestinus*) *lingua humana: the humane tongue*.

We know that *Geropius Becanus* following *Theodoret*, *Rabbi Moses*, *Aegyptius Vergara*, and others, is of another opinion; but howsoever we determine of this point, we may with good probability resolve, that none of the godly seed of *Sem* were the chiefe Leaders of this presumptuous multitude. And seeing it is not likely but that some one by order appointed for this charge, we may imagine that *Nimrod* rather had it by iust authoritie, then by violence of vsurpation.

§. II.

That *Nimrod*, *Belus*, and *Ninus*, were three distinct persons.

BEnzo, and out of him *Naucerus* with others, make many *Nimrods*. *Enstius* confounds him with *Belus*, and so doth Saint *Hierome* vpon *Ose*, and these words of *S. Augustine* seeme to make him of the same opinion: *Abi autem Ninus regnabit post mortem patris sui Beli, qui primus illic regnauerat 65. annos. There did Ninus reign after the death of his Father Belus, who first governed in Babylon sixtie five yeres.* But it could not be vnkowne to Saint *Augustine*, that *Nimrod* was the establisher of that Empire: *Moses* being plaine and direct therein. For the beginning of *Nimrod's* Kingdome (saith he)

was *Babel*, *Erec*, *Accad*, and *Chalne*, in the Land of *Shinaar*: wherefore *Nimrod* was the first King of *Babel*. And certainly it best agreeth with reason, that *Ninus* was the third, and not one with *Nimrod*, as *Mercator* (led by *Clement*) supposed: for in *Ninus*'s time the World was maruailously replenished. And if *S. Augustine* had vndoubtedly taken *Belus* for *Nimrod*, he would haue giuen him the name which the Scriptures giue him, rather then haue borrowed any thing out of prophane Authors. And for those words of *S. Augustine* (*qui primus illic regnauerat: who was the first that reigned there*) supposed to be meant by *Belus*: those words do not disprove that *Nimrod* was the Founder of the *Babylonian* Empire. For although *Julius Cesar* ouerthrew the liberty of the *Romane* Commonwealt, making himselfe perpetuall Dictator, yet *Augustus* was the first established Emperour: and the first that reigned absolutely by soueraigne authority ouer the *Romans*, as an Emperour.

The like may be said of *Nimrod*, that he first brake the rule of Eldership and Paternitie, laying the foundation of soueraigne Rule, as *Cesar* did; and yet *Belus* was the first, who peaceably, and with a generall allowance exercised such a power. *Peterinus* is of opinion, that *Belus* and *Nimrod* were the same, because many things are said of them both agreeing in time: for it was about 200. yeres after the flood (as they account) that *Belus* reigned: but such agreement of times proues it not. For so *Edward* the third, and his grand-child *Richard* the second, were Kings both in one yere: the one dyed; the other in the same yere was crowned King.

And yet the opinion (that *Nimrod* and *Belus* were one) is far more probable then that of *Mercator*, who makes *Ninus* and *Nimrod* to be the same. For it is plaine that the beginning of *Nimrod's* Kingdome was *Babel*, and the Townes adioyning: but the first and most famous worke of *Ninus* was the Citie of *Ninive*.

Now whereas *D. Siculus* affirmeth, that *Ninus* ouercame and suppressed the *Babylonians*, the same rather proueth the contrarie; then that *Ninus* and *Nimrod* were one person. For *Ninus* established the seat of his Empire at *Ninive* in *Assiria*, whence the *Babylonians* might (perchance) in disdain the reof fall from his obedience, whom hee recovered againe by strong hand; which was easie: *Babylon* being not walled till *Semiramis*'s time.

—Dicitur aliam.

Cocilius muris cinxisse Semiramis Vrbem.

Semiramis with wals of bricke the Citie did inclose.

Further, where it is alleaged, that as the Scriptures call *Nimrod* mightie: so *Iustine* hath the same of *Ninus*, which is one of *Mercator's* arguments; It may be answered, that such an addition might haue bene giuen to many other Kings aswell. For if we may beleue *Iustine*, then were *Vexoris* King of *Aegypt*, and *Tanis* of *Scythia* mighty Kings before *Ninus* was borne. And if we may compare the words of *Moses* (touching *Nimrod*) with the vndertakings of *Ninus*, there will be found great difference betweene them.

For whereas *Mercator* conceiueth, that it was too early for any that liued about the time of the confusion of languages, to haue inuaded & mastered those Cities so farre removed from *Babel*, namely, *Erec*, *Accad*, and *Chalne*: which worke he therefore ascribeth to *Ninus*, as a man of the greatest vndertaking; and consequently would haue *Nimrod* to haue been long after the time, in which we suppose he flourished; & both those names of *Nimrod* and *Ninus* to belong to one person, to wit, to *Ninus*: to these things to make some answer. First, I doe not finde that supposition true, That euer *Nimrod* inuaded any of these Cities, but that he founded them and built them from the ground, being the first after the flood, that conducted the children of *Noah* into those parts: and therefore had nothing built or erected to his hands.

Besides, whereas these Cities in many mens opinions are found to stand far away from *Babylon*, I finde no reason to bring me to that beliefe. The Citie of *Accad* which the *Septuagint* calls *Archad*, and *Epiphanius*, *Arphal*, *Iunius* takes to be *Nisibis* in *Mesopotamia*: for the Region thereabout the Cosmographers (saith he) call *Assacene* for *Assacene*. Others vnder-

vnderstand *Nisibis* and *Ninive* to be one Citie: so doe *Strabo* and *Stephanus* confound it with *Charran*, but all mistaken. For *Nisibis*, *Accad*, & *Charran* are distinct places. Though I cannot deny *Accad* to be a Region of *Mesopotamia*, the same which *Arias Montanus* out of *S. Hierome* calls *Achad*; and so doe the *Hebrewes* also call *Nisibis*, which seemeth to be the cause of this mistaking. As for the Citie of *Erec*, which the *Septuagint* call *Orech*; *S. Augustine*, *Orech*; and *Paginius*, *Erec* this place *Iunius* vnderstands for *Araccae* in *Susiana*; but there is also a Citie in *Comagene* called *Arace*: and indeede likelihood of name is no certaine prooffe, without the assistance of other circumstances.

Concerning the third Citie (called *Chalneh*) some take it for *Calinis*: of which *Am. Marcellinus*, *Saint Hierome* takes it for *Seleucia*; *Hieronymus* for *Ctesiphon*: others doe think it to be the *Agrani* vpon *Euphrates*, destroyed and razed by the *Persians*. But *Le Moine* be the Moderator and Iudge of this dispute, who teacheth vs directly, that these Cities are not seated in so diuers and distant Regions; for these be his words: And the beginning of his Kingdome (speaking of *Nimrod*) was *Babel*, *Erech*, *Accad*, and *Chalneh* in the Land of *Shinar*: (as in this Valley of *Shinar*, or *Babylonia*, or *Chaldea* (being all one) we must finde them). And therefore I could (rather of the two) thinke with *Viterbiensis*, that these foure made but one *Babylon*, then that they were Cities farre removed, and in seuerall Prouinces: did not the Prophet *Amos* precisely distinguish *Chalneh* from *Babylon*, saying: *Go ye now (saith Amos) to Chalneh*, and from thence go ye to *Hamath*, and then to *Gath* of the *Philistines*. The Geneua translation fauouring the former opinion, to set these Cities

one of *Shinar*, hath a marginal note expressing that *Shinar* was here named: not that all these Cities were therein seated, but to distinguish *Babylon* of *Chaldea*, from *Babylon* in *Egypt*: but I finde little substance in that conceit. For sure I am, that in the beginning of *Nimrod*'s Empire there was no such *Babylon*, nor any Citie at all to be found in *Egypt*: *Babylon* of *Egypt* being all one with the great Citie of *Cairo*; which was built long after, not farre from the place where *Sad Memphis* the ancient Citie, but not so ancient as *Babylon* vpon *Euphrates*. Now that *Chalneh* is situate in the Valley of *Shinar*, it hath bene formerly proued in the Chapter of *Paradise*. So as for any argument that may be brought to the contrary, from the remote situation of these three Cities from *Babylon*, we may continue in our opinion, That *Nimrod*, *Belus*, and *Ninus*, were distinct and successiue Kings.

§. III.

That *Nimrod*, not *Assur*, built *Ninive*: and that it is probable out of *Esay* 23. 13. that *Assur* built *Ur* for the *Chaldees*.

Now as of *Nimrod*: so are the opinions of Writers different touching *Assur*, and touching the beginning of that great state of *Babylon* and *Assyria*: a controversy sic weanfully disputed without any direct prooffe, conclusion, or certainty. But to me (of whom, where the Scriptures are silent, the voyce of Reason hath the best hearing) the interpretation of *Iunius* is most agreeable; who besides all necessary consequence doth not disioyne the sense of the Scriptures therein, nor confesse the vnderstanding thereof. For in this sort he conuerteth the *Hebrew* Text: *Erut enim principum regni eius Babel, & Erech, & Accad, & Chalneh, in terra Shinaris: & terra ha processit in Assyriam ubi edificauit Ninus*: (which is) For the beginning of his Kingdome was *Babel*, and *Erech*, and *Accad*, and *Chalneh*, in the land of *Shinar*: and he went forth of this land into *Assyria*, and built *Ninive*. So as *Iunius* takes *Assur* in this place, not for any person, but for the Region of *Assyria*: the land being so called in *Moses*' time, and before it. For certainly, the other construction, (where the word *Assur* is taken for *Assur* the sonne of *Sem*) doth not answere the order which *Moses* obserueth through all the Bookes of *Genesis*, but is quite contrary vnto it. For in the beginning of the tenth Chapter he setteth downe the sonnes of *Noah*, in these words: Now these are the Generations of the Sonnes of *Noah*: *Sem*, *Ham*, and *Japheth*: vnto whom sonnes were borne after the flood: then it followeth immediately: The sonnes of *Japheth* were *Gomer*, &c. so as *Japheth* is last named among *Noah*'s sonnes, be hee eldest or youngest: because hee was first to be spoken of: with whom (hauing last named him) hee proceeds and setteth downe his issue, and then the issue of his sonnes: first, the issue of *Gomer*, *Japheth*'s eldest sonne; and then speaks of *Tanai* and his sonnes: for of the rest

rest of that Familie he is silent. Anon after he numbrell the sonnes of *Ham*, of which *Chus* was the eldest: and then the sons of *Chus* and *Mizraim*; and afterward of *Canaan*, leauing *Shem* for the last, because he would not disioyne the Storie of the *Hebrewes*. But after he beginneth with *Sem*, he continueth from thence by *Arphaxad*, *Shela*, and *Heber*, vnto *Abraham*, and so to *Jacob*, and the Fathers of that Nation. But to haue brought in one of the sonnes of *Shem* in the middle of the generations of *Ham*, had bene against order; neither would *Moses* haue past ouer so slightly the erection of the *Assyrian* Empire, in one of the sonnes of *Shem*, if he had had any such meaning: it being the storie of *Shem*'s sonnes which he most attended. For he nameth *Nimrod* apart, after the rest of the sonnes of *Chus*, because he founded the *Babylonian* and *Assyrian* Empire: and in the eleventh Chapter he returnes to speake of the building of *Babel* in particular, hauing formerly named it in the tenth Chapter, with those other Cities which *Nimrod* founded in *Shinar*. And as he did in the tenth Chapter, so also in the eleventh hee maketh no report of *Shem*, till such time as he had finished so much of *Nimrod* as he meant to touch: and then he beginneth with the issue of *Shem*, which he continueth to *Abraham* and *Israhel*. And of *Iunius* opinion touching *Assur*, was *Caluin*: to which I conceiue that *P. Commestor* in his *historia Scholastica*, gaue an entrance, who after hee had deliuered this place in some other sense, he vseth these words: *Vel intelligendum non est de Assur filio Sem, &c. sed Assur (id est) Regnum Assyriorum inde egressum est, quod tempore Sarug praeui Abrahami factum est*; (which is) Or else it is not to be vnderstood of *Assur* the sonne of *Sem*, &c. but *Assur* (that is, the Kingdome of the *Assyrians*) came from thence (videlicet, from *Babylon*) or was made out of it: which happened in the time of *Sarug* the great grand-father of *Abraham*. After which he reconcileth the differences in this sort: If you take the ancient *Belus* (meaning *Nimrod*) to be the first Erector of the *Assyrian* Empire, or the first Founder thereof, it is true, *Quantum ad initium*; Respecting the beginning; but others conceiue that it had beginning from *Ninus*, which is also true, *Quantum ad regni ampliacionem*; Regarding the enlargement of the Empire. To this I may adde the opinion of *Epiphanius*, confirmed by *Cedrenus*, who takes *Assur* to be the sonne of *Nimrod*: and so doth *Methodius*, and *Viterbiensis*, *Saint Hierome*, and *Cyrillus*, and now lastly *Tortilius*: *Tortilius* *Acad.* Gen 10. 30 who saith he tooke vpon him that name of *Assur* after he had beaten the *Assyrians*, as *Scipio* did of *Africanus*, after his conquest in *Africa*: and that *Assur* was a common name to the Kings of *Assyria*, as it appeareth by many Scriptures, as *Psalm* 81. *Esay* 10. *Osee* 1. &c. but to helpe the matter, he makes *Nimrod* of the race of *Sem*; and the sonne of *Irari*. But *Rabanus Maurus*, who was Arch-bishop of *Meitz* in the yeere of Christ 854. an ancient and learned Writer, vnderstands this place with *Commestor*, or *Comestor* with him, agreeing in substance with that translation of *Iunius*: to which words of *Moses* he giueth this sense: *De hac terra Assyriorum pullulauit imperium, qui ex nomine Nini, B. A. filij, Ninum considerant, urbem magnam, &c.* Out of this land grew the Empire of the *Assyrians*, who built *Ninus* the great Citie, so named of *Ninus* the sonne of *Belus*. On the contrary *Caluin* objecteth this place of *Esay*: Behold the land of the *Chaldeans*, this was no people, *Assur* founded it by the inhabitants of the wilderness; then which therein is no place in the Scriptures, that hath a greater diuersitie in the translation and vnderstanding; in so much as *Michael de Palatio* vpon *Esay* (though in all else very diligent) passeth it ouer. But *Caluin* seemeth hereby to interrete, that because *Assur* founded the state of the *Chaldeans*, therefore also *Assur* rather then *Nimrod* established the *Assyrian* Empire, and built *Ninive*: contrary to the former translation of *Iunius*, and to his owne opinion. Now out of the *Vulgar* (called *Hieromes* translation) it may be gathered that *Assur* both founded and ruined this Estate or Citie of the *Chaldees*, by *Esay* remembred: vnto which Citie, People, or State, he plainly telleth the *Tyrants* that they cannot trust, or hope for reliefe thence. Or rather it may be taken, that the Prophet maketh this Citie of *Chaldea*, and that Estate, an example vnto those *Pharisees*, whom in this place he fore-telleth of their ruine: which Citie of *Chaldea* being of strength, and carefully defended, was (notwithstanding) by the *Assyrians* utterly waisted and destroyed: where by he giueth them knowledge, and foretelleth them, that their owne Citie of *Tyre* (inuincible, as themselves thought) should also soone after be ouer-turned by the same *Assyrians*: as (indeede) it was by *Nabuchodonosor*. And these be the words after *Hierome*: *Ece terra Chaldaeorum, talis populus non fuit. Assur fundauit eam, in capitulum traduxerunt robustos eius, suffoderunt domos eius, posuerunt eam in ruinam*, (which is)

Behold the Land of the Chaldeans, such a people there were not (or, this was no people, after the Genes) Assur (or the Assyrians) founded it, they carried away their strong men captive, they undermined their houses, and ruined their Citie. The Septuagint expresse it but in a part of another Verse, in these words: *Et in terra Chaldearum, & hac desolata est ab Assyrijs, quoniam murus eius corruit*, making the sense perfect by the preceding Verse, which all together may be thus understood: *If thou goe over to Chitim (which is Macedon or Greece) yet thou shalt have no rest (speaking to the Tyrians) neither in the Land of the Chaldeans, for this is made desolate by the Assyrians, because their walls fell together to the ground. Paganus and Vatablus conuert it thus: Ecce terra Chaldæm, iste populus non erat illic olim; nam Assur fundauit eam nauibus, erexerunt arces illius; contriuerunt ades eius, posuit eam in ruinam: which may be thus Englished: Behold the Land of the Chaldeans, this people was not, once therein inhabiting: for Assur built it a harbour for ships, they erected the Towers thereof, and againe brake downe the houses thereof, and ruined it. Iunius in the place of ships lets the word (pro Barbarijs) that is, for the Barbarians: and the Genes, by the Barbarians. But this is vndoubted that the Prophet Esey (as may be gathered by all the sense of the Chapter) did therein assure the Tyrians of their future destruction, which (accordingly) fell on them: wherein (for the more terror) he maketh choice to note the calamities of those Places, Cities, and Regions, by whose Trade the state and greatness of the Tyrians was maintained; as by the Cilicians from Tharsis from the Macedonians, and other Gracians vnder the name of Chitim; also by the Egyptians, the Chaldeans, and the rest. For Tyre was then the Mart Towne of the World most renowned. And (as it appears in our discourse of Paradise) not the least part of her chief merchandise came in by the Citie Vr, or Vrchos in Chaldaa, wherethe body or chiefe streame of Euphrates (euen that streame which runneth through Babylon and Otrix, which now falleth into Tigris) had his passage into the Persian Gulfe: though now it be stopped vp. For (as we haue heretofore noted) the Arabians (that descended from Sheba and Raamah) dwelling on the east banks of the Persian Gulfe, trading with the Tyrians (as those of Eden, Charran, and Chalne did) transported their merchandise by the mouth of Tigris, that is, from Tercodon, and of Euphrates, that is, from Vr or Vrchos: and then by Babylon, and thence by Ruer and ouer Land they conveyed it into Syria, and to Tyre: as they doe this day to Aleppo. So then Vr of the Chaldees was a Port Towne, and one of those Cities which had intelligence, Trade, and Exchange with the Tyrians: for it stood by the great Lakes of Chaldaa, through which that part of Euphrates ran, which passage is now stopp'd vp. *Eius cursum vetustas aboluit* (saith Niger.) And Plinie: *Locus ubi Euphratis ostium fuit, flumen assium: Time hath worne away the channell of Euphrates: and the place where the mouth thereof was is a Bay of salt water.* These things being thus, certainly (not without good probabilitie) we may expound the Citie of the Chaldees, whose calamities Esey here note for terror of the Tyrians, to be the Citie anciently called Vr; and (by Hecateus) Camerina; by Ptolomie, Vrchos: and by the Greekes, Chaldaopolis, The Citie of Chaldaa: which the sonnes of Shem, vntill Abrahams time, inhabited, And whereas in all the Translations it is said, that Assur both founded it and ruined it: it may be understood, that Assur the Founder was the sonne of Shem; and Assur the destroyers were the Assyrians, by whom those that inhabited Vr of Chaldaa, were at length oppressed and brought to ruine: which thing God foreseeing, commanded Abraham thence to Charran, and so into Canaan. And if the Hebrew word by Vatablus and Paganus conuerted (by ship) doe beare that sense, the same may be the better approued, because it was a Port Towne: and the Ruer so farre vp, as this Citie of Vr was in ancient time nauigable, as both by Plinie and Niger appeareth. And if the word (for the Barbarians) or (by the Barbarians) be also in the Hebrew Text, it is no lesse manifest, that the most barbarous Arabians of the Desert were and are the confronting, and next people of all other vnto it. For Chaldaa is now called Arachaldar, which signifieth desert Lands, because it ioyneth to that part of Arabia so called: and Cicero (calling those Arabians by the name of Bureans) addeth, that they are of all other people the most salvage; calling them, *Homines omnium maxime barbaros.**

So as this place of Esey, which breedeth some doubt in Calvin, proueth in nothing the contrarie opinion, nor in any part weakeneth the former translation of Iunius, nor the interpretation of Comestier and Rabanus. For though other men haue not conceiued (for any thing that I haue read) that Assur is in this place diuerly taken (as for the sonne

of Sem, when he is spoken of as a Builder of Vr; and when as a Destroyer thereof, then for the Assyrian Nation) yet certainly the euidence of the truth, and agreement of circumstances seeme to enforce it. And so this Founding of the Citie of the Chaldees by Assur (into which the most of the posteritie of Sem that came into Shinaar, and were separate for the Idolatrie of the Chusites and Nimrodians, retired themselves) hath nothing in it to proue that the same Assur built Ninine, or that the same Assur was all one with Ninus; except we will make Assur, who was the sonne of Shem, both an Idolater, and the sonne of Belus. For (out of doubt) Ninus was the first notorious Sacrificer to Idols; and the first that set vp a Statue or Image to be honored as god. Now if Assur must be of that Race, and not of the Familie of Sem, as he must be if he founded Ninine, then all those which seeke to giue him the honor thereof, doe him by a thousand parts more iniurie, by taking from him his true Parent and Religion.

Besides, if this supposed Assur whom they make the Founder of Ninine (and so the sonne of Belus) were any other, and not the same with Ninus; then what became of him? Certainly he was very vnworthy and obscure, and not like to be the Founder of such an Empire and such a Citie, if no man haue vouchsafed to leaue to posteritie his expulsiō thence, and how he lost that Empire againe or quitted it to Ninus: whose acts and conquests are so largely written, and (according to my apprehension) farre differing from truth. It will therefore be found best agreeing to Scripture and to Reason, and best agreeing with the storie of that age written by prophane Authors, that Nimrod founded Babel, Erech, and Accad, and Chalne, the first workes and beginnings of his Empire, according to Moses; and that these workes being finished within the Valley of Shinaar, he looked farther abroad, and set in hand the worke of Ninus, lying neere vnto the same streame that Babel and Chalne did: which worke his grand-child Ninus afterward amplified and finished, as Semiramis (this Ninus his wife) did Babylon. Hence it came to passe, that as Semiramis was counted the Foundresse of the Citie which she onely finished: so also Ninus of Ninine: *Quam quidem Babylonem potuit insauare; Sbe might repaire or renew Babylon*, saith S. Augustine. For so did Nabuchodonosor vaunt himselfe to be the Founder of Babylon also, because he built vp againe some part of the wall, ouer-borne by the furie of the Ruer: which worke of his stood till Alexanders time, whereupon hee wanted thus: *Is not this great Babel which I haue built?*

Dan. 4. 17.

§. III.

Of the Acts of Nimrod and Belus, as farre as now they are knowne.

BEFORE we returne to the Storie, it is plaine in Moses, that Nimrod (whom Philo interpreteth transmigration; and Iulius Africanus surnamed Saturne) was the establisher of the Babylonian Monarchie, of whom there is no other thing written, then that his Empire in the beginning consisted of those 4. Cities before remembred, Babel, Erech, Accad, and Chalne: and that from hence he propagated his Empire into Assyria, & in Assyria built four more Cities (to wit) Ninine, Rehoboth, Celah, and Resen. And seeing that hee spent much time in building Babel it selfe and those adioyning, and that his traualles were many ere he came into Shinaar: that worke of Babel (such as it was) with the other three Cities, and the large foundation of Ninine, and the other Cities of Assyria which he builded (considered with the want of materials, and with other impediments) were of greater difficultie then any thing performed by his Successors in many yeeres after: to whose vndertakings time had giuen so great an increafe of people; and the examples and patternes of his beginning so great an advancement and encouragement: in whole time (saith Esey) all these Nations were called Meropes, *a meronis linguarum terræ diuisio*, 50 me; by reason that the earth and the speech were then diuided.

Belus, or Bel, or Iupiter Belus, succeeded Nimrod, after hee had reigned 114. yeeres; of whose acts and vndertakings there is little written. For it is thought that he spent much of his time in dis-burdening the low Lands of Babylon, and drying and making firme ground of all those great Fennes and ouer-flowne Marishes which adioyned vnto it. For any of his Warres or conquests there is no report, other then of his begun enterprise against Sabauius King of Armenia, and those parts of scythia which Berossus calls Scythia Sages, whose sonne and successor Barzanes became subiect and Tributary to Ninus, that followed the warre to effect, which was by his Father Belus begunne.

§. V.

That we are not to marvaile how so many Kingdomes could be erected about these times: and of Vexoris of Egypt, and Tanais of Scythia.

Had so many Kingdomes were erected in all those Easterne parts of the World so soon after Nimrod, (as by the storie of Nimus is made manifest) the causes were threefold, (namely) Opportunitie, Example, and Necessitie. For Opportunitie being a Princesse liberal and powerfull, bestoweth on her first Enterprizes many times more benefits, then either Fortune can, or Wisdome ought; by whose presence alone the vnderstanding mindes of men receive all those helps and supplies, which they eyther want or wish for: so as every Leader of a troupe (after the diuision of tongues and dispersion of People) finding these faire offers made vnto them, held the power which they posselt, and governed by discretion all those people, whom they conducted to their destined places. For it cannot be conceiued, that when the Earth was first diuided, mankind straggled abroad like beasts in a Desert; but that by agreement they disposed themselves, & vnder-tooke to inhabite all the knowne parts of the world, and by distinct Families and Nations: otherwise, those remote Regions from Babylon and Shinaar, which had Kings, and were peopled in Nimus time, would not have beene posselt in many hundreds of yeeres after, as then they were; neyther did those that were sent, and trauelled far off (order being the true parent of prosperous successe) vndertake so difficult enterprizes without a Conducter or Commander. Secondly, the Example of Nimrod with whom it succeeded well, strengthened every humor that aspired. Thirdly, Necessitie resolu'd all men by the arguments of common miseries, that without a Commander and Magistrat, neither could those that were laborious, and of honest dispositions, enioy the harvest of their owne Trauails: nor those which were of little strength, secure themselves against forcible violence: nor those which fought after any proportion of greatnesse, eyther posselt the same in quiet, or rule and order their owne Ministers and Attendants.

That these causes had wrought these effects, the vndertakings and Conquests of Nimus (the son of Belus) made it apparent: for he found every where Kings and Monarchies, what way soeuer his Ambition led him in the Warres.

But Nimrod (his Grand-father) had no companion King, to vs knowne, when he first tooke on him Soueraignie and sole commandement of all those the children of Noah, which came from the East into Babylonia: though in his life time others also rayed themselves to the same estate; of which hereafter. Belus (his sonne and Successor) found Sabatium King of Armenia and Scythia, sufficiently powerfull to resist his attempts: which Sabatium I take to be the same, which Iustine calls Tanais; and should coniecture, that Mizraim had beene his Vexoris, were it not that I vehemently suspect some error, (as Iustine placeth him) in the time of that Vexoris, who by many circumstances seemes to me rightly accounted by the Iudicious and Learned Reuercius all one with the great Sesostris, that liued certaine Ages after Nimus. This Belus, the second King of Babylon, reigned 65 yeeres, according to the common account.

§. VI.

Of the name of Belus, and other names asfine vnto it.

Hence this second King and Succesour of Nimrod had the name of Bel, or Belus, question hath beene made: for it seemeth rather a name imposed, or (as addition) giuen by Nimus, then assumed by Belus himselfe.

Cyrillus against Iulian calls the Father of Nimus Arbelus, affirming that he was the first of all men that caused himselfe to be called a god: which were it so, then might the name of Belus be thence deriued. But Bel, as many Learned Writers haue obserued, signifieth the Sunne in the Chaldean Tongue; and therefore did Nimus and Semiramis giue that name to their Father, that he might be honoured as the Sunne, which the Babylonians worshipped as a god. And as this Title was assumed in after-times by diuers others of the Chaldean Princes, and Babylonian Satraps: so was it vsed (in imitation) by the chiefe of the Carthaginians and other Nations, as some Historians haue conceiued.

To

To this Bel, or Belus, pertaine (as in affinity) those voyces of Baal, Baalim, Belphegor, Belphegor, Belpheub, and Belphephen. Those that are learned in the Hebræe and Chaldean conuert the word Baal by the Latine, Princes, milites, Chieftes in the Warres, though Daniel was so called (saith Suidas) Ob honoris explanationis arcanarum rerum, in honorem sibi expounding secrets. Saint Hierome makes Bel, Beel, and Baal, to haue the same signification: Hieron. Of. c. 4. and sayeth, that the Idoll of Babylon was so called, which Nimus in the more of his father set vp to be worshipped: to which, that he might add the more honour and reuerence, he made it a Sanctuary and refuge for all offenders. Hence (saith Irenæus) came Idolatry, and the first vse of Images into the World. Irenæus doth interpret Bel by Petrus, old orancient; adding, that as among the Assyrians it is taken for Saturne and the Sunne, so in the Punick or Carthaginian Language it signifieth God. Glycis makes it an Assyrian name properly; and Iosephus a Tyrian. He also affirmeth that the Idoll which the Arabians worshipped (By them erected on the Mountain Phogor, or Pter, and called Baal) is the same which the Latines call Priapus, the god of Gardens; which also was the opinion of S. Hierome. But that the word Bel, or Beel, was as much to say as God, appeareth by the word Beelzebub; the Idoll of Accaron. For Bel, or Beel, foundeth (God) and Schub (Flies or Hornets;) by which name (notwithstanding) the Iewes expresse the Prince of Demils. But the Prophet Osee teacheth vs the proper signification of this word from the voice of God himselfe; And at that day (saith the Lord) shall I call me Ithi, and shall call me no more Baalim: for I will take away the name of Baalim out of their mouths. For although the name of Baal, or Babal, be iustly to be set towards God; yet it respecteth that the same was giuen to Idols, God both hated it and forbad it. And the vsing of the word Bel among the Chaldeans for the Sunne, was not because it properly signifieth the Sun, but because the Sunne there was worshipped as a God: as also the Fire was, as Irenæus says in his particula. As for the words compounded (before remembred) Belphegor, and Belphephen, Belphegor is expounded out of Facius, D. Minus (speculat. in Iudicia: The Lord of the Watch Tower, or of the Guard: the other word noteth the Idoll, and the place where in it was worshipped. It is also written Belpheor, or Belpheor, and Pter (the y-day) as much as Deuout; and therefore the word ioyned expresseth a naked Image. Some there are that call this Belus the sonne of Saturne: for it was vsed among the Ancients to name the Father Saturne, the Sonne Iupiter, and the Grand-child Hercules. Saturni dictum familiarum Nobilium, Regum qui verbes considerant, sancti, et primogeniti eorum Ioues et Iunones. Hercules vero nepotes eorum sanctissimi: et the ancient of of Noble Families and Kings, which founded Cities, are called Saturni, et Ioues, et Iunones, et Iunones, their valiant Nephewes Hercules. But this Belus (saith E. P. Virens) was famous by reason of his warlike sonne Nimus, who caused his Father to be worshipped as a God by the name of Iupiter-Babylonius: whom the Egyptians (transported by the Dreames of their Am. Diad. l. 1. antiquæ) make one of theirs. For Neptune (say they) vpon Libya the Daughter of Epaphus begat this Iupiter-Belus, who was Father to Agapetus. They adde, that this Belus carrying a Coloniæ to the River of Egypte, there built a Citie, in which he ordained Priests after the Egyptian manner. But we here say; Belus the Iohn of Babylonians and Iste, or of Neptune and Libya, or (with Eusebius) of Telecamp, who after the death of Apis married Iste: (Cædope then reigning in Aethiopia) the same was not this Babylonian Belus of whom we speake, but rather some other Belus, of whom the Egyptians so much vaunted.

§. VII.

Of the worshipping of Images began from Belus in Babel.

For the Babylonian Belus, hee was the most ancient Belus, and the Inuentour of Astronomie, if Plinie say true: from whence the Egyptians might be borrow both the name and the Doctrine. Some part of the Temple, in which his Statue or Image was honoured as a God, the same Ambrosius affirmeth that it did remaine in his time.

Of the Sepulcher of Belus, Strabo writeth thus: Over the River (saith he) there are Gardens, where they bury the bones of Belus his Tomb, which Hercules brake up, are yet remaining. It was a square Pyramid made of bricks, as high as high, and on every side it had a long in breadth. It appears by Cyril against Iulian, that hee obtained diuine worship yet living.

See more of this 2. of this first part, cap. 2. §. 6.

Strabo. l. 1. c. 16. c. 17.

living: for so he writes of him (calling him *Arbelus*.) *Arbelus*, *vn superbus* (by arrogant, *primus hominum dicitur à subditis Deitatis nomen accepisse: perseverant igitur Assyri, & finitima illi gentes sacrificantes ei.* *Arbelus*, a man very proud and arrogant, is accounted to be the first of all men that was ever honoured by their subjects with title of Deities (or with the name of God.) The *Assyrians* therefore, and the bordering Nations have persevered, sacrificing to him. *Euen Arius* also, whom *Suidas* calls *Thur* as, who succeeded next after *Ninyas*, was made an Idoll-god among them, if we credit *Suidas*.

After *Ninus* (that is, after *Ninyas*) *Thur* as reigned (saith *Suidas*) whom they called after the name of the Planet *Mars*; a man of sharpe and fierce disposition, who bidding battaile to *Caucasus* of the stocke of *Iapheth* slue him. The *Assyrians* worshipped him for their God, and called him *Baal* (that is) *Mars*; thus saith *Suidas*. Neither is it unlikely but that many among Idolatrous nations were Deified in their life-times, or soone after: though I denie not but that the most of their Images and Statues were first erected without diuine worship, only in memorie of the glorious acts of Benefactors, as *Glycas* rightly conceiueth; and so afterward the Deuill crept into those wooden and brazen carcases, when Posteritie had lost the memorie of their first inuention. Hereof *Isidore* speaketh in this manner: *Quos autem Pagani Deos asserunt homines fuerunt. Et pro vniuersisq; vite meritis vel magnificentia, colunt apud suos post mortem ceperunt: sed (Demoniis persuadentibus) quos ille pro sua memoria honoauerunt, minores Deos existimauerunt: adfuerunt magis excolenda accesserunt Poetarum fymenta.* They were men (saith he) whom the Pagans asserued to be gods: and euery one for his merits or magnificence began after his death to bee honoured of his owne. But at length (the Deuils perswading) they accounted them lesser gods, whose memories they honoured: and the Fictions of the Poets made the opinions (concerning the honour of the dead) much more superstitious.

And that the worshipping of Images was brought in by the Pagans, and Heathen Nations, it is not *Isidore* alone that witnesseth; but *Gregorie*: *Gentilitas* (saith he) *inuentrix est Idolorum*. in 2^o *capit. caput est imaginum; Gentilitas in the inuentresse and ground of Images: and Ambrose; Gentiles lignum adorant, sicut etiam imaginem Dei. The Gentiles adore wood as it were the Image of God. Eusebius* also affirmeth as much, and calleth the worshipping of Images a custome borrowed of the Heathen. The like hath *Saint Augustine* against *Adimantium*. *Et veretur* 30 (saith *Lactantius*) *ne religio vana sit, si nihil videant quod adorent; They feare their Religion would be vaine, should they not see that which they worship.*

And (out of doubt) the Schoolemen thift this fearefull custome very strangely. For seeing the very workmanship is forbidden, how can the heart of a wise Christian satisfie it selfe with the distinction of *Douglas* and *Hyperdouglas*, which can imply nothing but some difference of worshipping of those Images after they are made? And it is of all things the most strange, why religious and learned men should straine their wits to defend the vse of those things, which the Scriptures haue not onely no where warranted, but expressly in many places forbidden, and cursed the Practisers thereof. Yet this doctrine of the Deuill was so strongly and subtly rooted, as neither the expresse Commandement of God himselfe, *Thou shalt not make any grauen Image*, nor all the threatnings of *Moses* and the Prophets after him could remoue, weed it, or by feare, or by any perswasions lead the hearts of men from it. For where shall we find words of greater weight, or of plainer instruction then these? *Take therefore good heed to your selues (for ye saw no Image in the day that the Lord spake vnto you in Horeb out of the midst of the fire) that ye corrupt not your selues, and make you a grauen Image or representation of any Figure, whether it be the likeness of Male or Female.*

And besides the expresse Commandement, *Thou shalt not make thee no grauen Image*, and the prohibition in many Scriptures, so it is written in the Booke of *Wisdom*, *That the inuention of Idols was the beginning of vborredome: and the finding of them the corruption of life: for they were not from the beginning, neither shall they continue for euer.*

And whereas the Schoolemen affirme, that the Prophets spake against the Worshipping of the Heathen Idols, it is manifest that *Moses* spake of Images of the liuing God, and not of *Baal* and the rest of that nature, *For you saw no Image* (saith *Moses*) *that day that the Lord spake vnto you in Horeb.* Surely it was excellently said of *Basil*: *Nidali quum in illo formam imaginari, ne circumscriptis eum mente sua: Doe not imagine any forme to be in God, lest thou limit or circumscribe him in thy minde so.* Now, if the great *Basil* thought it a presumption vnlawfull to represent a pattern of the infinite God to our own thoughts

thoughts and mindes, how farre doe those men presume that put him vnder the greazie Penill of a Painter, or the rustie Axe or other Instrument of a Carpenter or Caruer?

For as this dishonour to the infinite and incomprehensible God beganne in *Babel*: so did the Deuill transport and spread this inuention into all the Regions adioyning, and into *Egypt* and *Greece*.

The *Romans* for a while resisted the erection of these Idols and Images, refusing to set them in their Temples for 170. yeeeres, observing the Law of *Numa*: who thought it impietie to resemble things most beautifull, by things most base. But *Tarquinius Priscus* afterward preuailing, and following the vanitie of the *Grecians* (a Nation of all others vnder the Sunne most deluded by Satan) set vp the Images of their gods; which (as *S. Augustine* witnesseth) that Learned *Varro* both bewailed, and vterly condemned: and which *Seneca* thus derideth: *Simulachra deorum venerantur, illis supplicam, genu posito illa adoram, & cum hac suspiciam, fabros qui illa fecere contemnunt;* The Images of the gods are worshipped, those they pray vnto with bended knees, those they adore, and while they so greatly admire them, they contemne the Handicraftsmen that made them: which also *Seneca* thus derideth in this sort scoffed at:

Hec miseri qui vana colunt, qui corde sinistro Religio a sibi sculptant simulachra, suum, Factorem fugiunt, & quae fecere venerantur. Quis furor est? quae tanta animos dementia ludit? Præuolucrum, turpem, bouem, cornuatum, Dracunculæ, Semi-hominem, canem supplex homo prouus adorat.

Ah wretched they that worship vanities, And consecrate dumbe Idols in their heart, Who their owne Maker (God on high) despise, And feare the worke of their owne hands and art. What furie? what great madnesse doth beguile Mens mindes? that man should vgly shapcs adore, Of Birds, or Buls, or Dragons, or the vile Halfe-dogge-halfe-man on knees for aide implore.

And though this deuice was barbarous, and first, and many yeeeres practised by Heathen Nations only, till the *Jewes* were corrupted in *Egypt*, yet it is not *Seneca* alone that laugheth to scorn the ignorant Rudiditie of his Nation: but *Iustin Martyr* remembreth how the *Sibyls* inuighed against Images: and *Hosian*, how *Sophocles* taught, that it was pernicious to the foules of men to erect and adore those Babels. *Strabo* and *Herodotus* witnesseth, that the *Persians* did not erect or set vp any Statues of their Gods. *Lycurgus* neuer taught it the *Lacedæmonians*, but thought it impietie to represent immortal natures by mortall Figures. *Eusebius* also witnesseth in his sixth Booke *de præparatione Euangelica*, that it was forbidden by a Law in *Serica*, or among the *Brachmans* in *India*, that Images should be worshipped. The same doe *Tacitus* and *Criminus* report of the ancient *Germans*. Many other Authors might bee remembered that witnesseth the disdaine which the Heathen themselves had of this childish Idolatrie: of which *Hosian* hath written at large in his Tract, *de origine imaginum*. And it was truly sayd, *Omnia mala exempla bonis initis orta sunt, All ill examples haue sprung from good beginnings.* The Heathen at first made these Statues and Images, but in memorie of such remarkable men, as had deserved best of their Countries and Common-wealths: *Effigies hominum* (saith *Plinie*) *non solebant exprimi, nisi aliqua illustri causa perpetuam mentium: Men were not wont to make Pictures, but of men which merited for some notable cause to be perpetually remembered.* And though of the more ancient *Papists*, some haue borrowed of the *Gentiles* (as appears in *Lactantius*) that defence for Images: That *Simulachra* are pro elementis literarum, *ver ea discernit homines Deū inuisibile cognoscere: Images* (say they, & so before the Heathen said) are in stead of Letters, whereby men might learn to know the inuisible God: in which vnderstanding perhaps they no other wise esteemed them then pictures indeed, yet as that of *Baal* or *Bel* set vp in memory of *Belus* the *Babylonian*, became afterward the most reuerenced Idoll of the World, by which so many Nations (and they which were appropriate to God himselfe) were misled and cast away: so those very stocks & stones,

and painted Canuaes (called the pictures of *Christ*, but *Ladie*, and others) were by thousands of ignorant people, not onely adored, but esteemed to haue life, motion, and vnderstanding: On these *Blockes* we call (saith the Booke of *Wisdomes*) when we passe through the raging flames, on these *Blockes* more vnto then the ship that carrieth vs.

This Heathen inuention of Images became so fruitfull in after-times, breeding an infinite multitude of gods, that they were forced to distinguish them into degrees and orders; as *Dei Consentes*, *sem maiorum gentium*; selecti, *Patritij*, *in signioris*, *diij mediij*: *Consellij*, *gods*, or *gods of the mightiest Nobilitie*, selecti *gods*, *Patritij*, *gods of marke*, and common gods (which the *Romans* called *Mediorum*) *diij infimi*, and *correltriall Heroes*, and multitudes of other gods: of which *Saint Augustine* hath made large mention in his Booke *de Cinitate Dei*. But (saith *Lactantius*) among all those miserable soules and rotten bodies, worshipped by men more like to their Idols, did *Epimenides Cretensis* (by what good Angell moued I know not) erect in the *Athenian* Fields, Altars to the vnknowne God, which stood with the same title and dedication euen to the times of *S. Paul*: who made them first know to whom these Altars belonged, and opened their eyes which were capable of grace, that they might discern the difference betwixt that light which lightneth euery man, and the obscure and stinking mist wherein the Deuill had so many yeeres led and misled them. And it sufficed not that the multitude of these gods was forgot in generall, or that euery Nation had some one which rooke particular and singular care of them, as *Lupiter* in *Crete*, *Isis* in *Agypt*, in *Athens Minerva*, in *Samos Iuno*, in *Paphos Venus*, and so of all other parts; but euery Citie, and almost euery Family had a god a-part. For as it is written in the second of *Kings*: the men of *Babel*, made *Succoth Benoth*, and the men of *Cuth* made *Nergal*, and the men of *Hamath* made *Asbima*, and the *Amis* made *Nibhaz* and *Tarrak*, and the *Sepheruims* burnt their children in the fire to *Adramelech*. All which how plainly hath the Prophet *Esaie* derided? Men cut downe Trees, rinde them, burne a part of them, make readie their meate, and warme them selves by the fire thereof, and of the residue he maketh a god, an Idoll, and prayeth vnto it: but God hath but their eyes from sight, and their heart from vnderstanding. It is therefore safest for a Christian to beleue the Commandements of God to direct against Idolatrie, to beleue the Prophets, and to beleue *S. Paul*: who speaketh thus plainly and feelingly, My beloved, flye from Idolatrie, I speake as vnto them which haue vnderstanding, iudge ye what I say.

§. VIII.

Of the warres of *Ninus*: and lastly of his Warre against *Zoroaster*.

Vnto this *Belus* succeeded *Ninus*, the first that commanded the exercise of Idolatrie, the first that inuiously invaded his Neighbor Princes; and the first that without shame or feare committed adulterie in publike. But as of *Belus* there is no certaine memorie (as touching particulars:) so of this *Ninus* (whose storie is gathered out of Prophane Authors) I finde nothing so warrantable, but that the same may be disputed, and in the greatest part doubted. For although that piece of *Berosus* set out and commented vpon by *Amnius*, hath many good things in it, and giueth great light (as *Christians* knoweth) to the vnderstanding of *Diodorus Siculus*, *Dion*, *Halicarnassus*, and others: yet *Lodouicus Vives*, *B. Rhenanus*, and others after them haue layed open the imperfection and defects of the Fragment; proving directly that it cannot be the same *Belus* the *Athenians* erected, saith *Plinius*. Yet it is from him chiefly, that many haue gathered the succession of the *Babylonian* & *Assyrian* Princes, euen from *Nimrod* to the eighteenth King *Asctades*, and to the times of *Isaia*. For of *Metaethenes* an Historian, of the Race of the *Persian* Priests, there are found but certaine Papers, or some few lines of the *Chaldean* and *Assyrian Monarchies*: but he afterwards in the collection of the *Persian* Kings is not without his errors.

Ctesias of *Cnidus* (a Citie adioyning to *Halicarnassus*) who liued together with *Cyrus* the younger, and with *Artaxerxes Menemon*, gathered his Historie out of the *Persian* Records, and reacheth as farre vppwards as *Ninus* and *Semiramis*: and though in the storie of *Cyrus* the younger, *Xenophon* approoveth him in some things, and *Athenius*, *Paulus*, and *Tertullian* cite him; yet so base and apparent are his flatteries of the times and Prin-

ces with whom he liued, and so incredible are the numbers which he finds in the Armies of *Ninus*, and especially of *Semiramis*; as whatsoeuer his reports were, times haue consumed his workes, sauing some very few exceptions lately published.

And therefore in things vncertaine, seeing a long discourse cannot be pleasing to men of iudgement, I will passe over the acts of this third *Assyrian*, in as few words as I can expresse them. *S. Augustine* affirms that *Ninus* mastered all *Asia*, *India* excepted. Others say that he wanne it all, saue *India*, *Bactria*, and *Arabia*. For he made *Atricus* of *Arabia* the companion of his Conquests, with whom he entred into a straight league of amitie, because he commanded many people, and was his Kinsman, a *Chusite*, and the neercst Prince confronting *Babylonia*. His first enterprize was vpon *Syria*, which he might easily subdue, both because hee inuaded it on the sodaine, and because it lay next him: and also because the *Arabians* and their King *Atricus* (which bordered *Syria*) assisted him in the Conquest thereof.

The King of *Armenia*, *Barzanes*, he forced to acknowledge him, and to aide him in his Warre against *Zoroaster*: for from *Armenia* he bent himselfe that way toward the East; but that euer he commanded the lesser *Asia*, I doe not beleue, for none of his Successors had any possession therein.

His third Warre was against *Pharnus*, King of the *Medes*, whome it is sayd that he ouerthrew, and cruelly murdered with his seuen Children, though others affirme that hee all died in one battaile against him. Whether he inuaded *Zoroaster* before the building or amplifying of *Ninive*, or after, it is vncertaine. It is said that he made two expeditions into *Bactria*: and that finding little or ill successe in the first, hee returned, and set the worke of *Ninive* forward: and then a second time entred *Bactria* with 1700000. Foot, and 200000. Horse, and 10000. fixe hundred Chariots: being encountered by *Zoroaster* with four hundred thousand. But *Ninus* preuailing, and *Zoroaster* being slain, hee entred further into the Countrie, and besieged the chiefe Citie thereof, called *Bactra* or *Bactrian* (saith *Stephanus*:) which by a passage found, and an assault giuen by *Semiramis* (the wife of *Menon*) hee entred and posselt. Vpon this occasion *Ninus* both admiring her iudgement and valour, together with her person and externall beautie, fancied her so strongly, as (neglecting all Princely respects) hee tooke her from her husband, whose eyes he threatened to thrust out if hee refused to consent. Hee therefore yielding to the passion of loue in *Ninus*, and to the passion of sorrow in himselfe, by the strong perswasions of shame and dishonour, cast himselfe head-long into the water, and died.

CHAP. XI.

Of *ZOROASTER*, supposed to haue bene the chiefe Author of Magick Arts: and of the diuers kinds of Magicke.

§. I.

That *Zoroaster* was not Cham, nor the first Inuenter of Astrologie, or of Magicke: and that there were diuers great Magicians of this name.

Zoroaster King of the *Bactrians*, *Vincenius* supposeth to be Cham the sonne of *Noah*: A fancie of little probabilitye. For Cham was the Paternall Ancestor of *Ninus*, the Father of *Chus*, the Grand-father of *Nimrod*, whose sonne was *Belus*, the Father of *Ninus*. It may be that *Vincenius* had heard of that booke which was called *Scriptura Cham*, deuiled by some wicked Knaue, & so intitled: of which *Sextus Senensis* hath made the due mention.

It is reported by *Cassianus*, that *Serenus Abbas* gaue the inuention of Magicke to Cham the sonne of *Noah*: so did *Comestor* in his Scholasticall Historie, which Art (saith he) with the 7. liberall Sciences he writ in 14. Pillers: seuen of which were made of brasse, to resist the defacing by the waters of the Flood; and 7. of bricke against the iniurie of fire. There was also another deuiled discourse, which went vnder

title of *Prophetia Cham*. *Cassianus* out of *Serenus* hath somewhat like unto this of *Comestor*. These be *Cassian's* words: *Cham (filius Noah) qui superstitiois istis & sacrilegiis suis aris infectus, sciens, nullum se posse super his memorialium librum in Arcam prorsus inferre, in qua erat cumpatre suo, &c. Cham (the name of Noah) who was infected with these superstitions, and sacrilegious Arts, knowing that he could not bring any booke or memorial of that nature into the Arke, wherein he was to remayne with his godly Father, caused the Precepts and Rules thereof to be graven in metall and hard Stone.*

S. Augustine noteth that *Zoroaster* was said to have laught at his birth, when all other children weepe, which prefiged the great knowledge which afterward he attained unto: being taken for the Inuenter of naturall *Magick* and other Arts; for the Corrupter, to faith *Plinie* and *Iustine*. But I doe not thinke that *Zoroaster* inuented the doctrine of the *Floriscopes* or *Natiuities*: or first found out the nature of herbs, stones, and minneralls, or their Sympatheticall or Antipatheticall workings; of which, I know not what King of *Chaldaea* also made the Inuenter. I rather thinke that their knowledges were far more ancient, and left by *Noah* to his sonnes. For *Abraham* who had not any acquaintance with *Zoroaster*, (as *Iosephus* reporteth) was no lesse learned heere then any other in that age, if hee exceeded not all men then liuing: differing from the wisdome of after-times in this, that hee knew and acknowledged the true cause, and giuer of life, and vertue to Nature and all Naturall things; whereas others (forgetting Gods infinite, dispersed, and vniuersall power) admired the instruments, and did attribute proper strength to the things themselves, (from which the effects were sensible) which be longed to that wisdome, Which being one, and remaining in it selfe, can doe all things, and reneweth all.

Now whether this *Zoroaster* (ouer-throwne by *Ninus*) were the same which was so excellent a Naturalist, it is doubted. For *Zoroaster* the *Magician*, *Ctesias* calls *Oxyartes*, whom *Plinie* findes of a later time. And if *Zoroaster* were taken away by a Spirit (being in the midst of his Disciples) as some Authors report, then *Zoroaster*, slaine by *Ninus*, was not the *Magician*: which is also the opinion of *Scaliger*.

Again, *Iosephus* and *Cedrenus* affirme, that *Seth* first found out the Planets, or wandering Starrs, and other Motions of the Heauens: for if this Art had beene inuented by *Zoroaster*, hee could not haue attained to any such excellencie therein, in his owne lifetime; but being a man (as it seemeth) of singular iudgement, he might adde somewhat to this kinde of knowledge, and leaue it by writing to posteritie.

But of this *Zoroaster* there is much dispute: and no lesse tangling about the word and arte of *Magick*. *Arnobius* remembereth foure, to whom the name of *Zoroaster* or *Zorastres* was giuen: which by *Hermodorus* & *Dionysius* seemeth to be but a cognomen, or name of arte, and was as much to say, as *astrorum cultor*. The first, *Arnobius* calleth the *Bactrian*, which may be the same that *Ninus* ouerthrew: the second, a *Chaldean*, and the *Astronomer* of *Ninus*: the third was *Zoroaster Pamphilus*, who liued in the time of *Cyrus* and his familiar: the fourth, *Zoroaster Armenius*, the Nephew of *Hofianes*, which followed *Xerxes* into *Greece*: between whom and *Cyrus* there past threecore and eighene yeres. *Suidas* remembereth a fifth, called *Persedus sapiens*: and *Plato* speaketh of *Zoroaster* the sonne of *Oromasdes*; which *Picinus Mirandula* confirmeth.

Now of what Nation the first and chiefe *Zoroaster* was, it is doubted. *Plinie* and *Lactantius* make him a *Persian*. *Gemisthius* or *Pletho*, *Ficinus* and *Stenchiuss*, make him a *Chaldean*. But by those bookes of one *Zoroaster*, found by *Picinus Mirandula*, it appeareth plainly, that the Author of them was a *Chaldean* by Nation; though the word (*Chaldean*) was as often giuen to the learned Priests peculiarly, as for any distinguishing of Nations. *Porphyrus* makes the *Chaldei* and *Magi* diuers; *Picinus* the same, But that this *Zoroaster* was a *Chaldean* both by Nation and Profession, it appeareth by his Bookes, which (saith *Picinus*) were written in the *Chaldean* tongue; and the Comment in the same language. Now that the *Magi* & they were not differing, it may be iudged by the name of those bookes of *Zoroaster*, which in an Epistle of *Mirandula* to *Ficinus*, hee saith, be intituled, *Patri Ezre Zoroastri*, & *Melchior magorum oracula*.

§. II.

Of the name of *Magia*: and that it was anciently farre ainers from Coniuring and Witchcraft.

Now for *Magick* it selfe; which *Ante* (saith *Mirandula*) pauci intelligunt, multi Pic. Mir. fo. 81. reprehendunt; Few vnderstand, and many reprehend; Et sic ut Canes ignoscos semper allatrant; As Dogs barke at those they know not: so they censure and hate shethings they vnderstand not: I thinke it not amisse leaving *Ninus* for a while, to speake somewhat thereof.

It is true that many men abhorre the very name and word (*Magos*) because of *Simon Magus*: who being indeed, not *Magus*, but *Goes*, (that is) familiar with euill spirits, vsurped that title. For *Magick*, Coniuring, and witcherie, are farre differing Arts, wherof *Plinie* being ignorant scotteth thereat. For *Nero* (saith *Plinie*) who had the most excellent Magicians of the East sent him by *Tyridates* King of *Armenia*, who held that Kingdome by his grace, found the arte after long studie and labour altogether ridiculous.

Magus is a *Persian* word primitiue, whereby is exprest such a one as is altogether conuerant in things diuine. And (as *Plato* affirmeth) the Arte of *Magick* is the Arte of worshipping God. To which effect *Apolonius* in his Epistles expounding the word (saith) that the *Persians* called their gods *magos*: whence hee addeth that *Magus* is either *ignarus dei* or *deprecorum deum* (that is) that *Magus* is a name sometime of him that is a God by nature; sometimes of him that is in the seruice of God: in which latter sense it is taken, *Math. 23. v. 1*. And this is the first and highest kinde: which *Piccolomini* calleth diuine *Magick*: and these did the *Latines* newly intitle *Sapientes* or *Wise men*: For, the feare and worship of God is the beginning of knowledge. These *Wise men* the *Greekes* call *Philosophers*: the *Indians*, *Brachmans*: which name they somewhat neerely retaine to this day, calling their Priests *Brachmans*; among the *Aegyptians* they were termed *Priests*; with the *Hebrewes* they were called *Cabalists*, *Prophets*, *Scribes*, and *Pharisees*: amongst the *Babylonians* they were differenced by the name of *Chaldeans*: and among the *Persians*, *Magicians*: of whom *Arnobius* (speaking of *Hofianes*, one of the ancient *Magicians*) vtieth these words: *Et uerum Deum merita maiestatis prosequitur, & Angelos ministros Dei sed ueritatem uenerationis non ita seire. Idem dæmonas prodit terrenis, uagos, humanitatis inimicos; solitones* (for so *M. Felix* calleth him, not *Hofianes*) ascribeth the due maiestie to the true God, and acknowledgeth that his Angels are ministers and messengers which attend the worship of the true God. He also hath deliuered that there are *Demis* earthly and wandering, and enemies to mankind.

Eli Maiestie also in his first Booke of *Demonologie* c. 3. acknowledgeth, that in the *Persian* tongue the word (*Magus*) imports as much as a contemplator of diuine and heauenly sciences; but vniuallly so called, because the *Chaldeans* were ignorant of the true diuine. And it is also right which *Eli* Maiestie auoweth, that under the name of *Magick* altogether vnlawfull Arts are comprehended, and yet doth *Eli* Maiestie distinguish it from *Necromancie*, *Witchcraft*, and the rest: of all which he hath written largely and most learnedly. For the *Magick* which *Eli* Maiestie commendeth: is of that kinde whereof the *Deuill* is a parjare: *Daniel* in his second chapter nameth foure kinds of those wise men: *Ariels*, *Magi*, *Malefici*, and *Chaldei*. *Ariels* the olde *Latine* translation calleth *Sophistas*; *Patebimus* and *Paganus*, *Genethliacos*, or *Physicos*, or *Philosophers*, or (according to the more of *Patebimus*) *Naturphilosophi*; *Nempe* sunt *Magi* apud Barbaros, quod *Philosophi* apud Græcos (scilicet) diuinorum humanarumq. rerum scientiam proficentes; For the *Magi* are the same with the *Barbarians*, as the *Philosophers* are with the *Græcians* (that is) men that professe the knowledge of things both diuine and humane. The *Greeke* and the *Emulic* call them *Inchantes*, *Incantus*, *Magicians*; *Cassiodorus*, *Coniecturers*: in the *Syrian* they are all foure by one name called *Sapientes Babylonie*, The *Wise men* of *Babel*.

The second sort *Malefici*, *Paganus*, *Iunius*, and our *Englishe* call *Astrologers*, *Hierome* in the *Septuaginta*, *Magicians*. The third kinde are *Malefici*, or *Venefici*, in *Hierome*, *Paganus*, and the *Septuaginta*, *Witches*, or *Possones* in *Iunius*, *Præstigiatores*, or *Sorcerers*, as in *Englishe*. That *Witches* are also rightly to be termed *Venefici*, or *Possones*; and that indeede there is a kinde of *Malefici*, which without any Arte of *Magick* or *Necromancie* yet the helpe

of the Deuill to doe mischief, His *Maieſtie* confirmeth in the first Chapter of his second Booke: speaking also in the fifth Chapter of their practice, to mixe the powder of dead bodies with other things by the Deuill prepared; and at other times to make pictures of Waxe, or Clay, or otherwise (as it were *Sacramentaliter*) to effect those things, which the Deuill by other meanes bringeth to passe.

The fourth, all Translators call *Chaldaans*: who took vpon them to foretell all things to come, as well naturall as humane, and their euent: and thus they vaunted to perform by the influences of the Starres by them obserued, and vnderstood.

Such were, and to this day partly (if not altogether) are the corruptions, which haue made odious the very name of *Magike*, hauing chiefly fought (as is the manner of all impostures) to counterfet the highest and most noblest part of it, yet fo as they haue also crept into the inferior degrees.

A second kinde of *Magike* was that part of *Astrologie*, which had respect to sowing and planting, and all kindes of agriculture and husbandrie: which was a knowledge of the motions and influences of the Starres into those lower Elements.

Philo Iudeus goeth farther, affirming, that by this part of *Magike* or *Astrologie*, together with the motions of the Starres and other heauenly bodies, *Abraham* found out the knowledge of the true God, while he liued in *Chaldea*: *Qui contemplatione creaturarum cognouit Creatorem*, (saith Io. *Damasceus*) *Who knew the Creator by the contemplation of the creature.* *Iosephus* reporteth of *Abraham*, that hee instructed the *Egyptians* in *Aritmetike* and *Astronomie*, who before *Abrahams* coming vnto them knew none of these sciences.¹⁰

And fo doth *Archangelus de Burgo*, in defence of *Mirandula* against *Gurſian*: *Alexander* & *Eupolemon* dicunt, quod *Abraham* sanctitate & sapientia omnium praestantissimus *Chaldaus* primum, deinde *Phoenices*, deum *Aegyptios* sacer dotes *Astrologiam* & diuina docuerit; *Alexander* (saith he, meaning *Alexander Polyhistor*) and *Eupolemon* asserunt, quod *Abraham* the holiest and wisest of men, did first teach the *Chaldaans*, then the *Phoenicians*; lastly, the *Egyptian* Priests, *Astrologie* and diuine knowledge.

The third kinde of *Magike* containeth the whole Philosophie of nature; not the brabbings of the *Aristotelians*, but that which bringeth to light the inward verities, and draweth them out of Natures hidden bofome to humane vie, *Virritas in centro centri lites*; *Virtutes* hidden in the center of the center, according to the *Chymists*. Of this sort were *Alextus*, *Arnoldus de villa noua*, *Raymond*, *Bacon*, and many others: and before these in elder times, and who better vnderstood the power of Nature, and how to apply things that worke to things that suffer, were *Zoroaster* before spoken of: *Apollonius Tyanaus* remembered by *S. Hierome* to *Paulinus*; in some mens opinion *Numa Pompilius* among the *Romans*; among the *Indians*, *Theſſian*; among the *Egyptians*, *Hermes*; among the *Babylonians*, *Budda*; the *Thracians* had *Zamolxis*; the *Hyperboreans* (as is supposed) *Abraham*; and the *Italians*, *Petrus Aponensis*. The *Magike* which these men profess is thus defined: *Magia est connexio a viro sapiente agentium per naturam compatientibus sibi congruentem respondentibus, ut inde opera prodeant non sine eorum admiratione qui causam ignorant*; *Magike* is the connexion of naturall agents and patients; answerable each to other, wrought by a wise man to the bringing forth of such effects; as are wonderful to those that know not their causes. In all these three kindes which other men diuide into foure, it seemeth that *Zoroaster* was exceedingly learned: especially in the first and highest. For in his Oracles he confesseth God to be the Creator of the Vniuersall: he beleeueth of the Trinity, which he could not inuestigate by any naturall knowledge: he speaketh of Angels, and of Paradise: approoveth the immortallitie of the soule: teacheth Truth, Faith, Hope, and Loue, discoursing of the Absintie and Charitie of the *Magi*: which Oracles of his, *Pellus*, *Fictus*, *Patritius*, and others haue gathered and translated.

Of this *Zoroaster*, *Eusebius* in the *Theologie* of the *Phoenicians*, vnto *Zoroaster* owne words: *Hac ad verbum scribit (saith Eusebius) Deus primum incorruptibilem, sempiternum, ingenium, expertum partium, sibipſis similitudinem, bonorum omnium origo, minorum non expectans, optimus, prudentissimus pater suus, sine doctrina iustitiam per doctus, natura perfectus, sapiens, sacre nature vicicus inuentor, &c.* Thus writeth *Zoroaster* word for word: *God the first incorruptible, everlasting, vndergoen, without part; most like him selfe, the guide of all good, expecting no reward, the best, the wisest, the father of right, hauing learn'd iustice without teaching, perfect wisest by nature, the only true enter therof.*

Sextus Senensis speaking of the wilddome of the *Chaldaans*, doth distinguish those who

men into five orders, (to wit) *Chaldei*, or *Chaldaans*: *Asaphim*, or *Magicians*: *Chartanim*, (which he translates *Arioli*, or *Sophists*) *Mechaphim*, or *Malefici*, or *Venefici*, *Witches*, or *Wizards*; and *Gazarim*, *Augures*, or *Aruspices*, or *Diuiners*.

Chaldei were those which had the name of *Chaldaans*, which were *Astronomers*: *Hygolum motus diligentissime spectarunt*; These did most diligently contemplate the motions of the heauens: whom *Philo* in the life of *Abraham* describeth.

Asaphim were in the old *Latine* translation called *Philosophers*: of the *Septuagint* and of *Hierome*, *Magicians*: *Qui de omnium tam diuinarum quam humanarum rerum causis philosophati sunt*; who discoursed of the causes of all things, as well diuine as humane: of whom *Origen* makes *Balaam* (the sonne of Beor) to be the first: but *Laertius* ascribeth the inuention of this arte to *Zoroaster* the *Persian*.

Chartanim, or *Inchanters*, the Disciples (saith *Saint Augustine*, *Plinie*, and *Iustin*) of another *Zoroaster*: who corrupted the admirable wisdome of the *Magi*, which hee received from his Ancesters.

Mechaphim, or *Venefici*, or *Witches*, are those of which we haue spoken already out of His *Maieſties* booke of *Demonologia*.

Gazarim, or *Aruspices* (after *Saint Hierome*) which diuine from the entrailles of beasts flaine for sacrifices: or by *Gazarim* others vnderstand *Augures*, who diuine by the flying, singing, or feeding of birds.

By this distinction wee may perceiue the difference betweene those wise men which the Kings of *Babylon* entertayned; and that the name and profession of the *Magi* among the ancient *Persians* was most honest. For as *Peuce* truly obserueth, *Præerat religioni Persæ, ut in populo Dei Leuitæ, studijq; vera Philosophia dediti erant: nec quisquam Rex Persarum poterat esse, qui non antea Mægorum disciplinam scientiamq; perciperet*: The *Magi* (saith he) were the chiefe Ministers of the *Persian* Religion, as the *Leuites* among Gods people, and they were given to the studies of true Philosophie: neither could any be King of the *Persians*, who had not first bene exercised in the mysteries and knowledge of the *Magi*. *Sextus Senensis* in the defence of *Origen* against *Polychronius* and *Theophilus*, hath two kinds of *Magike*, his owne words are these: *Et ne quem moueat præmissa Polychronij & Theophilij testimo-*

*nia, sciendum est duplicem esse Magiam, alteram vbiq; ab Origine damnatam, quæ per fraudem cum demonibus mixta aut verè aut apparenter operatur; alteram ab Origine laudatam, quæ id præstare naturalis philosophiæ pertinet, docens admirabiles res operari ex applicatione mutui naturalium virtutum ad inuicem agentium ac patientium; The testimonies of Theophilus and Polychronius (saith he) may not moue any man, it is to be vnderstood that *Magike* is of two sorts, the one euery where condemned by *Origen*; which worketh (whether truly or seemingly) by couenants made with Devils; the other commended by *Origen*; which appertaineth to the practice part of naturall Philosophie, teaching to worke admirable things by the mutual application of naturall virtues, agent and suffering reciprocally.*

This partition *Hierome* doth embrace in the first of his Commentaries vpon *Daniel*: where considering of the difference which *Daniel* makes betweene these foure kinds of wise Men formerly remembered, hee vseth this distinction: *Quos nos hariclos, ceteris uero (id est) incantatores interpretati sunt, videntur mihi esse qui uerbum rem peragunt; Magi, qui de singulis philosophantur; malefici, qui sanguine utuntur & uitiis, & sapientia corpora mortuorum: porro in Chaldeis Genethliacos significari puto, quos uulgo Mathematicos vocant. Consuetudo autem communis Magos pro maleficis accipit, qui aliter habentur apud gentem suam, eo quod sint Philosophi Chaldaeorum: & ad artis huius scientiam Reges quosq; & Principes eiusdem gentis omnia faciunt; unde & in nativitate Domini Saluatoris ipsi primum ortum eius intellexerunt, & uenientes sanctam Bethleem adorauerunt puerum, stellæ desuper ostendente*. They whom wee call Sorcerers, and others interpret Inchanters, seeme to mee (such as performe things by words; *Magicians*, such as handle euery thing philosophically; *Witches*, that vse blood and sacrifices, and often lay hands on the body of the dead: further, among the *Chaldaans* I take them to bee signified by the name of Coniectors vpon nativities, whom the vulgar call Mathematicians. But common custom takes *Magicians* for *Witches*, who are otherwise reputed in their owne Nation: for they are the *Philosophers* of the *Chaldaans*: yea Kings and Princes of that Nation doe all that they doe according to the knowledge of this Art: whence at the nativitee of the Lord our Saviour they first of all vnderstood his birth, and comming vnto holy Bethleem did worship the Child: the Starre from above shewing him vnto them. By this therefore it appeareth that there is

great difference between the doctrine of a *Magician*, and the abuse of the word. For though some Writers ascribe, that *Magus* hodie dicitur, qui ex federe factio vitu diabolici opera ad rem quancumque. That he is called a *Magician* now, adates, who having entered league with the Diuell, vseth his helpe to any master: yet (as our Saviour said of *Diuice*) it was not so from the beginning. For the Art of *Magick* is of the wisdom of Nature; other Arts which vndergoe that title, were invented by the fallhood, subtilty, & enuy of the Deuill. In the latter there is no other doctrine, then the vse of certaine ceremonies, *Per malā fidem*. By an euill faith: in the former no other ill, then the inuestigation of those vertues and hidden properties which God hath giuen to his creatures, and how fitlie to apply things that worke, to things that suffer. And though by the *Iewes* those excellent *Magicians*, *Philosophers*, & *Diuines*, which came to worship our Saviour Christ, were termed *Mechaschephim*, or *Mecaphsim*, yet had they no other reason then common custome therein. *Consecratio autem communis Magos pro maleficiis accipit; Common custome* (saith

Hieronim. Da-S. Hierome) vnderstandeth Witches vnder the name of *Magicians*: And antiquitie (saith *Peter Martyr*) by the word (*Magi*) vnderstood good and wise men. *Quid igitur expauis*

Per. Mar. Loc.

Mar. Ficini par.

prim. fol. 173.

Magi nomen formidolosum, nomen Evangelio gratiosum, quod non maleficum & veneficium, sed sapientem sonas & Sacerdotem? O thou fearefull one (saith *Ficinus*) why dothest thou to use the name of *Magus*, a name gracious in the Gospell, which doth not signifie a witch or Coniurer, but a wise man and a Priest? For what brought this slander to that studie & profession, but onely idle ignorance: the parent of causelesse admiration? *Causa fuit mirificientia quorundam operum, quae re vera opera naturalia sunt: veruntamen quia procuratio demonum naturae ipsas vel coniungentium, vel commiscientium, vel aliter ad operandum expeditum facta sunt, opera demonum credebantur ab ignorantibus haec. De operibus huiusmodi est Magia naturalis, quam Necromantiam multi improprie vocant: The marvellousnesse of some works, which (indeed) are naturall, hath bene the cause of this slander: but because these works haue bene done by procurement of Devils, toyning the naturas together or mingling them, or housecouer fitting the naturas to their working, they were thought the workes of the Devils by the ignorant. Among these workes is naturall *Magick*, which men call very improperly *Necromantie*.*

Col. Paric. de Leges p. 14.

Fol. 80.

Mirandula in his Apologie goeth further: For by vnderstanding (saith hee) the vntimely actiuitie of naturall agents we are asisted to know the Diuinitie of Christ: for otherwise (to vse his owne words) *ignoratis terminis potentia & virtutis rerum naturalium stat nos dubitare illa eadem opera, quae fecit Christus, posse fieri per media naturalia*; The limits or limits of naturall power and vertue not vnderstood, wee must needs doubt whether these verie workes which Christ did, may not be done by naturall means: after which hee goeth on in this sort: *Ideo non haereticè, non superstitiosè dixi, sed verisimè & Catholice per ralem Magiam adiuuari nos in cognoscenda diuinitate Christi*: Therefore I said not heretically, not superstitiously, but most truly and Catholickely, that by such *Magicks* we are furthered in knowing the Diuinitie of Christ. And seeing the *Iewes* and others the enemies of Christian Religion, doe impudently and impiously obiekt, that those Miracles which Christ wrought were not about Nature, but by the exquisite knowledge thereof performed: *Mirandula* a man for his yeeres fuller of knowledge then any that this latter Age hath brought forth, might with good reason auow, that the vntimost of Nature workes being knowne, the workes which Christ did, and which (as himselfe witnesseth) no man could doe, doe manifestly testifie of themselves, that they were performed by that hand which held Nature herein but as a Pencil, and by a power infinitely supreme and diuine; and thereby those that were faithlesse, were either conuerted or put to silence.

§. III.

That the good knowledge in the ancient *Magick* is not to be condemned: though the Deuill here, as in other kindes hath sought to obtrude euill things, vnder the name and colour of good things.

Being therefore it is confessed by all of vnderstanding, that a *Magician* (according to the Persian word) is no other then, *Diuinorum cultor & interpret*: A studious obseruer & expounder of diuine things; and the Art of it selfe (I meane the Art of naturall *Magick*) no other, *Quam naturalis Philosophia absoluta consummatio*; Then the absolute perfection of naturall Philosophy: Certainly then it proceeds from ignorance, and

no way forth with wife and learned men, *promissè* and without difference & distinction, to confound lawfull & praise-worthy knowledge with that impious, and (coule *S. Pauls* words) with these beggerly rudiments, which the Diuell hath thrust in, and by them bewitcheth and befooleth gracelesse men. For if we condemne naturall *Magicks*, or the wisdom of Nature, because the Diuell (who knoweth more then any man) doth also teach Witches and Poysoners the harmefull parts of Herbes, Drugges, Minerals, and Excrements: then may we by the same rule condemne the Physician, and the Art of healing. For the Diuell also in the Oracles of *Amphiarus*, *Amphilochus*, *Trophonius*, and the like, taught men in Dreames what Herbes and Drugges were proper for such and such diseases. Now no man of iudgement is ignorant, that the Diuell from the beginning hath sought to thrust himselfe into the same employment among the Ministers and Seruants of God, changing him selfe for that purpose into an Angell of Light. Hee hath led men to Idolatry as a Doctrine of Religion; he hath thrust in his Prophers among those of the true God; hee hath corrupted the Art of *Astrologie*, by giuing a diuine power to the Starres, teaching men to esteeme them as gods, and not as instruments. And (as *Bunting* saith, in *Chir.* obserueth) it is true, that iudiciall *Astrologie* is corrupted with many superstitions: but the abuse of the thing takes not away the Art; considering that heavenly bodies (as euery general experience sheweth) haue and exercise their operation vpon the inferiour. For the Sunne, and the Starre of *Mars* doe drie; the Moone doth moisten, and gouerne the Tides of the Sea. Againe, the Planets, as they haue seuerall and proper names, so haue they seuerall and proper vertues: the Starres doe also differ in beaurie and in magnitude; and to all the Starres hath God giuen all their proper names, which (that they not influence and vertues different) needed not: *Recounteth the number of the Starres, and cal. fol. 167.* lath them by their names. But into the good and profitable knowledge of the celestiall influences, the Diuell ceaseth not to thrust in his Superstitions: and so to the knowledge of the secret vertues of Nature hath he fastened his doctrine of *Characters*, Numbers, and Incantations; and taught men to beleeeue in the strength of Words and Letters: (which without Faith in God are but Inke or common breath) thereby either to equall his owne with the All-powerfull Word of God, or to diminish the glory of Gods creating Word, by whom are all things.

Moreover, he was neuer ignorant, that both the wife and the simple obserue when the Sea-birds forsake the shores and flye into the Land, that commonly some great storme followeth: that the high flying of the Kite and the Swallow betoken faire weather; that the crying of Crows and bathing of Ducks forebode raine: for they feeble the Ayre moistened in their Quills. And it is written in *Hieremie* the Prophet, *Euen the Starke in the Ca. 2. ver. 7.* ayre knoweth her appointed times, and the Turtle, and the Crane, and the Swallow. Hereupon, this enemy of Mankind, working vpon these as vpon the rest of Gods creatures, long time abused the Heathen by teaching them to obserue the flying of Fowles, and thereby to iudge of good or ill successe in the Warre: and (withall) to looke into their entrailles for the same, as if God had written the secrets of vnsearchable providence in the Liuers and bowels of birds and beasts. Againe, because it pleased God sometimes by Dreames, not onely to warne and teach his Prophets and Apostles, but Heathen Princes also; as *Admetech* to restore *Sara* to *Abraham*; because hee admonished *Ioseph*, and by Dreame *Gen. 12. 17.* informed *Isaac*, *Laban*, *Pharao*, *Paul*, *Ananias*, the *Magi* of the East, and others. For as it is remembered in *Iob*: In Dreames and Visions of the night when sleepe falleth vpon *Iob* 23. 17. men, &c. then God openeth the eares, that he might cause man to returne from his enterprise: therefore, I say, doth the Diuell also practise his Diuinations by Dreames, or (after *Parisenfis*) diuinitas imitatioes, his mocke-diuitie. This in the end grew so common, as *G. Parisenfis* diuides compiled an *Ephemerides* of his owne Dreames: *Mithridates* of those of his *Concubines*. Yea the *Romanes* finding the inconuenience hereof, because all dreames (without distinction of causes) were drawne to Diuination, forbad the same by a Law, as by *Cotus* de *ma-* the words of prohibition (aut narrandis somnijs occultam aliquam artem diuinandis) it may *scit & Marti-* appeare. Likewise by the Law of God in *Deuteronomie*, cap. 13. seducing Dreamers were ordered to be slaine. Yet it is to be contented, not that *Marcus Antonius* was told a remedy in his Dreame for two grievous diseases that opprest him; nor that of *Alexander Macedon* for the cure of a *Polemonis* poisoned wound; nor that which *Saint Angustine* re- *Ang. de cura* porteth of a *Adrianos*, whose sonne (the Father dead) being demanded a debt already *pro mortuo A-* paid, was told by his Father in a dreame where the Acquittance lay to discharge it: nor that

that of *Abyges* of his Daughter, and many others of like nature. Of the reason of all which, so far as the cause is not in our felues, this place denieth dispute.

§. IIII.

That *Daniels* misliking *Nabuchodonosors* condemning of the *Magicians*, doth not iustifie all their practices.

Deut. 32. 17
Leuit. 24.

But it may be objected, that if such Divinations as the Heathens commonly vied were to be condemned in them, who tooke on them very many and strange Revelations; how came it to passe that *Daniel* both condemned the hasty sentence of *Nabuchodonosor* against the *Magicians* of *Chaldea*, and in a sort forbad it? especially considering that such kind of people God himselfe commanded to be slaine. To this, divers answers may be given. First, it seemeth that *Daniel* had respect to those *Chaldeans*, because they acknowledged that the Dreame of the King, which himselfe had forgotten, could not be knowne to any man by any Art either Naturall or Diabolical: For there is none other (said the *Chaldeans*) that can declare it before the King, except the Gods, whose dwelling is not with fleſh; and herein they confessed the power of the Ever-living God.

Secondly, it may be coniectured (and that with good reason) that among so many learned men, some of them did not exercise themselves in any euill or vnlawfull Arts, but were meetly *Magicians* and *Naturalists*: and therefore when the King commanded to kill all, *Daniel* perswaded the contrary, and called it a hasty iudgement, which proceeded with furie without examination. And that some of those mens studies and proficiencies were lawfull, it may be gathered by *Daniels* instruction: for himselfe had beene taught by them, and was called chiefe of the *Incanters*: of which some were termed *Soothsayers*, others *Astrologians*, others *Chaldeans*, others *Magior* *Wife-men*: and therefore of distinct professions.

Thirdly, *Daniel* misliked and forbad the execution of that iudgement, because it was vniust. For howsoeuer those men might deserue punishment for the practice of vnlawfull Arts (though not vnlawfull according to the Law of that State) yet herein they were altogether guiltlesse. For it exceeded humane power to pierce the Kings thought, which the Diuell himselfe could not know. So then in *Daniels* dislike, and hindring of the execution of sentence of death pronounced against the *Magicians*, there is no absolute iustification of their practice and profession.

§. V.

The abuse of things which may be found in all kinds, is not to condemne the right use of them.

Notwithstanding this mixture euery where of good with euill, of falshood with truth, of corruption with cleanness and purity: The good, The truth, The purity in euery kind may well be embraced: As in the ancient, worshipping of God by Sacrifice, there was no man knowing God among the *Eldesters*, that therefore bare to offer Sacrifice to the God of all power, because the Diuell in the Image of *Baal*, *Astaroth*, *Chemosh*, *Iupiter*, *Apollo*, and the like was so adored.

Expo. de Arte
pau. de Polybi.

Neither did the abuse of *Astrologie* terrifie *Abraham* (if we may beleue the most ancient and religious Historians) for observing the motions and natures of heauenly bodies; neither can it dehort wise and learned men in these dayes from attributing those vertues, influences, and inclinations to the *Starres* and other lights of Heauen, which God hath giuen to those his glorious creatures.

The Sympatheticall and Antipatheticall working of Herbes, Plants, Stones, Minerals, with their other vmoſt vertues, sometimes taught by the Diuell, and applied by his Ministers to harmefull and vncharitable ends, can neuer terrifie the honest and learned Physician or Magician from the using of them to the helpe and comfort of Mankind: neither can the illusions, whereby the Diuell betrayeth such men as are fallen from God, make other men reiect the obseruations of Dreames; so farre as with a good Faith and a Religious caution they may make vse of them.

Deut. 18. 20.

Lastly, the prohibition to make flying of Fowles (as signes of good or euill success) hath no reference at all to the crying of Crowes against Raine, or to any obseruation not superstitious, and whereof a reason or cause may be giuen. For if wee confound Arts

with

with the abuse of them, we shall not onely condemne all honest Trades and enterchange among men (for there are that deueine in all professions) but we shall in a short time buy in forgetfulnesse all excellent knowledge and all learning, or obſcure and couer it ouer with a most scornfull and beggerly ignorance: and (as *Plinius* teacheth) we should reue our felues ingratos erga eos, qui labore carag, lucem nobis aperuerunt in tenebras: For without fail we should beue our felues towards those, who with paines and care haue discovered what is light in this light.

Indeed not onely these naturall knowledges are condemned by those that are ignorant, but the *Mathematicks* also and Professors thereof: though those that are excellently learned iudge of it in this sort: In speculo Mathematico verum illud quod in ammisit, quia: *Cusan. Comp. Theolog. c. 1.* car, placet, non modo remota similitudine, sed fulgida quadam propinquitate: In the Glasse of the *Mathematicks* that Truth doth shine, which is sought in euery kinde of knowledge, not in an obſcure image, but in a neere and manifest representation.

§. VI.

Of the diuers kinds of splanfull Magicke.

IT is true that there are many Arts, if wee may so call them, which are couered with the name of *Magick*: and esteemed abusiuely to be as branches of that Tree, on whose root they neuer grew. The first of these hath the name of *Necromancie* or *Goetia*: and of this againe there are diuers kinds. The one is an Invocation at the Graues of the dead, to whom the Diuell himselfe giues answer in stead of those that seeme to appeare. For certaine it is, that the immortal soules of men doe not inhabit the dust and dead bodies, but they giue motion and vnderstanding to the liuing: death being nothing else but a separation of the body and soule: and therefore the soule is not to be found in the Graues.

A second practice of those men, who pay Tribute or are in league with *Satan*, is that of coniuring or of rayeing vp *Diuels*, of whom they hope to learne what they list. These men are so distract, as they beleue that by terrible words they make the Diuell to tremble, that being once impaled in a Circle (a Circle which cannot keepe out a Moule) they therein (as they suppose) inſconce themselves against that great Monster. Doubtlesse, they forget that the Diuell is not terrified from doing ill and all that is contrary to God and goodnesse, no, not by the fearefull Word of the Almighty: and that he feared not to offer to sit in Gods seat, that he made no scruple to tempt our Saviour *Christ*, whom himselfe called the Sonne of God. So, forgetting these proud parts of his, an vnworthy wretch will yet reſolue himselfe, that he can draw the Diuell out of Hell, and terrifie him with a Phraſe: whereas in very truth, the obedience which *Diuels* seeme to vse, is but thereby to possesse themselves of the bodies and soules of those which saile them vp; as *Hu Maestrie* in his Booke aforesaid hath excellently taught: That the *Diuels* obedience is onely secundum quid, scilicet: ex pacto, respectu, that is, upon bargain.

I cannot tell what they can doe vpon those simple and ignorant *Diuels*, which imbrace Ambitious imagination; but sure I am the rest are apt enough to come, vncalled, and alwaies attending the cogitations of their seruants and vassals, doe no way seeke any such enforcement.

Or it may be that these Coniurers deale together with *Cardian* mortall *Diuels*, following the opinion of *Rabbi Asurnathan* and of *Porphyrius*, who taught that these kinde of *Diuels* liued not aboue a thousand yeeres: which *Plinius* in his Treatise de *Crucibus* confirmeth, making example of the great god *Pan*. For were it true, that *Diuels* were in awe of wicked men, or could be compelled by them, then would they alwaies feare those words and threats, by which at other times they are willingly mastered. But the *Familiar* of *Simon Magus* when hee had lifted him vp in the Ayre, call him headlong out of his clauies, when he was sure he should perill with the fall. If this perhaps were done by *S. Peters* Prayers (of which *S. Peter* no where saureth) yet the same practice at other times vpon his owne accord the Diuell played with *Theodorus*, who transported (as *Simon Magus* was supposed to haue bene) had the same mortall fall that he had. The like success had *Andas*, a principall pillar of the *Manichian* Heresie, as *Crisostom* in his Ecclesiasticall Historie witnesseth: and for a manifest proofe hereof we see it euery

Lib. 1. c. 11

every day, that the Diuell leaues all Witches and Sorcerers at the Gallows, for whom at other times he maketh himselfe a *Pegasus*, to conueigh them in haste to places farre distant, or at least makes them so thinke: For to those that receiued not the truth (saith Saint Paul) God shall send them strong illusions. Of these their supposed transpositions (yet agreeing with their confessions) His *Maisie* in the second Booke and the fourth Chapter of the *Demonologie* hath confirmed by vniuersall reasons, that they are acerely illusive. Another sort there are who take on them to include *Spirits* in Glasses and Cristals: of whom *Cusanus*: *Patui sunt incubatores, qui in uigile & vitro volumus spiritum includere*: whom *Spiritus non claudunt corpore*: They are foolish Incubators which will shut up their spirits within their nailes or in Glasse: for a spirit cannot be included by a body.

There is also another Art besides the afore-mentioned, which they call *Theurgia*, or *White Magicke*; a pretended conference with good Spirits or Angels, whom by Sacrifice and Inuocation they draw out of Heauen, and communicate withall. But the administering Spirits of God, as they require not any kind of adoration due vnto their Creator: so seeing they are most free Spirits, there is no man so absurd to thinke (except the Diuell hath corrupted his vnderstanding) that they can be constrained or commanded out of Heauen by threats. Wherefore let the professors thereof couer themselves how they please by a professed puritie of life, by the ministerie of Infants, by fasting and abstinence in general, yet all those that tamper with immateriall substances and abstract figures, either by Sacrifice, Vow, or inforcement, are men of euill faith and in the power of Satan: For good Spirits or Angels cannot be constrained; and the rest are Diuels which willingly obey.

Other sorts there are of wicked Diuinations: as by fire called *Pyromantia*: by water, called *Hydromantia*: by the ayre, called *Atmotechnia*, and the like.

The last (and indeed) the worst of all other is *Fascination* or *Witchcraft*: the Practisers whereof are no less enuious and cruel, reuengefull and bloody, then the Diuell himselfe. And these accursed creatures having sold their soules to the Diuell, worke two wayes, either by the Diuell immediately, or by the art of personning. The difference betwene *Necromancers* and *witches*, His *Maisie* hath excellently taught in a word: that the one (in a fort) command, the other obey the Diuell.

There is another kind of petite Witchery (if it be not altogether deceit) which they call charming of Beasts and Birds, of which *Pythagoras* was accused, because an Eagle liued on his shoulder in the *Olympian* fields. But if the same exceeded the Art of Falconrie, yet was it no more to beadmired then *Mahomet* Doue, which he had vsed to feed with wheare out of his care: which Doue, when it was hungry, lighted on *Mahomet* shoulder and thrust his Bill therein to find his breake-fast. *Mahomet* perswading the rude and simple *Arabs*; that it was the Holy Ghost that gaue him advice. And certainly if Beasts had liued in elder times, hee would have shamed all the Inchanters of the World: for whosoever was most famous among them, could neuer master or instruct any Beast as he did this Horse.

For the drawing of Serpents out of their Dens, or killing of them in the holes by incantations (which the *Mahians* a people of *Indie* practised: *Colubros disrumpit Manica cantu*: *Enchanting Mania makes the Snakes to burst*.) That is hath beene vsed it appears, *Psalm* 58. 6. though I doubt not, but that many Impostures may be in this kinde; and euen by naturall causes it may be done. For there are many Fumes that will either draw them out or destroy them; as womens haire burnt, and the like. So many things may be layed in the entrance of their holes that will allure them: and therein I finde no other *Magicke* or Incantment, then to draw out a Mouſe with a peece of rosted Cheefe.

§. VII.

Of diuerſe wayes by which the Diuell seemeth to worke his wonders.

Verie the end that we may not dote with the *Manichees*, who make two powers of gods: that we doe not giue to the Diuell any other dominion then hee hath (not to speake of his ability, when he is the Minister of Gods vengeance, as when *Egypt*, according to *Dauid*, was destroyed by euill Angels; he otherwise worke but three wayes. The first is by mouing the cogitations and affections of men: The

second by the exquisite knowledge of Nature: and the third by deceit, illusion, and false semblance. And that they cannot worke what they would, *G. Parisiensis* giueth three causes: the first, a naturall impotency: the second, their ownereation disſuading them from daring ouermuch, or indeede (and that which is the onely certaine cause) the great mealy of the Creator, *Teneos eos ligatos* (saith the same Author) *velut inmaniſſimas bel-luas*. Saint *Augustine* was of opinion that the Frogs which *Pharaos* Sorcerers produced were not naturall, but that the Diuell (by betraying of their senses that looked on) made them appeare to be such. For as *Aurum* obstruct, those Frogs of the Inchanters were not found corrupted as those of *Moses* were; which might argue that they were not creatures indeede. Hereof saith Saint *Augustine*: *Wec sancti Demones natari creati, sed qua a Deo creati sunt commutant, ut videantur esse quod non sunt*: The Diuels create not any natures, but so change those that are created by God, as they seeme to be that which they be not: of which in the 83. question he giueth the reason: *Demones quibusdam nebulis implet omnes mentis intelligentie, per quos aperire lumen rationis radius mentis solet* (that is) The Diuell fills with certaine clouds all passages of the vnderstanding, by which the beame of the minde is wont to open the light of reason.

And as *Tertullian* in his Booke de anima rightly conceiveth, if the Diuell can possesse himselfe of the eyes of our mindes, and blinde them, it is not hard for him to dazell those of the body. For (out of doubt) by the same way that God passeth out, the Diuell entereth in, beginning with the fantastic, by which he doth more easily betray the other faculties of the soule: for the fantastic is most apt to be abused by vaine apprehensions.

Aquinas on the contrary held that those Frogs were not imaginarie, but such indeed as they seemed: not made *Magicæ artis ludibrio*, which indeed agreeth not with the Art, but (according to *Thomas*) *Per aptam & idoneam agentium & patientium applicationem*: By an apt and fit applying of agents and patients. And this I take to be more probable. For *Moses* could not be deceived by that sleight of false semblance; and Saint *Augustine* in another case like vnto this (to wit) of the turning of *Diomedes* his Companions into Birds, *per actum cum positiui*, inclineth rather to this opinion: though I am not perswaded that

30 Saint *Augustine* beleueed that of *Diomedes*. And this opinion of *Thomas*, *G. Parisiensis* he vnder these words: *De huiusmodi autem operibus est subita generatio ranarum, & pedicularum, & vermium, alio-ſed. 67. rum, animalium quorundam: in quibus omnibus sola natura operatur, verum addidit adu-ſus, quia ipsa semina natura confortant & acunt, ita ut opus generationis tantum accelerent, ut eis qui hoc nesciunt non opus nature videatur (qua tardius talia efficeret consuevit) sed potentia Demonum, &c.* to which he addeth: *Qui autem in his docti sunt talia non mirantur, sed solum Creatorem in his glorificant*: In such workes (saith he) the sodaine generation of Frogs, and Lice, and Wormes, and some other creatures is: in all which Nature alone worketh, but by means strengthening the Seeds of Nature, and quickning them; in such wise that they so hasten the worke of generation, that it seemeth to the ignorant not to be the worke of Nature, which usually worketh more leisurely, but they thinke it is done by the powers of Diuels. But they who are learned in these Arts maruaile not at such working, but glorifie the Creator. Now by these two wayes the Diuels doe most frequently worke, (to wit) by knowing the very most of nature; and by illusion: for there is no incomprehensible or vnsearchable power, but of God only.

For shall we say, he causeth sometimes thunders, lightnings, and tempests; and can infect theyre, as well as moue it or compress it; who knows not that these things are also naturall? Or may it be objected that he fore-telleth things before they happen, which exceedeth nature, and is no illusion. It is true, that hee sometimes doth it: but how? 50 In elder ages he stole his knowledge out of the predictions of the Prophets: and he fore-told the death of *Saul*, at such time as he was in his owne possession and power to dispose of. And he that hath liued from the infancy of the world to this day, and obserued the successe of euery counsaile: he that by reason of his swift motions can informe himselfe of all places, and preparations: he that is of counsaile with all those that studie and practise subuersion and destruction: hee that is Prince of the ayre, and can thence better iudge, then those that inhabit the earth: if hee should not sometimes, yea if hee should not very oftentimes guesse rightly of things to come (where God pleaseeth not to giue impediment) it were very strange. For we see that wise and learned men doe oftentimes

Sin. paris. de diuinit. p. 2. c. 70.

Maximus Via. de phantasia ad cyrotes.

De leg. c. 24. fol. 67.

Ephe. 2. 3. & 6.

Diaboli magnum habet regnum quoniam per malum homines mouet in quibus negotiis.
Aug. de ciuit. c. 26. 27. & c.

oftentimes by comparing like causes conceiue rightly of like effects, before they happen: and yet where the Diuell doubteth and would willingly keepe his credit, hee euermore answereth by Riddles, as

Cresus Halympe penetrans magnam subuerit opum vim,

If *Cresus* ouer *Halys* goe,
Great Kingdomes hee shall ouerthrow.

Which answer may be taken either way: either for the ouerthrow of his owne Kingdom, or of his Enemies. And thus far we grant the Diuell may proceed in predictions, which (otherwise) belong to God onely; as it is in *Esay*: *Shew the things that are to come hereafter, that we may know that ye are Gods; shew vs at all times and certainly what is to come.* *Qui, Parisiensis: Solus enim diuina intelligentia ac sapientia est, occulta nosse & reuelare: It is onely proper to delectis. c. 14. Gods understanding and wisdom, to know and reueale hidden things.*

§. VIII.

That none was euer raised from the dead by the power of the Diuell: and that it was not the true *Samuel* which appeared to *Saul*.

TO conclude, it may be objected that the Diuell hath raised from the dead: and that others by his power haue done the like, as in the example giuen of *Samuel* raised by the Witch of *Endor*: which were it true, then might it indeed be affirmed, that some of the Diuels acts exceeded all the powers of nature, false semblance, and other illusions. *Iustine Martyr* was sometime of the opinion, that it was *Samuel* indeed; but afterwards hee changed his opinion; and so did *S. Augustine*, who at first seemed to be indifferent: For in his questions vpon the Old and New Testament, he accounteth it detestable to thinke that it was *Samuel* which appeared: and these be his words elsewhere to the same effect: *In requie sunt anime piorum a corpore separatae, impiorum autem penas launt, donec istarum ad vitam eternam, illarum vero ad eternam mortem que secunda dicitur corpora reuincantur; The soules of the goodly separated from their bodies are at rest, but those of the wicked suffer punishment, till the bodies of the iust rise to eternal life, and of the wicked to an eternal and second death.*

And besides *S. Augustine* *Iustine Martyr*, *Hilarius*, *Tertullian*, *Athanasius*, *Chrysostome*, and others, beleueed firmly, and taught it: that the soules of men being once separate from their bodies, did not wander on the earth at all: *Credere debemus* (saith *Cyriil* quum a corporibus sanctorum anima abierint, tanquam in manus charissimi patris bonitatis diuina commendari; we must beleuee when the soules of holy men are departed from their bodies, that they be commended to the diuine Goodnesse, as into the hands of a most deare Father. If then they be in Heauen, the power of the Diuell cannot stretch so high: if in Hell, *Abister* no nulla est redemptio; From hell there is no redemption. For there are but two habitations after death: *Finum* (saith *Augustine*) *in igne aeterno; alterum in regno aeterno; The one in eternall fire; the other in Gods eternall Kingdom.* And though it be written in *Iane Pontificis*, that many there are who beleuee that the dead haue againe appeared to the liuing; yet the *Glosse* vpon the same Text findes it ridiculous: *Credunt, & male quia sunt Phantasmata* (saith the *Glosse*) *They beleuee, and they beleuee amisse, because they be but Phantasmes, or Apparitions.* For whereas any such voice hath bene heard, saying, I am the Soule of such a one: *Hec oratio a fraude atq. deceptione diabolica est; That speech is framed by the fraud and deception of the Diuell, saith Chrysostome.* Likewise of the same, saith *Tertullian*: *Abster ut animam cuiuslibet sancti, medium Prophetae, a demonio credamus extraxim; God forbid that we should thinke that the soule of any holy man, much lesse of a Prophet should be drawne up againe by a Diuell.*

It is true that the Scriptures call that apparition *Samuel*; so doe they the wooden images *Cherubims*; and false-brazen gods are gods, and the like. And whereas these of the contrary opinion build vpon that place of the 26. of *Ecclesiasticus* a booke not numbered among the Canonical Scriptures, as *S. Augustine* himselfe in his Treatise, it is hee his, *De cura pro mortuis agenda*, (confesseth) yet *Siracides* following the literall sense and phrase of the Scriptures, proueth nothing at all: For though the Diuell would willingly per-

swade, that the soules (yea euen of iust men) were in his power, yet so farre is it from the promises of the Scriptures, and from Gods iust and mercifull nature, and so contrarie to all diuine reason, as *Saint Augustine* (or whosoever wrote that booke before cited) might rightly terme it a detestable opinion so to thinke. For if God had so absolutely forsaken *Saul*, that he refused to answer him either by *dreames*, by *Vision*, or by his *Prophets*: it were foolish to conceiue, that he would permit the Diuell, or a wicked Witch, to raise a Prophet from the dead in *Sauls* respect: it being also contrary to his owne diuine Law to ask counsaile of the dead; as in *Deuteronomie* 18. and elsewhere. Therefore it was the Diuell, and not the soule of a dead body, that gaue answer and aduice.

But because *Helias* and *Helizeus* had raised some from the dead by the power of God; those Diuels which *S. Augustine* calleth *ludificatores animantium sibi subiectorum*, Mockers of their owne vassals, casting before their eyes a semblance of humane bodies, and framing sounds to their eares like the voyces of men, doe also perfwade their gracelesse and accursed attendants: that themselves both possesse, and haue power ouer the soules of men. *E-ludit Diabolus aciem tuam spectantium, tum etiam cogitantium*, saith *L. Viues*; *The Diuell beguileth the sense both of the beholders, and of those that so imagine.* These then are the bounds of the Diuels power, whom if we will not feare, we must feare to sinned. For when he is not the instrument of Gods vengeance, he can touch no man that makes not himselfe his voluntarie vassall: *Potest ad malum imitare, non potest trahere*, saith *S. Augustine*, *he can allure, but he cannot enforce to euill.* Such as thinke otherwise, may goe into the number remembered by *Lucretius*:

*Nam volati pueri trepidant, atq. omnia cecis
In tenebris metuant: sic nos in luce timemus.*

We feare by light, as children in the darke.

CHAP. XII.

Of the memorable buildings of *Ninus*, and of his Wife
Semiramis: and of other of her Acts.

§. I.

Of the magnificent building of *Ninine* by *Ninus*: and of *Babylon* by *Semiramis*.



But to come backe to *Ninus* the amplifier and finisher of *Ninine*: whether he performed it before or after the ouerthrow of *Zoroaster*, it is vncertaine. As for the Citie it selfe, it is agreed by all prophane Writers, and also confirmed by the Scriptures, that it exceeded all other in circuit, and vnfeareable magnificence. For it had in compass 440. *stadia*, or furlongs; the wals whereof were an hundred foot vpright, and had such a breadth as three Chariots might passe on the Rampire in front: these wals were garnished with 1500. Towres which gaue exceeding beautie to the rest, and strength no lesse admirable for the nature of those times.

But this Citie (built in the Plaines of *Assyria*, and on the banks of *Tigris*, and in the Region of *Eden*) was founded long before *Ninus* time; and (as ancient Historians report, and more lately *Nauclerus*) had the name of *Campfor*, at such time as *Ninus* amplified the same, and gaue it a wall, and called it after his owne name.

For these workes of *Babylon* and *Ninine* begun by *Nimrod* in *Chaldea*, and in *Assyria*, *Ninus* and *Semiramis* made perfect. *Ninus* finished *Ninine*, *Semiramis* *Babylon*: wherein she sought to exceede her husband by farre. Indeed in the first Age when Princes were moderate, they neither thought how to inuade others, nor feared to be inuaded: labouring to build Townes and Villages for the vse of themselves and their people, without either Wals or Towres; and how they might discharge the earth of Woods, Bryars, Bushments, and Waters, to make it more habitable and fertile. But *Semiramis* liuing in that

in that Age, when Ambition was in strong youth : and putposing to follow the conquest which her husband had vnder-taken, gaue that beautie and strength to Babylon which it had.

§. II.

Of the end of Ninus : and beginning of Semiramis reigne.

His she did after the death of her husband *Ninus* : who after he had mastered *Babylonia*, and subiected vnto his Empire all those Regions betwene it and the *Mediterranean Sea* and *Hellepont* (Asia the lesse excepted) and finished the worke of *Ninus*, he left the World in the yeere thereof 2019. after he had reigned 52. yeeres. *Plutarch* reporteth that *Semiramis* desired her husband *Ninus*, that he would grant vnto her the absolute soveraigne power for one day. *Diod. Siculus* out of *Athenians*, and others, speaks of five dayes. In which time (moued either with desire of rule, or licentious liberty, or with the memory of her husband *Menon*, who perished for her) she caused *Ninus* her husband to be slaine. But this seemeth rather a scandall cast on her by the *Greeks*, then that it had any truth.

Howsoever *Ninus* came to his end, *Semiramis* tooke on her after his death the sole rule of the *Assyrian* Empire : of which, *Ninus* was said to be the first Monarch, because hee changed his seat from *Babylonia* in *Chaldea* to *Nimue* in *Assyria*. *Iustin* reports, that *Semiramis* (the better to invest herselfe, and in her beginning without murmur or offence to take on her so great a charge) presented herselfe to the people in the person of her sonne *Ninias* or *Zameis*, who bare her externall forme and proportion without any sensible difference.

This report I take also to be fained, for which many arguments might be made. But as the ruled long, so she performed all those memorable acts which are written of her by the name of *Semiramis*, and subscribed that letter which she sent to the King of *India* (her last challenge and vnder taken conquest) by her owne name. And were it true that her sonne *Ninias* had such a stature at his Fathers death, as that *Semiramis* (who was very personable) could be taken for him ; yet it is very vnlike that she could haue held the Empire from him 42. yeeres after by any such subtiltie : (for so long she reigned after the death of her husband :) but it may be true that *Ninus* or *Zameis* (being wholly giuen to his pleasures, as it is written of him) was well pleased with his Mothers prosperous gouernment and vnder-takings.

§. III.

Of *Semiramis* parentage and education and Metamorphosis of her Mother.

SOME Writers (of which *Plutarch* is one) make this famous woman to haue been of base parentage, calling her after the name of her Countie, a *Syrian*. *Berosus* calls her after the name of her Citie wherein she was borne, *Semiramis Ascaloni*.⁴⁰ as ; of *Ascalon*, the ancient Citie and Metropolis of the *Philistims*. Others report her to be the daughter of *Derceta* a *Curtizan* of *Ascalon*, exceeding beautifull. Others say that this *Derceta* or *Derecia*, the Mother of *Semiramis*, was sometimes a Recluse, and had professed a holy and a religious life, to whom there was a Temple dedicated, seated on the banke of a Lake adioyning to *Ascalon*; and afterward falling in loue with a goodly yong man, she was by him made with childe, which (for feare of extreme punishment) she conuayed away, and caused the same to be hidden among the high reedes which grew on the banks of the Lake : in which (while the childe was left to the mercy of wilde beasts) the same was fed by certaine birds, which vsed to feede vpon or neere those waters. But I take this tale to be like that of *Lupa* the Harlot that fostered *Romulus*. For some one or other adioyning to this Lake, had the charge and fosteridge of this childe, who being per chance but some base and obscure creature, the mother might thereby hope the better to couer her dishonor and breach of vow ; notwithstanding which she was cast from the top of her Temple into the Lake adioyning, and (as the Poets haue fained) changed by *Venus* into a Fish, all but her face, which still held the same beautie & humane shape. It is thought that from this *Derceta* the inuention of that Idoll of the *Philistims* (called *Dagon*) was taken: for it is true, that *Dagon* had a mans face, and a fishes body:

into

into whose Temple when the *Arke* of God was brought, the Idoll fell twice to the ground : and at the second fall there remained onely the Trunke of *Dagon*, the head being broken off: For so *S. Hierome* hath conuerted that place. *Kabbala*, *Paganus*, and *Iunius*, write it by *Dagon* onely, which signifieth a fish, and so it onely appeared : the head thereof by the second fall being sundred from the body.

For my selfe I rather thinke, that this *Dagon* of the *Philistims* was an Idoll representing *Trium*, one of those imaginarie Sea-gods vnder *Nephtane*. For this Citie being maritime (as all those of the *Philistims* were, and so were the best of *Phoenicia*) vsed all their deuotion to *Nephtane*, and the rest of the pettie gods which attended him.

§. IIII.

Of her Expedition into India, and death after disfigurement : with a note of the improbabilitie of her vices.

BV for her Pedigree, I leaue it to the *Assyrian Heralds* : and for her vicious life, I ascribe the report thereof to the enuious and lying *Grecians*. For delicacie and ease doe more often accompany licentiousnesse in men and women, then labour and hazzard doe. And if the one halfe be true which is reported of this Lady, then there neuer liued any Prince or Princesse more worthy of fame then *Semiramis* was, both for the workes she did at *Babylon* and elsewhere, and for the warres she made with glorious successe : all but her last enterprise of *India*, from whence both *Strabo* and *Arianus* report that she neuer returned: and that of all her most powerful Armie thete furnished but onely twentie persons : the rest being either drowned in the Riuer of *Indus*, dead of the famie, or slaine by the sword of *Staubates*. But as the multitude which went out are more then reason hath numbred : so were those that returned lesse then could haue escaped of such an Armie, as consisted of foure millions and vpwards. For these numbers which she leued by her Lieutenant *Dercetaus* (saith *Suidas*) did consist of Foot-men three millions ; of Horse-men one million ; of Chariots armed with hookes on each side, one hundred thousand ; of those which fought vpon Camels as many ; of Camels for burden two hundred thousand, of raw Hides for all vses three hundred thousand ; of Gallies with brazen heads three thousand, by which she might transport ouer *Indus* at once three hundred thousand Souldiers : which Gallies were furnished with *Syrians*, *Phoenicians*, *Cilicians*, and men of *Cyprus*. These incredible and impossible numbers, which no one place of the earth was able to nourish (had euery man and beast fed vpon grasse) are taken from the authority of *Ctesias* whom *Diodorus* followeth. But as the one may be taxed with many frivolous reports : so *Diodorus* himselfe hath nothing of certaintie, but from *Xerxes* expedition into *Greece* and afterwards : whose Armie (though the same was farre inferior to that of *Semiramis*) yet had it weight enough to ouerlode the beliefe of any reasonable man. For all Authors consent, that *Xerxes* transported into *Greece* an Armie of 1700000. and gathered together (therein to passe the *Hellepont*) three thousand Gallies, as *Herodotus* out of the severall Provinces whence those Gallies were taken hath collected the number.

But of what multitude soeuer the Armie of *Semiramis* consisted : the same being broken and ouerthrowne by *Staubates* vpon the banks of *Indus*, *Santicum* *Antanis* extreme : (she sang her Last song ; and (as Antiquitie hath fained) was changed by the gods into a Dove (the bird of *Venus*), whence it came that the *Babylonians* gaue a Dove in their ensignes.

§. V.

Of the Temple of *Belus* built by *Semiramis* : and of the Pyramids of *Egypt*.

AMONG all her other memorable and more then magnificent workes (besides the wall of the Citie of *Babylon*) was the Temple of *Bel*, erected in the middle of this Citie, inuironed with a wall carryed fouresquare of great height and beautie, hauing on each square certaine Brazen Gates curiously engrauen. In the Core of the square there raised a Towre of a furlong high, which is halfe a quarter of a mile ; and vpon it againe (taking a *Basis* of a leffe circuit) shee set a second Towre ; and so eight in all, one about another : vpon the top whereof the *Chaldeans* Priests

Priests made the obseruation of the starres, because this Towre ouer-topped the ordinarie cloudes.

By beholding the ruines of this Towre haue many Trauellers beene deceiued; who suppose that they haue seene a part of *Nimrod's* Towre, when it was but the foundation of this Temple of *Bel*: (except this of *Bel* were founded on that of *Nimrod*.) There were burnt in this Temple one hundred thousand talents of frankincense every yeere (saith *Herodotus*.) This Temple did *Nabuchodonosor* adorne with the spoiles of *Hierusalem*; and of the Temple of *Salomon*: all which vessels and ornaments *Cyrus* redeliuered. This Temple *Xerxes* enueined with the foile; which *Alexander* is said to haue repaired by the perswasions of the *Chaldaans*. I denie not that it might haue bene in his desire to so doe; but he enioyed but a few yeere after *Babylon* taken, and therefore could not performe any such worke. The *Egyptians* (saith *Proclus*) inhabiting a low and leuell ground, and giuen to the same superstition of the Starres that the *Chaldaans* were, erected in imitation, and for the same seruice and vse, the *Pyramides* by *Memphis*, which were compasse round, and saigantibus, saith *Plinie*. Of these *Pyramides*, *Bellonius* a carefull obseruer of rarities (who being in *Egypt*, mounted by steps to the top of the highest) made this report: *Le meilleur archer qui seroit a se sommer de tirer une fleche en l'air, a peine pourroit l'envoyer hors de sa base qu'elle ne se tombast sur les degrez*; The best Archer standing on the top of one of these *Pyramides*, and shooting an Arrow from thence into the ayre as farre as he can, with great difficultie shall be able so to force the same, but that it will fall upon some of the degrees or steps.

Finis Libri primi.

THE



THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORIE OF THE VVORLD:

INTREATING OF THE TIMES FROM the birth of *ABRAHAM* to the destruction of the Temple of *Salomon*.

THE SECOND BOOKE

CHAP. I.

Of the time of the birth of *Abraham*: and of the vse of this question, for the ordering of the Storie of the *Assyrian* Empire.

§. I.

Of some of the successors of *Semiramis*: with a brieft transition to the question about the time of the birth of *Abraham*.



After the death of *Semiramis*, *Ninias* or *Zameis*, succeeded her in the Empire, on whom *Berosus*, *Annius* bestowes the conquest of *Bactria*, and the ouerthrow of *Zoroaster*; contrary to *Diadorus*, *Iustine*, *Orosius*, and all other approued writers. For *Ninias* being esteemed no man of warre at all, but altogether feminine, and subiect to ease and delicacie, there is no probability in that opinion. Now because there was nothing performed by this *Ninias* of any moment, other then that out of iealousie hee euery yeere changed his Prouinciall Governors, and built Colleges for the *Chaldaean* Priests, his Astronomers: nor by *Arius* his successor, whom *Suidas* calleth *Thuras*; but that hee reduced againe the *Bactrians* and *Cassians*, revolted (as it seemeth) in *Ninias* his time: nor of *Aralius*, the successor of *Arius*; but that he added sumptuosity, inuented iewels of gold and stone, and some engins for the warre: I will for this present passe them ouer, and a while follow *Abraham*, whose wayes are warrantable, (till we meet these *Assyrians* againe in this story) by whom and by whose issues we shall best giue date to the Kings of *Babylon*: *Abraham* liuing at once with *Ninias*, *Ninias*, *Semiramis*, *Arius*, *Aralius*, and *Xerxes* or *Balamus*. For otherwise if we seek to proue things certaine by the vncertaine, and iudge of those times, which the Scriptures set vs downe without error, by the reignes of the *Assyrian* Princes: we shall but patch vp the story at aduenture, and leaue it in the same confusion, in which to this day it hath remained. For where the Scriptures doe not helpe vs, *Misrum non est in rebus antiquis Historiam non constare, No miruaine if when in things very ancient, History want assurance.*

The better therefore to finde out, in what age of the World, and how long these *Assyrian* Kings reigned, as also for other good causes we must first assure the time of *Abrahams* birth, and in what yeere the same hapned after the flood. Now since all agree, that the

fortieth three yeere of *Ninus* was the birth-yeere of *Abraham*; by prouing directly out of the Scriptures, in what yeere after the flood the birth of *Abraham* hapned, we shall thereby see all the rest in square and order. But of this time there is much iangling between those *Chronologers*, which follow the Hebrew account, and others: the most part making 292. or 293. yeeres; others 352. yeeres betweene *Abrahams* birth and the flood: a matter often disputed, but neuer concluded.

Archilochus de temporibus (as we finde him in *Annius*) makes but 250. yeeres from the flood to *Ninus*: then seeing that *Abraham* was borne in the fortieth three yeere of *Ninus*, according to *Eusebius* and *S. Augustine*, it followeth by the addition of those two numbers, that the yeere of *Abrahams* birth was in the yeere after the flood 293. or as the most part of all *Chronologers* gather, they yeere 292.

Now, since I doe here enter into that neuer-resolved question, and *Labyrinth* of times, it behoueth me to giue reason for my owne opinion: and with so much the greater care and circumspection, because I walke aside, and in a way apart from the multitude; yet not alone, & without companions, though the fewer in number: with whom I rather choose to endure the wounds of those darts, which Enuie casteth at nouelty, than to go on safely and sleepily in the easie waies of ancient mistakings: feeling to be learned in many errors; or to be ignorant in all things, hath little diuerty.

§. II.

As proposall of reasons or arguments, that are brought to proue Abraham was borne in the yeere 292. after the Flood, and not in the yeere 352.

THose which seek to proue this account of 292. yeeres, betweene the generall flood and *Abrahams* birth, ground themselves, first on these words of the Scripture: *So Terah liued 70. yeeres, and begot Abraham, Nahor, and Haran*: secondly vpon the opinion of *Iosephus*, *S. Augustine*, *Beza*, *Isidore*, & many of the ancient Hebrews before them: authorities (while they are slightly lookt ouer) seeming of great weight.

From the place of Scripture last remembered, the later *Chronologers* gather these arguments. First out of the words as they lye, that *Terah* at 70. yeeres begot *Abraham*, *Nahor* and *Haran*: and that *Abraham* being the first named, *Abraham* being the worst liked, *Abraham* being the sonne of the promise, ought in this respect to be accounted the eldest sonne of *Terah*, and so necessarily borne in the twentieth yeere of his life. Secondly, it was of *Abraham* that *Moses* had respect, in whom the Church of God was continued, who was heire of the blessing; and not of *Nahor* and *Haran*: for the scope of this Chapter was to set downe the Genealogy of *Christ*, from *Adam* to *Abraham*, without all regard of *Nahor*, and *Haran*.

It is thirdly objected, that if *Abraham* were not the eldest sonne, then there can be no certainty of his age, and so are all future times made doubtfull. For it cannot then be proued, that *Abraham* was borne more assuredly in the 130. yeere of *Terah* his age, then in the 131. 132. &c. *Moses* hauing no where set downe precisely that *Abraham* went into *Canaan* that yeere, in which his Father died.

Fourthly, it is thought improbable, that *Terah* begat *Abraham* at 130. yeeres: seeing *Abraham* himselfe thought it a wonder to be made a Father at 100. yeeres.

§. III.

The answer to one of the objections proposed, shewing that Abraham made but one iourney out of Mesopotamia into Canaan: and is, after his Fathers death.

ANswere all which objections, it is very easie, the way being prepared thereto by diuers learned Diuines long since, and to which I will adde somewhat of my mine owne, according to the small talent which God hath giuen me. Now forasmuch as the state of the question cannot well be scanned, vnlesse the time of *Abrahams* iourney into *Canaan* be first considered; of before I descend vnto the particular examination of these arguments, I will make bold with order and method so farre, as to search into a strange tradition concerning his traualles, that serueth as a ground for this opinion, and a bulwarke against all that can be said to the contrary.

But it is conceiued that *Abraham* made two iournies into *Canaan*: the latter after his Fathers

Fathers death, the former presently vpon his calling, which he performed without delay, not staying for his fathers death at *Haran*: a coniecture, drawn from a place in the *Epistle to the Hebrewes*, where it is written, *By faith Abraham (when hee was called) obeyed God, so that hee went out into a place which he should afterward receiue for inheritance: and hee went out, not knowing whether he went.* This supposition (if it be granted) serueth very well to vphold the opinion, that can ill stand without it. Let vs therefore see whether we may giue credit to the supposition it selfe.

Surely, that *Abraham* first departed *Charran* or *Haran* after the death of *Terah* his Father, the same is proued, without the admission of any distinction, by these words of *S. Stephen*: *And after his Father was dead, God brought him into this Land, where he now dwelt*, &c. that was, out of *Haran* into *Canaan*. Against which place so direct, & plaine, what force hath any mans fancie or supposition, perswading, that *Abraham* made two iournies into *Canaan*, one before *Terah*'s death, & another after: no such thing being found in Scriptures, nor any circumstance, probability, or reason to induce it? For if any man out of this place before alledged can picke any argument, prouing, or affording any strong presumption, that *Abraham* past into *Canaan*, and then returned vnto *Haran*, from whence he departed a second time: then I thinke it reason, that hee be beleued in the rest. But that he performed the commandment of God after his Fathers death, leaving *Fr* and *Haran* for *Canaan*, it is as true as the Scriptures themselves are true. For after his father was dead, (saith Martyr *Stephen*) God brought him into this Land. And, as *Beza* noteth, if *Abraham* made a double iourney into *Canaan*, then must it be inferred, that *Moses* omitted the one, and *Stephen* afterwards remembered the other: and whence had *Stephen*, saith *Beza*, the knowledge of *Abrahams* coming into *Canaan*, but out of *Moses*? For if *Stephen* had spoken any thing of those times, differing from *Moses*, he had offered the *Iewes* his aduersaries too great an occasion both of scandalizing himselfe, and the Gospell of *Christ*. Indeed we shall finde small reason to make vs thinke that *Abraham* passed and repassed those wayes, more often than he was enforced so to doe, if we consider, that he had no other guide or comforter in this long and wearisome iourney, than the strength of his faith in Gods promise: in which if any thing would haue brought him to despair, he had more cause then euery man had to fall into it. For he came into a Region of strong and stubborn nations: a Nation of valiant and resolute Idolaters. He was beseged with famine at his first arrival, and driuen to flee into *Egypt* for reliefe. His wife was olde, and hee had no sonne to inherit the promise. And when God had giuen him *Isaac*, he commanded him to offer him vp to himselfe for sacrifice: all which discomforts he patiently and constantly vnderwent.

Secondly, let vs consider the wayes themselves, which *Abraham* had to passe ouer, the length whereof was 300. English miles: and through Countries of which he had no manner of experience. He was to transport himselfe ouer the great riuers of *Euphrates*, to trauell through the dangerous and barren Deserts of *Palmyrena*, and to climbe ouer the great and high mountaines of *Libanus*, *Hermion* or *Gilead*: and whether these were easie walks for *Abraham* to march twice ouer, containing, as aforesaid, 300. miles in length, let euery reasonable man iudge. For if he trauelled it twice; then was his iourney in all 1800. miles from *Fr* to *Haran*: and from *Haran* twice into *Canaan*. But were there no other argument to disprove this fancie; the manner of *Abrahams* departing from *Haran* hath more prooffe, that hee had not *animum reuertendi*, not any thought of looking backward, than any mans bare coniecture, be hee of what antiquity or authority soeuer. For thus it is written of him, *Then Abraham tooke Sara his wife, and Lot his brothers son, and all their substance that they possessed, and the soules that they had gotten in Haran: and they departed to go to the Land of Canaan*, &c. to the Land of *Canaan* they came. Now if *Abraham* brought all with him that was deare vnto him; his wife, and kinsmen, and his, and their goods: it is not probable that he meant to walke it backe againe for his pleasure, in so warme, dangerous, and barren a Country as that was: or if he could haue benee thereto moued, it is more likely that he would haue then returned, when he was yet vntried, and prest with extreme famine at his first arrival. For had his Father benee then alieue, he might haue hoped from him to receiue more assured comfort and reliefe, then among the *Egyptians*, to whom he was a meer stranger both in Religion and Nation.

What the cause might bee of *Abrahams* returne to *Haran*, as I will not enquire of them; that without warrant from the Scriptures haue sent him backe thither, about the

the time of his fathers death: so they perhaps, if they were urged: could say little else, than that without such a second voyage their opinion were not maintainable. One thing in good reason they should do well to make plaine, if it be not our trouble some. They say that *Abraham* was in *Haran* at his Fathers death, or some time after, being then by their account 135. yeeres olde, or a little more. How then did it happen, that hee left quite vndone the businesse, which as we read, was within foure or five yeeres after that time his greatest, or (as may seeme) his only care? Did not hee binde with a verie solemne oath his principall seruant, in whom he reposed most confidence, to trauaile into those parts, and seeke out a Wife for *Isaac* his sonne? and doth it not appeare by all circumstances, that neither hee nor his seruant were so well acquainted in *Mesopotamia*, 10 that they could particularly designe any one woman, as a fit match for *Isaac*? Surely if *Abraham* had bene there in person so litle, as within foure or five yeeres before, hee would not haue forgotten a matter of such importance; but would haue trusted his own iudgement, in choosing a woman, fit for her piety, vertue, and other desirable qualities, to be linked in marriage with his only sonne, who was then five and thirtie yeeres old; before which age most of the Patriarches after the flood had begotten children: rather than haue left all at randome to the consideration of a seruant, that neither knew any, nor was knowne of any in that Country. But let it be supposed (if it may be beleued) that either *Abraham* forgot his businesse when he was there, or that somewhat hapned which no man can deuise. What might be the reason, that *Abrahams* man, in doing his Masters errand, was faine to lay open the whole story of his matters prosperitie, telling it as 20 newes, that *Sarah* had borne to him a sonne in her old age? If *Abraham* himselfe, a more certaine Author, had so lately bene among them, would not all this haue bene an idle tale? It were needlesse to stand long vpon a thing so euident. Whether it were lawfull for *Abraham* to haue returned backe to *Haran*, would perhaps be a question hardlie answerable: considering how auerfe hee was from permitting his sonne to be carried thither, euen though a wife of his owne kined could not haue bene obtained without his personall presence. *Jacob* indeed was sent thither by his parents, to take a Wife of his owne lineage; not without Gods especiall approbation, by whole blessing he prospered in that iourney: yet he liued there as a seruant; suffered many iniuries; and finally was driuen to conuey himselfe away from thence by flight. For although it be not a sentence written, yet out of all written examples it may be obserued, that God alloweth not in his seruants any desire of returning to the place, from whence he hath taken, and transplanted them. That briefe saying, *Remember Lots Wife*, contains much matter. Let vs but consider *Mesopotamia* from whence *Abraham* was taken, and *Egypt*, out of which the whole nation of the *Israelites* was deliuered: we shall finde, that no blessing issued from either of them, to the posteritie of the *Hebrewes*. When *Ezechias* was visited with an honourable Embassie from *Babel*, it seemes that he conceiued great pleasure in his minde, and thought it a piece of his prosperitie; but the prophetic which thereupon hee heard by *Elias*, made him to know, that the counsaile of God was not agreeable to such thoughts: which more plainly appeared in a following generation, when by the waters of *Babylon* they sate downe and wept. Concerning *Egypt* we read, that 30 *Sesac* and *Neco* Kings of *Egypt* brought calamitie vpon *Israel*: also that their confidence in the *Egyptian* succours was the cause of their destruction. Where they were forbidden to returne into *Egypt* I doe not remember, nor can readily finde; but it is found in *Deuteronomy*, that God had said, *They should no more returne that way*; which is giuen, as the reason, why their King might not cause the people to returne to *Egypt*, for the multiplying of his Horses. Whether the Lord had laid any such iniunction vpon *Abraham* of not returning to *Mesopotamia*, I cannot say; many things doe argue it probably: that he neuer returned, all circumstances do (to my vnderstanding) both strongly and necessarily conclude.

But because this double passage of *Abraham* is but an imagination: and that imaginations of men are rather valuable among children, than that they can perswade those of iudgement or vnderstanding: I take it sufficient, that *S. Stephen* hath directly taught vs, that *Abraham* left *Haran*, his Father being dead. And for thereto, when they shew any one Scripture to proue it, I will beleuee as they doe. For all the traualles of *Abraham* are precisely set downe in the Scriptures: as first from *Ur* or *Camersin* in *Chaldea* to *Haran* or *Charran*: and then from *Haran* (after his Fathers death) to *Sichem*; from *Sichem* 40

he removed to a mountaine betwene *Belhel* and *Hale*: thence into *Egypt*; from *Egypt* he returned thither againe, where *Lot* and he parted, because their flocks and herds of Cattle were more, then could be fed in that part: from thence the second time hee removed to *Mamre*, neere *Hebron*: and thence hauing pursued *Amraphel*, and rescued *Lot*, hee after inhabited at *Gerar*, in the border of *Idumaea*, vnder *Abimelec*: and after nere vnto it at *Berfabe*, at which time hee was ready to offer vp his sonne *Isaac* on the mountaine *Moriah*. But this fiction of his retreat to *Haran* or *Charran*, appeareth not in anie one storie, either diuine or humane. Now if it may be supposed, that *Abraham* had made any former iourney into *Canaan*, as *Leuita* his Cabala hath fained, it should in reason be therewithall beleued, that hee would in those his first traualles haue provided himselfe 10 of some certaine seate, or place of abiding: and not haue come a second time, with his wife, kinmen, familie, goods and Cattle, not knowing whereon to rest himselfe. But *Abraham* when he came from *Charran*, past through the North part of *Canaan*, thence to *Sichem*, and the Plaine of *Moriah*: where finding no place to inhabite, hee departed thence to *Belhel* and *Hale*: and so from Nation to Nation, to discouer and finde out some 20 habitation: from whence againe, as it is written in *Genesis* the eleuenth, *Hee went forth, going and iourning towards the South*: and alwaies vnsted. By occasion of which wandring to and fro, some say, the *Egyptians* gaue him and his the name of *Hebrei*. Further, to proue that hee had not formerly bene in the Countrey, we may note, 30 that ere hee came vnto *Belhel* and *Hale*, and at his first entrance into *Canaan*, God appeared vnto him, saying, *Vnto thy seede will I geue this Land*, shewing it him as vnto a stranger therein, and as a Land to him vnknowne. For *Abraham* without anie other prouident care for himselfe, beleued in the Word of the liuing God: neither sending before, nor comming first to discouer it; but being assured, hee receiued a second promise from God, that he would giue those Countreys vnto him and his seede to inhabite and inherite.

Lastly, what should moue any man to thinke, that *Moses* would haue omitted anie such double iourney of *Abrahams*, seeing hee setteth downe all his passages else, where, long and short: as when hee moued from *Sichem*, and seated betwene *Hale* and *Belhel*: 30 the distance being but 20. miles: and when hee moued thence to the valley of *Mamre*; being but 24. miles: and when he left *Mamre*, and sate downe at *Gerar*, being lesse then sixe miles; No, *Moses* past ouer all the times of the first age with the greater breuitie, to hasten him to the story of *Abraham*: shutting vp all betwene the Creation & the Flood in sixe chapters; which age lasted 1656. yeeres: but he bestoweth on the story of *Abraham* fourtene chapters, beginning with his birth in the eleuenth, and ending with his death in the fife and twentieth; and this time endured but 175. yeeres. It hath therefore no face of truth, that *Moses* forgot or neglected any thing concerning *Abrahams* trauels, or other actions: or that he would set downe those small remooues of fife miles, and omit those of three hundred. For such a iourney in going and comming would haue 40 ministred some varietie of matter, or accident, worthie the inscribing and adding to *Abrahams* storie.

§. IIII.

The answer to another of the objections proposed, shewing that it was not unlikely that *Terah* should beget *Abraham* in his hundred and thirtie yeere.

Now touching the obiection, where it is said, that it was very vnlikely that *Terah* should beget *Abraham* in his 130. yeere, seeing *Abraham* himselfe thought it a wonder to haue a sonne at an hundred: this is hardly worth the answering. 50 This wonder is indeed mis-cast, and mistaken: *Abraham* hauing respected onely to *Sarah* his wife, when he spake of their many yeeres. For when the Angell said vnto *Abraham* in his Tent doore at *Mamre*; *Loe, Sarah thy wife shall haue a sonne*, it followeth in the next verse, *Now Abraham and Sarah were olde and stricken in age, and it ceased to bee with Sarah after the manner of women: therefore Sarah laughed, &c.*

So then, in that it is said, it ceased to be with *Sarah* after the manner of women, it appeareth that the wonder was wrought on her, and not on *Abraham*. For *Abraham* by his second wife *Keturah* had many sonnes after *Sarah*'s death, as *Zimron*, *Ischban*, *Medan*, *Midian*, *Shobak*, and *Sbnub*: and the eldest of these was borne 37. yeeres after *Isaac*: and the yongest

youngest 40. yeeres after. What strangenesse then, that *Terah* being 130. yeeres olde should beget *Abraham*, will they say, may be gathered from this supposed depaire of *Abraham* at one hundred yeeres? For *Sarah* died in the yeere of the world 2145. and *Isaac* was born in the yeere 2109: and *Abraham* did not marry *Keturah* till *Sarah* was buried. So if we deduct the number of 2109. out of 2145. there remaineth 36. And therefore if *Abraham* begat 5. sons 36. yeeres after this supposed wonder, & when *Abraham* was 137. yeeres old: it is not strange that his Father *Terah* should beget *Abraham* at 130. And if *Boaz*, *Obed*, and *Iesse*, who lived so many yeeres and ages after *Abraham*, begat sonnes at 100. yeeres, or neere it, it cannot be marvelled at, that *Terah* begat *Abraham* at 130; and *Abraham* others at the same age and seven yeeres after.

§. V.

The answers to two more of the objections: (showing that wee may have certaintie of *Abrahams* age from the Scripture, though we make not *Abraham* the eldest Sonne: and that there was great cause, why in the story of *Abraham* his two brethren should be respected.

It followeth now to speake something to the objection, which brings *Abrahams* age altogether in doubt, except we allow him to be the eldest sonne of *Terah*, and borne when *Terah* was 70. yeeres old. For *Abrahams* age being made uncertaine, all succeeding times are thereby without any perfect rule or knowledge.

But this proposition, That we cannot be certaine of *Abrahams* age, unless we make him the eldest sonne, is false. For it is plaine in the Scriptures, that when *Terah* was 205, which was the yeere of his death, then was *Abraham* 75. And if you aske, how I can iudge of times, either preceding or succeeding, by knowing that *Abraham* departed *Haran* at that age: I answer, that Saint *Stephen* hath told vs, that *Abrahams* departure followed the death of his Father *Terah*: and *Terah* died at 205; so as the 75. yeere of *Abraham* was the 205. yeere of *Terah*: which knowne, there can bee no error in the account of times succeeding. Now to come to the objection, where it is said, That *Moses* had no respect unto *Nachor* and *Haran*, because they were out of the Church, but to *Abraham* onely, with whom God established the Covenant, and of whom *Christ* descended according to the flesh, &c. I answer, that *Moses* for many great and necessary causes had respect of *Nachor* and *Haran*. For the succession of Gods Church is not witnessed by *Abraham* alone, but by the issues of *Nachor* and *Haran*, were they Idolaters or otherwise. For *Nachor* was the Father of *Bethuel*, & *Bethuel* of *Rebecca*, the mother of *Isaac*: and *Haran* was the parent of *Lot*, *Sarah*, and *Milcah*: and *Sarah* was mother to *Isaac*, and grandmother to *Jacob*: *Milcah* also the wife of *Nachor*, and mother of *Bethuel*, was *Jachs* great grand-mother: and the age of *Sarah* the daughter of *Haran* is especially noted, in that it pleased God to give her a son at 90. yeeres, and when by nature she could not have conceived. And therefore, though it were not in regard of themselves, yet because both *Nachor* and *Abraham* married the daughters of their brother *Haran*; and because *Isaac* married *Rebecca* the grand-child of *Nachor*; and *Jacob*, *Lea*, and *Rachel*, the daughters of *Laban*, the grand-child also of *Nachor*: It was not superfluous in *Moses* to give light of these mens times and ages. And though sometime they worshipped strange gods, as it is *Ios. 24. 2.* yet I see no cause to thinke, that they still continued Idolaters. For they beleued and obeyed the calling of *Abraham*, leaving their naturall Countrey, and Cite of *Ur* in *Chaldea*, as *Abraham* did, and removed thence all, except *Haran*, who died before his Father *Terah*, ere they left *Chaldea*: but *Lot*, his sonne, followed *Abraham* into *Canaan*; and *Sarah*, the sister of *Lot*, *Abraham* married. *Nachor* also, who remained at *Charran*, gaue his sonnes daughters to *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, his owne kinsmen: he himselfe having also married in his owne familie; not thinking it pleasing unto God to mixe themselves with strangers and Idolaters. And that these men at length beleued in the God of *Abraham*, it canno way be doubted. For when *Laban* had seene the servant of *Abraham* standing at the Well beside *Charran*, he invited him to his Fathers house in this manner: Come in, thou blessed of Iehouah, &c. And when this servant of *Abrahams* demanded an answer as touching *Rebecca*, then answered *Laban* and *Bethuel*, and said, This thing is proceeded of Iehouah: meaning that it was the wil of the true God it should be so; wherein he acknowledged Gods providence. Likewise in the following verse it is written, Take, goe that she may be thy Masters sons wife, even as Iehouah hath said. This their offering of

Oripen. hom. 11
in Gen. Aug. de
Gen. de 116. c.
34. Cantic. of
Seyer. in Gen.

Gen. 24. 7. §. 1.
Gen. 24. 7. §. 1.

of the name of *Iehouah*, which is the proper Name of the true God, is a signe that they had the knowledge of him.

Now although it be the opinion of *S. Chrysostome*, and some latter writers, as *Caictan*, *Olester*, *Ascalus*, *Caluin*, *Mercer*, and others, that *Laban* was an Idolater, because he retained certaine Idols, or household Gods, which *Rachel* stole from him; yet that he beleued in the true God it cannot be denied. For he acknowledged the God of *Abraham* and of *Nachor*, and he called *Abrahams* servant, blessed of I E H O V A H, as aforesaid. So as for my selfe I dare not auow, that these men were out of the Church, who, I sure I am, were not out of the faith.

§. VI.

That the naming of *Abraham* first of the three brethren, Gen. 11. v. 26. doth not prooue that he was the eldest: together with diuers reasons: proving that *Abraham* was not the eldest sonne of *Terah*.

SO the maine objection which I answer last, because it seemeth of most strength, by which, those that strue to shorten the times, endeavour to proue that *Abraham* was the eldest sonne of *Terah*, and borne in the 70. yeere of *Terahs* life:

20 grounding themselves first and chiefly on this place of the Scripture, And *Terah* lived 70. yeeres, and begat *Abraham*, *Nachor*, and *Haran*: To this I say, that although *Abraham* in this verse be first named, yet the same is no prooue at all that he was the eldest and first borne sonne of *Terah*. For it is no necessary consequence, that the first named in Scriptures was therefore eldest in blood and birth, neither doth it appeare, that it pleased God to make especiall choice of the first sonnes in nature and time: for *Seth* was not the first borne of *Adam*; nor *Isaac* of *Abraham*; nor *Jacob* of *Isaac*; nor *Juda* and *Ioseph* of *Jacob*; nor *David* the eldest of *Iesse*; nor *Salomon* of *David*: as is formerly remembered.

But it is written of *Noah*: *Noah* was 500. yeeres old, and *Noah* begat *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*: shewing that at the 500. yeere of his age he began to beget the first of those three sonnes. For according to *S. Augustine*, speaking generally, *Nec attendendus est in his ordinibus, sed significatio future dignitatis: in qua excelluit Abraham*. The order of nati-

Aut. quod su-
per Gen. 25.

uitie is not here to be respected, but the signification of the future dignitie: in which *Abraham* was preferred. And therefore, as in the order of the sonnes of *Noah*: so it is here, where it is said, that *Terah* lived 70. yeeres, and begat *Abraham*, *Nachor*, and *Haran*: For it was late ere *Terah* began to beget Sonnes, himselfe being begotten by his Father *Nachor* at 29. as other his Ancestors were at 30. The like also happened to *Noah*: for whereas *Adam* begat *Seth* at 130; *Enosh* *Kenan* at 90; *Kenan* *Mahalaheel* at 70; *Mahalaheel* *Jered* at 60; *Noah* was yet 500. yeeres old when he began to beget the first of his three sonnes, as aforesaid. And *S. Augustine* in the place before cited, rather inclineth to the opinion that *Abraham* was the youngest of *Terahs* sonnes, then otherwise: though for his excellencie he was worthily named first. His owne words are these: *Fieri enim potuit ut posterior sit generatus Abraham: sed merito excellentia, qua in Scripturis valde commendatur, prior fuerit nominatus*. It might be, saith he, that *Abraham* was begotten later: but was first named in regard of his excellencie, for which in Scripture he is most commended. So as the naming first or last proueth nothing who was first or last borne: either in those issues of *Noah*, or in those of *Terah*: Neither hath God any respect of the eldest in nature, as touching his election or spiritual blessing, for *Moses* nameth first the children of the promise, and the eldest and first in Gods fauour. *Pietas ergo vel ipsa potius electio diuina, qua committitur scilicet pietatem, & Dei timorem, primas partes dat Sem in liberis Noa, & Abraham in liberis Thare*. *Pietate*, saith he, or rather diuine election, which doth euermore draw with it or after it, pietie and the feare of God, gaue place and precedence to *Sem* among the children of *Noah*, and to *Abraham* among those of *Thare*.

For the rest it is manifest, that *Abraham* entered *Canaan* in the 75. yere of his age. And it was in *Canaan* that *Hagar* bare him *Ismael*, when *Abraham* had lived 86. yeeres. It was at *Gerar* (the South border of *Canaan*) that *Sarah* bare *Isaac*, when *Abraham* had continued 100. yeeres. It was from the valley of *Mamre* in *Canaan* that *Abraham* roset, when he rescued *Lot* and ouerthrew *Amraphel*: and he had then but the age of 83. yeeres: and it is manifest that hee parted from *Haran* after his Father *Terah* was dead. But if

Terah

Gen. 14.

Terah begat Abraham at 70. yere old, then must Abraham haue bene 135. yeeres when he first set his foote in Canaan: seeing Terah must be dead ere he parted, and so 70. added to 135. made 205. the true age of Terah, which is contrary to all those places of Scripture before remembred. For he entred at 75: he rescued Lot at 83: he had Isaac at 86: he had Isaac at 100. proued by the former places.

Moreover, if Abraham were the eldest sonne of Terah, and borne in the 70. yere of his age: then had Terah liued till Isaac had bene 35. yeeres olde, and Isaac, 49. both which must then haue bene borne in Mesopotamia, and therein fostered to that age: vntlesse we should either denie credit to S. Stephen, who saith that Abraham departed from Mesopotamia after his fathers death: or else belieue the interpretation of Daniel Angelocrator, who in his *Chronologia antoptica*, saith it was about his Fathers death: because the Greek word, *πρὸ*, may be transported by the Latine *sub*, as well as by *post*: which though elsewhere it may be, yet cannot it be so in this place. For it were most improperly spoken, to say that those things were done about Terahs death, which were 60. yeeres before. Wherefore supposing Abraham to haue bene borne in the fenty yere of Terah, we must giue those times and places of birth to Abrahams children, which no authoritie will warrant: For Abraham had no children in *yr* of Chaldea, nor in Haran: nor in tenne yeeres after his arrivall into Canaan. For the yere of Terahs death, in which Abraham left Haran, was the yere of the World 2083. and the yere of Ismaels birth was the Worlds yere 2094: which maketh 10. yeeres difference. And that Isaac was borne in Canaan, and was to be offered vpon the mountaine Moriah therein, 39. miles from Betsale, where Abraham then inhabited: and that three Angels first of all appeared to Abraham in the valley of Mamre, no man doubteth.

And therefore it cannot bee that any of Abrahams sonnes were borne in Mesopotamia: nor while Terah liued; nor in lesse then tenne yeeres after Terahs death: and then consequently was not Abraham the eldest sonne of Terah, nor borne in the 70. yere of Terahs age.

Gen. 12.

Thirdly, whereas Abraham came into Canaan at 75: if Terah had begotten him at 70, then had Terah liued but 145. for 70. and 75. make 145. which must also haue been the full age of Terah: but Terah liued 205. yeeres: and therefore was not Abraham borne in the 70. yere of Terah.

Fourthly, the ages of Lot and Sarah make it manifest, that Haran was the elder, if not the eldest brother of Abraham: for Sarah or Isch was tenne yeeres of Abrahams age: Isaac being borne when Abraham was 100. and Sarah 90. yeeres olde.

It followeth then, that if Abraham had bene the elder brother of Haran, Haran must haue begotten Sarah at nine yeeres olde: for granting that Haran was borne but one yere after Abraham, and Sarah withinten yeeres as olde as Abraham, then of necessity must Haran beget her, when he had liued but nine yeeres; which were too ridiculous to imagine.

And that Isch was Sarah, Rab. Solomon affirmeth; both names, saith he, bearing the same signification; and names of principallitie. Again, to what end was the word *Isch* or *Ischab* inserted in this place, if Sarah were not meant thereby? For to speake of any thing superfluous it is not vsed in Gods Bookes: and if Isch had not belonged to the storie, it had bene but an idle name to no purpose remembred.

Now if it had bene true (as those of the contrarie opinion affirme) that Moses had no respect of Nabor and Lot, Sarah, and Milchab, who were notwithstanding the parents of Bethuel and Rebecca, the mother of Israel, and of Christ: what regard then had Moses of Isch in this place, were shee not Sarah, but otherwise an idle name of whom there is nothing else first or last?

The age also of Lot disproueth the eldership of Abraham: for Lot was called an olde man when Abraham was but 83. yeeres: And if Lot were of a greater age than Abraham, and Haran were Father to Lot, Sarah, and Milchab, Abraham marrying one of Harans daughters, and Nabor the other, Sarah also being withinten yeeres as old as Abraham: it may appeare to every reasonable man (not obtinate and preiudicate) that Haran was the eldest sonne of Terah, and not Abraham: who also died first and before his Father left *yr* in Chaldea. Also Lyra reasoneth against the opinion of Abrahams eldership, vpon the same place of Genesis: drawing argument from the age of Sarah, who was but 10. yeeres younger than Abraham himselfe. Lyra his words are these: *Significat Haran fuisse iunior ipso Abraham,*

Abraham, *sequitur quod non habebat decem annos quando genuit Saram: imò nec octo.* And afterward, *Et idcirco melius videtur dicendum, quod Abraham fuit vltimo natus de tribus filiis Thare, tamen nominatur primus, propter eius dignitatem: Et quia ponendus erat caput stirpis & generationis sequentis: Et quia primus facti cū ei reponmissio expressa de Christo, sicut supra dictum est de Sem, &c.* If therefore (saith Lyra) Haran was younger then Abraham himselfe, it followeth that he was not ten yeeres old when he begat Sarah: And therefore is somewhat better to be said, that Abraham was the last borne of the three sonnes of Thare, notwithstanding he is named first for his dignitie, both because hee was to be ordained head of the stocke and generation following, and because the promise of Christ was first made vnto him, as before it is said of Sem.

§. VII.

A conclusion of this dispute, noting the Authors on both sides: with an admonition, that they which shorten the times, make all ancient stories the more improbable.

Therefore agreeth with the Scriptures, with Nature, Time, and Reason, that Haran was the eldest sonne of Terah, and not Abraham: and that Abraham was borne in the 130. yere of Terahs life, and not in the 70. yere. For Abraham departing Charran after Terah died, according to S. Stephen, and that journey by Abraham performed when he was 75. yeeres old; these two numbers added make 205. yeeres, the full age of Terah: seeing that when Terah died, then Abraham entred Canaan. For myselfe, I haue no other end herein then to manifest the truth of the Worlds Story: I reuerence the iudgements of the Fathers: but I know they were mistaken in particulars. Saint Augustine was doubtfull, and could not determine this controuersie. For whatsoever is borrowed from him out of his sixteenth Booke de *Ciuitate Dei*, cap. 15. the same may be answered out of himselfe in his five and twentieth question vpon Gen. But Saint Augustine herein followed Iosephus and Isidor: and Beda followed S. Augustine. And it was out of a foolish pride and vanitie, that the Hebrewes and Iosephus sought to inke Abraham the first borne: as if God had had respect to the eldest in nature. So did Iosephus together with Nicholas Damascenus (thinking thereby to glorifie the Jewish Nation) make Abraham a king, entitling Sarah by the name of *Queene Sarah*: and said that Abraham was followed with 318. Capitaines, of which every one had an infinite multitude vnder him; *trecentos & octodecem praefectos habuit: quorum singulis infinita multitudo precebat.* And that Pharaoh inuading him with a great Armie, tooke from him his Wife Sarah: Such fables argue that Iosephus is not to be beleeued, but with discrete reuerations.

This account of times, allowing no more than 292. yeeres from the Flood to Abraham, is vspheld by many of the Hebrews. But how should we value the opinion of such Chronologers, as take Amraphel for Nimrod? Surely, if their iudgement in such matters were worthy to be regarded, it would haue appeared in setting downe the succession of the Persian Kings, vnder whom they liued, whose Historie was not so farre remote in time as these antiquities, nor wanting the light of many good writers. Yet grossly haue they erred therein, and so familiar are their mistakings in all things of like nature, that we seldom finde their opinion rehearsed without the confutation treading on the heels of it. They of the *Romane* religion are also generally on the same side: it being a thing vsuall among them, to maintaine whatsoever they haue bene formerly knowne to hold and beleue. Contrariwise, of the more ancient, Theodoret, and some following him: of later times Beroaldus, Codoman, Peucer, Caluin, Iunius, Beza, Broughton, Doct. Gibbons, and Moore, with diuers of the Protestants, hold Abraham to haue bene borne in the 130. yere of his Father Terah. From these (as in a case not concerning any point in Religion) diuers of the same Religion, and those neuertheless good Authors, as Baeholcerus, Chiraeus, Functius and others, are very averse heerein, especially Iosephus Scaliger with his Salm Caluinus, proclaiming Beroaldus an Arch-heretike in *Chronologie*, and condemning this opinion of his as poysonous. Contrariwise, Augustinus Tornilius a Priest of the Congregation of Saint Paul, a iudicious, diligent, and free writer, whose *Annales* are newly set forth, very earnestly defends the opinion, which I haue already deliuered: not alledging Beroaldus, nor any Protestant writer, as being perhaps vawilling to owe thanks to heretikes. For my selfe I doe neither mislike the contrary opinion, because

commonly, those of the *Romish* Religion labour to uphold it; Nor fauour this larger account of times, because many notable men of the *Protestant* writers haue approved it, but for the truth it selfe. To strengthen which, after all these former reasons, and testimonies of Scripture, I will add thus much more to the rest. First, it is apparent to all men of iudgement, that the best approued Historians, Dinine and prophane, labour to inuestigate the truth of times, thereby to approve the stories, and forpast actions of the world: and not the truth of histories to approve the times by. Let vs then make iudgement to our selues, which of those two accounts giue the best reputation to the story of the Scriptures; teaching the Worlds new plantation, and the continuance of Gods Church: either that of *Iosephus*, & those which follow him; who makes but 292. yeres, or thereabouts, betweene the flood and birth of *Abraham*; or this other account, which makes 352. yeres betweene the one and the other: the one taking *Abraham* to bee the first borne of *Thare*, in the 70. yeere of his life: the other a younger sonne of *Thare*, and borne when he had liued 130. yeres. And if we looke ouer all, and doe not hastily satisfie our vnderstanding with the first things offered, and thereby being sariated doe slothfully and drowsily sit downe; we shall finde it more agreeable rather to allow the reckoning of the *Septuagint*, who, according to some editions, make it about 1072. yeres betweene the Flood and *Abrahams* birth: then to take away any part of those 352. yeres giuen. For if wee aduisedly consider the state and countenance of the world, such as it was in *Abrahams* time, yea before *Abraham* was borne, wee shall finde that it were very ill done of vs by following opinion without the guide of reason, to pare the times ouerdeeply betweene *Abraham* and the Flood: because in cutting them too neere the quick, the reputation of the whole storie might perchance blede thereby, were not the testimonies of the Scriptures supreme, so as no obiection can approach it: and that wee did not follow withall this precept of *S. Augustine*, That wherefoeuer any one place in the Scriptures may bee conceiued disagreeing to the whole, the same is by ignorance of interpretation mis-vnderstood. For in *Abrahams* time all the then knowne parts of the World were peopled: all Regions and Countries had their Kings. *Egypt* had many magnificent Cities: and so had *Palestina*, and, and all the bordering Countries: yea, all that part of the World besides, as farre as *India*: and those not built with stickes, but of hewne stones, and defended with walls and rampiers: which magnificence needed a parent of more antiquitie, then those other men haue supposed. And therefore, where the Scriptures are plainest, and best agreeing with reason and nature, to what end should we labour to beget doubts and scruples, or draw all things into wonders and maruales? giuing also strength thereby to common cauillers, and to those mens apish braines, who only bend their wits to finde impossibilities, and monsters in the storie of the World and Mankinde.

§. VIII.

A computation of the times of the *Assyrians*, and others, grounded vpon the times noted in the storie of *Abraham*.

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IN this sort therefore for the reasons before alleadged, I conclude, that from the generall Flood, to the birth of *Abraham*, 352. yeres were consumed: and taking the *Assyrian* History with vs, the same number of yeres were spent from the Flood to the 43. yeere of *Ninus*: in which 43. yeere of *Ninus* *Abraham* was borne: which happened in the yeere of the world, 2009.

Now of this time of 352. yeres, we must giue one part as well to the increase of those people which came into *Shinar*, as to those that stayed in the East, to wit, 30. yeres to *Chus*, ere he begat *Seba*: of which, though the Scriptures are silent, yet because those of the same time had that age when they begat their first sonnes, wee may the more safely giue the like allowance to these. For *Eber* begat *Peleg* at 34. *Peleg* *Regu* at 30. *Regu* *Serug* at 32. Now after *Seba*, *Chus* begat *Hauila*, *Saba*, *Raama* and *Sabtecha*: and *Raama* begat *Sheba* and *Dedan*, before *Nimrod* was borne, as it appeareth *Gen. 10.* which *S. Augustine* approueth. Giuing then 30. yeres more to *Raama* ere he begat *Sheba*, and five yeres to the five elder brothers of *Nimrod*, it may be gathered that 65. yeres were consumed ere *Nimrod* himselfe was borne: and that *Raamah* had that age before any of his sonnes

were

were begotten, it may be gathered, by example and comparifon: for *Peleg* the fourth from *Noah*, as *Raamah* was, begat *Regu* in the same yeere of his life.

Let vs then allow 60. yeres more after the birth of *Nimrod*, for two other generations to be brought forth, or else we shall hardly finde people to build *Babel*: for sure wee are that it was done by hands, and not by miracle: because it displeased God. These two numbers of 65. and 60. make 125. The rest of the time of 131. (in which yeere they arrived in *Shinar*, whereof there are 6. yeres remaining) we may giue them for their travels from the East: because they were pestered with women, children and Cattell: and as some ancient writers haue conceiued, and *Becanus* of later times, they kept alwaies the 10 mountains sides, for feare of a second Flood. Now, if we take this number of 131. out of 352. there remains 221. of which number *Berosus* bestoweth 65. on *Belus*, and 42. on *Ninus* before *Abraham* borne: both which *S. Augustine* approueth: which two numbers taken againe out of 221. there remaineth 154. yeres of the 352. from the Flood to *Abrahams* birth: which number of 154. we celsitie bestoweth on *Nimrod*.

And if it be objected that this time giuen to *Nimrod*, is ouer-long: sure if we compare the age of *Nimrod* with the rest of the same descent from *Noah*, it will rather appeare ouer-flout. For *Nimrod*, by this accomplished in all but one hundred fcecuty nine yeres: whereof he reigned one hundred and twelue: whereas *Sale* who was the sonne of *Arphaxad* the sonne of *Sem*, liued four hundred three yeres: and of the same age of the 20 World was *Nimrod* the sonne of *Chus*, the sonne of *Cham*.

Now after *Abraham* was borne,

Ninus reigned 9. yeres: which added to 43. make 52. *Ninus* dieth and leaureth *Semiramis* his Successor.

Semiramis gouerned the Empire of *Babylonia* and *Assyria* 42. yeres, and died in the 52. yeere complet of *Abrahams* life.

Ninias or *Zameis* succeeded *Semiramis*, and ruled 38. yeres, in the second yeere of 761. of the World.

wherefoe *Abraham* left *Mesopotamia*. *Ninus* reigned 9. yeres: which added to 43. make 52. *Ninus* dieth and leaureth *Semiramis* his Successor.

When *Abraham* was 85. yeres olde, hee rescued his nephew *Lot*, and ouerthrew by surpris *Amraphel* King of *Shinar*, or *Babylonia*. *Ninias* reigned 38. yeres, and *Abraham* 30 came into *Canaan* but 23. yeres after *Semiramis* dieth: which was the 75. yeere of his age: so that *Amraphel* may seeme to haue beene this *Ninias* the sonne of *Ninus*, and *Semiramis*, whose 23. yeres as aforesaid, being the 75. yeere of *Abraham*, he and his fellow-kings might haue receiued this ouerthrow in the 85. yeere of *Abraham*, and the 33. yeere of his owne reigne: after which he reigned five yeres: which make in all 38. But the truth is, that the reasons to the contrary, vrging that this *Amraphel* could not be *Ninias*, are not easily answered. Howbeit for the times of the *Assyrian* Kings, that they are to be ordered as we haue set them downe, according to the times noted by *Moses*, in the storie of *Abraham*, is most certaine; vnlesse we will either derogate from the truth of *Moses* his computation, which were impietie: or account the whole Historie of *Ninus* and 40 *Semiramis* to bee but a fiction; which were to condemne all ancient Historians for fablers.

§. IX.

That *Amraphel*, one of the foure Kings whom *Abraham* ouerthrew: *Gen. 14.* may probably be thought to haue beene *Ninias* the sonne of *Ninus*.

AND now touching this *Amraphel*, whom *Moses* makes King of *Shinar* or *Babylonia*, in the 85. yeere of *Abrahams* life, that is, in the 33. yeere of the reigne of 50 *Ninus* *Zameis* the king of the *Assyrians*, the sonne of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, it is hard to affirme what he was, and how he could be at this time King of *Babylonia*: *Ninias* *Zameis* then reigning there. To this doubt the answer which first offereth it selfe as most probable, is that which hath bene already noted, that this *Ninias* or *Zameis*, was no other then our *Amraphel*: who inuaded *Tracemitis* or *Basan*, and ouerthrew those five kings of *Pentapolis*, or the valley of *Siddim*. For the Scriptures tell vs, that *Amraphel* was King of *Shinar*, which is *Babylonia*: and the times before accounted make him to be the successour of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*: and it falleth out with the 85. yeere of *Abrahams* life: wherein he rescued *Lot*, slew *Chedorlaomer*, and ouerthrew the rest. True it is, that

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this *Amraphel* was not at this time the greatest *Momark*: for *Chedorlaomer* commanded in chiefe, though *Amraphel* be first named by *Moses* in the first verse of the 14. Chapter of *Genesis*. For the Kings of the valley of *Siddim*, or of *Pentapolis*, or the five Cities, were the vassalls of *Chedorlaomer*, and not of *Amraphel*: as it is written, *Twelve yeeres were they subject to Chedorlaomer, but in the 13. yeere they rebelled, and in the 14. yeere came Chedorlaomer and the kings that were with him: and therefore was Chedorlaomer the principall in this enterprize, who was then King of Elam, which is Persia: Now Persia being seated ouer Tigris, and to the East of Amraphels Countrie; and the other two kings, which were companions with Amraphel, being seated to the West of Shinar or Babylonia: Amraphel, who held Babylonia it selfe, seemeth at this time to haue had no great scope or large dominion. For had Amraphel bene so great a Prince as prophane Historians make *Ninus* or *Semiramis* whom he succeeded, he should not haue needed the assistance of three other Kings for this expedition. But though *Chedorlaomer* were the first and greatest of those four Kings, (as it is manifest that he was: For these little kings of *Sodome*, *Gomara*, &c. were his vassals, and not *Amraphels*;) yet this makes not the coniecture lesse probable, but that this *Amraphel* might be *Ninus*. For it may be, that the great and potent Empire of *Assyria*, had now (as we shall shew more plainly in that which followeth) receiued a downe-right fall, at the time of this warre: though not long before it commanded all the Kingdomes betwene *India* and the *Phœnician* Sea: to wit, in the times of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*.*

§. X.

Of *Atioch* another of the foure Kings, and that *Ellas*, whereof hee is said to haue bene King, lies betwene *Cœlesyria* and *Arabia Petrea*.

NOW the two other kings ioyned with *Amraphel* and *Chedorlaomer*, were *Arioch* and *Tidal*; the one king of *Ellassar*, the other of the Nations. For *Ellasar*, *Aquila* and *Hierome* write *Pontus*: so *Tostatus* thinketh that it should be *Hellepont*: which opinion *Peterius* fauoureth. But this is onely to defend the Latine translation. For as *Pontus*, so is *Hellepont* farre distant, and out of the way to send any Armies into *Arabia Petrea*, or into *Idumæa*, which Countreies these foure King chiefly inuaded: Besides that, it is certaine, that the *Assyrians* (when they were greatest) had neuer any dominion in *Asia* the lesse. For at such time as the *Assyrians* feared the inuasion of the *Medes* and *Persians*, they sent not into *Asia* the lesse as commanders: but vsed all the Art they had to inuite *Crasus* to their assistance: perswading him that nothing could be more dangerous for himselfe, and the other Kings of those parts, than the successe of the *Medes* against the *Assyrians*. But examine the enterprize what it was. These Kings (saith the Text) made warre with *Bera*, King of *Sodome*, *Bithsa* King of *Gomorra*, *Shinab* King of *Admath*, and *Shemebar* King of *Zeboin*, and the King of *Bela* which is *Zoar*. All which five Kings had not so much ground as *Middlesex*: being such a kinde of *Reguli*, as *Iosua* found in the land long after: namely, Lords of Cities and small territories adioyning, of which *Canaan* had three and thirtie, all slaine or hanged by *Iosua*. Neither can the other Countreies, which in the Text they are said also to haue inuaded, be imagined to haue bene at that time of any great power: and therefore to call in Kings from *Pontus* or *Hellepont*, had manifested a great impotence and weakenesse in the Kings of *Babylon* and *Persia*.

And though it be alledged for an example, that diuers Kings farre off, came to assist *Pompey* against *Cæsar*: yet these same examples without like occasions and circumstances, do neither leade nor teach. For there was no cause to feare the greatnesse of these pettie Kings, or of the other Countreies: But the eyes of the world were fixed on *Cæsar*, and his vndertakings and intents were to all other Princes, no lesse doubtfull then fearefull: But the whole Countrie by these foure Kings mastered in their passage, was afterward giuen to the halfe tribe of *Manasse*, *Gad*, and *Reuben*: a narrow valley of ground lying betwene *Jordan* and the mountaine of *Seir*: inclosed by the diuer of *Arnon* on the South side, and by *Lybanus* on the North, consisting of the two smal Prouinces of *Troanitis* or *Basan*, and the Region of the *Moabites*: a conquest farre vnusuall, and little answering to the power of the *Assyrian* Empire, if the same had remained in any comparable estate with the times of *Ninus* & *Semiramis*, who subiected all the great Kings of that

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Xenophon

Gen. 14.

part of the World, without the assistance of any of the Kings of *Hellepont*, or any other part of *Asia* the lesse. But as the vulgar and *Aquila* conuert *Ellasar* by *Pontus*: so *Symmachus* makes *Arioch* a King of the *Scythians*, a King indeed, as is saie fetched to ioyn with the *Assyrians* in this Warre, as the World had any at that time.

The *Septuagint* doe not change the word of *Ellasar* at all, but as they keepe the word *Ararat*, on the mountaines whereof the Arke did rest, so doe they in this place retaine the Hebrew word *Ellasar*, being doubtfull to giue it a wrong interpretation. And *Peterius* himselfe remembereth other opinions farre more probable then this of *Pontus* or *Hellepont*: yet he dares not auow his liking of them, because the Latine translation hath it otherwise. For *Stephanus de Vrbiibus* a *Græcian Cosmographer*, findeth the City of *Ellas* in the border of *Cœlesyria*: and S. *Hierome* calleth *Ellas* the Citie of *Arioch*, as in truth it was. Now although the same be located by *Stephanus* in *Cœlesyria*, yet it standeth on the border of *Arabia*, of which *Arioch* was king: who formerly ioyned with *Ninus* in all his conquests, being of the same familie, and descended from *Cham* and *Chus*: after whom the name of *Arims* was by the Hebrew written *Arioch*: and afterward againe *Aretas*: as in the *Machabees*: the kings of *Arabia* holding that name euen to the time of S. *Paul*, who was sought to be betrayed by the *Lieutenants* of *Aretas* commanding in *Damascus*. They were Princes for the most part confederate and depending vpon the *Assyrian* Empire. It is true that wee finde in *Daniel*, that in the time of *Nabuchodonosor*, one *Arioch* was General of his armie, & the principall Commander vnder him, who was a King of Kings: which makes it plaine, that *Arioch* here spoken of, the sonne of that *Arioch* Confederate of *Ninus*, was no king of *Pontus*, nor of *Scythia*: regions farre removed from the *Assyrians* and *Babylonians*. The name also of *Arioch* who commanded vnder *Nabuchodonosor* is mentioned in *Judith*, by the name of King of the *Elymeans*: who are a Nation of *Persians* bordering *Assyria*, according to *Stephanus*: though *Plinie* sets it betweene the Sea-coast, and *Media*: and if any brother of the *Arabian* Kings or other of that house (knowne by the name of *Arims*, *Arioch*, *Aretas*, or *Aretas*) had the gouernment of that *Persian* Prouince called *Elymais* (as it seemeth they had by the places of *Daniel* and *Judith*) yet the same was in *Nabuchodonosors* time. But this *Arioch* heere spoken of may with more reason be taken for the King of *Arabia*, the sonne of *Arims*, the Confederate of *Ninus*: whose sonnes held league, as their Fathers did, being the next bordering Prince of all on that sidetowards the West vnto *Babylonia*, and *Chalæa*: and in amitie with them from the beginning, and of their owne house, and blood: which *Diod. Siculus* also confirmeth.

Dio. Sic. l. c. 3

§. XI.

Of *Tidal* another of the foure Kings.

HE fourth King by *Abraham* ouerthrowne was *Tidal*, King of the Nations. The Hebrew writes it *Gajim*, which *Vatablus* takes to be a proper name: *Lyra* of mixt people: *Caluin* of runnagates without habitation: *Peterius* out of *Sirabo*, findes that *Galilee* was inhabited by diuers Nations, which were a mixt people: namely of *Egyptians*, *Arabians*, and *Phœnicians*. *Nam tales sunt qui Galileam habitant*: Such are the inhabitants of *Galilee*, saith *Sirabo*: and therefore was *Tidal* called King of these Nations, as they suppose. And it may be so: but the authoritie of *Sirabo* is nothing in this question. For *Galilee* was not peopled at this time, as it was in the time of *Sirabo*. For when *Abraham* came into *Canaan*, the *Canaanite* was then in the Land, howsoeuer they might be afterwards mixt; which I know not. But there are many pettie kingdomes adioyning to *Phœnicia*, and *palestina*: as *Palmyrena*, *Batanea*, *Laodicea*, *Apamena*, *Chalcide*, *Calisto*, *Chalibonitis*, and all these doe also ioynethemselues to *Mesopotamia*, on the North, and to *Arabia* on the East. And that these Nations gathered themselues together vnder *Tidal*, I take to be the probablest coniecture.

Gen. 14. c.

§. XII.

That Chedorlaomer the chiefe of the foure Kings was not of Assyria, but of Persia: and that the Assyrian Empire at this time was much impayred.

Assly, whereas it is conceiued that Chedorlaomer was the Assyrian Emperor, and that Amraphel was but a Sarape, Viceroy, or Prouinciall gouernour of Babylon, and that the other Kings named were such also, I cannot agree with Petrius in this. For Moses was too well acquainted with the names of Assur and Shinar, to call the Assyrian a king of Elam: those kings being in the Scriptures euermore called by the name of Chaldaea, Shinar, Babylonia, or Assyria: but neuer by Elam; and Chedorlaomer or Chedorlaomer was so called of Kidor, from Cidarim which in the Hebrew signifieth Regale: for so Curtius calleth the garment which the Persian Kings ware on their heads.

Neither doe I beleue that the Assyrian or Babylonian Empire stood in any greatneffe at the time of this inuasion, and my reasons are these: First, example: and experience teach vs, that those things which are let vp hastily, or forced violently, doe not long last: Alexander became Lord of all Asia, on this side of Indus, in a time of so short a life, as it lasted not to ouer-look what it selfe had brought forth. His fortunes were violent, but not perpetuall. For his Empire did at once with himselfe: all whose chiefe Commanders became kings after him. Tambarlain conquered Asia and India with a storme-like and terrible successe: but to preualent furie God hath adioyned a short life: and whatsoeuer things Nature her selfe worketh in haste, she taketh the least care of their continuance. The fruit of his victories perished with him, if not before.

Ninus being the first whom the madnesse of boundlesse dominion transported, inuaded his neighbour Princes, and became victorious ouer them: a man violent, insolent, and cruell. Semiramis taking the opportunitie, and being more proud, aduenturous, and ambitious, then her Paramour: enlarged the Babylonian Empire, and beautified many places therein with buildings vnexampled. But her sonne hauing changed Nature and Condition with his Mother, proued no lesse feminine then she was masculine. And as wounds and wrongs, by their continuall smart, put the Patient in minde how to cure the one, and reuenge the other: so those Kings adioyning (whose subiection, and calamities incident, were but new, and therefore the more grieved) could not sleepe, when the aduantage was offered by such a successe. For in regno Babylonic hic parum respiciunt, this King shined little (saith Nauclerus of Ninus) in the Babylonian Kingdome. And likely it isthat the neckes of mortall men hauing bene neuer before galled with the yoke of forraigne dominion, nor hauing euer had experience of that most miserable and detested condition of liuing in slauerie: no long descent hauing as yet inuaded the Assyrian with a right: nor any other title being for him pretended than a strong hand: the foolish and effeminate sonne of a tyrannous and hated Father, could very ill hold so many great Princes and Nations his vassals, with a powerlesse mastering, and a minde lesse industrious than his Father and Mother had vsed before him. And hee that was so much giuen ouer to licentious idleness, as to suffer his Mother to reigne 42. yeeres, and thereof the greatest part after he came to mans estate: winnesse thereby to the World, that hee so much preferred ease before honour, and bodily pleasures before greatnesse, as he neither inducured to gaine what he could not gouerne, nor to keepe what he could not without contentious perill enjoy.

These Considerations being ioyned to the storie of Amraphel, deliuered by Moses, by which we find that Amraphel King of Shinar was rather an inferiour to the King of Persia, than either his superiour, or equal, make it seem probable, that the Empire of Ninus and Semiramis was at that time broken asunder, and restrained againe to Babylonia.

For conclusion I will adde these two arguments confirming the former: First, that at such time as it pleased God to impose that great trauaile vpon Abraham, from Fr in Chaldaea to Charan, and then to Canaan, a passage of 700. miles, or little lesse, with women, children, and carriages: the Countries through which he wandred were then settled, and in peace. For it was in the 23. yere of Ninus, when Abraham obeying the voyce of God, tooke this great journey in hand: in which time of 23. yeeres after the death of Semiramis, the neighbour Princes had recovered their libertie and former estates. For Semiramis Armie of foure millions, with her selfe vterly consumed in India and all her armies

and engines of warre, at the same time lost, gaue an occasion and opportunitie euen to the poorest soules and weakest hearted creatures of the World, to repurchase their former libertie.

Secondly, it is affirmed by the best and ancientest Historians, that Arims the sonne of Ninus, or Amraphel, inuaded the Baetrians and Caspians, and againe subiected them: which needed not if they had not bene reuolted from Ninus, after Ninus death. And as Arioch recouered one part, so did Balens or Balanens, otherwise Xerxes, reduce the rest reuolted to their former obedience. Of whom it is said that he conquered from Egypt to India: and therefore was called Xerxes idest, Victor or triumphator, a conquerour and triumpher, which vndertakings had bene no other then the effects of madnesse, had not those Countries freed themselves from the Babylonian subiection. Now if we shall make any doubt hereof, that is, of the reconquest of Arius and Xerxes, both which liued after Ninus and Ninus, we may well thinke the rest of Ninus and Semiramis to be but fained: but if we grant this reconquest, then is it true that while Ninus or Amraphel ruled, the Assyrian Empire was torne asunder, according to that which hath bene gathered out of Moses as before remembered.

§. XIII.

That it is not improbable that the foure Kings had no dominion in the Countries named, but that they had else-where with their colonies planted themselves: and so retained the names of the Countries whence they came: which if it be so, we neede not say that Amraphel was Ninus, nor trouble our selves with many other difficulties.

The consent of all writers, whose workes haue come to my perusal, agreeing as they doe, that these foure Kings, Amraphel of Shinar, Chedorlaomer of Elam, and those fellows, were Lords of those Regions, wherunto they are or seeme intitled: doth almost inforce vs to thinke that the Historie must so be vnderstood, as I haue deliuered. But in this place, as often elsewhere in the Scriptures, the names of Countries may beset for people of those lands, or if (as Hierome hath it) Chedorlaomer was king of the Elamites, as Tidal was said to be of the Nations, that is, of people either wanting a fixed habitation, or gathered out of sundry regions: then may wee otherwise conceit of this Historie: remouing thereby so ne difficulties which men perhaps haue bene vnwilling to finde, because they could not finde how to resolute them. For as it had bene a strange coniecture to thinke that Arioch was drawne to assist the Persian, against the Sodomites, as far as from Pontus, where it is very vnlikely that Chedorlaomer was knowne, and almost impossible that the vale of Siddim should haue bene once named: so in true estimation it is a thing of great improbabilitie, that Chedorlaomer, if he were King of Persia alone, should passe through so great a part of the World, as the Countries of Assyria, Chaldaea, Mesopotamia, Syria, and part of Arabia, and Canaan, to subdue those five Townes, whose very names how they should come to his eare, being disioyned by so many great Nations of different languages, a wife man could hardly coniecture. And if all the Countries bordering Persia together with the Babylonian himselfe, yea the kingdome of Elusarsame and that of Tidal, so far off remoued, were become his dependants; what reason can wee finde that might haue induced him to hearken after Sodom and Gomorah? and when he should haue sought the establishment of his new gotten Empire, by rooting out the posterity of Ninus (as Ninus had dealt by Pharus of Media, and Zoroaster of Baetria) then to employ the forces of Amraphel, and those other Kings, against five puerile Townes, leauing Tyrrus and Sidon, & the great Citie of Damasco, with many other places of much importance, and farre neerer vnto him, vnsubdued? Now as these doubts which may be alleged against the first conquest of the vale of Siddim, are exceeding vehement: so are the objections to be made against his reconquest of these five Cities, when they had reuolted as forable; yea and more, as being grounded partly vpon the text it selfe. For first, what madnesse had it bene in that small Province to rebell against so powerfull a Monarch? Or if it were so that they dwelling farre from him, hoped rather to be forgotten, then that he should come or send to reclaim them: was it not more then madnesse in them, when his terrible armie approached, still to entertaine hope of euasion: yea to make resistance (being themselves a dissolute and therefore vnwarlike people) against the power of all the Nations betwene Euphrates, yea betwene themselves and the river of Indus.

Gen. 14. 17.

Indus: Likewise on the part of *Chedorlaomer* we should finde no great wisdome, if he knowing the weaknesse of this people, had raised such a world of men against them: whom by any *Lieutenant*, with small forces he might have subdued. For the perpetuall inheritance of that little Countrey, was not sufficient to counteruaile one months charges of so huge an armie. How small then must his valour haue beene, who with so mighty preparations effected no more then the wasting of that *Valley*, wherein he leide the Cities standing, taking no one of them; but returned well contented with a few prisoners, and the pillage of the Countrey, although he had broken their armie in the field? Now the Scriptures doe not of this situation (supposed to great) make any fearefull matter: but compose the two armies, as equally matcht, saying they were foure kings against five: yea, if the place be literally expounded, we shall finde that *Abraham* slew all these kings; of which great slaughter no Historie makes mention: Neither will the reigne of *Nimias*, who lived foure or five yeeres longer, permit that he should haue died so soone: neither would Histories haue forgotten the manner of his death, if he had so strangely perished in *Syria*. Whereby it appears, that these foure kings were not the same that they are commonly thought: nor their forces so great as opinion hath made them. It may therefore well be true, that these kings were such as many others, who in that age carried the same titles: Lords and Commanders euery one of his owne company, which he carried forth as a *Colony*, seeking place where to settle himselfe and them, as was the vsuall manner of those times.

Neither is it improbable, that *Chedorlaomer* leading a troupe of *Persians*, *Amraphel* some people out of *Shinar*, and *Tidal* others gathered out of sundry places, might comfort together, and make the weakest of the Countrey which lay about them, to pay them tribute. Whosoever will consider the beginning of the first booke of *Thucydides*, with the manner of discoueries, conquests and plantations, in the infancie of *Greece*; or the manner of the *Saracens* invading *Africa* and *Spaine*, with almost as many kings as scuerall Armies: or the proceedings of the *Spaniards* in their new discoueries, passages, and conquests in the *West-Indies*: may easily perceiue, that it was neither vnusual, for the leaders of *Colonies* to receive title from the people whom they conducted: nor to make alliances together, and breake them againe, disturbing sometimes one the other, sometimes helping in pursuit of a conquest. That *Amraphel* and his associates were such manner of Commanders, it may seeme the more likely, by the sloathfull qualitie of *Nimias* then reigning in *Assyria*: whose vnmanlike temper was such, as might well giue occasion to such vnder-taking spirits, as wanted the imployments whereunto they were accustomed, in the reigne of *Semiramis*, rather to seek aduentures abroad, than to remaine at home vnregarded: whilst others more vnworthy than themselves, were aduanced. If the consent of the whole streame of writers upon this place make this coniecture disagreeable to the Text, to the authoritie whereof all humane reason must subscribe, then we may hold our selues to the former coniecture, that *Amraphel* was *Nimias*: and that the power of his Ancestors being by his sloath decayed, he might well be inferiour to the *Persian Chedorlaomer*: or if this doe not satisfie, we may say that *Amraphel* was an *Vnder king* or *Satrapa* of *Shinar*, vnder *Nimias*; who may be supposed to haue had his *Imperiall* seat in his Fathers Citie *Ninieue*: and to haue preferred it before *Shinar* and *Babylon* the Citie of his Mother, whom he hated as an *Vsurper* of his right. But if it were possible that in a case not concerning any mans Saluation, and wherein therefore none hath cared to take great paines, all might erre: then can I thinke that the opinion, That these foure Kings were leaders of *Colonies*, sent out of the Countreies named in the Text, and not Kings of the Countreies themselves, is most consonant both to the condition of those times, and to the Scripture. And hereto adde that *Chedorlaomer* seemes rather called a *Persian* king, then King of *Persia*: and that *Arioch* (whose kingdome vndoubtedly was betweene *Syria* and *Arabia*) hauing beene a man of action, or being a worthy mans sonne, was very well pleased, to giue passage and assistance, to these Captaines or petty Kings. These and such like things here to vige, were but with circumstances to adorne a supposition, which either may stand without them, or if it must fall, is vnworthy to haue cost bestowen vpon it: especially considering, that it is not my intent to imploy any more time in making it good, but to leave it wholly to the Readers pleasure, to follow any of these opinions, or any other, if he finde any that shall seeme better than these. But of what Countreies or people foure these foure were Kings, this expedition is the only publique action that

we know of performed by *Abraham*. And as for other things belonging to his Storie, and of his sonnes, and of his Nephews *Esaue* and *Jacob*, as they are registred by *Moses*, because it is not our purpose, either to stand vpon things generally knowne to all *Christians*, nor to repeat what hath bene elsewhere already spoken, nor to preuent our selues in things that may hereafter in due place be remembred, we passe them here in silence. And because in this Storie of *Abraham* and his posterity, there is much mention of *Egypt*: by which it appears that euen in the time of *Abraham*, it was a settled and flourishing kingdome; it will not be amisse in the next place to speake somewhat of the antiquities, and first kings thereof.

CHAP. II.

Of the Kings of Egypt from the first peopling of it after the Flood, to the time of the deliuerie of the Israelites from thence.

§. I.

A brieft of the names and times of the first Kings of Egypt: with a note of the causes of difficulty in resolving of the truth in these points.



Soone after the confusion at *Babel* (as it seemes) *Cham* with many of his issue and followers (hauing doubtlesse knowne the fertilitye of *Egypt* before the Flood) came thither and tooke possession of the Countrey; in which they built many Cities: and beganne the kingdome one hundred ninie one yeeres after the deluge. The ancient *Gouernours* of this Kingdome till such time as *Israel* departed *Egypt*, are shewne in the Table following.

An. Mundi.	An. dil.	
1847.	191.	<i>Cham.</i>
2008.	352.	<i>Osiris.</i>
2269.	613.	<i>Typhon.</i>
		<i>Hercules.</i>
2276.	620.	<i>Orus.</i>
2391.	735.	<i>Sesostris</i> the great.
2424.	768.	<i>Sesostris</i> the blinde.
2438.	782.	<i>Bufris</i> or <i>Oris</i> the second.
2476.	820.	<i>Acenchere</i> or <i>Thermutis</i>
		or <i>Meris.</i>
2488.	832.	<i>Rathoris</i> or <i>Arthoris.</i>
2497.	841.	<i>Chencres</i> drowned in the red Sea.

The Table and especially the *Chronologie* is to be confirmed by probabilities and coniectures, because in such obscuritie, manifest and restless truth cannot be found. For Saint *Augustine*, a man of exceeding great iudgement, and incomparable diligence, who had sought into all antiquities, and had read the bookes of *Varro*, which now are lost, yet omitted the succession of the *Egyptian* Kings: which he would not haue done, if they had not bene more vncertaine then the *Sicyonians*, whom he remembreth, then whom doubtlesse they were more glorious. One great occasion of this obscuritie in the *Egyptian* Storie, was the ambition of the Priests: who to magnifie their Antiquities, filled the Records (which were in their hands) with many leasings, and recounted vnumstrangers, the names of many Kings that neuer reigned. What ground they had for these reports of supposed Kings, it shall appeare anon. Sure it is that the magnificent works and

and royall buildings in *Aegypt*, such as are neuer found but in States that have greatly flourished, witnesse that their Princes were of marueilous greatnesse: and that the reports of the Priests were not altogether false. A second cause of our ignorance in the *Aegyptian* History, was the too much credulity of some good Authors, who beleeuing the manifold and contrary reports of sundry *Aegyptians*, and publishing in their owne name, such as pleased them best; haue confirmed them, and as it were enforced them vpon vs, by their authority. A third and generall cause of more than *Aegyptian* darkenesse in all ancient Histories, is the edition of many Authors by *Iohn Anniius*, of whom (if to the censures of sundry very learned, I may adde mine) I thinke thus; That *Anniius* hauing scene some fragments of those writers, and added vnto them what he would, maybe credited, as to an auoucher of true Histories, where approued writers confirme him: but otherwise is to be deemed fabulous. Hereupon it commeth to passe that the account of Authors, either in the *Chronologie* or *Genealogie* of the *Aegyptian* Kings, runs thrice altogether different wayes. The Christian writers, such as are ancient, for the most part follow *Eusebius*: Many late writers follow the edition of *Anniius* his Authors: The prophane Histories follow *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and such others.

§. II.

That by the account of the *Aegyptian Dynasties*, and otherwise it appears that Chams reigne in *Aegypt* began in the yeere after the Flood, 191.

TO reconcile these, or gather out of them the times of the ancient Kings, about whom is most controuerse, the best meane is by helpe of the *Dynasties*: of whose continuance there is little or no disagreement. The account of the *Dynasties* (besides the authoritie of approued Authors) hath this good ground, that it agreeth for the most part, if not altogether with the Histories of the *Assyrians*, *Troians*, *Italians*, and others, &c. The beginning of the 16. *Dyn.* is ioyned by generall consent, with the 43. yeere of *Noah*: in which *Abraham* was borne. The twelue first *Dynasties* lasted each of them seuen yeeres, vnder the twelue, which were called the greater gods: so that all the yeeres of their continuance were 84. The thirteenth *Dynasty* endured foureteen yeeres: the fourteenth 26. the fifteenth 37. These three last, are said to haue bene vnder the three younger Gods. So the fifteene first *Dynasties* lasted one hundred sixty one yeeres. As I do not therefore beleuee that the continuance of these *Dyn.* was such as hath bene mentioned, because *Anniius* in such wise limits out their time: so I cannot reiect the account vpon this onely reason, that *Anniius* hath it so: considering that both hitherto it hath passed as currant, and is greatly strengthened by many good reasons. For, whereas *Eusebius* placeth the beginning of the sixteenth *Dynasty*, in the yeere of *Abrahams* birth, as afore said: the reckoning is easily cast; by which the summe of 161. yeeres, which according to our account were spent in the fifteene former, being subducted out of the sum of 352. yeeres, which were betwene the Flood and *Abrahams* birth, shew that the beginning of the first *Dynasty*, which was the beginning of *Chams* reigne in *Aegypt*, was in the yeere 191. As also by other probabilities the same may appeare. For it is generally agreed, that the multitude of mankinde which came into *Shinar*, arrived at *Babel*, *Anniius* diluio 131. In building the Tower were consumed fourtie yeeres, as *Genesis* recordeth: whose report I haue elsewhere confirmed with diuers probabilities. That *Cham* was long in passing with his company, their Wiues, Children, Cattell, and substance, through all *Syria* then desolate, and full of Bogges, Forrests, and Bryers (which the Deluge and want of culture in one hundred seuerne one yeeres had brought vpon it) no reasonable man will doubt. To this his passage therefore, and the seating of himselfe in *Aegypt*, we allow twenty yeeres: and these summes being added together, to wit, one hundred thirty one yeeres after the Flood, before they arrived at *Babel*, 40. yeeres for their stay there, and 20. for *Chams* passage into *Aegypt*, and settling there, make vp the summe of 191. yeeres; at which time we said that *Cham* began his reigne in *Aegypt*, in the beginning of the first *Dynasty*. And to this summe of 191. yeeres if we adde the 161. yeeres of the 15. first *Dynasties*, as they are numbered in common account, we shall fall right with the yeere of *Abrahams* birth, which was *An. Dil.* 352. And hereto omitting many other reasons, which might be brought to proue that these first *Dynasties* must needs haue bene very short, and not containing in the whole summe of their seuerall times

times about 161. yeeres: Let it suffice that had they lasted longer, then either must *Aegypt* haue bene peopled as soone as *Babel* after the Flood: or the *Dynasties* (as *Mercurius* thinke) must haue bene before the Flood. That the arrivall at *Babel* was many yeeres before the plantation of *Aegypt*, after the Flood, enough hath bene said to proue: and that the *Dynasties* were not before the Flood, the number of the long-lived generations betwene *Adam* and the Flood, which was lesse than the number of the *Dynasties*, may sufficiently witnesse. Or if we will thinke, that one life might (perhaps) be diuided into many *Dynasties*, then may this haue bene as well after the Flood, as before: considering that the sonnes of *Noah* did not in euery Countrey erect such forme of Policie, as had bene vied in the same ere the Deluge: but such, as the disposition of the people, the authority and power of the Conductor, together with many other circumstances, did induce or enforce them to.

§. III.

That these *Dynasties* were not diuers families of Kings, but rather successions of Regents, oftentimes many vnder one King.

THE short continuance of the *Dynasties*, doth shew that they were not seuerall families of Kings, as the vaunting *Aegyptians* were wont to stile them. What they were it cannot certainly be warranted. For in restitution of decayed antiquities, it is more easie to denie than to affirme. But this may be said partly vpon good circumstance, partly vpon the surest prooffe, That it was the manner of the *Aegyptian* Kings, to put the government of the Countrey into the hands of some trustie Counsellor, onely reserving the Soueraignty to themselves, as the old Kings of *France* were wont to the Masters of the Palace, and as the Turke doth to the chiefe *Pisfer*. This is confirmed, firstly, by the number of the *Dynasties*, whereof many are vnder *Cham*, and more then one vnder *Osiris* or *Mizraim*; and must therefore haue bene successions, not of Kings, but rather of Counsellors and Regents. Secondly, by custome of such Princes borderers to *Aegypt*, as are mentioned in the Scriptures: of whom *Abimelech* the *Philistin* in his dealing with *Abraham* and *Isaac* about confederation, did nothing without *Phicel* Captaine of his Hoste, though in taking *Abrahams* wife, and in his private carriage, he followed his owne pleasure. Likewise of *Abimelech* the sonne of *Gideon* it was said: Is not he the sonne of *Ierubaal*: and *Zebul* his Officer: Also *Ishbosheth* the sonne of *Saul*, feared *Ahner* the Captaine of the Hoste. Yea, *Dauid* himselfe hating *Isaah* for his crueltye, did not punish him in regard of his greatnesse, which was such, as was feared euen of *Hadad* the *Edomite* living then in *Aegypt*. Thirdly, this is confirmed by the temper and disposition of *Cham*, who was lewd, as appears by the Scriptures: therefore likely both for his owne idlenesse and pleasure, to haue laid the burden of gouernment vpon others; and vpon 45. ieaousie, the companion of vnworthinesse, to haue changed his Lieutenants often. About all other proofes is the aduancement of *Ioseph* by *Pharaoh*. For *Pharaoh* said to *Ioseph*: Only in the Kings throne will I be above thee: behold, I haue set thee ouer all the Land *William Tyndale* of *Aegypt*, *William*, Archbisshop of *Tyre*, who flourished about the yeere of our Lord, one thousand one hundred eightie, affirms that the like or very same forme of gouernment by Viceroy, was in his time practised in *Aegypt*, hauing there bene in vse (as he beleueed) euer since the time of *Ioseph*. He plainly shewes, that the *Soldans* of *Aegypt* were not Lords of the Countrey, how euer they haue bene so deemed: but that they acknowledged and humbly performed the dutie of subiects vnto the *Caliphe*: who residing in a most magnificent Palace in *Cairo*, did commit the charge, not onely of ciuill gouernment, but the power of making warre and peace, with the whole office & authority royall into the *Soldans* hands. He that shall reade in *William* of *Tyre*, the state of the *Caliphe*, or *Mulene Elhadeth*, with the forme of his Court, shall plainly behold the image of the ancient *Pharaoh*, ruling by a Lieutenant, as great in authority as *Ioseph* was, though farre inferior in wisdome.

To thinke that many names of such Regents or Lieutenants as *Ioseph* was, haue crept into the List of the *Aegyptian* Kings, were no strange imagination. For *Iosephs* brethren called him, *The man that is Lord of the Land*, and the Lord of the Countrey: Besides, it is not vnlikely that the vaine glorious *Aegyptian* Priests would as easly report him a King to posterity, as ignorant men & strangers deeme him such, vnder whose hand all dispatches of

of importance; and royall managing of the State had passed, whilest that the King himselfe intending his quiet, had given his office to another. How strangers have mistaken in this kinde, the example already cited of *Iosephs* brethren, doth sufficiently witness. The reports of Priests doe appeare in *Diodorus*, and *Herodotus*: each of whom, citing their relations, as good authority, say; *Diodorus* that *Sesoftris* was the nineteenth King after *Menas*; *Herodotus*, that he was the 332. after *Menas*: which could not have been, if *Menas* had beene *Adam*. Therefore we may well conclude, That the *Dynasties* were not so many races of Kings, but successions of *Regents*, appointed by the kings of so many sundry linages or sorts of men. Now by whatsoeuer meanes a *Dynastie* or *Regencie* continued: whether in one familie, as being made an hereditary office: or in one order of men, as held by faction: sure it is that it was the Kings gift and free choyce, that gaue the office. But the Crowne royall alwaies passed by descent, and not by election: which (besides consent of *Authors*) the Scriptures also proue. For whereas *Ioseph* bought all the land of *Aegypt* for *Pharaoh*, if the Crowne had passed by election, then should *Pharaohs* children hereby either have beene intralled amongst the rest of the people, to the next successor: or injoying their Fathers land, though not his estate, have bene more mighty then the King: as Land-lords of all *Aegypt*, and the King himselfe their Tenant. Likewise we finde in *Exod. 12.* that *God* made the first borne of *Pharaoh*, that was to sit on his Throne. And in *Esay* it is said of *Pharaoh*: I am the sonne of the ancient King.

Eph. 19.

§. IIII.

Of Cham, and his sonne Mizraim, or Osiris.

That the succession of Kings began, and continued in such wise as the Table hath shewed from *Cham* to *Cheneres*, now it followeth to shew. *Aegypt* is called in the Scripture, the land of *Ham*. That this name is not given to it, because the posterity of *Cham* did reigne there, but for that himselfe did first plant it, we may gather by many circumstances. For I thinke it is no where found, that the Countries of *Cush*, *Put*, or *Canaan*, as well as *Aegypt*, were called the Land of *Ham*. Further, it is found in *Diodorus Siculus*, that *Osiris* calleth himselfe the eldest sonne of *Cham*, saying, *Nihil patris Saturnus deorum omnium iunior*: also, *Sum Saturni filius antiquior, german ex pulchro progenies ortum*: which muſt needs be vnderstood of *Cham*: for this *Saturnus Aegyptius* was *Cham*: as it is said, that on the monument of *Ninus* was an inscription, wherein *Cham* was called *Saturnus Aegyptius*. Likewise the Temple of *Hammon*, not farre from *Aegypt*, doth testify, that *Ham* resided in those parts: And *S. Hierome* in *questionibus Hebraicis* saith, that the *Aegyptians* themselves did in his dayes call their Countrey *Ham*: as in foure severall places in the *Psalmes* this Countrey is called the land of *Cham*. And *Orellius*, noting out of *Plutarch* in *Osiride*, that in the sacrifices of the *Aegyptians* this Countrey of *Aegypt* was called *Chemia*, expounds it for *Chamia*: ut puta (saith he) *Chama Nos filio*, to which also he addeth out of *Isidore*, *Aegyptum* *Osir*, hodie *Aegyptium* lingua *Kam vocari*: that *Aegypt* vnto this day in the tongue of the *Aegyptians* is called *Kam*. For the beginning and continuance of *Chams* reigne, the same reasons may suffice to be alleaged, which I have already given in proofe of the time spent in the 15. first *Dynasties*: Neither is it strange that the reigne of *Cham* should last so long as 161. yeeres: considering that *Sem* liued 600. *Arphachshad* and *Shelah* each about 400. But strange it had beene, if one *Saleis* created by *Manehoth*, had in those long-liued generations reigned there 19. yeeres, and with *Beon*, *Apachnas*, *Apochis*, and others of the same brood, obscured the fame and glory of *Osiris Orus*, and *Sesoftris*. *Reineccius* in *histor. Italia*, placeth *Mizraim* next, otherwife called *Osiris* according to *Diodorus*: who saith he was the sonne of *Ham*: *Krentzheimius* saith that *Mizraim* and *Osiris* are words of neere affinitie and found in the Hebrew tongue. Howsoever it be, we know that *Mizraim* the sonne of *Cham*, was Lord of *Aegypt*, and *Reineccius* citing good authoritie in this case, affirmeth that *Aegypt* is now called by the naturals in their owne language, *Mesre*. Neither doe I see cause of doubt whether *Osiris* were the same with *Mizraim*. It is more necessary, and hard to shew manifestly, how long *Mizraim* or *Osiris* reigned. For whereas the yeere of his death is no where precisely let downe, we must be faine to follow probabilities. That hee is not vainly said by *Ammius* his *Berosus*, to have begun his reigne at the birth of *Abraham*, when the *Dynastie* of the *Thebes* began, it appeareth, first, by the authoritie of *Eusebius*: who

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anoucheth as much; next by *Diodorus*, who saith that he inhabited *Thebes*: which habitation of *Osiris* there, that it might be cause of that *Dynastie*, I can well beleue; assenting so farre to *Reineccius*, who thinkes the *Dynasties* were named onely according to the severall seats of the kings.

§. V.

Of the time when *Osiris* reigne ended: and that *Iacob* came into *Aegypt* in the time of *Orus* the sonne of *Osiris*.

The death of *Osiris*, when it was, none can certainly affirme. The onely conjecture that I know is made thus: *Lehabim* the sonne of *Mizraim* called *Hercules Lybius*, made warre in *Italy*, to reuenge his Fathers death, on the associates of *Typhon*, in the 41. yeere of *Baleus* King of *Affria*: before which yeere he had made many great warres in *Aegypt*, *Phenicia*, *Phrygia*, *Crete*, *Lybia*, and *spaine*: and having ended his *Aegyptian* warres, left the Kingdome to *Orus*. Thus saith *Berosus*, or authors following *Berosus*. That *Orus* last of all the gods (as they were stiled) held the Kingdome of *Isis*, *Diodorus Siculus* plainly saith: and *Plutarch* as much; to which all Histories agree. *Krentzheimius* hercupon inferres, that fixe yeeres may be allowed to the warres, which *Hercules* made in so many Countries, after the *Aegyptian* warres were ended: so should the death of *Osiris* have beene the 34. of *Baleus*, when himselfe had reigned 297. yeeres. I thinke that *Krentzheimius* was a greater Scholler in a Souldier. For surely in those dayes when commerce was not such as now, but all Naigation made by coasting, a farre longer time would have bene required, to the subduing of so many Countries. An allowance of more time though it would alter his computation, yet would it well agree with his intent: which was (doublest) to finde the truth. If according to his account the death of *Osiris* had beene the 34. of *Baleus*, then must *Israel* have come into *Aegypt* but seven yeeres before the death of *Osiris*: and have liued there in the reigne of *Typhon*. A thing not easily beleued. For it was the same king who advanced *Ioseph*, bade him send for his Father; and gaue him leave to goe into *Canaan*, to the performance of his Fathers funeral: as may easily be gathered out of the booke of *Genesis*. Whereas therefore the reigne of *Osiris* cannot be extended by any possible allowance in account of times, beyond the seventh yeere of *Israels* coming into *Aegypt*: we muſt needs cut off 23. yeeres from that number, which *Krentzheimius* coniectures his reigne to have continued: namely seven which hee should have liued after *Iacobs* coming into *Aegypt*; nine in which *Ioseph* had there flourished, ere his fathers coming; and other seven in which *Typhon* and *Hercules* had reigned after the death of *Osiris*, yet before *Iosephs* advancement.

Neither will this disagree with the time of *Hercules Lybius* his wars. For the war which *Hercules* made in *Italy*, is said to have indured 10. yeeres: After which proportion we may well give not onely fixe yeeres, as *Krentzheimius* doth, but 23. more to so many wars in so many and so far distant Countries, as are named before: yet, by this proportion we may attribute vnto *Orus* the 13. yeeres, which passed betweene the time of *Iosephs* being sold into *Aegypt*, vnto his advancement: considering that *Putiphar* who bought him, & whose daughter he may seeme to have married, continued all that while chiefe Steward vnto *Pharaoh*; a thing not likely to have bene, if so violent alterations had hapned the whilest in *Aegypt*, as the tyrannous vsurpation of *Typhon* muſt needs have brought in. If citing some fragment of a lost old author, I should confidently say, that *Putiphar* for his faithfulness to *Orus*, the sonne of *Osiris*, was by him in the beginning of his reigne made his chiefe Steward: at which time buying *Ioseph*, and finding him a iust man, and one under whose hand all things did prosper, he rather committed his estate into *Iosephs* hands, than vnto any of his *Aegyptian* followers (many of whom he had found either fall-harted, or weak and vnclucky in the troublesome dayes of *Typhon*) I know not what could be objected against this. Perhaps I might proceed further and say, That when the laying of *Ioseph* pleased *Pharaoh*, and all his seruants; then *Putiphar* Priest of *Os*, being chiefe Officer to *Pharaoh*, did acknowledge in *Ioseph*, the ancient graces of *God*, and his inuitious imprisonment: whereupon he gaue him his daughter to wife; and being old, resigned his office of chiefe Steward vnto him; who afterward in regard of *Putiphar*, did fauour the Priests; when he bought the lands of all other *Aegyptians*. This might appeare to some a tale not unlike

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vnlike to the fierly booke of *Asemah*, *Puiphur* daughter: but vnto such as consider that God workes vually by means: and that *Puiphur* was the Steward of that king, vnder whom *Israhel* died: it would seeme a matter not probable, had it an Author of sufficient credit to auouch it. Concerning the warres of *Hercules*, in which by this reckoning he should haue spent 42. yeeres after he left *Egypt*, ere he began in *Italy*, it is a circumstance which (the length of his *Italian* was considered, and his former enterprises and achievements proportioned to them) doth not make against vs, but for vs: or if it were against vs, yet could it not so weaken our supposition, as these probabilities collected out of the vndisputable truth of Scripture doe confirme it. Neuerthelesse I freely grant that all these proofes are no other, than such as may be gathered out of Authors, not well agreeing, nor to be reconciled in such obscurity, otherwile than by likelihoods, answerable to the holy Text.

§. VI.

Of Typhon, Hercules, Ægyptus, Orus, and the two Sesostris, successively reigning after Mizraim: and of diuers errors about the former Sesostris.

Concerning the reigne of *Typhon* and of *Hercules*, I finde none that precisely doth define how long either of them continued. *Daniel Angelocrator* giueth three yeeres to *Typhon*, omitting *Hercules*. But he is so peremptorie without proofe, as it is his owne word were sufficient authority, in many points very questionable; alleging no witness, but as it were saying, *Tese me ipso*: yet herein we may thinke him to speake probably, forasmuch as the learned *Krentzhemius* affirmeth, that *Hercules* did very soone vnderake his Fathers reuenge: and was not long in performing it: and that leaving *Egypt* to his brother, he followed other warres, in the same qualrell, as hath bene shewed before. True it is, that I cannot collect (as *Krentzhemius* doth) out of *Berosus*, that *Hercules* reigned after *Typhon*: yet seeing *Auentinus* a follower of *Berosus* hath it so, I will also beleue it. That in the reigne of *Typhon* and *Hercules*, seuen yeeres were spent, howsoever diuided betwene them, I gather out of *Krentzhemius* onely, who placeth the beginning of *Orus* seuen yeeres after the death of *Osiris*: forgetting to set downe his reasons, which in a matter so probable I thinke he wanted not. Now whereas he alloweth 90. yeeres of the eighteenth Dynastie to *Osiris*, *Typhon*, *Hercules*, and *Orus*: it seemeth that the reigne of *Orus* lasted 115. yeeres. From the death of *Orus* to the departure of *Israhel* out of *Egypt*, there passed 122. yeeres by our account: who (according to *Bernaldus* and others) thinke that *Abraham* was borne in the 130. yeere of *Terah*, and thereupon reckon thus. From the end of the Flood to the birth of *Abraham* 352
From that time to the Svocation of *Abraham* 75
Departure out of *Egypt* 430
Summa 857.

which summe diuers other wayes may be collected. Since therefore to the departure out of *Egypt*, there doe remaine (as is aforesaid) onely 122. yeeres from the death of *Orus*: we are now to consider how many of them are to be allowed vnto *Sesostris* or *Sesosthis*: who is placed next vnto *Orus*, by authority of the *Scholastes Apollonij*: not without good probability. For this great king or conquerour, is by many Historiours recorded to haue ouer-run a great part of *Asia*: to haue built a fleet of ships on the red Sea: and so to haue entred into *India*: likewise with another fleet on the middle-earth Seas, to haue passed into *Europe*, and subdued many Nations. This is he (as *Reineccius* iudgeth) whom *Isfine* entering in account of his time calleth *Vexoris*: For *Isfine* placeth *Vexoris* in ages before *Ninus*: whereby it would follow that *Sesostris*, if he were *Vexoris*, was more ancient then was *Osiris* (otherwise *Mizraim*) a thing altogether vnlike. Certaine it is that after the departure of *Israhel* out of *Egypt*, no one *Pharaoh* came into the land of *Canaan* (which lieth in the way from *Egypt* into *Asia*) till the Father in law of *Salomon*, *Pharaoh* *Vaphres*, tooke *Gerar*, and gaue it to his daughter: (as wee may reade more at large in the holy historie of the Bible) after which time *Sesac* oppressed *Rehoboam*, and *Necho* sought passage through the land of *Israhel*, when hee made his expedition against the *Chaldeans*. Of King *Vaphres* and *Necho* it is out of question, that neither of them was the great King *Sesostris*. Of *Sesac* it is doubted by some, forasmuch as he came into *India* with

with a great armie. *Reineccius* propounding the doubt, leaueth it vndecided; vnlesse it be sufficient proofe of his owne opinion, that he himselfe placeth *Sesostris* next to *Orus*: following the *Scholastes Apollonij*. But further answer may be made to shew that they were not one. For, as *Isfine* witnesseth, *Sesostris*, otherwise *Vexoris*, made warre on people farre removed, abstaining from his neighbours. *Sesac* came vp purposely against *Hierusalem*. *Sesostris*, as *Diodorus* witnesseth, had but 24000. horse: *Sesac* had 60000. *Sesostris* had 8020. Chariots, *Sesac* but 1200. *Sesostris* made his expedition for no priuate purpose, but to get a great name: *Sesac*, as most agree, had no other purpose thich to succour *Rehoboam*, and giue him countenance in his new reigne; whom he had fauoured euen against *Salomon*: therefore *Sesostris* must needs haue reigned whilest *Israhel* abode in *Egypt*.

Whereas *Krentzhemius* collecteth out of *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus*, that one *Menas*, or *Menis*, was next to *Orus*: because those Historians affirme that he reigned next after the gods; it moueth me nothing. For *Osiris* did succcede those fiftene gods, namely, the twelve greater, and three lesser: himselfe also (as the learned *Reineccius* noteth) being called *Menas*. Which name, as also *Meneas*, and *Menis*, were titles of dignitie: though mistaken by some as proper names. *Krentzhemius* doth very probably gather, that *Menas* was *Mercurius Ter-maximus*; the Hebrew word *Meni* signifying an *Arithmetician*, which name *Ter-maximus* might well be attributed to *Osiris*, who was a great Conquerour, Philosopher, and benefactor to mankind; by giuing good Lawes, and teaching profitable Arts. In prowess and great vnderakings *Sesostris* was no whit inferiour to *Osiris*. For he fought victory not for gaine, but for honour onely: and being well contented, that many Nations had acknowledged his power, and submitted themselves to his will and royall disposition, leauing them in a manner to their liberty, returned into *Egypt*. Soone vpon his returne he was endangered by a great Treason, the house in which hee was, being by his owne brother purposely fired: which neuer thelesse he is said to haue escaped, and to haue reigned in all thirte three yeeres: after which time he chose rather to die then to liue; because he fell blinde. Both *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus*, affirme that *Sesostris* left a sonne, whose name was *Phoron* or *Phorons*: who afterwards tooke the name of *Sesostris*; but was nothing like to his Father in glory: for he shortly fell blinde. The cause of his blindness *Herodotus* attributes to his assaulting the River *Nylus* with a iaculine: which tale *Diodorus* hauing likewise heard, yet reports as a fable, saying that perhaps he tooke the disease naturally from his Father. How long this man reigned it is no where expressed: yet forasmuch as *Orus* the second, (otherwise *Bufris*) who succeeded him, began 14. yeeres after that this *Sesostris* had bene king, it must needs be that this reigned 14. yeeres at least. That *Bufris* began not vntill these 14. yeeres at least were expired, the very account of time from the first of *Bufris*, to the departure of *Israhel* out of *Egypt* plainly shewes, being almost generally agreed vpon, to haue bene 75. yeeres. That none came betwene *Sesostris* the second and *Bufris* or *Orus* the second, it stands onely vpon probabilities: which are these. After *Sesostris* had reigned somewhat, he fell blinde: after certaine yeeres he recovered his sight, as is said: which may haue bene true, but is more like to haue bene a fable: surely the manner of his recovery as it is set downe, is very fabulous: namely that by looking vpon a woman, or washing his eyes with her water, who had onely knowne her owne husband, he got his sight againe. As the time of his reigne, before his blindness, and when he was well againe (if euer he were) may haue taken vp a good part of 14. yeeres: so his workes which were great, doe much more strongly argue, that his reigne was not very short. His words are largely set downe by *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus*: a part of which may seeme to haue bene the finishing of that which his Father had begun, about the channels and fluces of *Nylus*: whom I thinke he rather frightened (as his Father had done) with spades and shouels, then with darts, and iaculines; and by his diligent ouer-sight of that worke, was like enough to lose both his eye-sight and his peoples loue; whom his Father had very busily employed in excessive labour about it.

§. VII.

Of *Buſiris* the first oppressor of the *Israelites*, and of his successor *Queene Thermutis* that took up *Moses* out of the water.

AND herein (if I may presume to coniecture) *Buſiris*, who was afterwards king, is like to have dealt with him, as *Ieroboam* did with the sonne of *Salomon*. For that *Buſiris* himselfe was much addicted to magnificent workes, it well appeared, by the drudgerie wherewith he wearied the children of *Israel* in his buildings: If therefore he were employed by the great *Sesoſtris*, as *Ieroboam* was by *Salomon*, in the oversight of those businesſes, he had good opportunitie to worke his greatnesse with the king by industry: and afterward with the people by incensing them against their new king: as *Ieroboam* did. For what the multitude will endure at one Princes hands, they will not at others: wlesse hee have either an equall spirit, or a surer foundation. If moreover he sought to deriue all the paine and labour of publique workes from the *Egyptians*, to the *Israelites*: he surely did that which to his owne people was very plausible: who (as appears in *Exodus*) were nothing slacke in fulfilling the kings cruelty. Now that *Orus* the second, or *Buſiris* was the king that first oppressed *Israel*, and made the *Edict* of drowning the *Hebrew* children, which (saith *Cedrenus*) lasted ten moneths: it is a common opinion of many great and most learned writers, who also thinke that thereupon grew the fable of *Buſiris* sacrificing strangers. It is also a common interpretation of that place, *Exod. 1.* that the King who knew not *Ioseph*, was a king of a new family. That *Buſiris* was of a new family, *Remecius* doth shew; who also thinke him Author of the bloody edict. Neuertheless, true it is, that *Buſiris*, according to all mens computation, began his reigne five yeeres after the birth of *Moses*; before whose birth it is most manifest, that the Law was made, and much more that the persecution began; which *Banning* thinke to have lasted 87. yeeres, ere the departure out of *Agypt*. Let vs therefore consider, besides the blindness of *Sesoſtris* the second, how great the power of the *Regent* or *Viceroy* in *Agypt* was; & how great confidence the kings did put in them; seeing *Ioseph* ruled with such full power, that he bought all *Agypt*, and all the *Agyptians* for bread, giving at the same time the best of the land to his own father and brethren, for nothing; seeing also that when the *Agyptians* cried out upon *Pharaoh*, for bread, *Pharaoh* said to all the *Egyptians*, *Go to Ioseph*; what he saith to you, do ye. If to a stranger borne, lately fetcht out of prison, a king well able to have governed himselfe, would give such trust, & soveraigne authority, it is not unlikely that a blind Prince should doe it to a man of especial reputation. For God often prospers, not onely the good (such as *Ioseph* was) but wicked men also, as his instruments against the day of wrath. Therefore perhaps the king did (as many have done) resigne his kingdome to him, though his reigne was not accounted to have begun, till the death of *Sesoſtris*. But whether *Buſiris* did usurpe the kingdome, or protection of the land by violence: or whether the blind king resigned it, keeping the title; or whether *Buſiris* were onely *Regent*, whilst the king lived, and afterwards (as is acknowledged by all) king himselfe: it might well be said that *Pharaohs* daughter tooke vp *Moses*, and that *Pharaoh* vexed *Israel*; seeing he both at that time was king in effect, and shortly after king in deed and title both. It were not absurd for vs to say that the blind king *Sesoſtris* the second oppressed *Israel*: but forasmuch as it may seeme that the wicked *Tyrant* shewed his euill nature even when he first arose: I thinke it more likely, that *Buſiris* did it, vntill the first power of a king, and shortly after the stile. Thus of the 122. yeeres which passed betweene the beginning of *Sesoſtris* his reigne, & the departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, 47. being spent, the 75. which remaine, are to be accounted to *Buſiris* or *Orus* the second, and his children. *Buſiris* himselfe reigned 30. yeeres, according to *Eusebius*: whom very many iudicious authors herein approue. After him his daughter, who tooke *Moses* out of the water, is said by all that I have read to have reigned 12. yeeres: Her name was *Thermutis* *Phareis*, or *Muthis* according to *Cedrenus*: *Euseb.* calls her *Acenensis*: & out of *Arrianus* his History *Meris*: *Ioseph* calls her both *Acencheres*, & *Thermutis*. *Epphanus* in *Panath* saith that shee was honoured afterward of the *Egyptians*, by the name of *Thermutis* the daughter of *Amenoph*, the son of *Pharaoh*. Of this last title question might be made, and much spoken: for the Scriptures call her not *Pharaohs* sons daughter, but *Pharaohs* daughter. *Amenophis* indeed is set next before *Buſiris* or *Orus* the second by *Eusebius* & others: but

Exod. 1.

but whether he were a king or onely a *Regent* I cannot coniecture. For *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and the ancient Historians name the sonne of *Sesoſtris*, *Pheron*. Perhaps his name was *Pharaph Amenophis*: and his daughter by the *Agyptians* called rather the neece or grand-child, then the daughter of *Pharaoh*, because of the glory of *Sesoſtris*, and the disputation of his sonne. If so, and if that *Buſiris* or *Orus* the second marrying her, pretended any title by her, then is our coniecture strengthened, and then was shee both daughter, grand-child, and wife vnto *Pharaoh*: and furnishing him, *Queene* of the land, 12. yeeres. But if she were daughter of *Orus* the second, and sister of *Athoris*, or *Rathoris*, as many thinke, to whose coniecture I will not oppose mine, then may it seeme, that either her brethren were degenerate, or too young to rule, when her Father died.

§. VIII.

Of the two brethren of *Queene Thermutis*: and what king it was, under whom *Moses* was borne: and who it was that perished in the red Sea.

HE had two brethren: the one was *Rathoris* or *Athoris*, who succeeded her; the other *Telegonus*, who is onely named by *Eusebius*; but his lineage and off-spring described by *Remecius*. *Rathoris* after his sisters death reigned nine yeeres: after whom *Cheneres*, thought to be his sonne, reigned ten yeeres, and then perished in the red Sea. During the reigne of *Cheneres*, *Eusebius* saith, that *Telegonus* begat *Epaphus* vpon 10: of which Historie elsewhere he reporteth otherwise. After the death of *Cheneres* (whom some call *Acencheres*: but all or most doe stile *Cheneres*), a fighter against God, *Acherres* reigned 8. yeeres; and then *Cherres* 15. This descent seemes from Father to sonne. In the 11. yeere of *Cherres* it is said by *Eusebius*, that *Epaphus* reigning in the lower part of *Agypt*, built *Memphis*. This is an argument of that which otherwise was not valkely: viz. That *Agypt* was greatly brought out of order by the plagues which God had laid vpon it, and the destruction of her king and armie in the red Sea: else could it not have had two reigning in it at once; the later of whom, or his posterity seemes to have taken all 30. from *Cherres* the grand-child of *Cheneres*. For whereas *Armais* is said to have reigned foure yeeres after *Cherres*: and *Armais* one after *Armais*: these two Kings are by *Eusebius* and others accounted as one, and his reigne said to have bene five yeeres. His name is called *Armeus*, otherwife *Danauus*; and his pedigree thus described by *Remecius* in *Historia Italia*.

Telegonus :
Epaphus :
Lybia, who had

Agenor, *Belus*, and *Buſiris*.

T

Agyptus or *Rameſſes* who gaue name to the Countrie, hauing expelled his brother *Danauus*, reigned, and begat *Lyncus*, married to *Hypermetra*.

Danauus or *Armeus* expelled by his brother *Agyptus*, after hee had reigned five yeeres, became king of *Arges* in *Greece*: was Father to *Hypermetra*.

How it might come to passe that the Nephewes sons of *Epaphus* should have occupied the kingdome after *Cherres*, it is hard to say: considering that *Epaphus* himselfe is reported by *Eusebius* to have bene borne in the time of *Cheneres*. But forasmuch as the History of *Epaphus* his birth, is diuersly related by *Eusebius*, it may suffice, that *Belus* the father of *Danauus* & *Agyptus*, otherwife called *Armeus* and *Rameſſes*, was equally distant from *Buſiris* or *Orus* the second, with *Cherres* the grand-child of *Cheneres*. And that the posterity of *Telegonus* did marry very young, it appears by the History of these two brethren, *Danauus* and

and *Egyptus*: of whom the former had 50. daughters, the later 50. sonnes: perhaps, or rather questionlesse by diuers Women: yet surely they began to beget children in their first youth: Howsoever it were, the generall consent of writers is, that *Ammon* or *Danaus* did succcede *Cherres*: and (according to *Eusebius* and good Authors approuing him) reigned five yeeres. *Rameffes* followed, who reigned 68. yeeres. This *Rameffes* or *Egyptus* is that *Armeffemianum* or *Armeffemianus*, vnder whom, in the opinion of *Mercator*, and of *Bunting* that followes *Mercator*, *Moses* was borne: and the cruell *Ediff* made of drowning the Hebrew children. The length of his reigne seemes to me the chiefe, if not the onely ground of *Mercators* opinion. For whereas the Lord said to *Moses*, *Get thee out of Egypt, for they are all dead which went about to kill thee*: *Mercator* hereupon conceiues, that it was one and the same king vnder whom *Moses* was borne, and vnder whom he slew the *Egyptian* at the 40. yeere of his age: and fled into the wildernesse, and there abode for feare: all which circumstances could agree with none, but this *Rameffes*, who reigned so long: wherefore desirous rather to hold a true *Paradox*, then a common error, he placeth one *Alisfragmuthosis* (whose name is found in the list of *Egyptian* kings, but the time vncertaine wherein he reigned) in an age 112. or 113. yeeres more ancient than others left him in: and so continuing the Catalogue of his successours from *Thomasis* (whom *Eusebius* calls *Amasis*) downwards with no other variation of the length of each mans reigne, than is the difference betweene *Manetho* and *Eusebius*, he findes *Moses* borne vnder *Armeffemianum*: and *Israel* deliuered in the dayes of his sonne *Amenophis*. The very name of *Alisfragmuthosis* seemes to him with little alteration to sound like *Pharates*, of which name one was thought to haue flourished either as a king, or a wise man about the time of *Isaac*. For (saith he) from *Alisfragmuthosis* to *Phragmuthosis*, *Pharmuthosis*, or *Pharates*, the change is not great. *Mercator* was a man of excellent learning and industrie: and one to whom the World is bound for his many notable works: yet my assent herein is with-held from him, by these reasons. First, I see all other writers agree, that *Cherres* was King who was drowned in the red Sea: Secondly, the place, *Exod. 4. all are dead, &c.* may better be vnderstood of *Besris* and all his children, then of one king alone: Thirdly, Saint *Cyrill* in his first booke against *Julian* the *Apostata*, saith that *Dardanus* built *Dardania*, when *Moses* was 120. yeeres old: *Rameffes*, which was this *Armeffemianum*, being then king of *Egypt*. After *Rameffes*, *Amenophis* reigned 19. yeeres: who is thought by *Mercator* and peremptorily by *Bunting* pronounced, to be the King that perished in the red Sea: of which our opinion being already laied open, I thinke it most expedient to referrre the kings ensuing to their owne times (which a *Chronologicall Table* shall lay open) and here to speake of that great deliuerance of *Israel* out of *Egypt*: which for many great considerations depending thereupon, wee may not lightly ouerpasse.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of the deliuey of Israel out of Egypt.

§. I.

Of the time of *Moses* birth, and how long the *Israelites* were oppressed in *Egypt*.



Rue it is that the Historie it selfe is generally and well knowne: yet concerning the time of *Moses* his birth, who was the excellent and famous instrument of this and other great workes of the Highest, the different opinions are verie nere as many, as the men that haue written of that Argument.

L. Vives in his annotations vpon Saint *Augustine* citeth very many of their coniectures: as that of *Porphyrie* out of *Sanchoniato*, that *Moses* liued in the time of *Semiramis*: but if hee did meane the first *Semiramis*, it was but a fond conceit: for besides that the fame is contrarie to all Stories Diuine and humane; while that *Semiramis* liued, shee commanded *Syria*, and all the parts there: absolutely: neither were the *Ammonites*, or *Mosabites*, or *Edomites*, while shee ruled, in rerum natura.

A second opinion hee remembreth of *Appian*, taken from *Ptolemaic* a Priest of *Mendes*, who saith that *Moses* was borne while *Inachus* did rule the *Argives*, and *Amesif* in *Egypt*.

The third opinion is taken out of *Polemon*, in his Greeke Historie the first booke: that *Moses* was borne while *Apis* the third King ruled *Arges*.

A fourth is borrowed from *Tacianus Assyrius*, who though hee cite some authorities, that *Moses* liued after the Trojan warre, is himselfe of opinion, that *Moses* was farre more ancient, prouing it by many arguments.

Fifthly, he setteth downe the testimony of *Numenius* the philosopher, who tooke *Musaeus* and *Moses* to be one: confirming the same out of *Artapanus*, who confesseth that *Moses* was called *Musaeus*, by the *Grecians*: and who farther deliuereth that hee was adopted by *Chemphis*, or *Thermutis*, the daughter of *Egypt*: the same which *Eupolemus* calleth *Meris*; others (as *Rabanius Maurus*) *Thermothos*. *Eusebius* also affirmeth; har by *Eusebius* in his first booke de bono, *Moses vir Deo conuinctissimus* is called *Musaeus Iudaeorum*.

Eusebius in his Chronologie, findes that *Moses* was borne while *Amenophis* ruled *Egypt*. The ancient *Manetho* calls that *Pharao*, which liued at *Moses* birth, *Thumosis* or *Thomosis*: the same perchance which *Appian* the *Grammarians* will haue to bee *Amosis*, and elsewhere *Amenophis* the Father of *Seihosis*: to whom *Zysimachus* and *Cornelius Tacitus* gaue the name of *Bocchoris*. To me it seemes most probable, that while *Saphrus* called also *Spherus* or *Iphereus*, gouerned *Assyria*; *Orthopolis*, *Sicyonia*; and *Crisus* the *Argives*; that then (*Seihosis* the second ruling in *Egypt*) *Moses* was borne. For if wee beleue *S. Augustine*, it was about the end of *Cecrops* time, that *Moses* led *Israel* out of *Egypt*. *Eduxit Moyses ex Aegypto populum Dei nouo simo tempore Cecropis Atheniensium rege de cuius Dignitate* *Aug. 1. 18. c. 11*

Moses (saith he) led the people of God out of *Egypt*, about the end of *Cecrops* time, King of the *Athenians*. In this sort therefore is the time of *Moses* birth, and of his departure out of *Egypt* best proued. *S. Augustine* affirmes (as before remembred) that *Moses* was borne: *Saphrus* gouerning *Assyria*: and that hee left *Egypt* about the end of *Cecrops* time. Now *Saphrus* ruled 20. yeeres; his successor *Mamelus* 30. yeeres; *Spartetus* after him 40. yeeres: in whole fourth yeere *Cecrops* began to gouerne in *Attica*: *Ascatades* followed *Spartetus*, and held the Empire 41: So as *Moses* being borne while *Saphrus* ruled *Assyria*; *Orthopolis* *Sicyonia*; and *Crisus* *Argos* (for these three kings liued at once at his birth, saith *S. Augustine*, as *Cecrops* did when he departed *Egypt*) it will follow that the birth of *Moses* was in the nineteenth yeere of the *Assyrian Saphrus*: for take one yeere remaining of 20. (for so long *Saphrus* reigned) to which adde the thirty yeeres of *Mamelus*,

melus, and the 40. yeeres of *Sparatus*, these make 71. with which there were waited three yeeres of *Cecrops*: his 50. yeeres: then take nine yeeres out of the reigne of *Ascatades*, who was *Sparatus* successeur, those nine yeeres added to 71. make 80. at which age *Moses* left *Egypt*: and adde these nine yeeres to the three yeeres of *Cecrops* formerly spent, there will remaine but foure yeeres of *Cecrops* his 50: and lo it falleth right with *S. Augustines* words, affirming that towards the end of *Cecrops* his time, *Moses* led the people of *Israel* out of *Egypt*.

Now the time in which the *Hebrewes* were opprest in *Egypt*, seemeth to haue had beginning some eight or nine yeeres before the birth of *Moses*, &c. 14. yeere, or rather more, after *Ioseph*: betweene whose death and the birth of *Moses*, there were consumed 61. 10 yeeres: some of which time, and 80. yeeres after, they lived in great fertitude and miserie. For as it is written in *Exodus*: *They set task-masters over them, to keepe them under with hardens: and they built the Cities, Pitbom and Ramases, &c.* And by crueltie they caused the children of *Israel* to serue; and made them weary of their liues, by fore labour in clay and bricke, and in all worke of the field, with all manner of bondage. All which laid vp on them by a mastering power and strong hand, they endured to the time by the wisdom of God appointed: euen from 54. yeeres, or not much more after the death of *Ioseph*, who left the World when it had lasted 2370. yeeres, to the eighthieth yeere of *Moses*, and vntill he wrought his miracles in the field of *Zaan*, which hee performed in 2514. Worlds age: 2514. towards the end thereof, according to *Cadoman*, or after our account, 2513. And because those things which we deliuer of *Egypt*, may the better be vnderstood, I thinke it necessary to speake a few words of the principall places therein named, in this discourse.

§. II.

Of diuers Cities and places in *Egypt*, mentioned in this Storie, or elsewhere in the Scripture.

His Citie which the *Hebrewes* call *Zaan*, was built seuen yeeres after *Hebron*. *Ezekiel* calleth it *Taphnes*, and so doth *Hieremie*, the *Septuagint*, *Tanis*, *Iosephus*, *Protaides*; after the name of an *Egyptian* Queene; *Antonius* giues it the name of *Thonis*; *Hicceppus*, *Thamma*, and *William Tyrius*, *Tapins*. It adioyneth to the land of *Gad*, and is the same, wherein *Hieremie* the Prophet was stoned to death, for preaching against the *Egyptian* and *Iewish* Idolatry.

Zaan or *Taphnes* was in *Moses* time the *Metropolis* of the lower *Egypt*, in which the *Pharaohs* then commonly resided; and not vnlkely to be same Citie, where *Abraham* in his time found him. But *Eusebius* out of *Arianus* affirmeth, that *Abraham* did reside at *On*, or *Pharates* King of *Egypt*. *Alex. Polyhistor*, out of *Eupolemus* hath it otherwise, saying, that *Abraham* instructed the *Egyptian* Priests, and not the King; both which authorities *Eusebius* citeth. The *Septuagint*, and the *Vulgar* edition, for *Zaan* write *Heliopolis*. *Paginus*, *Vatablus*, *Iunius*, and our *English* call it *On*, and *Pitlomie*, *Ommu*. There are two Cities of that name; the one on the frontier of the lower *Egypt*, towards the South; the other somewhat lower on the Easter-most branch of *Nile* falling into the Sea at *Pelufium*. And it may be that *Heliopolis* to the South of the river *Trisan*, was the same which *Vatablus* and our *English* call *Auen*. Of the latter it is, that the Scriptures take certaine knowledge: the same, which *Pomp. Mela*, and *Plinie* call *Solis oppidum*; *Tyrius* in the *Holy Warre*, *Malbec*; the *Arabians*, *Bahalbeeth*; and *Simoon Sethi*, *Fons Solis*. Of this *Heliopolis*, or *On*, was *Putiphar* Priest, or Prince, whose daughter *Ioseph* married. In the Territory adioyning *Jacob* inhabited, while hee liued in *Egypt*. In the confines of this Citie, *Ommu*, the high Priest of the *Iewes*, built a Temple, dedicated to the eternall God; not much inferior to that of *Hiersusalem* (*Ptolomie Philopater* then governing in *Egypt*) which stood in the time of *respassian*, 333. yeeres after the foundation by *Omus*, whom *Iosephus* falsly reporteth, herein to haue fulfilled a prophetic of *Esaie*. c. 19. *In die illa erit Altare Domini in medio terra Egypti; In that day shall the Altar of the Lord bee in the middle of the Land of Egypt.* *Antiochus Epiphanes* at that time of the building tyrannizing over the *Iewes*, gaue the occasion for the erecting of this Temple in *Egypt*. Lastly, there it was that our Saviour *Christ Iesus* remained, while *Ioseph* and the Virgin *Mary* feared the violence of *Herod*: neere which (saith *Brochard*) the fountaine

taine is still found, called *Iesus Well*, whose streames doe afterward water the Gardens of *Balsamm*, no where else found in *Egypt*. And hereof see more in *Brochard*, in his description of *Egypt*.

There is also the Citie of *Noph*, remembred by *Esaie* and *Ezekiel*; the same which *Herodotus* the Prophet calleth *Moph*: which later name it tooke from a Mountaine adioyning, so called, which Mountaine *Herodotus* remembreth. And this is that great City, which was called *Memphis*; and so the *Septuagint* write it. It is knowento the *Arabians* by the name of *Mazar*. The *Chaldeans* name it *Alchabry*; and *Tuadensis Mizraim*.

Pelufium, which *Vatablus*, *Pagnin*, *Iunius*, and our *English* write, *Sin*, the *Septuagint* call *Sais*; and *Montanus*, *Lebna*; is not the same with *Damiata*, as *Gul. Tyrius* witnesseth. In the time of *Baldwin* the third, *Pelufium* was called *Belbeis*. *Belbeis* (saith *Tyrius*) *quae olim dicta est pelufium*; *Belbeis*, that in times past was called *Pelufium*.

The Citie of *No*, the *Septuagint* call *Dioffolis*. Of which name there are two or three in *Egypt*. *Hierome* conuerteth it *Alexandria*, by anticipation, because it was so called in the future.

Babylus, (for so *Hierome* and *Ziegler* doe write it) is the same which the *Hebrewes* call *Bethsheth*.

To make the storie the more perceivable, I haue added a description of the land of *Gosen*, in which the *Israelites* inhabited; with those Cities and places so often remembred in the Scripture: as of *Taphnes* or *Zaan*, *Heliopolis* or *Bethsheth*, *Balsaphon*, *Succoth*, and the rest; together with *Moses* passage through the Desarts of Arabia the Stone. For all storie without the knowledge of the places, wherein the actions were performed, as it wanteth a great part of the pleasure; so it no way enricheth the knowledge and vnderstanding of the Reader; neither doth any thing serue to retaine, what wee read, in our memories, so well as these pictures and descriptions doe. In which respect I am driuen to digresse in many places, and to interpose some such discourse, otherwise seeming impertinent: taking for my authority, after many others more ancient, that great learned man, *Arian Montanus*; who in his Preface to the Storie of the Holy Land, hath these words: *Sic enim absque locorum observatione res gestae narrentur, aut sine Topographiae cognitione historia legantur, adeo confusa atq. perturbata erunt omnia, ut ex his nihil non obscurum, nihil non difficile elici possit; si narratione (saith he) be made of those things which are performed, without the observation of the places, wherein they were done: or if Histories be read without Topographical knowledge; all things will appeare so intricate and confused, as we shall thereby vnderstand nothing but obscurely, nor draw thence any knowledge, but with the greatest difficultie.*

§. III.

Of the crueltie against the *Israelites* young children in *Egypt*: and of *Moses* his preservation, and education.

IN V to returne to the story it selfe. It appeareth that notwithstanding the labour and flauery, which the *Israelites* endured, yet they decreased not in numbers: in so much as *Pharaoh* considering the danger of discontented poudertie, and the able bodies of an oppressed multitude, how perillous they might be to his estate, by suggestion of the Deuill resolu'd to slaughter all the male children of the *Hebrewes*, as soone as they should be borne. To which end he sent for *Sephora* and *Thura*, women the most famous and expert amongst them, *que praeerant* (saith *Comestor*) *multitudinis observationem*, who had command giuen them over all mid-wives; by whom (as it seemeth) hee gaue order to all the rest for the execution of his Edict. For to haue called all the mid-wives of *Egypt* together, had beene a strange Parliament. Now whether these two, before named, were of the *Hebrewes*, or of the *Egyptians*, it is diuersly disputed. *S. Aug. Conf. 16.* *gustine* calls them *Hebrews*, because it is written *Exodus* the first, *The King of Egypt commanded the Mid-wives of the Hebrew women, &c.* But *Iosephus*, *Abulensis*, and *Peregrinus* beleeue them to be *Egyptians*. Whofoeuer they were. when it pleased God to frustrate the execution of that cruel murder, to the end the world might witness God to the wickedness of the *Egyptians*, and the iust cause, thereby made manifest, of his future indignation and reuenge: *Pharaoh* these women filled with pietie, & the feare of God, commanded

commanded others of his people to execute his former intent; and publicly, or howsoever, to destroy all the male *Hebrew* children borne within his dominions.

Now besides the doubts, which *Pharaoh* had of the multitudes of the *Hebrewes*, the greatest part of whom hee might haue assured, by affoording them the iustice, which euery King oweth to his vassals, and the rest hee might haue employed or sent away at his pleasure; *Iosephus* giueth another cause of his rage against them, namely, That it was prophetically deliuered him by an *Egyptian* Priest, that among the *Hebrews* there should be borne a childe; who growing to mans estate, should become a plague and terrour to his whole Nation. To prevent which, (and presuming that he could resist the ordinance of God, by a meane, contrary to the lawes of Heauen and of nature) he stretched out his bloudie and mercilesse hand to the execution of his former intent. The same prevention *Herod* long after practised, when fearing the spirituall kingdome of *Christ*, as if it should haue become temporall, he caused all the male children at that time borne, to be slaughtered. And that *Pharaoh* had some kinde of foreknowledge of the future successe, it may be gathered by these his owne words, in the tenth verse of the first of *Exodus*: Come, let us worke wisely with them, lest they multiply; and it come to passe, that if there be warre, they ioyne themselves also vnto our enemies, and fight against vs, and get them out of the Land. But we see, and time hath told it vs from the beginning, how God derideth the wilddome of the worldly men, when forgetting the Lord of all power, they relie on the inuentions of their owne most feeble, and altogether darkened vnderstanding. For euen by the hands of the dearly beloued daughter of this tyrant, was that great Prophet and minister of Gods marvellous workes taken out of *Nilus*, being therinto turned off, in an Arke of reedes; a sucking and powerlesse infant. And this Princessse hauing beheld the childe his forme and beautie, though but yet in the bloath, so pierced her compassion, as shee did not onely preserue it, and cause it to be fostered; but commanded that it should be esteemed as her owne, and with equal care to the soune of a King nourished. And for memory that it was her deede, she called the childe *Moses*, as it were, *extractus*, or *ereptus*, taken out, to wit, out of the water: or, after *Iosephus* and *Glicas*, *Moy*, a voyce expressing water, and *hyses*, as much to say, as that which is drawne out of water, or thence taken.

Clement Alexandrinus was of opinion, that *Moses* was circumcised, before hee was put into the Arke of Reedes; & that *Amram* his father had named him *Ioachim*. In his youth he was carefully bred, by the care, & at the charge of *Pharaohs* daughter, and by men of the most vnderstanding, taught and instructed: quem regio more educavit, perfectus est sapientibus *Aegyptiorum* Magistris, à quibus eruditur, saith *Basil*; vnto whom hee gave princely education, appointing ouer him wise Masters of the *Aegyptians* for his instructors. Thereby (say *Iosephus* and *Philo*) he became excellently learned in all the doctrine of the *Aegyptians*; which also the Martyr *Stephen*, in the seventh of the *Acts* confirmeth; And *Moses* was learned in all the wisdom of the *Aegyptians*. Which wisdom or sapience, such as it was, or at least so much thereof as *Sax. Senensis* hath gathered, wee haue added, betwene the death of *Moses*, and the reigne of *Iosua*.

§. IIII.

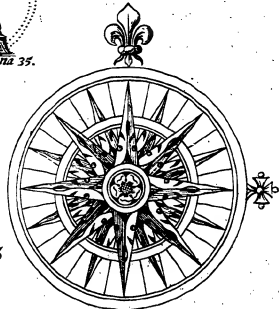
Of *Moses* his flying out of *Egypt*; and the opinions of certaine ancient Historians of his warre in *Athiopia*; and of his marriage there: *Philo* his iudgement of his Pastorall life; and that of *Petrus* of the Bookes of *Genesis* and *Iob*.

When *Moses* was growne to mans estate, *Iosephus* and *Enselius*, out of *Artapanus*, tell vs of ten yeeres warre that he made against the *Athiopians*: of the besieging of *Saba*, afterward by *Cambyses*, called *Aderoe*; and how he recovered that Citie by the fauour of *Tharbis*, a daughter of *Athiopia*, whom he took to wife. So hath *Commencior* a prettie tale of *Moses*. How after the end of that warre, *Tharbis* resisting his returne into *Egypt*, *Moses* most skillfull in *Astronomie*, caused two Images to bee ingrauen in two precious stones, whereof the one increased memorie, the other caused forgetfulness. These he set in two rings; whereof he gaue the one, to wit, that of oblivion, to his wife *Tharbis*, reseruing the other of memorie for himselfe: which ring of forgetfulness, after she had a while worne, she began to neglect the loue shee bare her husband; and so *Moses* without danger returned into *Egypt*. But leauing these fancies to the Authors of them: It is true, that about the 40. yeere of *Moses* age, when hee beheld an

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Egyptian offering violence to one of the oppressed *Hebrewes*, moved by compassion, in respect of his brother, and stirred up by disdain against the other, in the contention hee flew the *Egyptian*. Soone after which fact, finding a disposition in some of his own Nation to accuse him, for whose defence he had thus greatly endangered his owne life: by the ordinance and aduice of God, whose chosen seruant hee was, he fled into *Arabia Petrea*, the next bordering Countrie to *Egypt*; where wandering all alone, as a man left and forsaken, in a place vnkowne vnto him, as among a Nation of barbarous strangers; and who in future times were the irreconcilable enemies of the *Hebrewes*: it pleased God (working the greatest things by the weakest worldly meanes) to make the watering of a few sheep, & the assisting of the Daughters of *Raguel* the *Midianite*, an occasion whereby to provide him a wife of one of those, and a father in law, that fed him, and sustained him in a Countrie neere *Egypt*, fittest to returne from: necessarie to be knowne, because intercurrent betwene *Egypt* and *Iudas*, through which hee was to leade the *Israelites*; and wherein God held him, till the occasion which God presented, best serued. And lastly, where the glory of the world shined least, amidst mountainous Desarts, there the glorie of God, which shineth most, couered him ouer, and appeared vnto him, not finding him as a Kings sonne, or an adopted childe of great *Pharaohs* daughter, but as a meeke and humble sheepeheard, sitting at a mountaines foot; a keeper and commander of those poore beasts onely.

20 In that part of *Arabia*, neere *Madian*, he consumed 40. yeeres. And though (as *Philo* in the story of *Moses* life obserueth) he did not neglect the care of those flocks, committed to his charge, but that he excelled all others in that Pastorall knowledge; yet in that solitary Distant hee enioyed himselfe: and being separate from the pteasse of the world, and the troublesome affaires thereof, hee gaue himselfe to contemplation, and to make perfect in himselfe all those knowledges, whereof his younger yeeres had gathered the grounds and principles: the same Author also iudging, that his Pastorall life did excellently prepare him for the execution of the Principallitie, which he afterward obtained. *Est enim (sæth Philo) ars Pastoralis, quasi præludium ad regnum, hoc est, ad regimen hominum, gregis mansuetissimi. Quemadmodum bellicosa ingenia præexercent se in venationibus, experientia in feris, quod postea in militia & bello perfectura sunt; brutis præbentibus materiam exercitij, tam belli quam pacis tempore. At verò præfectura mansueti pecoris, habet quiddam simile cum regno in subditis; ideoq. Reges cognominantur Pastores populi, non contumelia sed honoris gratia; The art of keeping sheepe is, as it were, an introductory exercise vnto a Kingdome, namely, the rule ouer men, the most gentle flocke: Euen as warlike natures doe before-hand exercise themselues in hunting, praefising on wilde beasts those things, which after they will accomplish in warfare: those brute beasts affording matter, wherein to traine themselves, both in time of warre and of peace. But the governments of gentle castell, haue a kinde of resemblance vnto a Kingly rule ouer subiects; therefore, Kings are stiled sheepeheardes of the people, not in way of reproch, but for their honour.*

That *Moses*, in this time of his abode at *Madian*, wrote the Booke of *Iob*, as *Pererius* supposeth, I cannot iudge of it, because it is thought, that *Iob* was at that time liuing. Neither dare I subscribe to *Pererius* opinion, That *Moses* while hee liued in that part of *Arabia*, wrote the booke of *Genesis*; although I cannot denie the reason of *Pererius* coniecture, That by the example of *Iobs* patience he might strengthen the oppressed *Hebrewes*; and by the promises of God to *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, put them in assurance of their deliuerie from the *Egyptian* slavery, and of the Land of rest, and plentie promised.

Of his calling backe into *Egypt* by the Angell of God, and the mannailes and wonders which he performed, thereby to perswade *Pharaoh*, that hee was the messenger of the most High, the particulars are written in the first fourteene Chapters of *Exodus*; and therefore to treat of all the particulars therein contained, it were needlesse. But for the first, it is to be noted, that when *Moses* desired to be taught by God, by what name hee should make him knowne, and by whom he was sent; he received from God so much, as man could comprehend of his infinite and euery-being nature. Out of which he deliuered him in the first part of his answer, a name to be considered of by the wisest: and in his second, to be vnderstood by all. For there is nothing that is, or hath being of it selfe, but the Eternall: which truly is; which is aboue all; which is immutable. The bodies of men are changed every moment: their substance wasteth, and is repaired by nutriment;

Exod. c. 3. v. 13. 14. and 15.

ment; neuer continuing at one stay, nor being the same so long as while one may say, Now. Likewise, whatsoever is consumed in the longest continuance of time, the same in euerie short piece of time suffereth decay; neither doth any thing abide in one state, *Exod. 14. 2. 7.* *Vna est Dei & sola natura quæ verè est: id enim quod subsistit, non habet aliunde, sed sum est. Cetera quæ creata sunt, etiam si videntur esse, non sunt, quia aliquando non fuerunt, & potest rursum non esse, quod non fuit: It is the one and onely nature of God, which truly is; for hee hath his being of himselfe, and not from any thing without him. Other things that are created, although they seeme to be, yet they are not; for sometimes they were not: and that which hath not beene, may againe want being. And with this, in respect of the Diuine nature, the saying of Zeno Eleates excellently agreeth: *Tota rerum natura umbra est, aut inani, aut fallax: The whole nature of things is but a shadow, either empty or deceitfull; in comparison of whom (saith Esay) all Nations are as nothing, lesse then nothing, and meete vanitie.**

Of the tenne plagues wherewith the *Egyptians* were stricken, the first was by charging the Rivers into bloud: God punishing them by those waters, into which their Fore-fathers had throwne, and in which they had drowned, the innocent children of the *Hebrewes*. To which this place of the Reuelation may bee fitly applied: *And I heard the Angell of the water say, Lord, thou art iust, which art, and which wast, and holy, because thou hast iudged these things: for they shed the blood of thy Saints and Prophets, and therefore hast thou giuen them blood to drinke.*

Thereft of the plagues by Frogs, Lice, Flies, or stinging Wasps, by the death of their Cattle; by leprous Scabbes, by Haile and Fire; by Grasshoppers; by Darknesse, after which *Pharaoh* forbid *Moses* his presence: moued the hardened heart of the vncleuing King no longer, then the paine and perill lasted, till such time as his owne first-borne, and the first-borne of all his Nation perished. Hethen, while he feared his owne life, (a time wherein we remember God perforce) stood vpon no condition: whereas before, he first yielded but to the departure of the men; then of the men, women, and children, reseruing their bestiall, but he was now content for the present, that the *Israelites* should not onely depart with all their owne, but with a part of the Silver, Gold, and Jewels of his owne people: of which (the feare being past) hee suddainly repented him, as his pursuit after them proued. For when euerie one of the *Hebrewes* had (according to direction from *Moses* receiued) slaine a Lambe, without spot or blemish, for the *Passouer*, (a Sacrament of the most cleane and vnspotted Sauiour,) and with the blood thereof coloured the poste and linterne of the doores; the Angel of God in the night smote euerie first-borne of *Egypt*, from the sonne of the King, to that of the Begger and Slave: the children of the *Israelites* excepted. At which terrible iudgement of God, *Pharaoh* being more then euer amazed, yielded, as before is said, to their departure. The *Egyptians* (saith *Epiphanius*) did in after-times imitate this colouring with blood, which the *Israelites* vied after the *Passouer*, ascribing an exceeding vertue to the Red Colour: and therefore they did not onely marke their Sheepe and Cattel, but their Trees bearing Fruit, to preserue them from lightning and other harmes.

Epiphanius L. 1. c. 2. cont. Hæres.

§. V.

Of *Pharaohs* pursuit of the *Israelites*: and of their passage towards the Red Sea, so farreth *Succoth*.

NOW, when the people were remoued, and on their way, (his heart being hardened by God) he bethought him as well of the Honour lost, as of the shame remaining after so many Calamities and Plagues, in suffering them to depart with the spoiles of his people, and in despiight of himselfe. And hauing before this time great Companies of Souldiers in readinesse, he consulted with himselfe, what way the *Israelites* were like to take. Hee knew that the shortest and fairest passage was through the Countrey of the *Philistines*. But because these people were very strong, and a warlike Nation, and in all probability of his Allies, he suspected that *Moses* meant to finde some other out-let, to wit, through the Desart of *Escham*; and there, because the Countrey was exceeding mountainous, and of hard access, and that *Moses* was pestered with multitudes of Women, Children, and Cattel, hee thought it impossible for the *Israelites* to escape

escape him that way. In the meane-while hauing gathered together all the Chariots of *Egypt*, and 600. of his owne, and Captaines ouer them, hee determined to set vpon them in the plaines of *Gosen*, which way fouer they turned themselves. For it was the ancient manner to fight in those Chariots, armed with broad and sharpe Hooks on both sides, in fashion like the Mowers Sythe. Which kinde of fight in Chariots, but not booked, the *Brittaines* vied against the *Romanes*, while they made the Warre for the Conquest of this Land. Of this Armie of *Pharaoh*, *Tophias* affirmeth, that it consisted of 50000. Horse, and 20000. foot; which, were it true, then it cannot bee doubted but that *Pharaoh* intended long before to assaile the *Hebrewes* at their departure, or to destroy them in *Gosen*; and refused them passage, till such time as hee had prepared an Armie, to set on them. For, as it is written in the first of *Exodus*, hee doubted two things; either that the *Hebrewes* might ioyne themselves to his enemies within the Land; or being so multiplied, as they were, might leaue his seruice, and get themselves thence at their pleasure. But the plagues which God grieved him withall, enforced him at this time to giue assent to their departure: perchance fore-running his intent. But were it otherwise, and *Tophias* partiall in this affaire, yet by the words of the Text it appeareth, that he gathered all the Chariots of *Egypt*: which could not bee done in haste. For *Moses* made but three dayes march, ere *Pharaoh* was at his heeles; and yet the last day he went on sixteene miles: which, in so hot a Countrey, and to driue their Cattel and Sheepe with them, pestered with a world of Women and Children, was a march witnessing the dread of a powerfull Enemie at hand. Now, as *Moses* well knew, that hee went out with a mightie hand, and that God guided his vnderstanding in all his Enterprizes: so hee lay not still in the ditch crying for helpe, but vsing the vnderstanding which God had giuen him, hee left nothing vnperformed, becoming a Wife man, and a valiant and skillfull Conductor; as by all his actions and counsailes from this day to his death well appeared.

When *Moses* perceived that *Pharaoh* was enraged against him, & commanded him not to dare come thenceforth into his presence after that he had warned *Israel* of the *Passouer*, he appointed a generall Assembly or *Rende-vous* of all the *Hebrews* at *Ramases* in the 30 Territorie of *Gosen*: a Citie standing indifferent to receiue from all parts of the Countrey the dispersed *Hebrewes*: and gaue commandement, that euerie Family should bring with them such store as they had of Dow, and Paste, not staying to make it into bread, knowing them that *Pharaoh* was on foote, and on his way towards them. Which done, and hauing considered the great strength of *Pharaohs* Horse-men and Chariots, of which kinde of defence *Moses* was vtterly vnprovided (though as it is written, the *Israelites* went vp armed) he marched from *Ramases* East-ward, towards the Desarts of *Escham*, and incamped at *Succoth*; which hee performed on the fifteenth day of the Moneth *Abib*. Which Moneth from that time forward they were commanded to account as the first Moneth of the yeere. Whether in former times they had beene accustomed to begin their yeere in some other Moneth, following the manner of the *Egyptians*, and were now recalled by *Moses* to the rule of their Fore-fathers, it is vncertain. Certaine it is, that they had, and retained, another beginning of their politicke yeere, which was not now abrogated, but rather by some solemnities thereunto annexed, was confirmed, and still continued in vfe. Wherefore in referring things done, or hapning among them, vnto the beginning, middlest, or ending of the yeere; that distinction of the Sacred, and the Politicke yeere is not to be neglected. Concerning the number of dayes in euerie Moneth, and the whole forme of their yeere, like enough it is that *Moses* himselfe in forty yeres space, did sufficiently instruct the Priests, to whole care the ordering thereof (as common opinion holds) was giuen in trust: but that any rule of framing their Kalender, was made publicke, before the captiuitie of *Babylon*, I do not finde. Now because time and motion begin together, it will not, I thinke, be any great breach of order, to shew heere at their first setting forth, what was the forme of the *Hebrew* yeere: with the difference betweene them and other Nations, in ordering the accompt of time.

The territorie of Gosen was afterward called Ramesses, after the name of this City, as appears in Gen. 47. 11. Num. 33. 6. Exod. 13.

Exod. 23. 16. Gen. 34. 22.

§. VI.

Of the Solarie and Lunarie yeeres: and how they are reconciled: with the forme of the Hebrew yeere, and their manner of intercalation.

The Hebrew Moneths are thus named.

The first Moneth, *Nisan*, or *Abib*.
The second, *Iar*, or *Tiar*, *Zio*, or *Zin*.
The third, *Sivan*, or *Siman*, or *Siban*.
The fourth, *Tamuz*.
The fifth, *Ab*.
The sixth, *Ebul*.
The seventh, *Tyri*, or *Ethauin*, or *Ethanin*.
The eighth, *Marchesuan*, or *Mechesuan*, or *Bul*, or with *Iosaphus*, *Marjonnane*.
The ninth, *Chislev*, or *Casseu*.
The tenth, *Tebeth*, or *Thobeth*.
The eleventh, *Sebeth*, or *Sabath*.
The twelfth, *Adar*, and *Fe Adar*.

1. *March*.
2. *April*.
3. *May*.
4. *June*.
5. *July*.
6. *August*.
7. *September*.
8. *October*.
9. *November*.
10. *December*.
11. *January*.
12. *February*.

THE *Adar* was an intercalarie Moneth, added, some yeeres, unto the other twelve, to make the Solarie and Lunarie yeere agree; which (besides the general inconvenience that would otherwise have risen, by casting the Moneths of Summer into the Winter season, to the great confusion of all account) was more necessarily to be regarded of the *Hebrewes*, because of the diuine Precept. For God appointed special Feasts to be celebrated precisely in such a Moneth of the yeere, and withall on a day, both of the Moone and of the Moneth; as the Feast of the first fruits; the new Moones, and the like: which could not haue so bene kept, if eyther the day of the Moone had fallen in some other part of the Moneth, or the Moneth it selfe bene found farre distant from his place in the season of the yeere.

Other Nations, the better to obserue their Solemnities in the due time, and to ascertain all reckonings and remembrances, (which is the principall commoditie of time, that is the measure of endurance) were driven in like manner to make their yeeres unequal, by adding sometimes, & sometimes abating one or more daies, as the error committed in foregoing yeeres required. The error grew at first, by not knowing what number of daies made vp a compleat yeere. For though by the continuall course of the Sun, causing Summer and Winter duly to succeed each other, it is plaine enough euen to the most savage of all people, when a yeere hath passed ouer them; yet the necessitie of ordinarie occurrences, that are to be numbred by a shorter Tally, makes this long measure of whole yeeres insufficient for the smaller sort of more daily affairs. Therefore men obserued the Monethly conspicuous reuolution of the Moone, by which they diuided the yeere into twelue parts, subdividing the Moneth into 29. dayes and nights, and those againe into their quarters and houres. But as the marks of time are sensible and easily discerned: so the exact calculation of it is very intricate, and worketh much perplexity in the vnderstanding. Twelue reuolutions of the Moone, containing lesse time by 11. daies or thereabout, than the yerely course of the Sunne, through the Zodiacke, in the space of sixteene yeeres, euery moneth was found in the quite contrary part of the yeere, so that wherein it was placed at the first. This caused them to adde some daies to the yeere, making it to consist of twelue Moneths, and as many daies more, as they thought would make the courses of the Sun and Moone to agree. But herein were committed many new errors. For neither did the Sunne determine his yerely reuolution by any set number of whole dayes; neyther did the Moone change waies at one houre, but the yerely minutes and lesser fractions were to be obserued by him, that would seek to reduce their motions (which motions also were not still alike) into any certaine rule.

Heere lay much wisdom and deepe Art, which could not soone be brought to perfection. Yet as making an estimate at random, the *Athenians* held the yeere to containe three hundred and sixtie daies, wherein most of the *Greekes* concurred with them. That 360. daies filled vp the *Græcian* yeere (besides many collateral proofs) it is manifest

by that which *Plinie* directlie affirmeth, telling of the *Statues*, erected in honour of

Demetrius

Demetrius Phalerens, which were (saith he) 360. whilst as yet the yeere exceeded not that number of dayes. By this account neyther did any certaine age of the Moone begin or end their Moneths; neither could their Moneths continue many yeeres, in their owne places: but must needs be shifted by little and little from Winter to Summer, and from Summer to Winter, as the dayes forgotten to be inferred into the Almanacke by men, but not forgotten by the superiour bodies in their courses, should occupie their owne rooms in their due turnes. Now, because the solemnities of the *Olympian* games was to be held at the full Moone, and withall on the 15. day of the Moneth *Electionem* (which answereth in a manner to our *Iune*) they were careful to take order, that this Moneth might euer beginne with the new Moone; which they effected by adding some two daies to the last Moneth of euery yeere; those Games being held once in foure yeeres. This intercalation sufficed not to make the matter euen; which caused them sometimes to omit one day in the fourth yeere, which was the second of the Moneth *Badromion*, (agreeing neerely with our *August*) sometimes not to omit it, or (which is all one) to infer another for it in their fourth Lunary yeere, accounting by the Moone, after a manner that was not vulgar. All this notwithstanding, their Moneth of *Iune* would euery yeere haue growne colder and colder, had they not sought to keepe all vp right, by intercalating in each other *Olympiad*, that is, each eighth yeere one whole Moneth, which they called the second *Posideon* or *December*; which was the deuice of *Harpalus*, who also sought them to make one Moneth of 29. daies, another of 30. daies, and so successively through the whole yeere. Thus with much labour they kept their yeere as neere as they could, vnto the high way of the *Planets*; but these marks which they obserued, were found at length to be deceitfull Guides. For it was not possible so to fashion this eighth yeeres intercalation, that it should not deceive them in 11. houres and 18. minutes at the least, or some waies in 34. houres and 10. minutes, or 36. and 41. minutes; which differences would, in few Ages, haue bred much confusion. The first that introduced a good method, likely to continue, was *Meton* the *Athenian*, who not regarding the *Olympiads*, and the eighth yeeres intercalation, deuised a Cycle of 19. yeeres, wherein the Moone hauing 235. times runne out her circuit, met with the Sunne in the same place, and on the same day of the yeere, as in the 19. yeere before past shee had done. This inuention of *Meton* was entertained with great applause, and passing from *Greece* to *Rome*, was there inferred into the Kalendar in Golden Letters, being called the Golden Number, which name it retaineth vnto this day. Hereby were auoyded the great and vncertaine intercalations that formerly had been vsed; for by the intercalation of 7. Moneths in the 19. yeeres, all was so euen, that no sensible difference could be found. Yet that error which in one yeere could not be perceived, was very apparent in a few of those Cycles; the new Moones anticipating in one Cycle 7. houres, and some minutes of the precise rule. Therefore *Calippus* deuised a new Cycle containing foure of *Metons*, that is 40. to say, 76. yeeres; and afterwards *Hipparchus*, a Noble *Astrologer*, framed another, containing foure of *Calippus* his Periods, each of them finding some error in the former obseruations, which they diligently corrected. The last reformation of the Kalendar was that which *Iulius Caesar* made, who by aduice of the best *Mathematicians*, then to be found, examining the courses of those heauenly bodies, reduced the yeere vnto the forme which is now in vse with vs, containing 365. daies and six houres, which houres in foure yeeres make vp one whole day, that is intercalated euery fourth yeere, the 24. of *February*. The correction of the *Iulian* yeere by *Pope Gregorie* the 13. *Anno Domini* 1582. is not as yet entertained by generall consent; it was indeed, but as a note added vnto the worke of *Caesar*; yet a note of great importance. For whereas it was obserued, that the Sunne, so which at the time of the *Nicene Councell*, *Anno Dom.* 324. entered the *Aquinoctiall* on the 21. day of *March*, was in the yeere 1582. ten daies sooner found in that time, *Pope Gregorie* retooled out of the Kalendar ten daies, following the fourth of *October*, so that in stead of the fifth day was written the fifteenth; by which means the moueable Feasts depending on the Sunnes entrance into *Aries*, were againe celebrated in such time, as at the *Nicene Councell* they had bene. And the better to prevent the like alterations, it was by the *Councell* of *Trent* ordained, that from thence forward in euery hundred yeere, the Leape day should be omitted, excepting still the fourth hundred: because the Sun doth not in his yerely course take vp full fixe houres about the 365. daies; but faileth so manie minutes, as in 400. yeeres make about three whole dayes.

But the Cycle of 19. yeeres, which the *Hebrewes* vsed, was such as neither did need any nice curiositie of houres, minutes, and other lesser Fractions to helpe it; neyther did in summing vp the dayes of the whole yeere, neglect the dayes of the Moone, confounding one Moneth with another. For with them it fell out so, that alwayes the *Kalends* or first day of the Moneth was at the new Moone, and because that day was festiuall, they were very carefull as well to obserue the short yeere of the Moone, passing through all the 12 Signes in one Moneth, as that longer of the Sun, which is needfully regarded in greater accounts. First, therefore they gaue it to *Nisan* their first Moneth, which is about our *March* or *April*, 30. dayes; to *Iar* their second Moneth 29. dayes; and so successively 30. to one, 29. to another. Heereby it came to passe, that euery two Moneths of theirs contained somewhat euently two reuolutions of the Moone, allowing 29. dayes, 12. houres, and odde minutes, from change to change. The spare minutes were bestowed among the superfluous or Epact dayes; which made vp 7. Moneths in 19. yeeres, to 6. of which 7. were commonly giuen 30. dayes; to one of them 29. dayes, or otherwise as was found requisite. Their common yeere (as appeareth by the feuerall dayes of each Moneth) contained 354. dayes, which laile of the yeere, wherein the Sunne finisheth his course, 11. whole dayes, with some fractions of time. But these dayes, and other broken pieces, howfoeuer they were neglected in one yeere, yet in the Cycle of 19. yeeres were so disposed of by conuenient intercalations, that still at the end of that Cycle, both the Sunne and Moone were found on the same day of the yeere, Moneth and weeke, yea commonly on the same houre of the day, where they had bene at the beginning of it 19. yeeres before.

Diuers haue diuersly set downe the forme of the *Hebrew* yeere, with the manner of their Intercalations. *Sigonius* tells vs, that euery second yeere they did adde a Moneth of 22. dayes; euery fourth yeere a Moneth of 23. in the regard of 11. dayes and a halfe wanting in 12. Moones to fulfill a yeere of the Sun. But herein *Sigonius* was very much deceived. For the Moone doth neuer finish her course in 22. or 23. dayes; and therefore to haue added so many dayes to the end of the yeere, had bene the way to change the fashion of all the Moneths in the yeeres following, which could not haue begunas they ought, with the new Moone. *Genebrard* saith, that euery third yeere, or second yeere, as need required, they did intercalate one Moneth, adding it at the yeeres end vnto the other 12. This I beleeue to haue bene true; but in which of the yeeres the intercalation was (if it be worthy of consideration) me thinks they doe not probably deliuer, who keepe all farre from euennesse vntill the very last of the 19. yeeres. For (to omit such as are grossly) some there are who say, that after three yeeres, when besides the dayes spent in 36. courses of the Moone, 33. dayes are left remaining, that is, 11. dayes of each yeere; then did the *Hebrewes* adde a Moneth of 30. dayes; keeping three dayes, as it were in plussage vnto the next account. The like, say they, was done at the end of the sixth yeere; at which time, besides the Intercalarie Moneth, remained sixe daies, namely, three summing that Moneth, and the Epact of three yeeres, besides the three formerly refused. Thus they goe on to the 18. yeere, at which time they haue 18. daies in hand: all which with the Epact of the 19. yeere, make vp a Moneth of 29. daies, that being intercalated at the end of the Cycle makes all euen.

Whether this were the practice, I can neither affirm nor denie, yet surely it must needs haue bred a great confusion, if in the 18. yeere euery Moneth were remoued from his owne place by the distance of 48. daies, that is, halfe a quarter of the yeere and more; which inconuenience by such a reckoning was vnauoynable. Wherefore, I preferre the common opinion, which preuenteth such dislocation of the Moneths, by setting downe a more conuenient way of Intercalation in the 8. yeere. For the 6. daies remaining after the two former Intercalations made in the third and sixth yeeres, added vnto the 22. daies, arising out of the Epacts of the 7. and 8. yeeres, doe fitly serue to make vp a Moneth, with the borrowing of one day or two from the yeere following; and this borrowing of two daies is so farre from causing any disorder, that indeed it helpe to make the yeeres ensuing vary the lesse from the proper season of euery Moneth. This may suffice to be spoken of the *Hebrew* Moneths and yeeres, by which they guided their accounts.

§. VII.

§. VII.

Of the passage of *Israel* from *Succoth* towards the *Red Sea*: and of the diuers wayes leading out of *Egypt*.

From *Succoth* in the morning following, *Moses* led the *Israelites* towards the Desert of *Etham*, to recouer the Mountaine foot, by the edge of that *Wildernesse*, though he intended nothing lesse then to goe out of that way, of all other the secret. But being assured of the multitude of Horsemen and armed Chariots, that followed him, he kept himselfe from being incompassed, by keeping the rough and mountainous ground on his left hand. At *Etham* he rested but one night, and then he reflected backe from the entrance thereof, and marched away directly towards the South; the distance betweene it and *Succoth* being about eight miles. That he forbore to enter *Arabia* being then in sight thereof, it seemeth to proceede from three respects; the first two naturall; the third diuine. For *Pharaoh* being then at hand, and hauing receiued intelligence of the way which *Moses* tooke, perswaded himselfe, that the numbers which *Moses* led, consisting of about a Million, if not two Millions of soules, (for as it is written: *Exod. 12. Great multitudes of sundry sort of people went out with them*) could not possibly passe ouer those desert and high Mountaines with so great multitudes of Women, Children, and Cattel, burthn at the very entrance of that fustnesse he should haue oueraken them, and destroy'd the greatest numbers of them. For these his owne words: *They are tangled in the Land, the Wildernesse hath shut them in*, doe shew his hopes and intents; which *Moses* by turning another way did frustrate. Secondly, *Moses* by offering to enter *Arabia* that way, drew *Pharaoh* towards the East-side of the Land of *Gosen*, of *Rameses*: from whence (missing *Moses* there) his pursuit after him with his Chariots was more difficult: by reason of the roughnesse of the way; and howfoeuer, yet while the *Hebrewes* kept the Mountaine foot on the left hand, they were better secured from the ouer-bearing violence both of the Horse and Chariots. Thirdly, *Moses* confidence in the Al-powerrull God was such, by whose spirit, only wife, he was directed, as he rather made choice to leaue the glory of his deliuerance and victory to Almighty God, then either by an escape the next way, or by the strength of his multitude, consisting of 600000 men, to cast the successe vpon his owne vnderstanding, wise conduction, or valour. The third day he marched with a double pace from *Etham* towards the Valley of *Pihacheroth*, 16. miles distant, and fate downe betwene two ledges of Mountaines adioyning to the *Red Sea*, to wit, the Mountains of *Etham* on the North, & *Baalzephon* towards the South: the fime which *Orosius* calleth *Climax*: on the top whereof there stood a Temple dedicated to *Baal*. And as *Phagius* noteth, the word so compounded, is as much to say, as, *Dominus specule, sine custodie*; Lord of the watch-towre. For the *Aegyptians* beleuecd, or at least made their slauces beleeue, that if any of them offered to escape that way into *Arabia*, this Idoll would both arrest them, and force them to returne to their Lords and Masters. For the *Aegyptians* had gods for all turnes. *Aegyptij dijssecundi*, *The Aegyptians were fruitful in gods*, saith *Saint Hierome*. But *Moses*, who incamped at the foot of this Mountaine with a million of soules, or as other conceiue, with two millions, found this Lord of the watch-towre asleepe, or out of countenance.

Now these two passage leading out of *Egypt* into *Arabia* vpon the firme land, *Moses* refused, as well that of *Pelusium* and *Casotis* the fairest and shorrest of all other, in respect of *Iudaea*, as the other by *Etham*, from which he reflected, for the reasons before remembred, and tooke the way by the Valley of *Pihacheroth*, betwene the Mountaines, which somade a straight entrance towards the Sea. After whom *Pharaoh* made so great speed with his Horse-men and Chariots, as he gaue the *Hebrewes* no time at all to rest them after so long a march; but gate sight of them, and they of him, euen at the very brink and wasth of the Sea: inso much as the *Hebrewes* being terrified with *Pharaohs* suddain approach, began to despair, and to mutine, at that time when it behoued them most to haue taken courage for their owne defence; laying it to *Moses* charge, that themselves foresaw those perils in which they were wrapped. And feare, which, saith the booke of *Wisdom*, is the betraying of those succours which reas on offereth, made them both despair in Gods former promises, and to be forgetfull of their owne strength and multitudes.

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§. VIII

§. IX.

That the passage through the Red Sea was miraculous, and not at a low Ebbe.

The Egyptians, and of them the Memphites, and other Heathen Writers, who have heard of the Hebrewes have objected that Moses past over the Red Sea at a low ebbe, upon a great spring-tyde, and that Pharaoh conducted more by further discretion, pursued him so far, as before he could recover the coast of Egypt, he was overtaken by the flood and therein perished, did not well consider the nature of this place with other circumstances. For not to borrow strength from that part of the Scriptures, which makes it plaine, that the Waters were diuided, and that God wrought this miracle by an Easterly winde, and by the hand and rod of Moses (which authority to mention belueue not therein, perswadeth nothing) I say, that by the same naturall reason vnto which they fasten themselves, it is made manifest, that had there bene no other working power from above, or assistance giuen from God himselfe to Moses and the children of Israel than ordinary and casual, then could not Pharaoh and all his Armie haue perished in that pursuit.

For wheredoeuer there is any ebbing of the Sea in any gulf, or indraught, there doe the waters fall away from the Land, and run downward towards the Ocean, leaving all that part towards the Land as farre as the Sea can ebbe, or fall off, to be dry Land. Now Moses entring the Sea at Migdol vnder Baulsephen (if he had taken the aduantage and opportunity of the tyde) must haue left all that end of the Red Sea towards Sues, on his left hand drie and vncouered. For if a passage were made by falling away of the water, ten or twelue miles farther into the Sea then Sues, and betwene it and where Moses past: who entered the same so farre below it, and towards the body of the same Sea: It is followeth then, that if all that part of the Sleeve or Strait, had bene by the ebbe of a spring-tyde discovered, when Pharaoh found the flood increasing, he needed not to haue returned by the same way toward Egypt side, but might haue gone on in his returne before the tyde, on his right hand: & so taken ground againe at the end of that Sea, at Sues it selfe, or elsewhere. But the Scriptures doe truly witness the contrary, that is, That the Sea did not fall away from the Land, as naturally it doth; but that Moses past on betwene two Seas,³⁹ and that the waters were diuided. Otherwise, Pharaoh by any returne of waters could not haue perished, as he did: and therefore the effects of that great Armes destruction, proue the cause to haue bene a power above nature, and the miraculous worke of God himselfe. Again, those words of the Scriptures, that God caused the Sea to runne backe by a strong East-winde, doe rather proue the miracle, than that thereby was caused an ebbe more then ordinarie: for that Sea did not lye East and West, but, in effect North and South. And it must haue bene a West and North-west winde, that must haue driuen those waters away through their proper Channels, and to the South-east into the Sea. But the East winde blew athwart the Sea, and cut it asunder: so as one part fell backe towards the South and maine body thereof: the other part remained towards Sues,⁴⁰ and the North. Which being vnkowne to Pharaoh: while he was cheeke by the Sea which vsed in all times before to ebbe away, the flood prest him and ouerwhelmed him. Thirdly, seeing Josephus auoweth, that Moses was not onely of excellent iudgement generally, but also, so great a Captaine, as he ouer-threw the Ethiopians in battels, being employed by Pharaoh, and wanne diuers Cities seeming impregnable: it were barbarous to condemn him of this grosse nesse, and distraction: that rather then he would haue endured the hardnesse of a Mountainous passage at hand (had not God commanded him to take that way, and foretold him of the honour which hee would there winne vpon Pharaoh) he would haue trusted to the aduantage of an ebbing water. For he knew not the contrarie, but that Pharaoh might haue found him, and prest him, as well when it flowed as when it ebbed, as it seemeth he did. For the people, beholding Pharaohs approach, cryed out against Moses, and despaired altogether of their safety: and when Moses prayed vnto God for helpe, hee was answered by God: wherefore cryest thou vnto me: Speake vnto the children of Israel that they goe forward, and lift vp on thy rod, and stretch out thy hand vpon the Sea, and diuide it: which proues that there was not at the time of Pharaohs approach any ebbe at all; but that God did disperse and cut through the weight of waters, by a strong East-winde, whereby the Sands discovered.

discovered themselves betwene the Sea on the left hand toward Sues, from whence the waters flowed out, and the Sea which was towards the South on the right hand, so that the waters were a wall vnto them on the right hand, and on the left hand, that is, the waters so defended them on both sides, as the Egyptians could onely follow them in the same path; not that the waters stood vpright as wals doe, as some of the Schoole-men haue fancied. For had Pharaoh and the Egyptians perceived any such buildings in the Sea, they would soone haue quitted the chace and pursuit of Israel. Furthermore, there is no man of iudgement, that can thinke, that Pharaoh and the Egyptians, who then excelled all Nations in the obseruations of heavenly Motions, could be ignorant of the fluxes and refluxes of the Sea, in his owne Countrey, on his owne Coast, & in his owne most traded and frequented Ports and Hauens; and wherein, his people hauing had so many hundreds of yeeres experience of the tydes, he could not be caught, as he was, through ignorance, nor by any foreknowne or naturall accident, but by Gods powerfull hand onely; which then falleth most heavily on all men, when looking through no other spectacle but their owne prosperitie, they least discern it coming, and least feare it. Lastly, if the Armie of the Egyptians had bene overtaken by the ordinary returne of the flood, before they could recover their owne Coast; their bodies drowned would haue bene carried with the flood which runneth vp to Sues, and to the end of that Sea, and not haue bene cast a shore on that coast of Arabia where Moses landed, to wit, vpon the Sea-banke²⁰ over against Baulsephen, on Arabia side: where it was that the Israelites saw their dead bodies; and not at the end of the Red Sea, to which place the ordinary flood would haue carried them: Which flood doth not any where crosse the Channell, and runneth warr it, as it must haue done from Egypt side to Arabia, to haue cast the bodies there; but it keepeth the naturall course towards the end of that Sea: and to which their carcasses should haue bene carried, if the worke had not bene: supernaturall and miraculous. Apollonius in the liues of the Fathers affirmeth, that those of the Egyptians which staid in the Countrey, and did not follow Pharaoh in the pursuit of Israel, did euer after honor those Beasts, Birds, Plants, or other Creatures, about which they were buied at the time of Pharaohs destruction: as he that was then labouring in his Garden, made a god of that Plant or Root, about which he was occupied: and so of the rest. But how those multitudes of gods were erected among them, a more probable reason shall be giuen elsewhere. Orosius in his first Booke and tenth Chapter against the Pagans, tels vs, that in his time, who liued some 400. yeeres after Christ, the prints of Pharaohs Chariot wheeles were to be seene at a low water on the Egyptian lands: and though they were sometime defaced by winde and weather, yet soone after they appeared againe. But hereof I leaue euery man to his owne belief.

CHAP. IV.

Of the iourning of the Israelites from the Red Sea, to the place where the Law was giuen them: with a discourse of Lawes.

§. I.

⁵⁰ A transition, by way of recapitulation of some things touching Chronologie: with a continuance of the storie, until the Amalekites met with the Israelites.

BVt to goe on with the storie of Israel, in this sort I collect the times. Moses was borne in the yeere of the World 2434. Saphir then governing Assyria, Orthopolis Syconia, or Peloponnesus, Crisus the Argines, Orius Egypt, 2437. in the yeere of the World 2474. and two yeeres after was Caleb borne. He returned by the commandment and ordinance of God into Egypt, and wrought his

25 14. his miracles in the fields of *Zaan*, in the yeere 25 14. the last moneth of that yeere. On the 14. day of the first *Hebrew* moneth *Abib*, or the 15. of that moneth, beginning the day (as they) at Sunne setting, in the yeere of the World 25 14. was the celebration of the *Passover*: and in the dead of the night of the same day we call the first-born slain through *Egypt*, or in all those parts where the *Hebrewes* inhabited not. The 15. day of the first moneth of the *Hebrews* called *Abib*, being about the beginning of the yeere of the World 25 14. *Moses* with the children of *Israel* removed from the generall assembly at *Ramses*, and marched to *Succoth*.

Exod. 12.
Num. 33.

Exod. 13.

Num. 33.

Exod. 14.

Num. 33.

Exod. 14.

Num. 33.

Exod. 15.

Num. 33.

Exod. 15.

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Num. 33.

Exod. 15.

Whether this *Helim* were the name of a Towne or Citie in *Moses* time, I cannot affirm. And yet the scarcity of waters in that Region was such, as *Helim*, which had twelve Fountains, could hardly be left vnpeopled. *William*, Archbishop of *Tyre*, in his Historie of the *Holie Warre*, found at *Helim* the ruines of a great and ancient Citie. And so at such time as *Saladine* the first past that way into *Egypt*, *Ingressus* (saith he) *Helim*, *Ciuitatem antiquissimam populo Israelitico aliquando familiarem; ad quam cum peruenisset, loci illius incolae, Regis aduentu praecognito, nauiculae in ingredienti, in mare vicinam se conulerunt, Entring Helim a very ancient Citie, well knowne sometime to the people of Israel; whither, when he came, the inhabitants forewarned of the Kings approach,ooke Boate, and fished themselves into the Sea, lying neere them.* From *Elim* he returned againe towards the South, and fare downe by the banks of the *Red Sea*: the seventh Mansion. For it seemeth that he had knowledge of *Amalech*, who prepared to resist his passage through that part of *Arabia*. And *Moses* who had not as yet trained those of the *Hebrewes*, appointed to bear armes: nor assured the mindes of the rest, who encountering with the least miserie, were more apt to returne to their quiet slauerie, than either to endure the wants and perils which euery where accompanied them in that passage, or at this time to vnderake or sustaine so dangerous an enemy: hee therefore made stay at this Mansion, vntill the fifteenth of this second Moeth called *Zim*, or *Iar*: and made the eight Mansion in the Desart of *Zim*, where the children of *Israel* murmured against *Moses* the third time, hauing want of food. In the sixteenth Chapter of *Exodus*, *Moses* omitteth this retreat from *Elim* to the *Red Sea*, but in the collection of euery seuerall incamping, in the 33. of *Numbers*, it is left downe.

Exod. 16.

Exod. 16.

Exod. 16.

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Exod. 16.

Here it pleased God to send so many flocks of *Quails*, as all the Countrie about their incamping was covered with them. The morning following it also rained *Manna*, being the sixteenth of their Moneth, which serued them in stead of bread. For now was the store consumed which the people carried with them out of *Egypt*. And though they had great numbers of Cattell, and Sheepe among them, yet it seemeth that they durst not feede themselves with any of those: but reserved them both for the milke to releue the children withall: and for breed to store themselves when they came to the Land promised.

From hence towards *Raphidim* they made two remoues of twentie miles: the one

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to *Daphne*, the other to *Alus*, distant from *Raphidim* fixe miles. Here being againe prest with want of water, they murmured the fourth time, and repeated them of their departure from *Egypt*, where they rather contented themselves to be fed and beaten after the manner of beasts, than to suffer a casual and sometime necessary want, and to vndergoe the hazards and traualles which euery manly minde seeketh after, for the loue of God, and their owne freedoms. But *Moses* with the same rod which he diuided the Sea withall, in the sight of the *Elders* of *Israel*, brought waters out of the Rocke, wherewith the whole multitude were satisfied.

Exod. 17.

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§. II.

Of the *Amalekites*, *Madianites*, and *Kenites*, upon occasion of the battell with the *Amalekites*, and *Iethro*es coming: who being a *Kenite*, was Priest of *Madian*.

And while *Moses* incamped in this place, the *Amalekites* who had knowledge of his approach, and ghesied that he meant to leade the children of *Israel* through their Countrie (which being barren of it selfe, would be vterly wasted by so great a multitude of People and Cattell) thought it most for their advantage to set vpon them at *Raphidim*: where the want of water, and all other things needefull for the life of so manie beleebd them. On the other side *Moses* perceiving their resolutions, gaue charge to *Ishua*, to draw out a sufficient number of the ablest *Hebrewes*, to encounter *Amalech*. Betweene whom and *Israel*, the victory remained doubtfull, for the most part of the day: the *Hebrewes* and *Amalekites* contending with equall hopes and repulies for many houres. And had not the strength of *Moses* prayers to God bene of farre greater force, and more prevalent, than all resistance and attempt made by the bodies of men; that valiant and warlike Nation had greatly endangered the whole enterprise. For those bodies which are vnaquainted with scarcity of food, and those mindes whom a seruile education hath dulled, being beaten, and despaird in their first attempts, will hardly, or neuer be brought againe to hazzard themselves.

Exod. 17.

After this victory, *Iethro* repaired to *Moses*, bringing with him *Moses* his wife, and his two Sonnes, which either *Iethro* forbare to conduct, or *Moses* to receiue, till hee had by this ouerthrow of *Amalech* the better assured himselfe of that part of *Arabia*. For it is written in the 18. of *Exod. v. 1* when *Iethro* the Priest of *Madian*, *Moses* Father in law heard all that God had done for *Moses*, &c. of which, the last deed, to wit, the ouerthrow of *Amalech* gaue *Iethro* courage and assurance, he then repaired to his sonne in law *Moses*, at *Sinai*: where amongst other things, he aduised *Moses* to appoint *Iudges*, and other *Officers*, ouer *Israel*, being himselfe vnable to giue order in all causes and controuersies, among so many thousands of people, full of discontentment and priuate controuersie.

This *Iethro*, although he dwelt amongst the *Madianites*, yet he was by Nation a *Kenite*, as in the fourth of *Iudges* v. 11 & 17. it is manifest; where it is written; Now *Heber* the *Kenite*, which was of the children of *Hobab*, to wit, the sonne of *Iethro*, the father in law of *Moses*, was departed from the *Kenites*, and pitched his Tents vntill the Plaine of *Zaanaim*, which is by *Kadesh*. Likewise in the first of *Samuel*, *Saul* commanded the *Kenites* to depart from among the *Amalekites*, lest hee should destroy them with the *Amalekites*. For the *Kenites* inhabited the mountaines of *Sin Kadesh*: and the *Amalekites* dwelt in the Plaines, according to the saying of *Balaam*, speaking of the *Kenites*; Strong is thy dwelling place, and thou hast put thy nest in the Rocke. And that *Saul* spared this Nation, he gieth for cause, that they shewed mercie to all the children of *Israel*, when they came vp from *Egypt*. For these *Kenites* were a Nation of the *Madianites*, and the *Madianites* were of the issues of *Madian*, one of the fixe sonnes which *Abraham* begat on *Keturah*: and might also take that name of *Kenites* from *Keturah*, of whom they descended by the Mother, who as it seemeth kept the knowledge of the true God among them, which they received from their parent *Abraham*. For *Moses*, when hee led out of *Egypt* into *Madian*, and married the daughter of *Iethro*, would not (had hee found them Idolaters) haue made *Iethro* Daughter the Mother of his children. And although the *Kenites* are named amongst those Nations, which God promised, that the seede of *Abraham* should roote out, and inherite their lands; yet it cannot be meant by these, who are descended from *Abraham* himselfe: but by some other Nation, bearing

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the same name; and in all likelihood of the race of *Chus*. For in the fifteenth of *Genesis* verse nineteenth, these *Kenites* or *Chusites* are listed with the *Hittites* and *Perizzites*, with the *Amorites*, *Canaanites*, *Gergesites*, and *Iebusites*, which were indeed afterwards rooted out. But these *Kenites*, descended from *Abraham*, had separated themselves from among the rest, which were altogether idolatrous. For, as is before remembred, *Heber* the *Kenite*, which was of the children of *Hobab*, was departed from the *Kenites*, that is to say, from those *Kenites* of *Canaan*, and inhabited in *Zaanaim*, which is by *Kadesh* or *Kadesse*. Again, *Moses* nameth that Nation of the *Kenites*, before *Midian*, or any of *Abraham*'s other sonnes were borne: which he did (referring my selfe to better iudgement) rather, because they were more ancient, than by anticipation.

And as of the *Kenites*, so we may consider of the *Madianites*, parted by *Moses* into five Tribes. For some of them were corrupted, and Heathens; as those of *Madian* by the River *Zared*, afterwards destroyed by *Moses*. But the *Madianites* were the banks of the Red Sea, where *Moses* married his wife *Zippora*, and with whom he left her and his children, till after the overthrow of *Amalech*, seeme likewise not to have beene corrupted. For these *Madianites* with the *Kenites* assisted *Israel*, and guided them in the Deserts. But the *Madianites* in *Moab*, and to the North of the Metropolis of *Arabia*, called *Petrea*, were by *Israel* rooted out, when those adjoining to the Red Sea were not touched.

And though it may be doubted, whether those of *Madian* of whom *Iethro* was Priest, and the other Cities in *Moab* were the same, yet the contrary is more probable. For *Moses* would not have sent 120000. *Israelites*, as far backe as the Red Sea, from the Plains of *Moab*, to have destroyed that *Madian*, where his wifes kindred inhabited, seeing himselfe coming with 600000. able men, was encountered by *Amalech*, in that passage. Neither could *Moses* forget the length of the way through those discomfortable Deserts, wherein himselfe and *Israel* had wandered 40. yeeres.

That *Iethro*, or *Iothor*, *Raguel*, or *Reuel*, and *Hobab*, were but one person, the Scriptures teach vs. For the *Valgar* and *Septuagint*, which call him *Raguel*, and our *English* *Reuel*, *Exodus* 2. 18. calls him *Iethro*, or *Iothor*, *Exod.* 2. v. 1. c. 4. v. 18 & c. 18. 1. & 6. 9. 10 & 12. and in 2 *Num.* c. 10. v. 29. *Hobab*. Others take *Iethro* & *Hobab* to be the same, but not *Raguel*.

§. III.

Of the time when the Law was given; with diuers commendations of the inuention of Lawes.

Hereft of the months of this yeere 2515. were spent in the Desert of *Sinai*, neere the mountaine of *Sinai* or *Horeb*, the twelfth Mansion. *Eusebius* thought that *Sinai* or *Horeb* were distinct mountaines: *Hierome* to be but one, of a double name. And so it appeareth by many Scriptures. For in *Exod.* 3. v. 1. it is called *Horeb*; and in *Exod.* 24. v. 19. it is written *Sinai*. In the 106. *Psalm* v. 19. *Horeb*: in *Exod.* 19. 1. *Sinai*. And so it is called, *Galatians* 4. 24. and againe, *Deut.* 4. 10 & 15. & *Deut.* 5. 2. *Horeb*. And so it is in the first of *Kings* 8. 6. and the second of *Chron.* 5. 10. and in *Malachie* 4. 4. Finally, in *Ecclesiasticus* the 48. 7. they are named as one, which hearde (saith *Ecclesiasticus*) the rebuke of the Lord in *Sinai*, and in *Horeb* the iudgement of the vengeance. Somewhat they are disioyned at the top by the report of *Peter Belonius*, who in the yeere 1588. past out of *Egypt* into *Arabia*, with *Monsieur de Fumes* of *France*, and trauailed to the top both of *Sinai* and *Horeb*: *Sinai* being by farre the higher hill. From the side of *Horeb* (saith he) there felleth a very faire spring of water into the Valley adjoining: where he found two Monasteries of *Christian* *Marronites*, containing some 100. Religious persons of diuers Nations, who had pleasant gardens, delicate fruits, and excellent wine. These (saith the same Author) giue entertainment to all strangers, which passe that way.

Now, that there was some such Torrent of water neere *Sinai* in *Moses*'s time, it is very probable: First, because he incamped thereabout almost a yeere, and drew no water, (as in other places, by miracle: secondly, because it is written, *Exod.* 22. 20. that when *Moses* had broken the golden Calf to powder, which *Aaron* set vp in his absence, he cast the powder thereof into the water, and made the children of *Israel* to drinke thereof.

On this mountaine, the Law by the Angell of God was giuen to *Moses*, where the

staid a whole yeere, wanting some ten or twelue dayes; for he remoued not till the 20. day of the second moneth of the second yeere; and hee arriued about the 45. day after the egression: the Law being giuen the 50. day.

At this Mansion all was done, which is written from the beginning of the 29. Chapter of *Exodus*, to the end of that booke; all in *Leuiticus*; and all in *Numbers*, to the 10. Chapter. Whereof (because there is no storie nor other passage) I will omit the repetition, and in place thereof speake somewhat of the Law, and the kindes and vse thereof: whereby, if the Reader finde the story any way disioyned, hee may turne ouer a few leaves, and omitting this, finde the continuation thereof. We must first consider, that as there can be neither foundation, building, nor continuance of any Common-wealth, without the rule, leuell, and square of Lawes: so it pleased God to giue thereby vnto *Moses* the powerfulllest meane (his miraculous grace excepted) to govern that multitude which he conducted; to make them victorious in their passage, and to establish them assuredly in their conquest. For as the North starre is the most fixed directour of the Seaman to his desired Port: so is the Law of God the guide and conductor of all in general, to the haue of eternall life: the Law of nature, from God his eternall law deduced, the rule of all his Creatures: the Law humane, depending on both these, the guard of Kings, Magistrates, and vertuous men; yea, the very spirit, & the very finewes of euery Estate in the world, by which they liue and moue: the Law, to wit, a iust law, being resembled to an Heart without affection, to an Eye without lust, and to a Minde without passion; a Treasurer, which keepeth for euery man what hee hath, and distributeth to euery man what he ought to haue. This benefit the *Ancients*, though barbarous, esteemed so highly, that among them, those which were taken for the fittest makers of Lawes, were honoured as gods, or as the sonnes of gods: and the rest, that made either additions or corrections, were commended to all posteritie for men of no lesse vertue, and no lesse liberally beneficiall to their Countries, than the greatest and most prosperous Conquerours that euer gouerned them. The *Israelites*, the *Lacedaemonians*, and the *Athenians*, receiued their Lawes from one: as the *Israelites* from *Moses*; the *Lacedaemonians* from *Lycurgus*; the *Athenians* from *Solon*; the *Romans* sometime from their first Kings, from their *Decemviri*, from their *Senatours*, from their *Lawyers*, and from the people themselves: others from the Prince, Nobilitie, and People; as in *England*, *France*, and in other *Christian* Monarchies and Estates.

§. IIIII.

Of the name and meaning of the words, Law, and Right.

The word *Lex*, or *Law*, is not alwaies taken alike, but is diuersly, and in an indifferent sense vsed. For if wee consider it at large, it may be vnderstood for any rule prescribing a necessarie meane, order, and methode, for the attaining of an end. And so the rules of *Grammar*, or other Arts, are called Lawes. Or it is taken for any priuate ordinance of Superiours to Inferiours: for the commandments of Tyrants, which they cause to be observed by force, for their decrees doe also surpasse that title; according to the generall acceptance of the word *Law*: of which *Esay* Voe vnto them that decree wicked decrees, and write grieuous things. Likewise, the word is vsed for the immutuable resolutions of the people. For such constitutions doth *Aristotle* also call Lawes, though euill and vnjust: *Mala lex est, quae mutuantur postea est*: It is an ill Law that is made amultually. So as all ordinances, eyther good or euill, are called by the name of Lawes.

The word *Law* is also taken for the morall habit of our minde, which doth (as it were) command our thoughts, words, and actions: framing and fashioning them according to it selfe, as to their patterne and plat-forme. And thus the law of the flesh which the Diuines call *legem somitis*, is to be vnderstood: For euery law is a kinde of patterne of that which is done according vnto it: in which sense as elsewhere, this morall habit of disposition of the heart is called the frame or *figmentum* of the heart: so in S. Paul to the *Romans* it is called a Law: But see another law in my members; rebelling against the Law of my minde, and leading me captive vnto the law of sinne. Again, the nature and inclination of all creatures are sometime called, lawes, so farre as they agree with the reason of the law eternall; as the law of a *Lyon*, to be fierce or valiant.

Also priuate contracts among Merchants and other Tradef-men, doe often put on the name of lawes. But law commonly and properly is taken, for a right rule, prescribing a necessarie meane, for the good of a Common-wealth, or Ciuill communitee. The rest, to wit, the commandements of Tyrants, &c. which haue not the common good for their end, but being *leges iniquae*, are by Thomas called *violentes magis quam leges*; rather compulsion then lawes: And whatsoever is not iust, S. Augustine doth not allow for lawes, howsoever established: for he callsthem *iniqua hominum constituta, quae nec cura dicenda, nec putanda sunt*; The vnjust constitutions of men which are neither to bee termed nor thought lawes. For faith Aristotle, *Legalia iusta sunt factiva, & conseruatiua factitatis*; Iust Lawes are the workers and preseruers of happinesse: because by them we are directed ad vitam quietam, to a quiet life, according to Cicero: Yea, to life euermlasting, according to the Scriptures. For the end of the law, faith Plato, is God and his worship: *Finitis leges Deo & cultus eius*. Lex, or the Law is so called by the Latines *à legendo*, or *à ligando* of reading or binding: *Leges quia leguntur à populo latae*, faith Varro; For after Lawes were written and published, all men might read them, & behold in them whereto they were bound. The other Etymologie, *à ligando*, is no lesse agreeable with the nature of a Law: whence in the Scripture it is called also a yoke, and a band: as *conferre iugum meum, disperum vincula*: they haue broken the yoke, they haue broken the bands. And in the second Psalm, *Dirumpamus vincula eorum, & proiciamus à nobis funes ipsorum*; Let vs breake their bands in sunder, and cast away their cords from vs.

The *Couenanti* it is called, because of the conditionall promises of God: and because of Gods peoples voluntarie submission of themselves vnto it: for which word the Septuagint, and the Epistle to the Hebrewes, vse the word *diathen*, a Testament or last Will: which name it hath, because it is not otherwise effectuell for our saluation, but in respect of the death of the Testator; for without the death of the Testator, the Testament is of no force: as Hebr. 9. 17. it is said, *Testamentum in mortuis ratum est*.

The Hebrewes call the law *Thorah* of teaching, because euery man is thereby taught his dutie, both to God and Men. The Greekes call it *Nomos* of distributing, because it distributeth to euery man his owne due, the power of the law is the power of God: iustice being an attribute proper vnto God himselfe. *Imperium legis imperium Dei est*; The reigne of the Law, is the reigne of God.

Law in general is thus defined by the Philosophers: *Lex est vite regula, praeceptis quae sunt sequenda, & quae fugienda*; Law is the rule of life, commanding what to follow, and what to fli from: or *Lex est omnium diuinarum & humanarum rerum Regina*; Law is the Queen or Princesse of things both humane and diuine. But this description is grounded vpon the opinion of ineuitable fate. Law is the very wisdom of Nature: the reason and understanding of the prudent: and the rule of right and wrong. For as a right line is called *index sui & curui*, the demonstration of it selfe, and of the crooked: so is the Law, the iudge and measure of right and wrong.

M. Hooker calls the Law a directiue rule to goodnesse of operation: and though law as touching the substance and essence, consist in vnderstanding: *Concludit tamen aliam voluntatem*; Yet it comprehends the act of our will. The word *Ius* is also diuersly taken, as sometime for the matter of the law and for common right: sometime for the law it selfe: as *Ius Civile*, or *Ius gentium*. *Isidore* distinguisheth the two general words *Ius* and *Ius*: whereof *Ius*, faith he, hath reference to men, *Ius* to God. *As lex diuina, Ius lex humana*. To goe ouer another mans field, is permitted, by Gods law, not by mans; and therefore in a thing out of controuersie, *Virgil* vsed both these words: as *Eas & iura sinunt*, God and men permit.

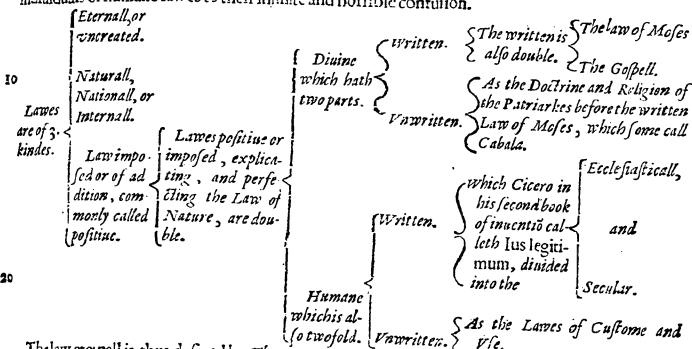
The word *Ius* or Right, is deriued or taken from the olde substantiue Noun *iustus*, a bidding or commandement: or perhaps from the Greeke *ius*, which is the name of *iupiter*, or of the Latine genitiue case *Iouis*; because as the Scripture speaks, *the iudgement is Gods*. For as it is certaine that *iur-iurandum* came of *Iouis-iurandum* (for so we finde it written in *Nomus* out of the ancient, in which sense the Scripture call it *iuramentum libona*) so also we may say, that *Ius* came of *Iouis*, quia *Iouis est*: because as God is the Author, and Patterne, and Maintainer of right, so also in his Viceregents the *Magistratus*, hee is the pronouncer and executor of right. Of this *Ius* the iust is denominated, *iustus iure*, and *iustitia à iusto*; The right giues name to the righteous: and iustice takes her name from the iust.

§. V.

§. V.

Of the definition of Lawes, and of the law eternall.

But because lawes are manifold, and that euery kinde hath a proper and peculiar definition, it agreeth with order, first to diuide and distinguish them. I meane those sorts of lawes, from whence all other particulars are drawne: leaving the individuals of humane lawes to their infinite and horrible confusion.



The law eternall is thus defined by Thomas. *Lex aeterna est aeternus diuina sapientie con-
ceptus, secundum quod ordinatur ad gubernationem rerum ab ipso praecognitarū*. The eternall
law is the eternall concept of Gods wisdom as it is referred to the government of things fore-
known by himselfe. Or *Lex aeterna est summa atque aeterna ratio diuina sapientie*; quatuor
rei omnes ad determinatos fines ita dirigit, ut illis iuxta conditionem ipsarum maximam aliquid nec
cessitatis adferat: It is the high and eternall reason of diuine sapience: as it directeth all things
30m such sort to their proper ends, imposing a kinde of necessitie according to their general na-
tures, or conditions. Now the difference lieth in this: That as the same diuine vnder-
standing directeth all these to their proper ends, so it is called prouidence: but as it impos-
eth a necessitie according to the natures of all things which it directeth, so it is called a law.
Of this eternall law Cicero tooke knowledge, when in his booke of Lawes, he wrote in
this manner. *Erat ratio perfecta, rerum natura, & ad recte faciendum impellens & ad delicta
auocans*: quoniam tum incipit lex esse cum scripta est: sed tum cum orta est. Orta autem simul
est cum mente diuina: quoniam breuius lex vera atque princeps, optata diuina, & ad delicta
ratio est recta summi Iouis: That perfect reason and nature of things incouraging or impelling
to rightfull actions, and calling vs backe from euill, did not (faith he) then beginne to bee a law
40 when it was written: but when it had being. Being and beginning it had together with diuine
vnderstanding, and therefore a true Law and a fit Princesse to command and forbid, is the right
reason of the most high God. This eternall law, (if we consider it in God, or as God,) is al-
waies one and the same; the nature of God being most simple: but as it is referred to di-
uers objects, so the reason of man findes it diuers and manifold. It also seemeth one law
in respect of things necessarie, as the motions of the heauens; stabilitie of the earth, &c.
but it appeareth otherwise to things contingent: another law to men, another to other
creatures, hauing life, and to all those that be inanimate.

By this eternall law all things are directed, as by the counsaile and prouidence of
God: from this law all lawes are deriued, as from the rule vniuersall: and thereto refer-
50 red, as the operation of the second to the first.

The eternall, and the diuine Law, differ only in consideration; the eternall directing
more largely: a liueli euery creature, to their proper and naturall ends, as it doth man
to his supernaturall: but the diuine law to a supernaturall end only: the Naturall law is
thence deriued, but an effect of the eternall: as it were a streame from this fountaine.

The law humane or temporall is also thence drawn: in that it hath the forme of right
reason: from which if it differ, it is then *impositio iniqua*, a wicked imposition: and only bor-
roweth the name of a law.

To this eternall law all things are subiected, as well Angels and Men, as all other
creatures,


creatures, or things created; whether necessary or contingent, naturall, or morall, and humane. For the law eternall runneth through all the vniuersall, and therefore it is the law also of things which are simple, naturall and inanimate.

Hence it is, that all things created are commanded to praise God their Creatour and Directour: as, *Praise him all ye his Angels: praise him Sunne and Moone, all bright Starres: heavens of heavens, for he hath established them for euer by euer. He hath made an ordinance which shall not passe: Praise ye the Lord from the earth ye Dragons and all Depths: Fire and haile, snow and vapours, stormie windes, which execute his Word: mountaines, and hills, fruitfull trees and all Cedars: Beasts, and all Cattell, &c.* Now as the reasonable Creatures are by this eternall law bound, by the glory and felicitie proposed vnto them (beatiude being both the attractive, and the end) to all other naturall things and creatures, haue in themselves, and in their owne natures, an obedience formall to it, without any proper intention, knowe cause, or end proposed. For beasts are led by sense, and naturall instinct: things without life by their created forme, or formall appetites, as that which is heauy to fall downward: things light to mount vpward, &c. and fire to heate whatsoever is apposed. This kinde of working the *Aristotelians* ascribeto common nature: others to fate, a difference vied intermes onely; it being no other then Gods generall providence: for as it is truly said of God, that he is *omnis super omnia*: so are all things which appeare in themselves thence deniued: there vnder subiected: thence from his eternall law and providence directed, euen from the greatest to the least of his creatures, in heauen and in earth.

The Schoolemen are very curious and ample in the consideration of these lawes: and in discourse of the profit, and of the matter, and object of the eternall law. But as the profit is manifest in the good of all creatures, who haue thence from, either reason, sense, vegetation, or apperition, to conduct them: so is the object and matter of the law, the whole creature. For according to *S. Augustine*, *Lex aeterna est, qua iustum est et omnia sunt ordinatissima*; The law eternall is that, whereby it is iust, that all things should be disposed in the best and goodliest order.

Lastly, it is disputed, whether the eternall law be immutable, yea or no? But the resolution is, that it changeth not; for which *S. Augustine* vseth a sufficient argument in his first Booke of *Free-Will*, the sixth Chapter. For the law of *Moses* which had a time prefixed, was eternally by God ordained to last vntill the time of the *Padagogie* of Gods people, or introduction to *Christ* should bee expired; whic time of expiration some thinke our Sauour noted to be come, when on the Crosse he said, *Consummatum est*. But I rather thinke these words of our Sauour to haue no other signification, then that now the prophetic of their giuing him Vinegar to drinke was fulfilled. For so *Saint Iohn* expounds it, when he saith v. 28. *That Christ seeing all (other) things to be fulfilled, consummatur Scriptura, That the Scripture in this also might be fulfilled, said, I thirst*: though I denie not, but at the same time also the date of the Law was expired, to wit, of the law ceremoniall, and of so much of the iudiciall, as appertained peculiarly to the *Jews*, and agreeth not with the law of the new Testament and Gospel of *Christ*. For the immutable law of God, though prescribing things mutable, is not therefore changed in it selfe; but the things prescribed, change according to this eternall ordinance, of which the *Wisdom* of *Salomon*, *And being one (see) can doe all things, and remaining in her selfe remaineth all*.

§. VI. Of the Law of Nature.

 The law of Nature as it is taken in generall, I finde no definition among the Schoolemen: onely as it is considered in man, it is called the impression of diuine light, and a participation of the eternall law in the reasonable creature. *Lex naturalis est impressio diuini luminis in nobis, & participatio legis aeternae in rationali creatura.* *Vipian* defines the naturall law to be the (same) which Nature hath taught all liuing creatures; *Lex naturalis est quod Natura omnia animalia docuit*: and hee afterward addeth, *Iustitia non humani generis proprium, sed omnium animalium quae terra marique nascuntur, anim quoque commune est*; The law of Nature is not proper to man alone, but the same is common to all liuing creatures, as well to birds, as to those which the Land and Sea produce.

Aug. in Epist. ad Rom. 2. 14. in Evangel. Joh. 1. 9. de Civitate Dei. 1. 2. de Natura et origine animae. 1. 1.

But this definition is not generall, but of the naturall Law in things of life.

The Law of nature in generall, I take to be that disposition, instinct, and formall quality, which God in his eternall providence hath giuen and imprinted in the nature of euery creature, animate, and inanimate. And as it is *diuinum lumen* in Men, enlightning our formall reason; so it is more then sense in Beasts; and more then vegetation in plants. For it is not sense alone in Beasts, which teacheth them at first sight, and without experience or instruction, to flie from the enemies of their liues: seeing that Bulles and Horses appeare vnto the sense more fearefull and terrible, then the least kinde of Dogges; and yet the Hare and Deere feedeth by the one, and flieth from the other, yea, though by them neuer seene before, and that as soone as they fall from their Dammes. Neither is it sense which hath taught other Beasts to provide for Winter; Birds to build their nests, high or low, according to the tempestuous or quiet seasons: or the Birds of *India* to make their nests on the smallest twiggies which hang ouer Riuers, and not on any other part of the tree, or elsewhere: to saue their egges and young ones from the Monkeys, and other Beasts, whose weight such a twigge will not beare: and which would feare to fall into the water. The instances in this kinde are exceeding many which may be giuen. Neither is it out of the vegetable or growing nature of plants, that some trees, as the female of the *Palmito*, will not beare any fruite except the male grow in sight. But this they doe by that Law, which the infinite and vnsearchable wisdom of God had in all eternitie provided for them, and for euery nature created. In man this Law is double, corrupt, and incorrupt; corrupt, where the reason of man hath made it selfe subiect, and a Vassall to passions, and affections brutall: and incorrupt, where time and custome hath bred in men a new nature, which also, as is aforesaid, is a kinde of Law. For it was not by the Law of Nature incorrupt, which *Saint Augustine* calleth the Law of reason, but by a nature blinded and corrupted, that the *Germans* did anciently allow of theft: and that other Nations were by Law constrained to become Idolaters; that by the Lawes of *Lycurgus* it was permitted to men to vse one anothers Wife, and to the Woman to chooe them others besides their Husbands, to beget them with childe: which Law in those parts hath lasted long, and is not forgotten to this day.

The *Scythians*, and the people of both *Indies*, hold it lawfull to bury with them the best beloued wiues: as also they haue many other customes remembered by *G. Valenia*, against nature and right reason.

And I know not from what authority it is, that these Lawes some men auow to be naturall: except it be of this corrupt nature, as (among others) to pay guile with guile: to become faithlesse among the faithlesse: to provide for our selues by another mans destruction: that injury is not done to him that is willing: to destroy those whom we feare, and the like. For taking the definition of naturall Lawes, either out of *Saint Augustine* or *Aquinas*, (the one calling it the impression of diuine light; the other, the dictate or sentence of prauine reason) the same can teach vs, or incline vs to no other thing, than to the exercise of iustice and vprightnesse: and not to offer or performe any thing toward others, saue that which wee would be content should be offered or performed toward our selues. For such is the Law of nature to the minde, as the eye is to the body; and that which according to *Dauid* sheweth vs good, that is, the obseruation of those things which leade vs thereby to our last end, which is eternall life: though of themselves not sufficient without faith and grace.

Now, that which is truly and properly the law of Nature, where the corruption is not taken for the Law, is, as aforesaid, the impression of Gods diuine light in men, and a participation of the Law increated and eternall. For without any Law written, the right reason and vnderstanding, which God hath giuen vs, are abilities within our selues, sufficient to giue vs knowledge of the good and euill, which by our gratitude to God, and distribution of right to men, or by the contrary, we prepare and purchase for our selues. For when the Gentiles (saith *Saint Paul*) which haue not the Law, doe by nature those things contained in the Law: they haue not the Law, are a Law vnto themselves. Now, to loue God by whom we are, and to doe the same right vnto all men, which we desire should be done vnto vs, is an effect of the purest reason: in whose highest Turrets, the quiet of conscience hath made her resting place, and habitation; in arce altissima rationis quies habitat. Therefore, the Gentiles (saith *Saint Paul*) which shew the effects of the Law written in their hearts, haue their consciences for a witness of those effects: and the reprobate their thoughts to accuse them.

A 3 And

Rom. 2. 14.

Rom. 2. 15.

And it is most true, that whosoever is not a law vnto himselfe (while hee hopeth to abuse the world by the aduantage of hypocrisie) worketh nothing else, but the betraying of his owne soule, by crafty vnrighteousnesse, purchasing eternall perdition. For it helpeth vs not to hide our corrupt hearts from the worlds eye, seeing from him, who is an infinite eye, we cannot hide them: some Garlands we may gather in this May-game of the world, *sed flos ille, dum loquimur, arefcit; Thos flowers wither while we discourse of their colours, or are in gathering them.* That we should therefore inhabite and dwell within our felues, and become fearefull witnessers of our secrettest euils, did that reuerend Philosopher Pythagoras as teach in this golden precept: *Nil turpe committas neque coram alijs, neque tecum, maxime omnium verere teipsum; Commit nothing foule or dishonest, faith he, neither to be knowne to others, nor to thine owne heart: but aboue all men reuerence thine owne conscience.* And this may be a precept of nature and right reason: by which law, men, and all creatures, and bodies, are inclined to those operations, which are answerable to their owne forme; as fire to giue heate. Now, as the reasonable minde is the forme of man, so is heaptly moued to those things which his proper forme presenteth vnto him: to wit, to that which right reason offereth; and the acts of right reason, are the acts of vertue; and in the breach of the rules of this reason, is man least excusable: as being a reasonable creature. For all else, both sensitiue, growing, and inanimate, obey the Law which God imputed on them at their first creation.

The Earth performeth her office, according to the Law of God in nature: for it bringeth forth the bud of the herbe which seedeth seede, &c. and the Beast, which liueth thereon. He gaue a Law to the Seas, and commanded them to keepe their bounds: which they obey. He made a decree for the raine, and a way for the lightning of the thunders. He caused the Sunne to moue, and to giue light, and to serue for signes and for seasons. Were these as rebellious as man, for whose sake they were created, or did they once breake the law of their natures and formes; the whole world would then perish, and all returne to the first Chaos, darknesse, and confusion.

By this naturall Law, or Law of humane reason, did Caine perceiue his owne wickednesse, and offence, in the murder of Abel: for he not only feared the displeasure of God, but the reuenge of men: it being written in his reason, that whosoever he performed towards others, the same by others might be done vnto him againe. And that this iudgement of well and euill doing, was put into our natures by God, and his eternall Law, before the Law written: Moses in the person of God witnesseth, *Gen. 4. If thou doe well, shalt thou not be accepted, and if thou doe not well, sinne lyeth at thy doore.*

The Schoolemen are large also in this question of the naturall Law: the same being opened amply by Reinerius, Antoninus, and Valentia. But it is not my purpose to write a Volume of this subiect.

But this Law which Thomas Aquinas calleth *an act of reason taken properly*, and not a habite, as it is an euident naturall iudgement of practique reason: they diuide into indemonstrable, or needing no demonstration (as that good is to be followed, and euill shunned) and demonstrable, which is euidently proued, out of higher and more vniuersall propositions. Again, as it answereth the naturall appetite, prescribing things more desired as good, or to be auoyded as euill (as of the first, to desire to liue, and to escape hunger, &c. and of the second, to eschew paines, sorrow, and death) in this consideration they diuide, according to the diuers kinds of appetites that are in vs. For in euery man there are three sorts of appetites, which answer the three degrees of naturall Law. The first is, to be that which we are, in which is comprehended the desire, both to liue, and to preserve our being and life, also the desire of issue, with care to prouide for them: for the Father after his death liues in his children; and therefore the desire of life comprehends the desire of children. And to these appetites are referred the first indemonstrable laws of nature, for the most part. For it needs no prooffe, that all creatures should desire to be, to liue, and to be defended, and to liue in their issue, when they cannot in themselves. And as man is a being, *Ens* or *Res*: so he doth desire good, and shun euill. For it is common to all things, to desire things agreeable to their owne natures, which is to desire their owne good. And so is Good defined by Aristotle, to be that which all desire. Which definition Basil vpon the 44. Psalm approueth: *Recte quidem Bonum definitur, quod omnia expetunt; Recte hauc some men defined Good, or Goodnesse, to be that which all things desire.*

The second kinde of appetite is of those things which appertaine to vs, as we haue sense. Whence, by the law of Nature, we desire the delights of sensory senses; but with such moderation, as may neither glut vs with satietie, nor hurt vs with excess. For as Sense it selfe is for the preservation of life and being: so it meete, euen by the Law of nature, that the sensitiue appetite should not carry vs to the destruction, either of our life or being. And although (seeing both these kinds of appetites are in beasts) we may well say, that Nature hath giuen diuers Lawes vnto them: In which sense the Cuiusdam define *2. Natural right, or law naturale*, to be the same which Nature hath taught all liuing creatures. Yet the Schoolemen admit not, that the instincts of beasts can be properly called a Law, but only a *Law, or Right*, which is the matter, and aime of euery Law. For so they distinguish it, where *Vipian* affirmeth, that *Law naturale* is that, which Nature hath taught all liuing creatures. In this place (saith *Valentia*) *Law* is not to be taken for a Law, but for the matter of the Law. And yet where *Vipian* also distinguisheth the right belonging to liuing creatures in generall, from the right belonging to men; calling the one *Law naturale*, the other *Law gentium*: the Diuines vnderstand the law of nature more largely, that is, for all euident dictates, precepts, or biddings of diuine reason: both in beasts and men; and restrain the law of Nations to a kinde of humane right.

The third appetite is of those things which appertaine properly to man, as he is a liuing creature reasonable: as well with relation to God, and to our Neighbour, as for our felues: and the Lawes of this appetite are the Commandements of our Religion.

Now although there are many other branches and diuisions of this law of nature answering the diuision of matter, which it prescribeth, and as manifold, as the morall actions are which it commandeth or forbiddeth: yet is the law of nature but one law, according to *Aquinas*: first, because it hath one fountaine or roote in the naturall or morie faculty, which is but one, stirring vp to good, and declining the contrary: secondly, because all is contained in that generall naturall precept, That good is to be followed, and ill auoyded: and thirdly, because all the parts are reduced to one and the same last end.

That this law of nature bindeth all creatures, it is manifest: and chiefly man; because he is indued with reason, in whom as reason groweth, so this band of obseruing the law of nature increaseth, *Postquam ratio ad perfectum venit, tunc fit quod scriptum est, Adueniente mandato, peccatum reuincit; When reason grew to perfection, then it came to passe, which was written by Saint Paul, When the Commandement came, sinne reuined.* Neither is it a small warrant for this law of nature, when those which breake the same, are said by Saint Paul, To be deliuered ouer into a reprobate sense (or minde) to doe those things which are not conuenient: and againe, that their consciences beare witness, and their thoughts accuse them. For, though this law of nature stretch not to euery particular: as to command fasting and the like: yet, it commandeth in generall all good, and whatsoever is agreeable to right and good reason. And therefore, saide Damascene, *Homines facti sunt mali, declinando in id quod contra naturam est; Men (saith he) are made euill, by declining vnto that which is contrary to L. s. Vid. orth. nature: and Saint Augustine, Omne vitium naturae nocet, ac per hoc contra naturam est; Every vice doth wrong to nature, and is therefore contrary vnto it.*

Neither yet are the rules of this law of nature so strait, but that they suffer exceptions in some particulars. For whereas by this law all men are borne Lords of the earth, yet it well alloweth inequality of portions, according to vnequall merit: by taking from the euill, and giuing to the good: and by permitting and commanding that all men shall enjoy the fruites of their labours to themselves: according to the rules of iustice and equitie.

And though the Law of nature command, that all things be restored which are left in trust, yet in some causes, this her law shee suffereth to be broken: as to denie a mad man his weapons, and the like, which he left in keeping while he was sober. But the vniuersall principles can no more be changed, then the decrees of God are alterable: who according to Saint Paul, *abideth faithfull, and cannot denie himselfe.*

§. VII. Of the written Law of GOD.

Aug. de Ciuir.
Dei lib. 1.

AFTER the eternall, and naturall, the law *positiue* or imposed is the next in order, which law, being nothing but an addition, or rather explication of the former, hath two kinds: Diuine and Humane. Again, the diuine *positiue* law is double; the Olde and New: The Olde was giuen vnto *Moses* in Mount *Sinai* or *Horeb*, at such time as the world had floode 2512. whole yeeres: and in the 67. day of this yeere, when as *Asctades* or *Afcades* governed the *Assyrians*, *Marathus* the *Sycionians*, *Triopus* the *Argines*, *Cecrop* *Athens*, and *Acherres* *Egypt*: to wit, after the promise to *Abraham*, 430. yeeres. And this it seemes, was the first written law which the world receyued. For the very word *Nomas*, signifying a law, was not then, nor long after inuented by the *Gracians*: no nor in *Homer* time, who liued after the fall of *Troy* 80. yeeres at least: and *Troy* it selfe was cast down 335. yeeres, after *Moses* led *Israel* out of *Egypt*. This Law, it pleased God to ingraue in stone, that it might remaine a lasting booke of his exprest wil in the Church; and that the Priests and people might haue, whereof to meditate, till the coming of *Christ*: and that so these Children of *Israel*, though bred among an Idolatrous people in *Egypt*, might be without excuse: the slight defences of ignorance being taken from them.

The reason knowne to vs why this Law was not written before, is, that when the people were few, and their liues long, the *Elders* of Families might easily without any written Law, instruct their owne Children: and yet as they increased, so doubtlesse they had, besides the Law of Nature, many precepts from God, before the Law written. But now at length, forasmuch as the law of Nature did not define all kinds of good, and euill; nor condemne euery sinne in particular: nor sufficiently terrifie the consciences of offenders: nor so expound diuine worship, as for those after-ages was required, who gaue euery day lesse authority than or to the naturall Law; In these respects it was necessary, that the Law should be written, and set before the eyes of all men: which before, they might, but would not reade, in their owne consciences. The *Schoolemen*, and the *Fathers* before them, enlarge the causes and necessity, why the Law was written, whereof these are the chiefeft.

The first, for restraining of sinne, directly grounded vpon this place of *Dauid*, *The law of the Lord is vndefiled, conuerting soules: The testimonies of the Lord are faithfull, giuing wisdom to children.* For the humane Law, saith Saint *Augustine*, meeteth not with all offences, either by way of prohibition or punishment; seeing thereby it might take away something seeming necessary, and hinder common profit: but the diuine law written, forbiddeth euery euill, and therefore by *Dauid* it is called vndchiled.

Secondly, it serueth for the direction of our minds. For the Lawes of men can only take knowledge of outward actions, but not of inward motions, or of our disposition and will: and yet it is required, that wee be no lesse cleane in the one, than in the other. And therefore were the words *conuerting our soules*, added by *Dauid*: wherein are all our outward acts first generated, according to the *Cabalists*. *Actiões hominum nulle essent, nisi prius in mente deciderent; The actions of men (say they) would be none at all, were they not first conceived in the minds.*

Thirdly, it leadeth vs to the knowledge of trueth, which by reason of diuersified opinion, and difference of peculiar Lawes among sundrie Nations, wee cannot be assured of; but the Law of GOD bindeth all men, and is without error: and therefore also sayde *Dauid*, *That the testimony of the Law of God is faithfull: giuing wisdom to children.*

§. VIII. Of the unwritten Law of God, giuen to the Patriarkes by Tradition.

NOW, that in all this long tract of time, betweene the creation and the written Law, the world and people of God were left altogether to the law of reason and nature, it doth not appeare. For the *Patriarkes* of the first Age receiued many precepts from God himselfe, and whatsoever was first imposed by *Adam*, the same was obserued by *Seth*, who instructed *Enos*: from whom it descended to *Noah*, *Sem*, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Jacob*, *Joseph*, and *Moses*. Yea many particular Commandements afterward written, were formerly imposed and deliuered ouer by Tradition; which kinde of teaching the *Iewes* afterward called

called *Cabala*, or *Receptio*: precepts receiued from the mouth of their *Priests*: and *Elders*: to which the *Iewes* after the law written, added the interpretation of secret mysteries, referred in the bosoms of their *Priests*, and vnlawfull to be vttered to the people. But the true *Cabala* was not to be concealed from any; as being indeede the diuine law reuealed to the *Patriarkes*, and from them deliuered to the posterity, when as yet it was vnwritten. The Commandements which God gaue vnto *Adam* in the beginning, were, that hee should impose names to all beasts, according to their natures; to whose perfection of vnderstanding they were sufficiently knowne. For finding the reason of his owne name *Adam* or *Adamsh*, Earth, or red clay, he gaue other names significant, not only to beasts, but to his 10 Children and Nephewes, which afterward his illnes imitated; as the name of *Seth* signifieth, as some take it, one that was laid for the ground or foundation of the Church, or rather, one giuen in recompence for *Abel* that was slaine: and *Enosh* signifieth man or miserable, &c. Further, God commanded *Adam* to till the ground, and to liue by the labour thereof: God also gaue him the choise of all fruites, but the forbidden, and in *Adam* also was marriage first instituted: all men thence after being commanded to cohabit with their Wives, rather than with their Father and Mother.

That murder and cruelty was also forbidden, both before the law written, and before the flood it selfe, it is manifest. God himselfe making it appeare, that it was one of the greatest causes of the destruction of mankind by the generall flood. For God said vnto 20 *Noah*, *An end of all flesh is come before me: for the earth is filled with cruelty through them, and behold, I will destroy them from the earth.* That offence therefore, for which all perished, could not be vnknown to all that perished: Gods mercy and iustice interposing between the vntaught, and reuenge. This commandement God repeated to *Noah*, after the waters were dried vp from the earth. *Who so sheddeth mans blood, by man shall his blood be shed: in the Image of God hath he made man.*

Also the law of honouring and reuerencing our parents, was obserued among the faithfull, and the contrary punished by the fathers curse: as, *Cursed be Canaan, a servant of servants shall he be vnto his brethren.* Again, we find that the vnnaturall sin of the *Sodomites* was punished in the highest degree, as with fire from heauen. The sinne of Adulterie and 30 Rauishment, was before the law no lesse detested than the rest, as appeareth by that reuenge, taken for *Dims*'s forcing: and by the iudgement which *Iuda* gaue against *Tamar*. That she should be burnt: and by the repentance of *Pharaoh* & *Abimelech*, against whom this sentence was pronounced, *Thou art but dead, because of the Woman which thou hast taken: for she is a mans Wife*. To these we may add the ordinance of Sacrifice, of distinction of cleane and vncleane beasts; of Circumcision, of the brother to raise vp seed to his brother that left a widow childlesse, and diuers other constitutions, partly Morall, and partly Ceremoniall, which being deliuered before the written law, were after by it confirmed. So that this *Diuine Law imposed*, of which the Law of *Moses* containeth that which is called *The old Testament*, may be saide, not only to haue bene written in the hearts of 40 men, before it was engrauen in stone, but also in substance to haue bene giuen in precept to the *Patriarkes*. For as *S. Paul* witnesseth of himselfe, *I knew not sinne, but by the Law*: to euer the Law naturally preceded, and went before offences, though written after offences committed. It is true, that all the creatures of God were directed by some kinde of vnwritten Law; the *Angels* intuitively; Men by reason; Beasts by sense and instinct, without discourse; Plants by their vegetatiue powers; and things inanimate by their necessary motions, without sense or preception.

§. IX. Of the Morall, Iudiciall, and Ceremoniall Law, with a note prefixed, How the Scripture speaketh not alway in one sense, when it nameth the Law of Moyses.

NOW as the word (Law) in generall, as is aforesaid, hath diuers significations, and is taken for all doctrine which doth prescribe and restrain: so this Law, called the Law of *Moses* in particular, is taken by *S. Paul* diuersly; as sometime for all the old Testament, as, *Now we know whatsoeuer the Law saith, it saith to them which are vnder the Law.* When it is opposed, or differentiated from the *Prophets* and *Psalms*, it is there taken for the five Bookes of *Moses*. For so *S. Luke* hath distinguished them; as, *All must bee fulfilled which are written of me in the Law, in the Prophets, and in the Psalms.*

Rom. 3. 28. When it is opposed to the *Gospel*, then it is taken for the Law Morall, Ceremoniall, and Iudiciall; as, *Therefore we conclude, that a man is iustified by Faith, without the works of the Law.*

Rom. 6. 4. Gal. 3. 13. When it is opposed to *Grace*, it signifieth the declaration of Gods wrath, and our guilt of condemnation; or the extremity of the law, and *summum ius*: as, *For ye are not under the Law, but under Grace.*

John 1. 17. When it is opposed to the Truth, namely, where the Ceremonies or signes are taken for the things signified; as the *Sacrifice for Christ*, and the like: then it signifieth but shadows and figures; as, *The Law was given by Moses, but grace & truth came by Iesus Christ.*

Gal. 3. 22. Luc. 16. 6. Lastly, when it is opposed to the time of *Christs* coming, it signifieth the whole policy of the *Jewes* Common-weale; as, *Before faith came, we were kept under the Law, &c.* Or the Law of the order and institution of the *Aaronicall Priesthood*; as, *All the Prophets and the Law, or the Priests, prophesied vnto Iohn.* And if the *Priesthood* be changed, the Law also, to wit, of the *Priesthood*, must needs be changed.

Rom. 8. 2. Rom. 7. 23. The word (*Law*) is sometime also taken by the Figure *Metonymia*, for Interest, Authority, and Empire, or for constraining force; as, *The Law of the Spirit of life, the Law or the force of sinne and death, the enforcements of concupiscence, &c.*

But the written Law of *Moses*, or the Law of the Olde Testament, of which we now speake, is thus defined. The Law is a doctrine, which was first put into the minds of men by God, and afterwards written by *Moses*, or by him repeated, commanding Holinesse and Iustice, promising eternall life conditionally, that is, to the obseruers of the law, and threatening death to those which breake the law in the least. For, according to *S. Iames*, *Who soeuer shall keepe the whole, and faileth in one point, is guilty of all.* The definition vied by the Schoolemen, in which both the Old and New law are comprehended, is thus giuen. *Lex diuina est diuinum decretum, hominibus prescribens modum necessarium ut apud peruenire possint ad supernaturalem beatitudinem, qua est ultimus humanae vitae finis; The diuine Law (say they) is the decree of God, prescribing vnto men a necessary meane, whereby they may attaine supernaturall beatitude, which is the last end of mans life.*

Rom. 7. 12. The law of *Moses* hath three parts: Morall, Ceremoniall, and Iudiciall. The Morall part commandeth this or that good to be done, and this or that euill to be avoided, in particular; as also it declareth, for whose sake it is to be done; as, *Do this, for I am the Lord*, whereas the law of nature commands it but in generall. Again, the Morall law entreateth of vertue and goodnesse; the Ceremoniall of diuine seruice, and of holinesse; (for eternall worship, and the order of hallowing our selues vnto God is called Ceremony) and the Iudiciall teacheth the particular gouernment, fit for the Common-weale of the *Jewes*, and prescribeth orders for iustice and equity. And therefore was it saide of *Saint Paul*, *The commandement is iust, holy, and good*: iust, or iustice being referred to the Iudiciall: holy, or holinesse to the Ceremoniall; good, or honest to the Morall. The Iudiciall part touching the gouernment of the Common-weale of the *Jewes*, in which many things must needs be proper to that estate, as such as were instituted either in respect of place or persons.

The Ceremoniall is diuided into foure parts, according to the foure kinds of things of which it speaketh, to wit, Sacrifice, Holy things, Sacraments, and Obseruances. To Sacrifices belong beafts, and the fruites of the earth; to Holy things the Tabernacle, Temple, Vessels, Altars, and the like; to Sacraments, Circumcision, the Pascheouer, and such like. For the Obseruances, they consisted either in prohibition of certaine meates, as not to eate the blood and fat of beafts: or in some other outward things, as in washings, purtyings, anointings, and attire, as not to wear mixt Garments of Linnen and Woollen: as also it prohibiteth other vnnatural and vnproper commixtions, as *Thou shalt not yoke together in a Plough an Oxe and an Asse*, or cast mingled seede in one field. It also exhorteth naturall compassion, and forbiddeth cruelty euen to beafts, birds, and plants, whereby the creatures of God might be destroyed without any profit to man. For so some reſerue these precepts, *Thou shalt not kill the bird sitting on her nest; nor beate downe the first buds of the tree, nor muzzle the labouring Oxe*, and the like, to the Ceremoniall Law.

Neither is there any of these three parts of the Law of *Moses*, but it hath as yet in some respects, the same power which it had before the coming of *Christ*. For the Morall liueth still, and is not abrogated or taken away: saving in the ability of iustifying or condemning; for therein are wee commanded to loue and worship God: and to vse charitie

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one towards another: which for euer shall be required at our hands. Therein also are we in particular directed, how this ought to be done: which power of directing by speciall rules and precepts of life, it retaineth still. For these things also are commanded in both Testaments to be obserued: though principally for the feare of God in the one, & for the loue of God in the other.

The Ceremoniall also liueth in the things which it fore-signified. For the shadow is not destroyed, but perfected, when the body it selfe is represented to vs. Besides, it still liueth, in that it giueth both instruction and testimony of *Christ*, and in that it giueth direction to the Church, for some Ceremonies and Types of holy signification, which are still expedient; though in a farre fewer number than before *Christs* coming, and in a farre lesse degree of necessity.

Lastly, the Iudiciall liueth in substance, and concerning the end, and the naturall and vniuersall equity thereof.

But the Morall faileth in the point of iustification, the Ceremoniall as touching the vse and externall obseruation (because *Christ* himselfe is come, of whom the ceremonies were signes and shadows) and the Iudiciall is taken away, as farre forth as it was peculiar to the *Jewes* Common-weale and policie.

§. X. A propos of all of nine other points: to be considered, with a touch of the fine first.

AS for that which remaineth in the generall consideration of the diuine written Law, it may in effect be reduced into these nine points.

1. The dignity and worth of the Law.
2. The Maiesty of the Law-giuer.
3. The property and peculiarity of the people receiuing it.
4. The conueniency of the time in which it was giuen.
5. The efficacy and power thereof.
6. The difference and agreement of the old & new Testament.
7. The end and vse of the Law.
8. The sense and vnderstanding of the Law.
9. The durance and continuance thereof.

1. The dignity of the Law is sufficiently proued by *S. Paul*, in these words: *Wherefore the Law is holy, and the Commandement is holy, and iust, and good*: which three attributes are referred, as aforesaid, to the Morall, Ceremoniall, and Iudiciall.

2. The Maiesty of the Law-giuer is approued in all his creatures: who as he hath giuen all things their liues, and beings, so he only gaue the Law, who could onely giue the end & reward promised, to wit, the saluation of mankind: but he gaue it not to *Moses* immediately, but by the ministry of Angels: as it is said. *And the Law was ordained by Angels, in Galath 3. 19 the hand of a Mediator*: and in the Acts, *He gaue the Law by the ordinance of Angels.*

3. The propriety and peculiarity of the people, receiuing this Law, is in three respects. First, in that they were prepared: Secondly, in that they were a Nation apart and disinterested: Thirdly, in that they were the children of the promise made to *Abraham*. Prepared they were, because they had the knowledge of one God, when all other Nations were idolaters. A Nation apart and seuered they were, because of Gods choice and election. Children of the promise they were, for the promise was made by God vnto *Abraham* and his seede: not vnto his seedes, as to *Esaus* and *Jacob*. but to his seede, as to *Jacob* or *Israel* singularly, of whom *Christ*. Now to *Abraham* and his seede were the promises made: see *Isaiah* Gal. 3. 6. *not to the seedes, as speaking of many, but to thy seede, as of one, which is Christ.*

4. The conueniency of the time, in which it was giuen, is noted by *S. Augustine*: that it was about the middle time, betwene the Law of Nature, and Grace: the law of Nature continued from *Adam* to *Moses*: the Law written in the Commandements receiued by *Moses* in the worlds yeere 2514. continued to the Baptisme of *Iohn*: from which time, begun the Law of Grace, which shall continue to the worlds end. Other reasons for the conueniency are formerly giuen.

5. The fit consideration is of the efficacy of this Law, the same being a disposition to, or

or signe of our Iustification : but not by it selfe sufficient, but as a figure of *Christ* in ceremonies, and a preparation to righteousnesse in morall precepts. For through the passion of *Christ* were finnes forgiven, who took away the finnes of the world : and therefore *S. Paul* calleth the rudiments of the law *beggerly and weak*; beggerly as containing no grace, weak as not able to forgive and iustifie. The blood of Goats and Bulles, and the ashes of an Heifer could onely cleanse the body ; but they were figures of *Christ*'s blood, which doth cleanse the inward soule. For if the law could iustifie, then *Christ* died in vaine.

§. XI. Of the first point, so wit, of the difference and agreement of the Old and New Testament.

The Old and New Testament differ in name, and in the meane and way proposed for attaining to saluation : as the Olde by workes, the New by grace : but in the thing selfe, or object and remote end, they agree : which is mans happinesse and saluation.

The Old Testament, or Law, or Letter, or the Witnesse of Gods will, was called the Old, because it preceded the New Testament ; which is an explication of the Old : from which the New taketh witnesse. Yet the New of more excellencie, in that it doeth more lively expresse, and openly and directly delineate the wayes of our redemption. It is also called the Old, to shew that in part it was to be abrogated : *In that he saith the New Testament, he hath abrogated the Old.* For the Old law, though greatly extolled by the *Prophets*, and deliuered with wonderfull miracles, yet was it constituted in a policy perillable, but the New was giuen in a promise of an euertlasting Kingdome, and therefore called in the *Apocalyps* a Testament and Gospel for euer during.

The Old Testament is called the Law, because the first and chiefe part is the Law of *Moses*, of which the *Prophets* and *Psalmes* are Commentaries, explicating that Law.

The New Testament is called the Gospell, because the first and chiefe part thereof, is the glad tidings of our Redemption : the other Bookes, as the Epistles, or Letters of the *Apostles*, and the Acts or story of the *Apostles*, are plentifull interpreters thereof. The word *Euangelion*, signifying a ioyfull, happy, and prosperous message, or (as *Homer* vied it) the reward giuen to the Messenger, bringing ioyfull newes. It is also sometime taken for a sacrifice, offered after victory, or other pleasing successe, as by *Xenophon*. In the Scriptures it hath three significations. First, for glad tydings in generall, as in *Elsay* the 52. verse 7. concerning peace : Secondly, by an excellencie it is restrained, to signifie that most ioyfull message of saluation, as in *Luce* 2. 10. whence also by figure it is taken for the History of *Christ* : and so we vnderstand the four Gospels.

Lastly, for the preaching and diuulging the doctrine of *Christ*, as *1 Cor.* 9. 14. & *2 Cor.* 8. 18.

The agreement of both Testaments (taken, I thinke, as they are diuided in volumes) is by *Damas* comprised in these four.

In their Author.

In the substance of the Covenant, or things promised.

In the foundation, to wit, *Christ*.

In the effects, that is, in righteousnesse and iustification.

In the Author they agree, because both are of God, and therefore both one Testament and will of God in substance of doctrine. For as there was euer one Church, so was there one Covenant, one Adoption, and one Doctrine. As the old law doth point at *Christ*, so doth the new Law teach *Christ* : the olde proposing him as to come, the new as already come ; one and the same thing being promised in both ; both tending to one, and the same end : euen the saluation of our soules : which according to *S. Peter*, is the end of our Faith. For although it be said, that *Moses* did promise by obliuious the Law, an earthly Kingdome, a land flowing with milke and hony, the propagation of children, and other worldly blessings : yet all these were but figures to teach, and pledges to assure the Fathers of those spirituall blessings by *Christ* ; for by the earthly, he raised their minds to the hope of heavenly. And the Fathers notwithstanding these worldly goods, did yet acknowledge themselves strangers, and pilgrims, expecting the heavenly *Hiernusalem* : according to the place of the *Hebrewes* : *All those dyed in faith, and receiued not the promises, but saw them farre off, and benewed them ; confessing that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth.* To which purpose also *Saint Augustine* : *Omnino pauci veterem legem intellegunt, non attendentes*

Cyp. II. 23.

Lb. de Ciuit.

Dur. 18. 15.

tendentes per promissa terrena aterna promitti : Few (saith he) do vnderstand the old law : not attending that by things earthly eternall are promised. And *S. Hierome* : *Noluit Deus pascere Iudeos more pecorum corporalibus donis opibusque, ut Iudei somniant ; God would not feed the Iewes as beasts with corporal gifts and riches, as they themselves dream.* And this may be gathered out of Gods owne words, *Ego sum Deus uiuus, & ero uobis in Deum ; I am thy God, and I will be your God.* For the words, *I will be your God*, proue that it was not for the present, or for perillable things, that God gaue them this promise, but in respect of the future to wit, the safety of their soules. For as God created both body and soule, so hath he of his goodnesse, not left the better part vncaured for, which liueth euer.

The agreement betwene the Old and New Testament in substance, inferres also the agreement in foundation. For *Christ* is called the foundation of the law, laide both by the *Apostles* and *Prophets* ; in whom all the promises of God in the Olde and New, are assured : the Fathers hauing eaten the same spirituall food, which we eate in our Sacraments.

The agreement in effects is, in that the knowledge of our sinne and miserie, which is taught vs by the law, maketh way, and as it were, serueth in subordination to the Gospell, the proper effects whereof are mercy and saluation : to which the Law serueth as an introduction (for to those which acknowledge their sin and misery, God sheweth his mercy and saluation) may be said to agree with the Gospell in the effect. For otherwise if we sheweth the way of righteousnesse by workes, the other by faith : the Law woundeth, the Gospell healeth : the Law terrifieth, the Gospell allureth ; *Moses* accuseth, *Christ* defendeth : *Moses* condemneth, *Christ* pardoneth. The Old restraineth the hand, the New the minde. *Data est lex quae non sanaret* (saith *Saint Augustine*) *sed quae egrotantes probaret ; The Law was giuen, not to helpe, but to discover sickness* : and *Saint Chrysostome*, *Data est lex, ut homo inueniret, non ut moribus sanaretur, sed ut medicus quereretur ; The Law was giuen that man might finde and know his owne imperfection : not that his disease was thereby helpe, but that he might then seeke out the Physician.* For *Christ* came to saue the world, which the law had condemned. And as *Moses* was but a seruant, and *Christ* a Son ; so the greatest benefit was referred to bee brought, as by the *wortheist* person, saith *Cyrl* : For this law made nothing perfect, but was an introduction of a better hope.

§. XII. Of the rest of the pointes proposed.

The seventh consideration is of the end, and vfe of the law : which is to bring vs to *Christ* : for finding no righteousnesse in our owne workes, we must seeke it in some other. But this is the last, and remote, and vmost end : the next and proper end of the law, is to prescribe righteousnesse, and to exact absolute and perfect obedience to God. *Cursed is he which continueth not in all the things of this law.*

The second end of the Law, is to render vs inexcusable before God : who knowing so perfect a law, do not keepe it : the law requiring a perfect and intire, not a broken or halfe obedience : but both inward and outward righteousnesse, and performance of duty to God and Men.

The third and chiefe end of the law, is as hath bene said, to send vs to *Christ*, and his grace, being in our selues condemned and lost. For the law was deliuered with thunder, and with a most violent and fearfull tempest, threatening eternall death.

The fourth end of the law was to designe, and prefigure, the place of the Church and true people of God : and to hold them in one Discipline, and awe, till the comming of *Christ* : after whom the Church was to be dispersed ouer the whole world.

These be the ends of the Morall law. The end and vfe of the Ceremoniall law, is to confirme the truth of *Christ*, and the new Testament. The vfe of the Iudiciall, to teach vs naturall equity, and right, whereto we must conformance our selues.

The fence and vnderstanding of the Law is double, littirall and spirituall : by the littirall we are taught the worship and seruice of God : by the spirituall, the figures and mystical fore-speakings of *Christ*.

Lastly, for the durance or continuance of the Law, the same had being vntill the passion of *Christ* : before which time, and while *Christ* taught in the world, both the old and the new were in force. But after that the true sacrifice was offered vpon the Altar of the

* Gen. 49. 10.

The Scepter

shall not de-

part from Iu-

da, nor a Law-

giver from

between his

feet, vntill this

Crosse

come.

Crosse, then the *Jewish* sacrifices and ceremonies, which were *Types* and figures of *Christ* (*Christ* being the body of those shadows) ceased to binde the consciences any longer: the mystery of our redemption being now by *Christ* and in him finished. In token whereof, the vail of the Temple rent asunder, noting that the ceremoniall vail and shadows were now to be removed, not that the morall law of the Commandements was hereby abolished, or weakened at all: otherwise then that it had not power to condemn according to the *Jewish* doctrine, as aforesaid. For the obseruing of the law was by *Christ* himselfe severely commanded: our loue towards God being thereby to be witnessed. And herein *David* so much reioyced, as he preferred the oblation of the Law, before all that the world could yield. *In via testimoniorum tuorum delestatum sum, sicut in omnibus divitiis; I have been delighted in thy law, as in all manner of riches:* And againe, *The law of thy mouth is good for me above thousands of gold and silver. This is the loue of God (saith S. Iohn) that we keepe his Commandement.* And that there is no excuse for the neglect of the things commanded in the law, God himselfe in *Deuteronomy* witnesseth. *This Commandement (saith he) which I command thee this day, is not hid from thee, neither is it farre off. It is not in heauen that thou shouldst say, Who shall goe up for vs to heauen, and bring it vs, and cause vs to beare it that we may do it? neither is it beyond the Sea, that thou shouldst say, Who shall goe over the Sea for vs, and bring it vs? &c. but the word is very nere unto thee, even in thy mouth, & in thy heart for to do it. Behold (saith Moses) I have set before thee this day, life and death, good and euill, in that I command thee this day, to loue the Lord thy God, to walke in his waies, and to keepe his Commandements, and his Ordinances, and his Lawes, that thou mayst live, &c.* Neither is it said in vaine in *Saint Matthew.* *Si vis ad vitam ingredi, serua mandata: If thou wilt enter into life keepe the Commandements:* and in *S. Iohn;* *Scio quia mandatum eius vita eterna est; I know that his Commandement is life euermlasting.* And if this be the charitie of God, or of Men towards God, as *S. Iohn* hath taught, to wit, that we keepe his Commandements: certainly hee is but a liar, that professeth to loue God, and neglecteth to obserue the word of his will, with all his power. And though I confesse it not in mansability, without the speciall grace of God, to fulfill the law (*Christ* only as man excepted) yet if wee rightly consider the mercifull care which God had of his people in those his Commandements, we shall finde in our selues, how wee borrow liberty, and rather let slip our affections, and voluntarily loosen them from the chains of obedience, to which the word of God and diuine reason hath fastened them, than that wee are excusable by those difficulties and impossibilities, which our minde (greedy of libertie) propoeth to it selfe. *For this is the loue of God, that we keepe his Commandements, & his Commandements are not greuous, 1. Iohn 3. 12.* and if wee examine euery precept apart, and then weigh them each after other, in the ballance of our consciences; it is not hard for any man to iudge, by what easie persuasions, we steale away from our owne power, as unwilling to vse it against our pleasing desires.

§. XIII. Of the seuerall Commandements of the Decalogue: and that the difficulty is not in respect of the Commandements, but by our default.

For by the first we are commanded to acknowledge, serue, and loue one God. Now, whereby are weinticed to the breach of this precept? seeing euery reasonable man may conceiue and know, that infinite power cannot be diuided into many infinities: and that it is of necessity, that by this almighty Vnity, all things haue bin caused, and are continued. And if brute beasts had this knowledge of their Creator, and how in his providence he hath also provided for euery of them, *Which giuech to beasts their food,* &c. there is no doubt but that they would also serue and loue him only.

The second precept is the forbidding of Idolatry, and worship of Images: the making whereof, out of doubt, was not the inuention of an ill intent in the beginning, seeing this is generally true. *Omnia mala exempla bonis initijs orta sunt; All ill examples did spring and arise from good beginnings.* For their first erection was to keep the memory of men famous for their vertue: vntill (saith *Lactantius*) the deuill crept into them, and (hauing blotched out the first intent) working in weak and ignorant foules, changed the nature of the one, and the reason of the other, to serue himselfe thereby. For what reasonable man, if hee be not forsaken of God, will call on those blinde, deafe, dumbe, and dead stocks, more

worthlesse

worthlesse then the most worthlesse of those, that hauing life and reason, implore their helpe, which haue neither: yea, of more vilde prize and baser, then the basest of beasts, who haue sense and estimation? For what do we thereby (saith the *Wisedome of Solomon*) but call to the weake for helpe, pray to the dead for life, require aide of him that hath no experience, assist once in our iournies of him that cannot go, and successe in our affaires of him that hath no power? And whether the Idolater, or the blocke, to which he prayeth, be more senselesse: *David* maketh a doubt. *For (saith he) they that make them are like vnto them, and so are all the rest that trust in them.* *Psalm 135. 18.*

The breach of the third Commandement, is neither perswaded by worldly pleasure, nor worldly profit: the two greatest inchanters of mortall men. No, we are no way allured to this horrible disdain of God, vnlesse the hate of good men, and Gods curse, be accounted an aduantage. For as our corrupted nature giues vs nothing towards it, so can it satisfie no one appetite, except euermlasting sorrow, and hell dwell in our desire. And therefore this strange custome hath the deuill brought vp among men, without all subtilty of argument, or cunning perswasion, taking thereby the greatest and most scornfull aduantage ouer vs. For slaughter satisfieth hatred, Theft giues satisfaction to need, Adultery to lust, Oppression to couetousnesse: but this contemptuous offence of blasphemy, and the irreuerent abuse of Gods name, as it giuech no help to any of our worldly affections, so the most saluage Nations of the world do not vse it.

The fourth Commandement, to keepe the Sabbath day holy, hath neither pain, burthen, nor inconuenience. For it giuech rest to the laborer, and consolation to their Masters. And that this law was imposed on man for his benefit, *Moses* teacheth in the reason of the law: as in *Exod. 23. 12.* *And in the seventh day thou shalt rest, that thine Oxe and thine Asse may rest, and the sonne of thy maide, and the stranger may be refreshed.*

The first of the second Table to honour our Parents, with whom we are one and the same, is a gratitude which nature it selfe hath taught vs towards them, who after God giue vs life and being, haue begotten vs, and borne vs, cherished vs in our weak and helpless infancy, and bestowed on vs the harvest and profit of their labours and cares. Therefore, in the Temporal and Iudiciall ordinances, cursing of parents, or the offering so them violence, was made death.

The next is, that thou shalt not Murther, that is, thou shalt not do the actes following the offences of hatred. For the law of God, and after it our owne lawes, and in effect the law of all Nations, haue made difference between slaughter casual, and furious. *Affectio enim tua (saith Basil) imponit nomen operi tuo; It is the affection and will that makes the work (such as it is).* And certainly, whosoever cannot forbear to commit murder, hath neither the grace of God, nor any vse of his owne will.

The third of the second Table, commands vs from Adultery. Now, if the preservation of Virginitie haue bene possible, for thousands of Men and Women, who in all Ages haue mastered their fleshly desires, and haue returned chaste to the grate: It cannot be accounted a burthen, to forbear the dishonour and iniurie, which we offer to others by such a violation, seeing marriage is permitted by the lawes of God, and Men, to all that affect it. And there is no man liuing whom the desire of beaurty and forme hath so constrained, but he might with ease forbear the prosecution of this ill: did not himselfe giue sucke to this Infant, and nourish warmth till it grow to strong heate, heate till it turne to fire, and fire to flame.

The fourth of the second Table, is, that we shall not steale. And if that kinde of violent robbery had bene vsed in *Moses* time, which many *Russians* practise now a dayes in *England*, and to the dishonor of our Nation more in *England*, than in any Region of the world among *Christians*; out of doubt, he would haue censured them by death, and not by restitution, though quadruple. For I speak not of the poore and miserable foules, whom hunger and extreame necessity inforceth, but of those detested Theeves, who to maintain themselves Lord-like, assault, rob, and wound the Merchant, Artificer, and Labouring man; or break by violence into other mens houses, and spend in Brauerie, Drunkenesse, and vpon Harlots, in one day, what other men sometime haue laboured for all their liues: impouersishing whole Families, and taking the bread and food from the mouths of their children. And that this Commandement might easily be obserued, it would soone appeare, if Princes would resolute, but for a few yeeres to pardon none. For, it is the hope of life, and the argument of sparing the first offence, that incourageth these

Nuptia replent terram, Virginitas exaridit eam.

Iohn 7. 5.

*Deut. 30. 11, 12
13. 14.
Rom. 6. 10. 7. 6.
7. 8.*

*Cap. 9. 17.
Cap. 2. 10.*

1. Ioh. 4. 7. 1.

*Classis in verb.
Calum.*

these Hell-hounds. And if euery man presume to be pardoned once, there is no State or Common-wealth, but these men would in a short time impouerish or destroy it.

The fifth Commandment of this second Table, is, the prohibition of false witness: from which if men could not forbear, all surety of estate and life were taken away. And so much did God detest a false witness, and a false accuser, especially in matters criminal, that the law ordained him to suffer the same death or punishment, which he sought by falsehood to lay on his brother.

The last of the ten Commandments forbiddeth vs to couet any thing, which belongeth to another man, either the bodies of their wives for concupiscence, or their goods for desire of gaine. And this precept seemeth the hardest for men to obserue; so esteemed by reason of our fraille affections: and yet if wee iudge hereof rightly, it may be doubted whether it extend to all our inconsiderate fancies and vaine thoughts. For, although it be not easie to master all our sudden passions, yet we may reframe and hinder the growing, and farther increase, if we please to intend our strength, & seeke for grace. How the word *Conueting* reacheth to all those it is to bee considered. For *Concupiscencia*, according to some, *Est effrenatus habendi appetitus; An vnbriodel, or unrestrained appetite of hauing*: And as touching such an appetite, we cannot excuse our selues by any naturall frailty, or vnadvised error; But as I suppose, the word *Concupiscence* is more largely taken, either for a determinate and vnbriodel euill intent, or for some vrging inclination thereunto. All the question is of the later sort: which is, *Actus imperfectus, id est, non deliberatus ratione, quia est principium proprium actus boni aut vitiosi; Such passions, or inclinations are imperfect acts, that is, not deliberated vpon by reason, which is the proper principle of a good or vicious action*. And sure, it may seeme, that so long as we resist such motions, they harme vs not: as they say, *Quamuis refragmur nihil nocent: nocent autem cum eis dominari permitimus; As long as wee giue no assent vnto them, it is thought by some that they hurt vs not; and that then only they hurt, when we suffer them to beare sway*. But these men, as it seemes, make nothing forbidden in this tenth precept, but what hath bene forbidden in the other: for in euery Commandment, not only the outward acte, but also the inward assent vnto euill, though it breake not out into acte, is forbidden: therefore, that we may know the difference between this Commandment and the rest, the distinction of desires is to be held: that some are with assent, and vnbriodel, others bidden, and without assent. For so euen the Morall *Philosopher* can tell vs, that the Continent man hath euill desires, but without assent (for they are bridled by the strength of right reason) as on the other side the Incontinent hath good desires, but restrained and suppressed by contrary passions. The euill desires when they are accompanied with assent, are in euery Commandment forbidden, together with the outward acte: and therefore, if we will haue any thing proper to this Commandment, wee must needs say, that the euill desires of the Continent man (that is, euen those which wee resist and bridle) are here forbidden. For though he that bridlth his euill desires, bee much better than he that yeeldeth vnto them: yet such a man, euen according to the Heathen *Philosopher*, is not worthy the name of a vertuous man. For *Aristotle* himselfe makes *continentia*, not to be vertue, but only a degree vnto it: confessing, that though the Continent man do well in bridling his euill affections, yet he doth not all, seeing he ought not so much as to haue the at all. Neither is it much more, that true diuinity deliuereth touching this matter. For, as he saith, that in the Continent man the hauing of these euill desires, though he resist them, is the cause that he cannot be called a vertuous man: so we, that the hauing of them is a sinne. Only in this we excell him here: that we are able out of diuinity to giue the true reason of this doctrine: which is, that euery one sinneth, that doeth not loue God with his whole heart and affection: whence it followeth, that the euill desires of the Continent man; that is, of him which bridlth them, must needs be sinne: seeing such desires, though bridled, are a pulling away of a part of our heart and affection from God.

Seeing therefore it hath pleased God, to make vs know, that by our faithfull endeouours to keepe his commandments, we witness our loue toward himselfe: we may not safely giue libertie to our vanities, by casting backe vpon God (who is iustice it selfe) that he hath giuen vs precepts altogether beyond our power, and Commandments impossible for vs to keepe. For, as hee is accursed, (saith Saint *Hierome*) that auowes that the Law is in all things possible to be obserued: so he hath made this addition: *Maledictus*

*qui dicit impossibile Deum precepisse; Accursed is hee that saith that God hath commanded things (in themselves, and not through our fault) impossible. Now as the places are many which command vs to keepe the Law: so is our weaknesse also in the Scriptures laide before vs, and therefore it is thus safely to be vnderstood, that we should without euasion, or without betraying of our selues, doe our faithfull endeouours to obserue them: which if we doe vnfaignedly, no doubt, but God will accept our desires therein. For that there is no man iust, *David* witnesseth: Enter not into iudgement with thy seruants, for in thy sight no flesh that liueth shall be iustificed. And in the first of Kings, There is no man that sinne hath not: And againe, *Who can say, I haue made my heart cleane?* But seeing there is no sinne greuous without deliberation, let euery mans conscience iudge him, whether hee giue way willingly, or reframe himselfe in all that he can, yea, or no: For when a King giues to his subiect a commandment vpon paine of losse of his loue, to performe some seruice: if the subiect neglecting the same, seeke to satisfie his *Soueraigne* with shuffling excuses, out of doubt such a Prince will take himselfe to be derided therein.*

§. XIII.

If there were not any Religion nor Iudgement to come, yet the Decalogue were most necessary to be obserued.

20 And if wee consider aduisedly and soberly, of the Morall Law, or ten Commandments, which God by the hand of *Moses* gaue vnto his people, it will appeare that such was his mercifull providence in the chioise of them, as were there neither paine, nor profit adioyned to the obseruing, or not obseruing of them; were there no diuine power at all, nor any Religion among men; yet if wee did not for our owne sakes stricke to obserue these Lawes, all society of men, and all endeouours, all happinesse and contentment in this life would be taken away: and euery State and common-wealth in the World fall to the ground and dissolue. Therefore, these Lawes were not imposed as a burthen, but as a blessing: to the end that the innocent might be defended, that euery man might enjoy the fruites of his owne trauaile, that right might be done to all men from all men: that by iustice, order, and peace, we might liue the liues of reasonable men, and not of beasts; of free-men, and not of slaves; of ciuill men, and not of sauaiges. And hereof making our humane reason onely Iudge, let vs see the inconueniences in this life which would follow by the breach and neglect of these Lawes.

As first, what would the issue be if we acknowledged many Gods? would not a farre greater hatred, warre, and bloud-shed follow, than that which the difference of ceremonies, and diuersity of interpretation, hath already brought into the World, euen among those Nations which acknowledge one God, and one *Christ*?

And what could it profit man-kinde to pray to Idols, and Images of gold, metall, dead stones, and rotten wood, whence nothing can be hoped, but the losse of time, and an impossibility to recieue thence-from, either helpe or comfort?

The breach of the third Commandment bringeth therein with this disadvantage, and ill to man, that whosoever taketh the name of God in vaine, shall not at any time benefit himselfe by calling God to witness for him, when hee may iustly vie his holy name.

The obseruing the *Sabbath* holy, giueth rest to men and beasts, and nature her selfe requieth intermission of labour.

If we despise our Parents, who haue giuen vs being, we thereby teach our owne children to scorn and neglect vs, when our aged yeeres require comfort and helpe at their hands.

50 If murder were not forbidden, and severely punished, the race of mankind would be extinguished: and whosoever would take the liberty to destroy others, giueth liberty to others to destroy himselfe.

If adultery were lawfull and permitted, no man could lay vnto himselfe; This is my some: there could be no inheritance proper, no honour descend to posterity, no endeavour by vertue and vnder-taking to raise Families: murders and poisonings betweene man and wife would be daily committed: and euery man subiect to most filthy and vncleane diseases.

If stealth and violent rapine were suffered, all man-kinde would shortly after perish,

or liues as the saluages; by rootes and acornes. For no man laboureth but to enjoy the fruites thereof. And such is the mischief of robbery, as where *Moses* for lesser crimes appointed restitution fourefold, policie of State and necessity hath made it death.

To permit false witnesses, is to take all mens liues and estates from them by corruption: the wicked would sweare against the vertuous: the waster against the wealthie: the idle begger and loyterer, against the carefull and painfull laborer: all triall of right were taken away, and iustice thereby banished out of the world.

The coueting of that which belongs to other men, bringeth no other profit than a distraction of minde, with an inward vexation: for while we couet what appertains to others, we neglect our owne: our appetites are therein fed with vaine and fruitlesse hopes, so long as we do but couet; and if we do attaine to the desire of the one, or the other, to wit, the wiles or goods of our neighbours, we can look for no other, but that our felus shall also, either by theft or by strong hand, be deprived of our owne.

Wherein then appeareth the burthen of Gods Commandements, if there be nothing in them, but rules and directions for the generall and particular good of all liuing: Surely for our owne good, and not in respect of himselfe, did the most mercifull & provident God ordaine them; without the obseruation of which, the vertues of heavenly bodies, the fertility of the earth, with all the blessings giuen vs in this life, would be vnto vs altogether vnprofitable, and of no vse. For wee should remaine but in the state of brute beasts, if not in a farre more vnhappy condition.

§. XV. Of humane Law, written and vnwritten.

Humane Law, of which now it followeth to speake, is first diuided into two, *Written*, and *Vnwritten*. The *vnwritten* consists of vsage, approved by time: which *Isidore* calls *Mores*; and he defines *Mores* to be *Consuetudines vetustate probate*; to be customs approved by antiquity or *vnwritten laws*. Now custome differeth from vse, as the cause from the effect: in that custome is by vse and continuance established into a Law: but yet there where the law is defectiue, saith *Isidore*.

And of customes there are two generall natures, containing innumerable particulars, the first are written customes, receiued and exercised by Nations, as the customes of *Burgundie* and *Normandie*: the ancient generall custome of *England*, &c. the customes of *Cassil*, and other *Provinces*.

The second are thefe petty customes, vsed in particular Places, Cities, Hundreds, and Mannors. The generall or Nationall customes are some written, others vnwritten.

The particular or petty customes are seldome written, but witnessed by testimony of the inhabitants. The customes of the *Duchie of Cornwall* comprehending also the *Stannerie of Devon*, as touching *Tin*, and *Tin* causes, are written in *Deuon*, but not in *Cornwall*. But howsoeuer vse and time hath made these customes as lawes, yet ought euery custome to be *rationabilis*, as well as *prescripta*. *Non firmatur tractus temporis quod de iure ab initio non subsistit*; That which at first was not grounded vpon good right, is not made good by continuance of time. And (saith *Vlpian*) *quod ab initio vitiosum est, non potest tractus temporis conualsecere*; Course of time amends not that which was naught from the first beginning. For these two defences are necessary in all lawes of custome; the one, that it be not repugnant to the law diuine, and naturall: the other, that the cause and reason be strong, prouing a right birth, and necessary continuance: it being manifest, that euery custome which is against the law, had his beginning from euill deeds, & therefore not without the former considerations to be allowed. And it is true, that all customes of this nature were but tolerated for a time, by the Law-makers, though they haue beene since continued, because posterity is not bound to examine by what cause their Ancestors were thereto moued. For *non sufficit simplex toleratio*. And it is in this sort ouer-ruled in the law, *Per populum consuetudo contra legem induci non potest, nisi de voluntate illius qui nouam legem, & nouam constitutionem statuere potest, qui solus Princeps est*; The people cannot bring in a new custome against Law: saue by his will, who hath power to make a new law and ordinance, which is onely the Prince.

Humane Law generally taken, to wit, humane law written, is by some defined to be the decree or doome of practique reason: by which humane actions are ruled and directed: *Papinian* calls the Law a common precept, the aduisement of wisdom, & the restraint

restraint of offences committed, either willingly or ignorantly. *Isidore* calls the Law a Constitution written, agreeing with Religion, fittest for Government and common profit: And more largely, *Omne id quod ratione consistit, All that stands with reason*.

Lastly and more precisely it is thus defined. Humane Law is a righteous decree, agreeing with the Law naturall, and eternall: made by the rational discourse of those, that exercise publike authority: prescribing necessary obseruances to the subiect. That euery Law ought to be a righteous decree, *S. Augustine* teacheth, saying, *Mixta esse non videtur, quae iusta non fuerit, it seems to be no law at all to me, which is not iust*: and iust it cannot be, except it agree with the law naturall and eternall. For there is no Law iust and legitimate (saith *S. Augustine*) which the Law-makers haue not deriued from the eternall. *Nihil iustum atque legitimum est, quod non ab aeterna lege sibi homines deriuauerint*.

Secondly, it ought to be constituted by discourse of reason, whereby it is distinguished from the Law naturall, to wit, the naturall, indemonstrable, or needing no demonstration, from whence the law humane is taken and deduced.

Thirdly, that it ought to be made by an authorized Magistracie, it cannot be doubted, be the government of what kinde soeuer. For it falleth otherwise vnder the Title of those decrees called *Violentia*, or *iniqua constitutiones*; *Violences*, or *wicked constitutions*.

Of humane Law there are foure properties, especially answering these foure conditions in the former definition. First, as it is drawne out of the law of nature: so euery particular of the humane Law may be resolved into some principle or rule of the naturall.

Secondly, it is to be considered as it is referred vnto, and doth respect the common good.

Thirdly, it is to be made by publique authority.

Fourthly, concerning the matter of the Law, it prescribeth, and directeth, all humane actions. And so is the Law as large and diuers, as all humane actions are diuers, which may fall vnder it. For according to *Thomas*, *Alia lex Iulia de Adulterij, alia Cornelia de Sycarijs*; The Law of Iulian against Adultery is one, the Cornelian against Rustians, is another. Now the humane Law, generally taken, is in respect of the first of these considerations, diuided into the Law of Nations, and the Ciuill.

The Law of Nations is taken lesse or more properly; lesse properly for euery Law which is not of it selfe, but from other higher principles deduced: and so it seemeth that *Vlpian* vnderstands it: for he defineth *Ius gentium*, or the Law of Nations, to be that which is onely common amongst Men, as Religion, and the worship of God: which is not in the very nature of this Law of Nations; but from the principles of the Scriptures, and other diuine Reuelations. But the Law of Nations properly taken, is that *dictate*, or *sentence*, which is drawne from a very probable, though not from an euident principle, yet so probable, that all Nations doe assent vnto the conclusion, as that the free passage of Ambassadors be granted betwene enemies, &c. which Nationall Law, according to diuers acceptions, and diuers considerations had of the humane Law, may be sometime taken for a Species of the Naturall, sometime of the Humane.

Ius Civile, or the Ciuill Law, is not the same in all Common-wealths, but in diuers estates it is also diuers and peculiar, and this Law is not so immediately deriued from the Law of Nature, as the Law of Nations is: For it is partly deduced out of such principles as all Nations doe not agree in, or easily assent vnto; because they depend on particular circumstances, which are diuers, and doe not fit all estates. Hereof *Vlpian*, *Ius civile neque in totum a naturali & gentium recedit, neque per omnia ei seruit: itaque cum aliquid addimus vel de iustitia iudicauimus iuri communi, Ius proprium, id est, Civile efficitur*; The Ciuill Law (saith he) doth neither wholly differ from the Law of Nature, and Nations, nor yet in all points obey it: therefore when we adde ought to, or take from the Law that is common, we make a Law proper, that is, the Ciuill Law.

The Law now commonly called the Ciuill Law, had its birth in Rome; and was first written by the *Decem-viri*, 303. yeeres after the foundation of the City. It was compounded as wel out of the *Athenian*, & other *Grecian* Lawes, as out of the ancient *Romane* customes and Lawes *Regall*. The Regal Lawes were deuised by the first Kings, and called *Leges Regiae*, or *Papirianae*, because they were gathered by *Papirius*, *Tarquius* then reigning. For though so many of the former Lawes as maintained Kingly authority, were abolished,

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shed, with the name, yet those of *Servius Tullius*, for Commerce and Contracts, and all that appertained to Religion, and common utility, were continued, and were a part of the Lawes of the twelve Tables. To these Lawes of the twelve Tables were added (as the times gave occasion) those made by the *Senate*, called *Senatus-consulta*: those of the common people, called *Plebi-scita*: those of the Lawyers, called *responsa prudentum*: and the Edicts of the *Annual Magistrate*, which Edicts being first gathered and interpreted by *Julian*, and presented to *Adrian* the Emperour, they were by him confirmed and made perpetuall Lawes; and the *Volume* stiled *Edictum perpetuum*; as those and the like Collections of *Iustinian* afterward were.

The difference anciently betweene Lawes and Edicts, which the *French* call *Reglements*, consisted in this, that Lawes are the Constitutions made or confirmed by soveraigne authority (be the soveraignty in the people, in a few, or in one) and are withall generall and permanent: but an Edict (which is but *Insum Magistratus*, unless by authority it be made a Law) hath end with the Officer, who made the same, saith *Varro*. *Quisplurimum Edicto tribuunt, legem annuam esse dicunt. They who ascribe the most unto an Edict, say that it is a Law for one yeere*: Though *Isidore* doth also expresse by the word *Constitutiones* or *Edicts*, those Ordinances called *Acts of Prerogatives*; as *Constitutio vel Edictum quod Rex, vel Imperator constituit, vel edicit*; An Ordinance or Edict is that which a King or Emperour doth ordaine or proclaime.

Lastly, the *Humane Law* is divided into the *Secular*, and into the *Ecclesiasticall*, or *Canon*. The *Secular* commanding temporall good, to wit, the peace and tranquillity of the Common-weale: the *Ecclesiasticall* the spirituall good, and right Government of the *Ecclesiasticall Common-weale*, or Church, *Illud naturæ legem, hoc divini præstat*; That respecteth the Law of Nature, this the Law of God. And so may *ius Civile* be taken two wayes, first, as distinguished from the Law of Nations, as in the first division: Secondly, as it is the same with the *Secular*, and differs from the *Ecclesiasticall*. But this division of the *Schoolmen* is obscure. For although the *Civil* be the same with the *Secular*, as the *Civil* is a Law, yet the *Secular* is more general, and comprehendeth both the *Civil*, and all other Lawes not *Ecclesiasticall*. For of *Secular* Lawes, in use among *Christian* Princes, and in *Christian* Common-weales, there are three kinds, the *Civil* which hath every where a voyce; and is in all *Christian* Estates (*England* excepted) most powerfull; the Lawes of *England* called Common, and the Lawes of custome or *Provinciall*. In *Spain* besides the Law *Civil*, they have the customes of *Castill*, and other *Provinces*. In *France* besides the *Civil*, the customes of *Burgundy*, *Flays*, *Berry*, *Nivernois*, and *Lodunois*, &c. *Tous lieux jura & us en Lodunois, seront gouvernez selon les custumes du dit pays*; All places lying within the precincts of *Lodunois*, shall be governed according to the customes of that place. There are also in *France* the customes of *Normandy*, and these of two kinds; General, and Locall; and all purged and reformed by diuers Acts of the three Estates. The *Charters* of confirmation of these ancient customes, before and since their reformation have these words; *Non autem, registrum prædictum, res laudabiles, & consuetudines antiquas, &c. laudamus, approbamus, & autoritate Regia confirmamus*; The Register aforesaid, laudable use, and ancient customes we praise, approve, and by our Kingly authority confirme. The common Law of *England* is also compounded of the ancient customes of the same, and of certain *Maxims* by those customes of the Realme approved. Upon which customes also are grounded those Courts of Record, of the Chancery, Kings Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, with other small Courts.

These ancient customes of *England* have beene approved by the Kings thereof, from age to age: as that custome by which no man shall be taken, imprisoned, diseised, nor otherwise destroyed, but he must first be put to answer by the Law of the Land, was confirmed by the Statute of *Magna Charta*. It is by the ancient custome of *England*, that the eldest sonne should inherit without partition. In *Germany*, *France*, and elsewhere otherwise, and by partition. In *Ireland* it is the custome for all Landes (that have not beene resigned into the Kings hands) that the eldest of the House shall enjoy the Inheritance during his owne life: and so the second and third eldest (if there be so many brothers) before the Heire in lineall descent: this is called the custome of *Tanistrie*. For example, if a Lord of Land have four sonnes, and the eldest of those four haile also a Sonne, the three Brothers of the eldest Sonne, shall after the death of their Brother, enjoy their Fathers Lands before the Grand-child: the custome being grounded

grounded upon the reason of necessity. For the *Irish* in former times, having alwayes lived in a subdivided *Civil* Warre, not onely the greatest against the greatest, but every Baron and Gentleman one against another, were enforced to leaue successors of age and ability, to defend their owne Territories. Now as in *Normandie*, *Burgundie*, and other *Provinces of France*, there are certaine peculiar and petty Counties, besides the great and generall custome of the Land, so are there in *England*, and in every part thereof. But the greatest bulke of our Lawes, as I take it, are the *Acts of Parliament*: lawes propounded and approved by the three estates of the Realme, and confirmed by the King, so the obedience of which all men are therefore bound, because they are *Actes of choise*, and (saith *desire*) *Leges nulla alia causa nos tenent quam quod iudicio populi receptæ sunt*; The lawes we observe do therefore binde the subject, because they are received by the indgement of the subject. *Tum de manu humana leges habent vim suam, cum fuerint non modo institutæ sed etiam firmatæ approbatione communitatis*; It is then that humane lawes have their strength, when they shall not onely be desired, but by the approbation of the people confirmed.

Isidore fasteneth their properties to every *Christian* Law, that the same bee honest, that it bee possible, that it bee according to Nature, and according to the custome of the Country; also for the time and place convenient, profitable, and manifest, and without respect of priuate profite, that it be written for the generall good. He also giues foure effects of the Law, which *Modestinus* comprehends in two; to wit, obligation, and infigation: the former bindes vs by feare, to auoide vice; the latter incourage with hope, to follow vertue. For according to *Cicero*, *Legem oportet esse vitiorum emendatricem, commendatricemque virtutum*; It becometh the Law to bee a mender of vices, and a commander of vertues. The part obligatorie or binding vs to the obseruation of things commanded or forbidden, is an effect common to all lawes: and it is two-fold; the one contrainth vs by feare of our consciences, the other by feare of externall punishment. These two effects the law performeth, by the exercise of those two powers, to wit, *Coactiue* and *Directive*.

The second of these two effects remembered by *Modestinus*, is *Infigation*, or incorage-ment to vertue, as *Aristotle* makes it the end of the law, to make men vertuous. For lawes being such as they ought to be, doe both by prescribing and forbidding, iurge vs to well-doing; laying before vs the good and the euill, by the one and the other purchased. And this power affirmatiue commanding good, and power negatiue forbidding euill, are those into which the law is diuided, as touching the matter: and in which *David* comprehendeth the whole body and substance thereof: saying, *Declina à malo, & fac bonum*; Decline from euill, and do good.

§. XVI. That onely the Prince is exempt from humane Lawes, and in what sort.

⁴⁰ NOW whether the power of the humane Law bee without exception of any person, it is doubtfully disputed among those that haue written of this subject, as well *Diuiues as Lawyers*: and namely, whether Soueraigne Princes bee compellable; yea, or no? But whereas there are two powers of the law, as aforesaid; the one *Directive*, the other *Coactiue*: to the power *Directive* they ought to bee subject, but not to that which contrainth. For as touching violence or punishments, no man is bound to giue a preiudiciall iudgement against himselfe; and if equals haue not any power ouer each other, much lesse haue inferiours ouer their superiours, from whom they receiue their authority and strength.

And speaking of the supreme power of Lawes, simply then is the Prince so much aboute the lawes, as the soule and body vnited, is aboute a dead and senselesse carkeffe. For the King is truly called, *Ius viuum, & lex animata*: An animate and liuing law. But this is true, that by giuing authority to lawes, Princes both adde greatnes to themselves, & conferue it; and therefore was it said of *Bracton* out of *Iustinian*, *Merito debet Rex tribuere legi quod lex attribuit ei*: nam lex facit ut ipse sit Rex; Rightfully ought the King to attribute that to the law, which the law first attributeth to the King; for it is the law that doth make Kings.

But whereas *Bracton* ascribeth this power to the humane law, he is therein mistaken. For Kings are made by God, and lawes diuine; and by humane lawes onely, declared to bee Kings. As for the places remembered by the *Diuiues and Lawyers*, which inferre

a kinde of obligation of Princes, they teach no other thing therein, then the bond of conscience, and profit arising from the examples of vertuous Princes, who are to give an account of their actions to God onely.

Tibi soli peccasti, faith David, Against thee onely have I sinned: therefore, the Prince cannot be faide to be subiect to the Law, *Principes non subijcitur legi.* For seeing according to the Schoolemen, the Law humane is but *quoddam organum & instrumentum potestatis gubernativa: non videtur posse eius obligatio ad eum se extendere, ad quem ipsa vis potestatis humana non pertinet; sed vis potestatis humana non se extendit ad gubernatorem, in quo illa residet.* Ergo neq. lex condita per talem potestatem obligare potest ipsum conditorem. Omnis enim potentia actiua, est principium transmutandi aliud. Seeing humane Law (say they) is but a kind of Organ or Instrument of the power that governeth, it seemes that it cannot extend it selfe to binde any one whom no humane power can controll, or lay hold of: but the Governour himselfe, in whom the governing power doth reside, is a person that cannot by himselfe, or by his power be controlled. And therefore the Law which is made by such a power, cannot binde the law-maker himselfe: for every actiue ability, is a cause or principle of alteration in another body, not in the body in which it selfe resides. And seeing Princes have power to deliuerethers from the obligation of the Law: *Ergo etiam potest ipsemet Princeps suae legislatori suae voluntate prohibito ab obligatione legis liberare.* Therefore also may a Prince or Law-maker at his owne will and pleasure deliuer himselfe from the bond of the Law. Therefore in the rules of the Law it is thus concluded: *Subditi tenentur leges obseruare necessitate coactionis, ut Princeps vero sola voluntate sua, & intuitu boni communis.* The subiects are bound to fulfill the Law by necessity of compulsion, but the Prince onely by his owne will, and regard of the common good.

Now concerning the politique Lawes, giuen by *Moses* to the Nation of the *Israelites*, whether they ought to be a President, from which no ciuill institutions of other people should presumo digresse, I will not presume to determine, but leave it as a question for such men to decide, whose professions giue them greater ability. Thus much I may be bold to affirme, that wee ought not to seeme wiser then God himselfe, who hath told us that there are no Lawes so righteous, as those which it pleased him to giue to his Elect people to be gouerned by. True it is, that all Nations haue their seuerall qualities, wherein they differ, euen from their next borderers, no lesse than in their peculiar languages: which disagreeable conditions to gouerne apply, one and the same Law very hardly were able. The *Roman* ciuill Lawes did indeede containe in order a great part of the then knowne World, without any notable inconuenience, after such time as once it was receiued and become familiar: yet was not the administration of it alike in all parts, but yielded much vnto the naturall customes of the sundry people, which it gouerned. For whether it be through a long continued perswasion, or (as *Astrologers* more willingly grant) some influence of the Heauens; or peraduenture some temper of the soile and climate, affoording matter of prouocation to vice (as plenty made the *Sybarites* luxurious: want and opportunity to steale, makes the *Arabians* to be Theeues) very hard it were to forbid by Law an offence so common with any people, as it wanted a name, whereby to be distinguished from iust and honest. By such rigour was the Kingdome of *Congo* unhappily diuerted from the Christian Religion, which it willingly at the first embraced, but after with great fury reiected, because plurality of *Viues* was denied vnto them. I know not how necessarily, but more contentiously then seasonably. In such cases, me thinks, it were not amisse to consider that the high God himselfe permitted some things to the *Israelites*, rather in regard of their naturall disposition (for they were hard-hearted) than because they were consonant vnto the ancient rules of the first perfection. So, where euen the generall nature of man doth condemne (as many things it doth) for wicked and vniust; there may the Law, giuen by *Moses*, worthily be deemed the most exact reformer of the euill, which forceth man, as neere as may be, to the will and pleasure of his Maker. But where nature or custome hath entertained a vicious, yet not intolerable habite, with so long and so publicke approbation, that the vertue opposing it would seeme as vncouth, as it were to walke naked in *England*, or to wear the *English* fashion of apparel in *Turkie*: there may a wise and vpright Law-giuer, without presumption, omit somewhat that the rigour of *Moses* his Law required, euen as the good King *Hezekiah* did, in a matter merely Ecclesiasticall, and therefore the lesse capable of dispensation, praying for the people; The good Lord be mercifull vnto him, that prepareth his whole heart

to seeke the Lord God, the God of his Fathers, though hee be not cleansed according to the purification of the Sanctuary: which prayer the Lord heard and granted.

To this effect it is well obserued by Master Doctor *Willet*, that the morall Iudicials of *Moses* doe partly binde, and partly are let free. They doe not hold affirmatiuely that wee are ceyed to the same severity of punishment now, which was inflicted then; but negatiuely they doe hold, that now the punishment of death should not be adiudged, where sentence of death is not giuen by *Moses*: Christian Magistrates ruling vnder *Christ* the Prince of peace, that is, of Clemency and Mercy, may abate of the severity of *Moses* Law, and mitigate the punishment of death, but they cannot adde vnto it to make the burden more heavy: for to shew more rigour then *Moses*, becommeth not the Gospel.

But I will not wander in this copious argument, which hath beene the subiect of many learned discourses, neither wil I take vpon me, to speake any thing definitiuely in a case which dependeth still in some controuersie among worthy Diuines. Thus much (as in honour of the Iudiciall Law, or rather of him that gaue it) I may well and truly say, that the dedence of it hath alwayes beene very plausible. And surely howsoever they be not accepted (neither were it expedient) as a generall and onely Law; yet shall we hardly find any other ground, whereon the conscience of a Iudge may rest, with equall satisfaction, in making interpretation, or giuing sentence vpon doubts, arising out of any Law besides it. Hereof, perhaps, that Iudge could haue beene witness, of whom *Fortescue* saith that notable Bulwarke of our Lawes doth speake, complaining of a iudgement giuen against a Gentlewoman at *Salisbury*, who being accused by her owne Man, without any other proofe for murdering her Husband, was thereupon condemned, and burnt to ashes: the Man who accused her, within a yeere after being Conuict for the same offence, confest that his Mistresse was altogether innocent of that cruell fact, whose terrible death hee then (though ouer-late) grieuouly lamented: but this Iudge, faith the same Author, *Sapius ipse mihi sulsus est, quod nunquam in vita sua animum eius de hoc facti ipse purgaret; He himselfe often confessed vnto me, that he should neuer during his life, be able to cleare his conscience of that fact.* Wherefore that acknowledgement which other Sciences yield vnto the *Metaphisiques*, that from thence are drawne propositions, able to proue the principles of Sciences, which out of the sciences themselves cannot be proued, may iustly be granted by all other politique institutions, to that of *Moses*; and so much the more iustly, by how much the subiect of the *Metaphisiques*, which is, *Ens quatenus Ens; Being as it is being*, is infinitely inferiour to the *Ens Entium; The being of beings*, the onely good, the fountaine of truth, whose feare is the beginning of wisdom. To which purpose well faith Saint *Augustine*, *Conditor legum temporalium si vir bonus est & sapiens, illam ipsam consultat eternam, de qua nulli animo iudicare datum est; The Author of temporall Lawes, if hee be good and wise, doth therein consult the Law eternall, to determine of which there is no power giuen to any soule.* And as well Prince *Edward*, in *Fortescue* his discourse, *Nemo potest melius aut aliud fundamentum ponere, quam posuit Dominus; No man can lay a better, or another foundation, then to the Lord hath laide.*

CHAP. V.

The Story of the *Israelites* from the receiuing of the Law to the death of *Moses*.

§. I. Of the numbering and disposing of the Host of *Israel*, for their marches through the Wilderness, with a note of the reuerence giuen to the worship of God, in this ordering of their troupes.

When *Moses* had receiued the Law from God, and published it among the people, and finished the Tabernacle of the *Arke* and *SancTuary*, he mustred all the Tribes and Families of *Israel*: and hauing scene what numbers of Men fit to beare armes, were found in euery Tribe, from 20. yeeres of age upwards; he appointed vnto them, by direction from the Lord, such Princes and Leaders, as in worth and reputation were in euery Tribe most eminent.

number

number of the whole Army was 603550. able men for the wars, besides women & children; also, besides the strangers which followed them out of *Aegypt*; This great Army was diuided by *Moses* into foure grosse and mighty Battalions, each of which contained the strength of three whole Tribes.

The first of these containing 186400. able men, consisted of three Regiments, which may well, in respect of their numbers, be called Armies; as containing the three whole Tribes of *Judah*, *Issachar*, and *Zabulon*. In the Tribe of *Judah* were 74600. fighting men, led by *Nasfon*: in *Issachar* 54400. led by *Nathaniel*: in *Zabulon* 57400. led by *Eliah*. All were the first that moved & marched, being lodged and quartered at their general incampment on the East-side of the Army, which was held the first place, and of greatest dignity.

The second Battalion or Army, called in the Scriptures the Host of *Reuben*, had joynt vnto it *Simcon* and *Gad*, in number 151450. All which marched vnder the Standard of *Reuben*. In the Tribe of *Reuben* were 46500. vnder *Elizur*: in *Simcon* 59300. vnder *Shelamiel*: in *Gad* 45650. vnder *Elisaph*: These had the second place, and incamped on the South-side of the Tabernacle.

The third Army marched vnder the Standard of *Ephraim*, to whom were ioyned the Regiments of *Manasse* and *Beniamin*; who, ioyned together, made in number 108100. able men. These marched in the third place, incamping on the West quarter of the Tabernacle. *Ephraim* had 40500. vnder *Elisbama*: *Manasse* 32200. vnder *Gamlid*: *Beniamin* 35400. vnder *Abidan*.

The fourth and last Army, or Squadron, of the generall Army, containing 157600. able men, marched vnder the Standard of *Dan*; to whom were ioyned the two Tribes of *Nephtali* and *Asher*. And these had the Rereward, and moved last, incamping on the North-side. *Dan* had 62700. vnder *Abieser*: *Asher* 41500. vnder *Pagid*: *Nephtali* 53400. vnder *Ahira*.

Besides these Princes of the severall Tribes, there were ordained Captaines over Thousands, over Hundreds, over Fifties, and over Tens; as it may appear by that murmur and insurrection against *Moses*; *Num.* 16. v. 1. & 2. For there arose vp against *Moses* 250. Captaines of the Assembly, famous in the Congregation, and men of renowne: of which number were *Korah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*. Which three principal Mutinies, with those 250. Captaines that followed them, were not any of the 12. Princes of the Tribes, or Generall Colonels before spoken of, as by their names, *Num.* 1. is made manifest.

The blessing which *Israel* gave to his children, took place not only in the diuision of the Land of promise, and other things of more consequence, long after following; but even in sorting them vnder their severall Standards in the wilderness it was observed. For *Judah* had the precedence and the greatest Army, which also was wholly compounded of the Sonnes of *Leah*, *Jacobs* wife. *Reuben* hauing lost his birth-right, followed in the second place; accompanied with his brother *Simcon*, who had vndergone his Fathers curse; and with *Gad*, the sonne of his Mothers Hand-maide. *Iosaph*, who intemporally blessings had the prerogative of the first borne a double portion, was accounted as two Tribes, and diuided into two Regiments: the younger (according to *Jacobs* prophesying place before the elder. He was assisted by *Beniamin*, his best-beloued brother, the other son of *Rachel*. To *Dan*, the eldest son of *Jacobs* Concubines, was given the leading of the fourth Army, according to *Jacobs* prophesie. He had with him vnder his Standard none of the children of *Leah*, or *Rachel*, but only the sonnes of the Hand-maides.

In the middle of these foure Armies, was the Tabernacle, or portable Temple of the Congregation carried, sur-rounded by the *Leuites*. Neere vnto which, as the Heathens and Pagans could not approach, by reason of these foure powerfull Armies which guarded the same: so was it death for any of the children of *Israel* to come neere it, who were not of the *Leuites*, to whom the charge was committed. So sacred was the moueable Temple of God, and with such reuerence guarded and transported, as 20000. persons were dedicated to the seruice and attendance thereof: of which 8580. had the peculiar charge, according to their severall offices and functions; the particulars whereof are written in the third and fourth of *Numbers*. And as the Armies of the people observed the former order in their incampings: so did the *Leuites* quarter themselves, as in an inner square, on euery side of the Tabernacle; the *Gershurites* on the West, within the Army, and Standard of *Ephraim*, over whom *Elisaph* commanded, in number 7500. The

The Family of *Cohath* on the South-side, guided by *Elisaphan*, within the Army of *Reuben*, and betwene him and the Tabernacle, in number 8600. The third company were of the Family of *Merari*, over whom *Zurriel* commanded, in number 6200. and these were lodged on the North-side, within the Army of *Dan*. On the East-side, and next within those Tribes and Forces which *Judah* led, did *Moses* and *Aaron* lodge, and their children, who were the first and immediate Commanders, both of the Ceremonies and of the People; vnder whom, as the chiefe of all the other *Leuitical* Families, was *Eleazar* the sonne of *Aaron*, his successeur in the high Priest-hood.

This was the order of the Army of *Israel*, and of their incamping and marching, the Tabernacle of God being alway set in the middle and center thereof. The reuerend care, which *Moses* the Prophet, and chosen seruant of God, had in all that belonged euen to the outward and least parts of the Tabernacle, *Arke* and *Sanctuary*, witnessed well the inward and most humble zeale borne towards God himselfe. The industry vsed in the framing thereof, and euery, and the least part thereof; the curious workmanship thereon bestowed; the exceeding charge and expence in the prouisions; the dutifull obseruance in the laying vp, and preserving the holy Vessels; the solemne removing thereof; the vigilante attendance thereon, and the prouident defence of the same, which all Ages haue in some degree imitated, is now so forgotten and cast away in this super-fine Age, by those of the Family, by the *Anabaptist*, *Brownist*, and other *Selfish*, as all cost and care bestowed on and had of the Church, wherein God is to be serued and worshipped, is accounted a kinde of *Papery*, and as proceeding from an idolatrous disposition: inso-much as Time would soone bring to passe (if it were not resisted) that God would turne out of Churches into Barnes, and from thence againe into the Fields and Mountaines, and vnder the hedges; and the Offices of the Ministry (robbed of all dignity and respect) be as contemptible as these places; all Order, Discipline, and Church-gouernment, if it be want of opinion, and mens fancies: yea, and soone after, as many kinds of Religions would spring vp, as there are Parish-Churches within *England*: euery contentious and ignorant person clothing his fancy with the Spirit of God, and his imagination with the gift of Revelation; inso-much, as when the Truth, which is but one, shall appear to the simple multitude, no lesse variable then contrary to it selfe, the Faith of Men will soone after decay by degrees, and all Religion be held in scorn and contempt. Which distraction gave a great Prince of *Germany* cause of this answer to those that perswaded him to become a *Liburan*: *Si me adiungo vobis, tunc condemnor ab alijs: si me alijs adiungo, à vobis condemnor; quid fugiam video. sed quid sequar, non habeo: If I adioyne my selfe to you, I am condemned by others; If I ioyne with others, I am condemned by you: What I should anioide I see, but I know not what I should follow.*

§. II. The offerings of the twaine Princes: the Passouer of the second yeere: The departing of Iethro.

Now when *Moses* had taken order for all things necessary, provided for the seruice of God, written the Lawes, numbered his Army, and diuided them into the battailes and troupes before remembered, and appointed them Leaders of all sorts; The twelue Princes or Commanders of the Tribes brought their offerings before the Lord, to wit, sixe couered Chariots, and twelue Oxen to draw them, therein to transport, as they marched, the parts of the Tabernacle, with all that belonged thereunto: the *Sanctuary* excepted, which for reuerence was carried vpon the shoulders of the sons of *Cohath*, to whom the charge was committed; and the Chariots in which was conueyed the other parts of the Tabernacles and Vessels thereto belonging, were deliuered to the *Leuites* for that seruice, namely to the Sonnes of *Gershon* and *Merari*.

Besides these Chariots, each of these Commanders, Princes, or Heads of Tribes, offered vnto God, and for his seruice in the Temple, a Charger of fine silver, weighing 330. sheckles, a silver Bull of 70. sheckles; after the sheckle of the *Sanctuary*; and an Incense-Cuppes of gold, of ten sheckles, which they performed at the same time when the Altar was dedicated vnto God by *Aaron*: and before they marched from *Sinai* towards

The Hebrew *Gersh* weigheth fiftie grains: so a *Gersh* that silver is about three half-pence sterling: the siele of the Sanctuary (as it is expounded, *Exod.* 38. 12.) contained 20. *Gershs*, so a Sanctuary Sicle of silver sheweth 660. the common Sicle is but halfe as much. to wit ten *Gershs*: as it is finally expounded; though *Isid.* and *Tabern.* goe prone in the common and the Sanctuary Sicle were all one. *Num.* 9. vers. 5. *Num.* 10. 11. *Exodus*, *vsq.* 24. *Numbers* 2. 17.

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their conquest, besides the Beasts which they offered for sacrifice, according to the Law Ceremoniall, the weight of all the twelve silver Chargers, and twelve silver Bolles, mounted vnto 2400. shekles of silver; and the weight of gold in the Incense-Cuppes, to 120. shekles of gold; which makes of shekles of silver 1200. every shekel of gold valuing ten of silver, so that the whole of gold and silver which they offered at this time, was about foure hundredth and twenty pound sterling. This done, *Moses*, as in all the rest by the Spirit of God conducted, gaue order for the celebrating of the *Passouer*, which they performed on the foureteenth day of the second month of the second yeere: and on the twentieth day of the same, the cloude was lifted vp from aboute the Tabernacle as a signe of going forward; *Moses* beginning his march with this inuocation to God: *Rise vp Lord, and let thine enemies be scattered, and let them that hate thee, flee before thee.* Thence all the people of *Israel* remoued from their incamping at the foote of the Mountaine *Sinai*, towards *Paran*, the Armie, or great Squadron of *Juda*, led by *Nahshon*, taking the Vanguard, followed by *Netaneel* and *Eliab*, Leaders of the Tribes of *Issachar* and *Zabulon*; after whom the rest marched, as in the figure exprest. And because the passage through so many deserts and mountains, was exceeding difficult: *Moses* leauing nothing vnthought which might serue for the aduancement of his enterprise, he instantly intreated his Father in Law, whom in the tenth of *Numbers* he calleth *Hobab*, to accompany them in their iourney towards *Canaan*; promising him such part and profit of the enterprise, as God should bestow on them: for this man, as he was of great vnderstanding & iudgement (as appeared by the Counsell hee gaue to *Moses* for the appointing of Iudges over the people) so he was a perfect guide in all those parts, himselfe inhabiting on the frontier thereof, at *Midian*, or *Madian*: and (as it seemeth) a man of great yeeres and experience, for he was then the Priest or Prince of *Madian*, when *Moses* fled first out of *Egypt*, and married his Daughter, which was 42. yeeres before this request made. And though *Moses* himselfe had liued 40. yeeres in these parts of *Arabia*, through which he was now to trauell: yet the better to assure his passage, and so great a multitude of foules, which could not be so few as a Million, it was necessary to vse many guides, and many conductors. To this request of *Moses*, it may seeme by the places, *Exod. 18. 27.* and *Num. 10. 30.* that *Iethro*, otherwise called *Hobab*, yeelded not: for it is euident, that he went backe from *Moses* into his owne Countrey. But because it appeareth by other places of Scripture, that the posterity of this *Hobab* was mingled with the *Israelites*, it is most likely that this his returne to his owne Countrey, was rather to fetch away his Family, and to take his leaue of his owne Countrey, by setting things in order, then to abide there.

Judic. 1. 16. 6.
4. 11. Also
2 Sam. 14. 6.
And 2 Reg. 10.
15.
1 Chro. 2. 55.
1er. 35.

§. III.

The voyage from Horeb to Kades: the mutinies by the way: and the cause of their turning backe to the Red Sea.

AFTER this diffinition of *Hobab*, *Israel* beganne to march towards the Deserts of *Paran*: and after three dayes wandring, they late downe at the Sepulchers of Iust, afterward called *Tabera*, or *Incenso*: by reason that God consumed with fire those Muriners and Murriners which rose vp in this remoue, which happened about the 23. day of the same Month. And from this 23. day of the second Month, of the second yeere, they rested and fed themselves with Quails (which it pleased God by a Sea-winde to call vpon them) to the 24. day of the third month, to wit, all the month of *Sinay* or *Iue*: whereof sursaisting there dyed great numbers: from whence in the following month, called *Thamus*, answering to our *Iuly*, they went on to *Hazereth*, where *Miriam* the sister of *Moses* was stricken with the leprosie, which continued vpon her seven dayes, after whose recovery *Israel* remoued toward the border of *Adumma*; and incamped at *Kades*, neere *Kades Barnea*, from whence *Moses* sent the twelve discoverers into the Territory of *Canaan*, both to informe themselves of the fertility and strength of the Countrey; as also to take knowledge of the Wayes, Passages, Riuers, Fords, and Mountaines. For *Arad* king of the *Canaanites* surprized diuers companies of the *Israelites*, by lying in ambush neere those wayes, through which the discoverers and searchers of the Land had formerlye past. Now, after the returne of the discoverers of *Kades*, the wrath of God was turned against *Israel*; whose ingratitude and rebellion after his so many benefites, so many remissions, so many miracles wrought, was such, as they esteemed their delinquance from

Num. 32.

the Egyptian slavery, his feeding them, and conducting them through that great and terrible *Wildernes* (for so *Moses* calleth it) with the victory which he gaue them against the powerful *Amalekites*, to be no other then the effects of his hatred, thinking that hee led them on and preserued them, but to bring them, and their wives, and children to be slaughtered, and giuen for a prey and spoyle to the *Amorites*, or *Canaanites*. For it was reported vnto them, by the searchers of the Land, that the Cities of their enemies were walled and defended with many strong Towers and Castles; that many of the people were *Gynallike* (for they confest that they saw the sonnes of *Anac* there) who were men of fearefull stature, and so farre ouer-topped the *Israelites*, as they appeared to them, and to themselves, but as Grasshoppers in their respect. Now, as this mutiny exceeded all the rest, wherein they both accused God, and consulted to choosethem a Captaine (or as they call it now adays, an *Electo*) to carry them backe againe into *Egypt*; so did God punish the same in a greater measure, than any of the former. For he extinguished euery soule of the whole multitude (*Joshua* and *Caleb* excepted) who being confident in Gods promises, perswaded the people to enter *Canaan*, being then neere it; and at the mountain foote of *Idumma*, which is but narrow, laying before them the fertility thereof, and assuring them of victory. But as men, whom the passion of feare had bereaued both of reason and common sense, they threatned to stone these encouragers to death; accounting them as men either desperate in themselves, or betrayers of the liues, goods, and children of all their brethren, to their enemies; but God resisted these wicked purposes, and interposing the feare of his bright glory between the vnadvised fury of the multitude, and the innocency and constancy of his seruants, preserued them thereby from their violence; threatening an intire destruction of the whole Nation, by sending among them a consuming and merellese pestilence. For this was the tenth insurrection and rebellion, which they had made, since God deliuered them from the slavery of the *Egyptians*. But *Moses* (the mildest or meekest of all men) prayed vnto God to remember his infinite mercies; alleging, that this so seuer a iudgement, how deservedly soeuer inflicted, would increase the pride of the Heathen Nations, and giue them occasion to vaunt, that the God of *Israel*, failing in power to performe his promises, suffered them to perish in these barren and fruitlesse Deserts. Yet as God is no lesse iust than mercifull, as God is slow to anger, so is his wrath a consuming fire, the same being once kindled by the violent breach of mans ingratitude: and therefore, as with a hand lesse heauy than hoped for, he scourged this iniquity, so by the measure of his glory (euermore ielous of neglect and derision) he suffered not the wicked to passe unpunished, referring his compassion for the innocent: whom, because they participated not with the offences of their Fathers, he was pleased to preserue, and in them to performe his promises, which haue neuer bene frustrated.

Num. 14. 10.

Num. 14. 22.

Num. 12. 3;

§. III.

Of their unwillingnesse to returne: with the punishment thereof, and of diuers accidents in the returne.

NOW when *Moses* had reuealed the purposes of God to the people, and made them know his heauy displeasure towards them, they began to bewail themselves, though ouer-late: the times of grace and mens repentance, hauing also their appointment. And then when God had left them to themselves, and was no more among them, after they had so often plaid and dallied with his mercifull sufferings, they would needs amend their former disobedience by a second contempt: and make offer to enter the Land contrary againe to the aduice of *Moses*, who assured them, that God was not among them; and that the Arke of his covenant should not moue, but by His direction; who could not erre; and that the enemies sword which God had hitherto benedicted and rebated, was now left no lesse sharpe than death; and in the hands of the *Amalekites*, and *Canaanites* no lesse cruell. But as men from whom God hath with-drawne his grace, doe alwayes follow those counsels which carry them to their owne destructions: so the *Israelites*, after they had forsaken the opportunity by God and their Conductors offered, and might then haue entered *Idumma* before their enemies were prepared and joyned, did afterward, contrary to Gods commandement, vnderake the enterprise of themselves, and ranne head-long and without aduice into the mountaines of *Idumma*. There

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the *Canaanites* and the *Amalekites* being ioyned, and attending their advantage, feroe them, brake them: and of their numbers slaughtered the greatest part: and following their victory and pursuit, consumed them all the way of their flight, even vnto *Hormah*: the *Amalekites* in reuenge of their former losse, and ouerthrow at *Raphidim*: the *Canaanites* to prevent their dilplantation and destruction threatened. Of which powerfull attempts to prevent those two Nations (afflicted in all likelihood with the neighbour Kings ioyned semberly of those two Nations) it pleased God to forewarne *Moses*, and to direct him together for their common safety. For he commanded him to returne by those another way, than that formerly intended. Through which they had formerly trauelled, till they found the bankes of the red Sea againe: in which retraite before they came back to passe ¹⁰ ouer *Jordan*, there were consumed 38. yeeres; and the whole number of the 600. and odd thousand, which came out of *Aegypt* (*Moses*, *Ioshua*, and *Caleb* excepted) were dead in the Wildernesse, the stubborne and carelesse generations were wholly worn out, and the promised Land bestowed on their children; which were increased to 600000. and more. For besides the double fault both of refusing to enter the Land vpon the returne of the discoverers, and the presumption then to attempt it, when they were countermanded: it seemeth that they had committed that horrible Idolatry of worshipping *Molech*, and the Host of Heauen. For although *Moses* doth not mention it, yet *Amos* doth, and so doth the Martyr *Stephen*, as also that the *Israelites* worshipped the Sunne and Moone in after-times, it is proued out of sundry other places.

Amos 5. 25.
Act 7. 43.
2 Kin. 17. 16.
& cap. 21. v. 3.
& c. 23. v. 4. & 5.
11.
2 Chron. 33. 3.
Hierem. 6. 19.
v. 23. 26.

Now after the broken Companies were returned to the Campe at *Cades*, *Moses*, according to the commandement receiued from God, departed towards the South from whence he came, to recover the shoares of the *Red Sea*. And so from *Cades* or *Rithma* he remoued to *Remmonparez*, to call for abundance of Pomegranates there found and he remoued to *Libnah*, thence he went on to *Libnah*, taking that name of the Frandiuid among them. From *Libnah* he crost the Valley, and fared downe at *Refsa*, neere the foote of the mountaine. And after he had rested there, he bended towards the West, and incamped at *Ceclata*, where one of the *Hebrewes*, for gathering broken wood on the *Sabbath*, was stoned to death. After which *Moses* alwayes keeping the Valley, betweene two great ledges of mountaines, (those which bound the Desert of *Simne*, and those of *Pharan*) crost the same from *Ceclata*, and marched Eastward to the mountaine of *Sapher*, or *Sepher*: this making the Twentieth mansion. From thence hee passed on to *Harada*, then to *Macelath*, and then to *Thabab*, and so to *Thara* or *Thare*, the foure and twentieth mansion. Where *Moses* rested, the people began that insolent and dangerous mutiny of *Korah*, *Dathan*, & *Abiram*, who for their contempt of God & his Ministers, were some of them swallowed vp aliue, and by the Earth opening her mouth deuoured; others, euen two hundred and fifty which offered incense with *Korah*, were consumed with fire from Heauen; and 14700. of their party, which murmured against *Moses*, stricken dead with a sudden pestilence: one of the greatest maruailes and iudgements of God, that hath beene shewed in all the time of *Moses* his gouernment, or before. For among so great a multitude, those lay-men who would haue vsurped Ecclesiasticall authority, were suddenly swallowed vp aliue into the Earth with their families and goods, euen while they sought to ouerthrow the Order, Discipline, and power of the Church, and to make all men alike therein, rebelliously contending against the High Priest and Magistrate, to whom God had committed the gouernment both of his Church and Common-wealth of his people. And the better to assure the people, and out of his great mercy to confirme them, it pleased him in this place also to approue by miracle the former election of his seruant *Aaron*, by the twelue rods giuen in by the Heads of the twelue Tribes, of which *Moses* receiued one of euery Head, and Prince of his Tribe: which being all withered and dried vVands, and on euery rod the name of the Prince of the Tribe written, and *Aaron* on that of *Leui*, it pleased God, that the rod of *Aaron* receiued by his power a vegetable sprout, and hauing laine in the Tabernacle of the Congregation, before the *Arke* one night, had on it both Buddes, Blossomes, and ripe Almonds.

From *Thara* the whole Army remoued to *Meibraz*, and thence to *Esfongaber*, and thence to *Moseroth*, (or *Masrit*, after Saint *Hierome*) and from *Moseroth* to *Beneiacan*, and so to *Gadgad*, which *Hierome* calleth *Gadgata*, thence to *Setabata*, the thirtieth Mansion, where from certaine fountaines of water gathered in one, *Adrichomius* maketh a River, which falleth into the *Red Sea*, betweene *Madian* and *Esfongaber*.

Now

Now although it be very probable, that at *Esfongaber*, where *Salomon* furnished his Fleets for the East *India*, there was store of fresh water; and though *Herodotus* maketh mention of a great River in *Arabia the fœmie*, which he calleth *Corys*, from whence (saith he) the inhabitants conueigh water in pipes of leather to other places, by which deuice the King of *Arabia* receiued the Army of *Cambyses*: yet is *Adrichomius* greatly deceiued, as many times hee is, in finding these Springs at *Gadgad*, or *Setabata*, being the nine and twentieth or thirtieth Mansion. For it was at *Punon*, that those Springs are spoken of, which in *Deuteronomy* the tenth, and the fœuenth *Verse*, is also called *Setabata*, or *Setabath*, a Land of running waters, and which by all probability fall into the River *Zared*, the next adioyning. And that these Springs should fall into the *Red Sea*, at *Esfongaber*, or *Eloth*, I cannot beleeue, for the way thither is very long. And this I finde in *Belonius*, that there are diuers Torrents of fresh water in those sandy parts of *Arabia*: which though they continue their course for a few miles, yet they are drunke vp by the hot and thirsty sand, before they can recouer the bankes of the *Red Sea*.

From *Setabata*, *Moses* directed his journey towards the *Red Sea*, and incamped at *Hebron*, and from thence to *Esfongaber*: which City in *Iosephus* time had the name of *Berenice*; and in *Hieroms*, *Efla*. From thence, keeping the Sea, and *Eloth* on his right hand, hee turned towards the North, as hee was by God commanded: *Esfongaber* being the farthest place towards the South-East, that *Moses* trauielled in that passage.

It seemeth that *Esfongaber* or *Afongaber*, *Eloth* and *Madian*, were not at this time in the possession of the Kings of *Edom*. For it is saide, That the Lord spake vnto *Moses* and *Aaron* in the Mount *Hor*; neere the Coast of the Land of *Edom*; so as the Mount *Hor* was at this time in the South border of *Idumaea*. And if *Esfongaber*, and the other places neere the *Red Sea*, had at this present bene subiect vnto the *Idumæans*. *Moses* would also haue demanded a free passage through them. It is true, that in the future the *Idumæans* obtained those places: for it is saide; And they arose out of *Midian*, and came to *Paran*, and tooke men with them; which were those companies that followed young *Adad* of *Idumaea*, into *Aegypt*, when he fled from *Isab*. Likewise it is saide of *Salomon*, that hee made a Nauy of shippes in *Esfongaber* besides *Eloth*, in the Land of *Edom*.

§. V.

Of *Moses* arrivall at *Zin Kadès*: and of the accidents while that they abode there.

From *Esfongaber* hee turned againe towards the North, and pitched in the Wildernesse of *Zin*, which is *Kadish*: or in *Bereth*, of the children of *Iacan*; where they laye downe in the first Moneth of the fortieth yeere, after they left *Aegypt*. For at the next Mansion *Aaron* died in the first day of the fifth Moneth of the fortieth yeere: the nine and thirtieth yeere taking ende at *Esfongaber*. And at this City of *Cades* (for so it was thought to be) or neere it, died *Miriam* or *Mary*, *Moses* sister, whose Sepulcher was to be seene in Saint *Hieromes* time, as himselfe auoweth. From hence ere they departed to the Mountaine *Hor*, all the people murmured most violently against *Moses*, by reason of the scarcity of water. For neither the punishments by fire from Heauen, by being deuoured and swallowed vp by the Earth; by the sudden pestilence, which often seized them; nor any miracle formerly shewing, either the loue or wrath of God, could preuaile with this Nation any longer, than while they were full fed and satisfied in euery of their appetites: but in stead of seeking for helpe and reliefe at Gods hands, when they suffered hunger, thirst, or any other want, they murmured, repined, and rebelled, repenting them of their changed estates, and casting vngratefully on *Moses* all their misaduentures; yea, though they well knew that their owne Fathers had left their bodies in the Deserts, and that they were now entered into the fortieth yeere, wherein all their miseries were to take end. And being, as it were, in the sight of the Land promised, they againe as obstinately tempted God as in former times, and neither trusted his promises, nor feared his indignation. But as the will and purposes of

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God

Num. 20. 9. God are without beginning; so his mercies being without end; he commanded *Moses* to strike a Rocke adioyning with his rod; and the waters issued out in a great abundance, with which both themselves and their cattell were satisfied. Neuerthelſe, because God perceived a kinde of diffidence both in *Moses* and *Aaron*, at this place; therefore he permitted neither of them to enter the Land promised, whereto perchance their worldly desires might inuite them. But it pleased him to end the trauailes of *Aaron* at the Mountaine *Hor*, being the next, and foure and thirtieth Station. At which Mountaine of *Hor*, *Aaron* was depoyled of the garments of his Priesthood, and the same put on *Eleazar* his sonne, as God had commanded. Which done, *Moses* and *Eleazar* defended the Mountaine; but G O D receiued *Aaron* on the top thereof, and he was no more to seene.

Of this Mountaine called *Hor*, otherwife *Mofera*, as in *Deuteronomy* 10. Verse 6. those *Horites* tooke name, which the *Idumeans* had formerly vanquished. Some there are which make *Mofera*, which was the seauen and twentieth Manſion; and *Mofera* which they write *Moferath* for difference, which was the foure and thirtieth Manſion, and is also called *Hor*, to be two distinct places: because *Moses* in passing from *Cadesbarne* towards *Eſiongaber*, incamped at *Mofera*, after hee departed from *Heſmons*, and before he came to *Bemaacan*. And this *Mofera*, which is also called *Hor*, he came vnto after he left *Cades*, where *Miriam*, *Moses* sister dyed, the first being the seauen and twentieth, and the second being the foure and thirtieth Manſion. But for *Hor*, which is also called *Mofera*, it should to haue bene written, *Hor iuxta Mofera*; *Hor* neere *Mofera*: for it is but one roote of a Mountaine, diuided into diuers tops, as *Sinai* and *Horeb* are: Whercof the West part *Moses* calleth *Mofera*, and the East part *Horeb*. By the West part *Moses* incamped, as hee paſt towards the *Red Sea*, on his left hand; by the East part, as hee went backe againe North-wards towards *Moab*: as in the description of *Moses* his passage through *Arabia*, the Reader may perceiue.

Now it was from *Cades*, before they came to *Hor*, because *Hor* belonged to *Edom*, that *Moses* sent messengers to the Prince of *Idumaea*, praying him that he might paſſe with the people of *Israel* through his Territory into the Land of *Canaan*, which bordered it. For it was the neereſt way of all other from the City of *Kadeſh*, where *Moses* then encamped; whereas otherwise taking his journey by the Riuer of *Zared*, *Arnon*, and *Jordan*, hee might haue runne into many hazards in the passage of those Riuer, the ſtorme way about, and the many powerfull Kings, which commanded in those Regions. Now the better to perſwade the Prince of *Idumaea* hereunto, *Moses* remembred him, that hee was of the ſame race and family with *Israel*: calling him by the name of brother, because both the *Edomites* and *Israelites* were the ſonnes of one father, to wit, *Iſaac*; inſinuating thereby, that hee had more reason to fauour and reſpect them, than hee had to aſſiſt the *Canaanites*; against whom *Eſau* his Anceſter had made warre, and driven out the *Horites* (who were of their ancient race) descended of *Cham* out of the Region of *Seir*, calling it by his owne name *Edom*, or *Edumaea*. He also making a ſhort repetition of Gods bleſſings beſtowed upon them, and of his purpoſes and promiſes; aſſured *Edom*, or the King thereof, that hee would no way offend his people, or waſte his Countrey, but that hee would reſtrain his Army within the bounds of the Common, and Kings high wayes, paying money for whatſoeuer he viſed, yea, euen for the water, which themſelues or their Cattell ſhould drinke. For *Moses* was commanded by God, not to prouoke the children of *Eſau*. But the King of *Edumaea* knowing the ſtrength of his owne Countrey, the ſame being neere *Canaan*, rampard with high and ſharpe mountaines: and withall ſuſpecting, as a naturall wiſe man, that 600000. ſtrangers being once entred his Countrey, it would reſiſt in their willes to giue him law, reſolutely reſuſed them paſſage, and deliuered this anſwer to the

Deut. 14. Meſſengers: That, if they attempted to enter that way, he would take them for enemies, and reſiſt them by all poſſible meanes. And not knowing whether ſuch a deniall might ſariſhe or exaſperate, hee gathered the ſtrength of his Countrey together, and ſhewed himſelfe prepared to defend their paſſage. For, as it is written; Then *Edom* came out against him (to wit, *Moses*) with much people, and with a mighty power. Whereupon *Moses* conſidering, that the end of his enterpriſe was not the conqueſt of *Seir* or *Edumaea*, and that the Land promiſed was that of *Canaan*: like vnto himſelfe who was of naturall vnderſtanding the greateſt of any man, & the ſkillfulleſt man of war that the world had, he reſiſed

Num. 20. 20. & 21. Num. 22. 20. Meſſengers: That, if they attempted to enter that way, he would take them for enemies, and reſiſt them by all poſſible meanes. And not knowing whether ſuch a deniall might ſariſhe or exaſperate, hee gathered the ſtrength of his Countrey together, and ſhewed himſelfe prepared to defend their paſſage. For, as it is written; Then *Edom* came out against him (to wit, *Moses*) with much people, and with a mighty power. Whereupon *Moses* conſidering, that the end of his enterpriſe was not the conqueſt of *Seir* or *Edumaea*, and that the Land promiſed was that of *Canaan*: like vnto himſelfe who was of naturall vnderſtanding the greateſt of any man, & the ſkillfulleſt man of war that the world had, he reſiſed

led to aduerture the Army of *Israel* against a Nation, which being overcome, gaue but a paſſage to inuade others; and which by reason of the ſteate of their mountainous Countrey, could not but haue endangered, or (at leaſt) greatly enfeebled the ſtrength of *Israel*, and rendered them leſſe able, if not altogether powerleſſe, to haue conquered the reſt.

§. V I.

Of their compaſſing *Idumaea*, and travelling to *Arnon*, the border of *Moab*.

10 Therefore leauing the way of *Idumaea*, turned himſelfe towards the Eaſt, and marched towards the Deſerts of *Moab*. Which when *Arad* King of the *Canaanites* vnderſtood, and that *Moses* had blanced the way of *Idumaea*, and knowing that it was *Canaan*, and not *Edom*, which *Israel* aimed at, he thought it ſafeſt, rather to find his enemies in his neighbours Countrey; than to be found by them in his owne: which he might haue done with a farre greater hope of victory, had *Moses* bene enſoſt firſt to haue made his way by the Sword through *Idumaea*, and thereby though victorious, greatly haue leſſened his numbers. But although it fell out otherwiſe than *Arad* hoped for, yet being reſolued to make triall, what courage the *Israelites* brought with them out of *Egypt*, before they came neerer his owne home, leading the ſtrength of his Nation to the edge of the Deſert, he ſet vpon ſome part of the Army, which, for the multitude occupied a great ſpace, and for the many herds of Cattell that they draue with them, could not encampe ſo neere together, but that ſome quarter or other was euermore ſubiect to ſurpriſe. By which aduantage, and in that his attempts were then perſeuerance vnſuſpected, hee ſlew ſome few of the *Israelites*, and carried with him many priſoners.

Now it is very probable, that it was this *Canaanite*, or his Predeceſſour, which ioynd his forces with the *Amalekites*, and gaue an overthrow to thoſe mutinous *Israelites*, Num. 14. 45: which without direction from God by *Moses*, would haue entred *Canaan* from *Cadesbarne*. For it ſeemeth that the greateſt number of that Army were of the *Canaanites*, because in the firſt of *Deuteronomy*, 44. the *Amorites* are named alone without the *Amalekites*, and are ſaide to haue braten the *Israelites* at that time. And this *Arad*, if he were the ſame that had avictory ouer *Israel*, neere *Cadesbarne*; or if it were his Predeceſſour that then prevailed, this man finding that *Moses* was returned from the *Red Sea*; and in his way towards *Canaan*, and that the South part of *Canaan* was firſt to be inuaded, and in danger of being conquered, not knowing of *Moses* purpoſe to compaſſe *Moab*, determined while he was yet in the Deſert to trie the quarrell. And whereas it followeth in the third verſe of the twelfth Chapter of *Numbers*, that the *Israelites* vntely deſtroyed the *Canaanites* and their Cities, they are much miſtaken that thinke, that this deſtruction was preſently performed by the *Israelites*. But it is to be vnderſtood, to haue bene done in the future, to wit, in the time of *Iofua*. For had *Moses* at this time entred *Canaan* in the purſuit of *Arad*, he would not haue fallen backe againe into the Deſerts of *Zin* and *Moab*; and haue ſerch a wearifome and needleſſe compaſſe, by the Riuer of *Zared* and *Arnon*.

Neither is their coniecture to be valued at any thing, which affirme, that *Arad* did not inhabit any part of *Canaan* it ſelfe, but that his Territory lay without it, and neere the Mountaine *Hor*. For *Hor* and *Zin* *Cades* were the South borders of *Edom*, and not of *Canaan*. And it was in the South of the Land of *Canaan*, that *Arad* dwelt: which South part of *Canaan* was the North part of *Edom*.

Again, *Horma* (ſo ſo ſure the *Israelites* after their victory purſued the *Canaanites*) is ſo ſet in the South of *Idumaea*. There is alſo a City of that name in *Sinai*. But there is no ſuch place to the South of *Edom*. And were there no other argument, but the mutiny which followed preſently after the repetition of this victory, it were enough to proue, that the ſame was obtained in the future, and in *Iofua* his time, and not at the inſtant of *Arads* aſſault. For had the *Israelites* at this time ſackt the Cities of *Arad*, they would not the next day haue complained for want of water and bread. For where there are great Cities, there is alſo water and bread. But it was in the time of *Iofua*, that the *Israelites* tooke their reuenge, and after they had paſt *Jordan*: *Iofua* then gouerning them; who in the twelfth Chapter and fourteenth Verſe, nameth this *Arad* by the name of his City

Citie so called; and with him the King of *Horma*: to which place the *Israelites* purified the *Canaanites*. And he nameth them amongst those Kings, which he vanquished, and put to death.

Now after this assault and surprize by *Arad*, *Moses* finding that all entrance on that side was defended, he led the people Eastward to compass *Iamua* and the *Dead Sea*, and to make his entrance by *Arnon* and the *Plaines of Moab*, at that time in the possession of the *Amorites*. But the *Israelites*, to whom the very name of a Desert was terrible, began againe to rebell against their Leader; till God by a multitude of fiery Serpents, (that is, by the biting of Serpents, whose venom inflamed them, and burnt them as fire) made them know their error; and afterward, according to his plentiful grace, cured them to againe by their beholding an artificiall Serpent, by his Commandement for vp.

From the *Mount Hor*, *Moses* leaving the ordinary way which lyeth betweene the *Red Sea*, and *Caelogryia*, encamped at *Zalmoma*: and thence he removed to *Phunon*, where he erected the Brazen Serpent, making these journeys by the edge of *Iamua*, but without it. For *Phunon* was sometime a principall City of the *Edomites*. Now where it is written in *Numbers* 21. Verse 4. That from Mount *Hor* they departed by the way of the *Red Sea*, which grieved the people, it was not thereby meant that the *Israelites* turned back towards the *Red Sea*; neither did they march (according to *Fonseca*) *per viam qua habet à latere mare rubrum*; by the way that sided the *Red Sea*, but in dedee they croft, and went thwatt the common way from *Galaad*, *Trachonitis*, and the Countries of *Moab*, to the *Red Sea*, so that is, to *Esfongaber*, *Eloth*, and *Midian*: which way, as it lay North and South, so it lay to shunne the border of *Edom*, and to take the utmost East part of *Moab*, croft the common way towards the East, and then they turned againe towards the North, as before.

From *Phunon* he went to *Oboth*; where they entered the Territory of *Moab*, adjoining to the Land of *Supha*, a Country bordering on the *Dead Sea*; and from thence to *Aburim*, the eight and thirtieth Mansion, that is, where the Mountaines so called take beginning, and are as yet but small Mountures of Hilles, on the East border of *Moab*. From thence they recovered *Dibon Gad*, or the River of *Zared*, which riseth in the mountaines of *Arabia*, and runneth towards the *Dead Sea*, not farre from *Petra* the Metropolis thereof, being the nine and thirtieth Station. And having past that River, they lodged at *Dibon Gad*, so and from thence they kept the way to *Diblahaim*, one of the Cities of *Moab*, which *Hierome* the Prophet Chap. 28. Verse 22. calleth the House of *Diblahaim*, the same which afterward was destroyed among the rest by *Nabuchadnezzar*. From thence they came to the River of *Arnon*, and encamped in the mountaines of *Aburim*: though in the 23. of *Numbers*, *Moses* doth not remember *Heldondiblahaim*, but speaketh of his removal from the River of *Zared*, immediately to the other side of *Arnon*, calling *Arnon* the border of *Moab*, betwene them and the *Amorites*: speaking, as he found the situate of the Country at that time. For *Arnon* was not anciently the border of *Moab*, but was lately conquered from the *Moabites*, by *Sehon*, King of the *Amorites*: euen from the Predecessour of *Balaac* Peer then reigning. From *Diblahaim*, *Moses* sent messengers to *Sehon*, King of the 40 *Amorites*, to desire a passage through his Country: which though he knew would be denied him, yet he desired to give a reason to the neighbour Nations, of the warre he vnder-tooke. And though *Edom* had refused him as *Sehon* did, yet he had no warrant from God to enforce him. *Moses* also in sending messengers to *Sehon*, observed the same precept, which he left to his posterity and successors, for a law of the warre; namely in *Deut.* 20. Verse 10. in these words; When thou comest neere unto a City to fight against it, thou shalt offer it peace, which if it doe accept of and open vnto thee, then let all the people found therein be tributaries vnto thee, and serue thee; but if it refuse, &c. thou shalt smite it: all the males thereof with the edge of the sword. Which ordinance all commanders of Armies haue observed to this day, or ought to haue done.

§. VII.

Of the Booke of the battailes of the Lord, mentioned in this Story, and of other Bookes mentioned in Scripture, which are lost.

Quint. c. 21. v. 13.

Now concerning the Warre betwene *Israel* and *Sehon*, *Moses* seemeth to referre a great part of this Story to that Booke entituled, *Liber bellorum Domini*: The booke of Gods battailes: and therefore passeth ouer many encounters, and other things memora-

memorable, with greater breuety in this place. His words after the *Geneua* Translation are these: Wherefore it shall be spoken in the Booke of the battailes of the Lord, what things he did in the *Red Sea*, and in the Rivers of *Arnon*. The *Vulgar* copie differeth not in sense from this: But the *Greeke Septuagint* vary. For the *Greeke* writes it to this effect; For thus it is said in the Booke: The warre of the Lord hath burnt (or inflamed) *Zool*, and the brookes of *Arnon*. *Iunius* for the *Red Sea*, which is in the *Geneua* and *Vulgar* Edition, names the Region of *Supha*, a Country bordering the *Dead Sea* towards the East, as he coniectureth. The Text readeth thus. *Idcirco dicit seler in recessione bellorum Ichoua, contra Vahabumum*. *Regime Suph*: & contra flumina, flumina Armonis; Therefore is it spoken in repeating of the 10 battailes of *Ichouah*, against *Vahab* in the Country of *Suph*: and against the Rivers, the Rivers & of the force of the word *Suph*, also ch. 18. §. 3.

In which words he vnderstands, that amongst the warres which the Lord disposed for the good of the *Israelites*, there was in those times a famous memory in the mouth of most men, concerning the warre of *Sehon* against *Vahab*, the King of the *Moabites*, and of his winning the Country neere *Arnon*, out of the possession of the *Moabites*. For this *Vahab* was the immediate predecessor of *Balaac*, who liued with *Moses*: though it be written that this *Balaac* was the son of *Zippor*, and not of *Vahab*. For it seemes (as it is plain in the succession of the *Edomites*) that these Kingdomes were elective, and not successiue. And as *Iunius* in this Translation vnderstandeth no speciall Booke of the battailes of the Lord: so others, as *Vatablus* in his Annotations, doubt whether in this place any speciall Booke be meant; and if any, whether it be not a prediction of warres in future ages, to be waged in these places, and to be written in the Booke of *Judges*. *Scyriades* c. 46. tells vs plainly, that those battailes of the Lord were fought by *Iosua*. Who was there (saith he) *ipse iam like to him? for he fought the battailes of the Lord*. But seeing the Histories of the Scripture elsewhere often passe ouer matters of great weight in few words, referring the Reader to other Bookes, written of the same matter at large: therefore it seemeth probable, that such a Booke as this there was; wherein the severall victories by *Israel* obtained, and also victories of other Kings, making way for the good of the *Israelites*, were particularly and largely written. And that the same should now be wanting, it is not strange, seeing so many other Volumes, filled with diuine discourse, haue perished in the long race of time, or haue beene destroyed by the ignorant and malicious Herthen Magistrate. For the Bookes of *Henoch*, how fouler they haue beene in later ages corrupted, and therefore now suspected, are remembered in an Epistle of *Thaddaeus*, and cited by *Origen* in 472, and by *Tertullian*.

That worke also of the Patriarch *Abraham*, of *Formation*, which others bestow on *Rabbi Achiba*, is no where found. The Bookes remembered by *Iosua* c. 10. v. 13. and in the second of *Samuel*, c. 1. v. 18. called the Booke of *Iasher*, or *Iuistorum*, is also lost; wherein the stay of the Sunne and Moone in the middle of the Heauens is recorded; and how they stood still till *Israel* had auenged themselves of their enemies: out of which also *David* took the precept, of teaching the children of *Iuda*, to exercise their bowes against 40 their enemies.

Some thinke this to be the Booke of eternall Predestination, in which the iust are written, according vnto the sixty and ninth *psalme*, verse 28. where it is said; Let them be put out of the Booke of Life, neither let them be written with the righteous. *Hierome* thinks, that *David* by this Booke vnderstood those of *Samuel*; *Rabbi Salomon*, that the Bookes of the Law are thereby meant, in which the actes of the iust *Abraham*, of *Iaac*, *Jacob*, and *Moses*, are written; Others, that it was the Booke of *Exodus*; others, as *Theodoretus*, that it was a Commentary vpon *Iosua*, by an vnkowne Author.

The booke of *Chozai*, concerning *Manasse*, remembered in the second of *Chron.* 33. v. 18. & 16. Of this booke, also lost, *Hierome* conceiues that the Prophet *Isay* was the Author.

The same mischance came aswell to the Story of *Salomon*, written by *Abia Silonites*, who met with *Ieroboam*, and foretold him of his obtaining the Kingdom of *Israel* from the sonne of *Salomon*: as to the bookes of *Nathan* the Prophet, and to those of *Ieda* the Seer, remembered in the second of *Chron.* c. 9. v. 29. with these haue the bookes of *Semaiah* and of *Iddo*, remembered in the second of *Chron.* c. 12. v. 15. pertained: and that of *Iehoua* the sonne of *Hamani*, of the acts of *Iehouaphat*, cited in the second of *Chron.* c. 20. v. 34. Also that booke of *Salomon* which the *Hebrewes* write *Hafcirim*, of 5000. verses, of

ness of him, vnto whom in his prayers he commended them: He also commanded the Priests to lay vp the Booke of the Law, by the side of the *Arke* of God: The last that he indited was that Prophetical Song, beginning: *Hearken ye Heavens and I will speake, and let the Earth heare the words of my mouth*: and being called by God from the labours and farrowes of this life, vnto that rest which neuer afterward hath disquiet, hee was buried in the Land of *Moab*, ouer against *Beth-peor*: but no man knoweth of his Sepulcher to this day, which happened in the yeere of the World 2554.

§. X.

Observations out of the Story of Moses, how God disposeth both the smallest occasions, and the greatest resistances, to the effecting of his purpose.

NOW lets a little, for instruction, looke backe to the occasions of sundry of the great events, which haue beene mentioned in this Story of the life of Moses, for (excepting Gods miracles, his promise, and fore-choise of this people) hee wrought in all things else by the medium of mens affections, and naturall appetites. And so we shall find that the feare which *Pharaoh* had of the increase of the *Hebrewes*, multiplied by God to exceeding great numbers, was the next naturall cause of the sorrowes and losse, which befell himselfe, and the *Egyptian* Nation: which numbers when hee fought by cruell and vngodly policies to cut off and lessen, as when hee commanded all the male-children of the *Hebrewes* to be slaine, God (whose providence cannot be resisted, nor his purposes prevented by all the foolish and saluage craft of mortall men) moued compassion in the heart of *Pharaoh's* owne daughter, to preserve that child, which afterward became the most wise, and of all men the most gentle and milde, the most excellently learned in all Diuine and Humane knowledge, to be the conductor and deliuerer of his oppressed brethren, and the ouerthrow of *Pharaoh*, and all the flower of his Nation, euen then, when he fought by the strength of his men of Warre, of his Horse, and Chariots, to tread them vnder, and bury them in the dust. The griefe which *Moses* conceiued of the iniuries, and of the violence offered to one of the *Hebrewes* in his owne presence, moued him to take reuenge of the *Egyptian* that offered it: the ingratitude of one of his owne Nation, by threatening him to discover the slaughter of the *Egyptian*, moued him to flee into *Midian*: the contention betweene the Shepherds of that place, and *Leibis* Daughters, made him knowne to their Father: who not onely entertained him, but married him to one of those Sisters: and in that solitary life of keeping of his Father in lawes sheepe, farre from the presse of the World, contenting himselfe (though bred as a Kings Sonne) with the lot of a poore Heerd-man, God found him out in that Desert, wherein hee first suffered him to liue many yeeres, the better to know the wayes and passages through which he purposed that he should conduct his people, toward the Land promised: and therein appearing vnto him, he made him know his will and diuine pleasure for his returne into *Egypt*. The like may be saide of all things else, which *Moses* afterward by Gods direction performed in the Story of *Israel* before remembred. There is not therefore the smallest accident, which may seeme vnto men as falling out by chance, and of no consequence: but that the same is caused by God to effect somewhat else by: yea, and oftentimes to effect things of the greatest worldly importance, either presently, or in many yeeres after, when the occasions are either not considered, or forgotten.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Nations with whom the Israelites had dealing after their coming out of *Egypt*; and of the Men of renouue in other Nations; about the times of *Moses* and *Iosua*, with the summe of the History of *Iosua*.

§. I.

How the Nations with whom the Israelites were to haue Warre, were diuers wages, as it were, prepared to be their enemies.

LIKE manner if we looke to the quality of the Nations, with whom the *Israelites*, after their coming out of *Egypt*, had to doe, either in the *Wilderneesse*, or afterward: we shall find them long before-hand, by the disposing prouidence of God, as it were prepared for enmity: partly in respect that they were most of them of the issue of *Canaan*, or at least of *Han*: and the rest (as the *Edomites*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, and *Ismaelites*) were mingled with them by mutuall marriages: whereas the *Israelites* still continued strangers, and separate from them: and so partly in this respect, and partly by ancient injuries or enmities, and partly by reason of diuinity in Religion, were these Nations, as it were prepared to be enemies to the *Israelites*: and so to serue for such purposes as God had reserved them for. To make these things more manifest, wee must vnderstand that this part of *Syria*, bounded by the mountaines of *Libanus*, and *Zidon* on the North, by the same mountaines continued as farre as the Springs of *Arnon* on the East: by the way of *Egypt*, and the Red Sea on the South: and by the Mediterranean Sea on the West: was inhabited and peopled by two Nations, the one springing from the sonnes of *Cham*, the other from *Sem*: but those of *Sem*, were but as strangers therein for a long time, and came thither in effect but with * one Family, to wit, that of *Abraham*, and a few of his kindred. The other for the greatest part were the *Canaanites*, the ancient Lords and Possessors of those Territories: by proccesse of time diuided into severall Families and names: whereof some of them were of eminent stature and strength, as the *Anakims*, *Zamuzzims*, or *Zuzi*, *Emims*, *Horites*, and others. These (as men most valiant and able commonly doe) did inhabit the vtter borders and mountaines of their Countries: the rest were the *Zidomians*, *Iebusites*, *Amorites*, *Hevites*, *Hittites*, and others, who tooke name after the sonnes of *Canaan*, and after whom the Country in generall was still called.

As for the *Hebrewes* which descended of *Shem* by *Abraham*, they were of another Familie, and strangers in that Countrey: especially the *Israelites*, and this was some cause that the *Canaanites* did not affect them, or indure them: no more then the *Philistines* did, who descended also of *Cham* by *Mizraim*. For though *Abraham* himselfe being a stranger, was highly esteemed and honoured among them: especially by the *Amorites* inhabiting the West part of *Jordan*: yet now euen they which descended from *Abraham*, or from his kindred, abode and multiplied in those parts, were alienated in affections from the *Israelites*: as holding them strangers and intruders: making more account of their alliance with the *Canaanites*, and the rest of the issue of *Cham*, with whom they daily contracted affinity, than of their old pedigree from *Abraham*.

True it is, that these Nations descended of *Abraham*, or of his kindred, who had linked themselves and marched with the *Canaanites* and others, had so farre possesse themselves of the borders of those Regions, as they began to be equall in strength to the bordering *Canaanites*, if not superiour. For of *Lot* came those two great Families of the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*: of *Esaue* the *Idumians*: of *Madian* the *Madianites*: of *Ismael*, the eldest sonne of *Abraham*, came the *Ismaelites*, with whom are ioyned as of the same Nation, the *Amalekites*, whom though the more common opinion thinketh to haue bene a Tribe of *Edom*, because *Esaue* had a grand-child of that name, yet manifest reason con-

Exod. 17-16

Deut. 11 5

cuncti

unceth it to haue bene otherwife. For the *Israelites* were forbidden to prouoke the *Edomites*, or doe them any wrong, whereas contrariwise *Amalek* was cursed, and endless warre decreed against him: but hereof more elsewhere, Chap. 8. §. 3. Of *Ismael* the eldest sonne *Naboth* sprang the *Arabians* of *Petrea*, called *Nabulhai*. Now euen *Abraham* besought God to blese *Ismael*, so it pleased him both to promise and performe it. For of him those twelue Princes came, which inhabited, in effect, all that Tract of Land betwene *Hauilah* vpon *Tigris*, and *Sar* which is the West part of the *Desert* of *Arabia Petrea*. Yet howsoever the strength of the seclater named Nations, which descended from *Abraham*, were great: it is not unlikely, but that some reason which moued them not to fauour the entrance of the *Israelites* into *Canaan*, was in respect of feare: because all Princes and States doe not willingly permit any stranger or powerfull Nation to enter their Territories. Wherefore, though all these Families before named, were not vnitied, in and among themselves, but that they had their ieaousies of each other, and contended for dominion: yet fearing a third more strong than themselves, whether they stood apart or vnitied, they were taught by the care of their owne preferuation, to ioyne themselves together against *Israel*: though they did it nothing so maliciously and resolutely as the *Canaanites* did. For the *Edumaeans* onely denied the *Hebreues* a passage: which the *Mosabites* durst not denie: because their Countrey lay more open; and because themselves had lately bene beaten out of the richest part of their Dominions, by the *Amorites*: and as for the *Ammonites*, their Countrey lay altogether out of the way, and the strength of *Sehon* and *Og* Kings of the *Amorites*, was interiaent: and besides that, the border of the *Ammonites* was strong, by reason of the mountaines which diuided it from *Rafan*. Again, that which moued the *Mosabites* in their owne reason not much to interrupt *Israel*, in the conquest of *Sehon* the *Amorite*, and of *Og* his confederate, was that the *Mosabites* might hope after such time as the *Amorites* were beaten by *Moses*, that themselves might recouer againe their owne inheritance: to wit, the Vallies and Plains lying betwene the mountaines of *Arabia* and *Jordan*: But as soone as *Sehon* was slaine, and that the King of *Mosab*, *Balac*, perceived that *Moses* allotted that valley to the Tribes of *Gad* and *Ruben*, he began to practise with *Balaam* against *Israel*, and by the daughters of *Midian* as aforesaide, to allure them to Idolatry: and thus at the length the *Amorites* by speciall occasion were more and more stirred vp to enmity against *Israel*. And as for diuers of the rest that were descended from *Abraham* kindred, we may note, how in the beginning, betwene the Authors of their Perigreues, God permitted some enmities to be as it were prefiges of future quarrels, which in the posterity might be the easier incited, by the memory of old grudges: and withall by some disdaine from the elder in nature to the younger. For the *Ismaelites* being descended from the eldest sonne of *Abraham*, and the *Edomites* from the eldest sonne of *Isaac*, *Iacob*, being but a second sonne, of a second brother, those Princes which were descended of the elder Houses, being naturall men, might scorne to giue place, much lesse to subiect themselves to their inferiours, as they tooke it: and for more aggrauation, the issues of *Esaue* Princes of *Edumaea*, might keepe in record that their Parent was bought out of his birth-right by *Iacob* taking his aduantage, and that he was deceived of his fathers blessing also by him: and that *Iacob* after reconciliation came not vnto him as he promised, into *Sir* or *Edumaea*.

So also in the posterity of *Ismael*, it might remaine as a feede or pretence of enmity, that their fore-father was by the instigation of *Sara*, cast out into the *Desert*, with his mother *Hagar*: and had therein perished, but that it pleased God by his Angell to releue them. *Ismael* also had an *Egyptian* both to his mother and to his wife: and *Amalek* was also an *Horite* by his mother: which *Horites* were of the ancient *Canaanites*. The *Edumaeans* also, or *Edomites*, were by their Maternall line descended of the *Canaanites*. For *Esaue* tooke two wiues of that Nation: one of them was *Adath*, the daughter of *Eloa*, the *Elitite*, and the other *Aholibamah*, the grand-child of *Zibeon* the *Heuite*, Lord of *Sir*, before the same was conquered by *Esaue*, and called after his name, *Edom*, or *Edumaea*.

Lastly, it appeareth that all those Families of the *Ismaelites*, *Amalekites*, *Mosabites*, *Ammonites*, *Edomites*, &c. were in proceesse of time corrupted, and drawne from the knowledge and worship of God, and became Idolaters, infected and seduced by the conuersation of those people among whom they dwelt, and by those wiues of the *Canaanites* which they had married: onely a few of the *Kenites* and those *Madianites*, which inhabited on the edge of the Red Sea, whereof *Iethro* was Priest, or Prince, or both, worshipped the true and euer-living God.

§. II.

Of the Kings of the *Canaanites* and *Madianites*, mentioned in the ancient Warres of the *Israelites*.

Of the Kings of the *Canaanites*, descended of *Cham*, (for *Melchizedek* may be thought to be of a better *Peigrée*) we find foure named by *Moses*: and one and thirty remembered by *Iosua*, though few of these named, otherwife than by the Cities ouer which they commanded: to which each of them had a small Territory adjoining, and no other Dominion. These *Canaanites* in a generall consideration are to be vnderstood for all those Nations, descended of *Cham* by *Canaan*, as the *Hittites*, *Iebusites*, *Amorites*, *Gergesites*, *Heuites*, &c. and so here we vnderstand this name in speaking of the Kings of the *Canaanites*: and so also we call the Countrey of their habitation, the holy Land, or the Land of promise: for God hath appointed that the seauen principle Families should be rooted out: and that his owne people should inherite their Lands and Cities. But if we consider of the Name and Nation in particular, then is their proper habitation bounded by *Jordan*, on the East, and by the *Mediterran* Sea on the West: in which narrow Countrey, and in the choysed places thereof, those *Canaanites* which held their Paternall name chiefly inhabited.

The first King of these Nations, named in the Scriptures, was *Hamor* or *Hemer*, of the *Heuites*, whom *Simeon* and *Lewis* slew, together with his sonne *Sichem*, in reuenge of their filters rauishment.

Arad was the second King which the Scriptures haue remembered, who had that part of *Canaan* towards the South, neighbouring *Esdra* and the dead Sea; the same which surprised *Israel*, as they encamped in the *wildernesse* in the edge of *Edumaea*.

The third named was *Sehon* King of *Essebon*, who before *Moses* arrival had beaten the *Mosabites* out of the West part of *Arabia Petrea* or *Nabathaea*, and thrust them ouer *Arnon* into the *Deserts*, the same whom *Moses* ouerthrew in the plains of *Moab*: at which time he tooke *Essebon*, and all the Cities of the *Amorites*.

Precisely after which victory, *Og* was also slaine by *Israel*, who commanded the North part of that Valley betwene the Mountaines *Traconi* or *Galaad* and *Jordan*, who was also a King of the *Amorites*.

The fift was *Adonizedek* King of the *Iebusites*, and of *Hierusalem*, with whom *Iosua* nameth foure other Kings.

Hobam, King of *Hebron*.

Piram, King of *Iarmuth*.

Iapia, King of *Lachis*: and

Deber, King of *Eglon*, who were all *Amorites* ouerthrowne in battell: and hanged by *Iosua*. After this ouerthrow *Iosua* nameth *Iabin*, King of *Hazor*, and

Iobab, King of *Madon*: whom he also slaughterd, and tooke his Cities: and this *Iabin* seemed to haue some Dominion ouer the rest; for it is saide in the Text, For *Hazor* before times was the head of all those Kingdomes.

After these *Adonizedek* that notorious Tyrant is named: who confest that he had cutt off the thumbs of the hands and fette of seauenty Kings, inforcing them to gather crummes vnder his Table: who, after *Iuda* and *Simeon* had vsed the same exequution vpon himselfe, acknowledged it to be a iust reuenge of God: this King was carried to *Hierusalem* where he died.

The last King named is *Iabin* the second, who as it seemeth had rebuilt *Hazor*, burnt by *Iosua*. For at such time as he employed *Sisara* against *Israel*, whom he opprest twenty so yeres after the death of *Ehud*, He inhabited *Hazor*. This *Iabin*, *Barac* (encouraged by *Deborah*) ouerthrew, and his Captaine *Sisara* had by *Iael*, the wife of *Heber* the *Kenite*, a nail driven into his head while he slept in her Tent: *Iabin* himselfe perishing afterward in that warre.

The *Madianites* had also their Kings at times, but commonly mixt with the *Mosabites*: and they held a corner of Land in *Nabathaea* to the South-east of the Dead Sea. They descended from *Madian*, *Abrahams* sonne, by *Cethura*. *Raguel* surnamed *Gethogues* or *Iethores*, saith *Iosephus*, called *Iethro* in *Exodus*, *Kenis* in the first of *Iudges*, the sonne of *Dathan*, the grand-child of *Iexanis*, or *Ioksham*, the great grand-child of *Abraham* by *Cethura*.

Coloss. p. 8. *thura*, was Priest or Prince of the *Madianites* by the Red Sea: whose Daughter or Neece, *Moses* married: and of whom I have spoken elsewhere more at large. This *Ishro* if he were not the same with *Hobab*, must be his father: and this *Hobab* had seaven daughters. He guided *Moses* in the *Wildernesse*: and became one of the *Israelites*: of him descended the *Kenites*, so called of his father *Ragnels* surname, of which *Kenites* was *Heber*, which had peace with *Iabin* the second, even now remembered.

At such time as *Saul* invaded the *Amalekites*, he knowing the good affection of the *Kenites* to *Israel*, gaue them warning to separate themselves: and yet the *Kenites* had strong seats, and lived in the mountaines of the Deserts.

The Kings of the *Canaanites*, and *Madianites*, and the *Amalekites*, as many as I find named, were these:

1. *Homer* the *Heuse* of *Sichem*
2. *Arad* of the South parts
3. *Sehon* of *Essebon*
4. *Og* of *Basan*
5. *Adonizedek* the *Iebusite*, King of *Hierusalem*
6. *Hobam* of *Hebron*
7. *Piram* of *Iarmuth*
8. *Iapia* of *Lachis*
9. *Debir* of *Eglon*
10. *Iabin* of *Hazor*
11. *Iobab* of *Modon*
12. *Adonibezek* of *Bezek*, and
13. *Iabin* the second King of *Hazor*.

Of the *Madianites* these:

* *Eui* or *Euis*.

Rekam or *Rekem* who built *Petra* the Metropolis of *Petra*, so called by the *Greekes*: and vexed *Israel* seuen yeeres: till they being put to flight by *Gideon*, two of them, to wit, *Oreb* and *Zeb*, were taken and slaine by the *Ephraimites*, at the passage of *Jordan*, as in the 6. 7. and 8. of *Judges* it is written at large. Afterward in the pursuite of the rest, *Gideon* himselfe laide hands vpon *Zebah* and *Salmana*, or *Zalmunna*, and executed them, being prisoners; in which expedition of *Gideon* there perished 120000. of the *Madianites* and their confederates. Of the *Idumeans*, *Moabites*, and *Ammonites*, I will speake hereafter in the description of their Territories.

§. III. Of the *Amalekites*, and *Ismaelites*.

OF the Kings of the *Amalekites* and *Ismaelites*, I finde few that are named, and though of the *Ismaelites* there were more in number than of the rest (for they were multiplied into a greater Nation, according vnto the promise of God made vnto *Abraham*) yet the *Amalekites*, who together with the *Madianites* were numbered among them, were more renowned in *Moses* time than the rest of the *Ismaelites*. So also were they when *Saul* gouerned *Israel*. For *Saul* pursued them from *Sur* vnto *Hamilah*, to wit, ouer a great part of *Arabia Petraea*, and the Desert. The reason to me seemeth to be this: That the twelve Princes which came of *Ismael*, were content to leaue those barren Deserts of *Arabia Petraea*, called *Sur*, *Paran*, and *Sin*, to the issue of *Abraham* by *Cetur*, that

Gen. 17. 20.
Iud. 6. 7.

that ioyned with them (for so seeme the *Amalekites* to haue bene, and so were the *Madianites*) themselves taking possession of a better soyle in *Arabia* the Happy, and about the Mountaines of *Galaad* in *Arabia Petraea*. For *Nabaioth* the eldest of those twelve Princes planned that part of *Arabia Petraea*, which was very fruitful though adjoining to the Desert, in which *Moses* wandered, afterward called *Nabatheas*: the same which neighboureth *Iudea* on the East-side. They also peopled a Prouince in *Arabia* the Happy, whereof the people were in after-times called *Napathai* (B) changed into (P).

Kedar, the second of *Ismaels* sonnes, gaue his owne name to the East-part of *Basan*, or *Basanea*, which was afterward posselt by *Manasse*, so much thereof as lay within the mountaines *Traceni*, or *Gilead*. Which Nation *Lampadius* calleth *Kedarens*, and *Plinie* *Cedarans*. *Abel* face downe in the Desert *Arabia*, neere the Mountaines which diuide it from the Happy: and gaue name to the *Adubens*, which *Pytolmy* calleth *Agubens*.

Misjan was the Parent of the *Masamancses*, neere the Mountain *Zarnath*, in the same *Arabia* the Happy.

The *Raubens* were of *Mishma*: who ioyned to the *Orchens*, neere the *Arabian* gulfes, where *Pytolmy* setteth *Zagmar*.

Of *Dama* were the *Dumaans*, betweene the *Adubens* and *Raubens*: where the Citie *Dumeth* sometimes stood.

Of *Masfa* the *Masani*, and of *Hadar*, or *Chadar* the *Asbrita*, who bordered the *Napathans* in the same Happy *Arabia*.

Thema begat the *Themaneans*, among the *Arabian* Mountaines, where also the Citie of *Thema* is seated.

Of *Ietur* the *Iurians*, or *Charnathens*: of whom *Tobn* was King in *Dauids* time. Of *Napiri* the *Nubeian Arabians*: inhabiting *Syria Zoba*: ouer whom *Adadecer* commanded, while *David* ruled *Israel*.

Cadma, the last and twelfth of *Ismaels* sonnes, was the Ancestor of the *Cadmonians*: who were afterward called *Asite*: because they worshipped the fire with the *Babylonians*.

The *Amalekites* gaue their Kings the name of *Agag*, as the *Egyptians* the name of *Pharaoh* to theirs, and the ancient *Syrians* *Adad* to theirs, and the *Arabian Nabatheans* *Asad*, as Names of Honour.

The *Amalekites* were the first that fought with *Moses*, after he past the Red Sea: when *Exod. 17.* of allimes they flourished most, and yet were vanquished.

Afterward they ioyned with the *Canaanites*, and beate the *Israelites* neere *Cadesbarne*. After the gouernment of *Othonid*, they ioyned them with the *Moabites*: after *Barac* with the *Madianites*: and invaded *Israel*. God commanded that as soone as *Israel* had rest, they should roote out the name of the *Amalekites*: which *Saul* executed in part, when he wasted them from the border of *Egypt*, to the border of *Chaldea*: from *Hamilah* to *Shur*.

In *Dauids* time they tooke *Siklag* in *Simcon*: but *David* followed them, and surprised them, recovering his prisoners and spoiles. And yet, after *David* became King, they againe vexed him, but to their owne losse.

In *Ezekiels* time as many of them as ioyned to *Edumaea* were wasted and displanted by the children of *Simcon*.

§. IIII.

Of the institution of ciuility in Europe about these times, and of *Prometheus* and *Atlas*.

HERE liued at this time, and in the same age together with *Moses*, many men exceeding famous, as well in bodily strength, as in all sorts of learning. And as the World was but euen now enriched with the written Law of the liuing God, so did Art and Ciuility (bred and fostered farre off in the East, and in *Egypt*) begin at this time to discouer a passage into Europe, and into those parts of *Greece*, neighbouring *Asia* and *Iudea*. For if *Pelasgus* besides his bodily strength, was chosen King of *Aradia*, because he taught those people to erect them simple Cottages, to defend them from raine and storme: and learned them wishall to make a kinde of Meale, and bread of Acornes, who before liued for the most part, by Hearbes and Rootes: wee may thereby iudge how poore, and wretched those times were, and how falsely those Nations haue vaunted of those their antiquities accompanied not onely with ciuill learning, but with all other kinds of knowledge. And it was in this age of the World, as

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both *Eusebius* and *Saint Augustine* haue obserued, that *Prometheus* flourished: *Quem propterea ferunt de luto formasse homines, quia optimus sapientia doctor fuisse perhibetur*; of whom it is reported that he formed men out of clay, because he was an excellent teacher of wisdom: and so *Theophrastus* expoundeth the invention of fire ascribed to *Prometheus*, *Ad inuenta sapientia pertinere*; To haue reference to wise inventions: and *Æschylus* affirmeth, That by the stealing of *Jupiters* fire, was meant, that the knowledge of *Prometheus* reached to the *Starrs*, and other celestiall bodies. Again, it is written of him, that he had the art so to vseth fire, as thereby he gaue life to Images of Wood, Stone, and Clay: meaning that before his birth and being, those people among whom hee liued, had nothing else worthy of men, but external forme and figure. By that fiction of *Prometheus*, being bound on the top of the Hill *Caucasus*, his entrails the while deuoured by an Eagle, was meant the inward care and restless desire he had to inuestigate the *Natures*, *Motions*, and Influences of Heaenly bodies, for so it is said: *Idem aleissimum ascendisse Caucasum, ut sereno celo quam longissimè astra, signorum obitus, et ortus spectaret*; That he ascended *Caucasus*, to the end that he might in a cleere skye discern a farre off the settings and risings of the *Starrs*: though *Diodorus Siculus* expounds it other wise, and others diuersly.

Of this Mans knowledge Æschylus giues this testimonie.

*Ast agebant omnia
Visors ferebat: donec ipse repperi
Signorum obitus, ortusq. qui mortalibus
Sunt utiles: et multitudinem arum
His repperi: componere inde literas;
Matremq. Musarum auxilio Memoriam
Permisit cunctis, &c.*

But *Fortune* gouern'd all their workes, till when I first found out how *Starrs* did set and rise: A profitable art to mortall men: And others of like use I did deuise: As letters to compose in learned wise I first did teach: and first did amplify The Mother of the *Muses* *Memorie*.

Africanus makes *Prometheus* farre more ancient, and but 94. yeeres after *Ogyges*. *Phrygius* sayes that he liued at once with *Inachus*, who liued with *Isaac*.

There liued also at once with *Moses*, that famous *Atlas*, brother to *Prometheus*, both being the sonnes of *Tapetus*, of whom though it be said, that they were borne before *Moses* dayes, and therefore are by others esteemed of a more ancient date: yet the advantage of their long liues gaue them a part of other ages among men, which came into the World long after them. Besides these sonnes of *Tapetus*, *Æschylus* findes two other, to wit, *Oceanus* and *Hesperus*, who being famous in the West, gaue name to the Evening, and so to the evening *Starre*. Also besides this *Atlas* of *Libya* or *Mauritania*, there were others, which bare the same name: but of the *Libyan*, and the brother of *Prometheus*, it was that those Mountaines which crosse *Africa*, to the South of *Marocco*, *Sus*, and *Hos*, with the Sea adioyning tooke name, which memory *Plato* in *Critias* bestowes on *Atlas*, the sonne of *Neptune*.

Cicero in the fifth of his *Tusculan* questions, affirmeth that all things written of *Prometheus* and *Atlas*, were but by those names to expresse diuine knowledge. *Nec uero Atlas sustinere celum, nec Prometheus affixus Caucasus, nec stellatus Cepheus cum uicore uolatur, nisi diuina cognitio nomen eorum ad errorem fabulæ traduxisset*; Neither should *Atlas* be said to beare up heauen, nor *Prometheus* to be fastened to *Caucasus*, nor *Cepheus* with his wife to be stellerized; unless their diuine knowledge had raised upon their names these erroneous fables.

Orpheus sometime exprest *Time* by *Prometheus*, sometime he tooke him for *Saturne*, as *Rheæ* coniuice alme *Promethen*. But that the story of *Prometheus* was not altogether a fiction:

a fiction: and that he liued about this time, the most approued Historians and Antiquaries, and among them *Eusebius* and *Saint Augustine* haue not doubted; For the great judgement which *Atlas* had in *Astronomy*, saith *Saint Augustine*, were his daughters called by the names of constellations, *Pleades* and *Hyades*: Others attribute vnto him the finding out of the Moones course, of which *Archæus* the sonne of *Orchomenus* challengeth the invention. Of this *Aræus* *Arcadia* in *Poloponnesus* took name; and therefore did the *Aræadians* vaunt that they were more ancient than the Moone. *Et Luna gens prior illa*; *Quid, de fessis*; *fun*; which is to be vnderstood, saith *Natalis Comes*, before there had beene any obseruation of the Moones course: or of her working in inferiour bodies. And though there be that below the finding out thereof vpon *Endymion*: others (as *Xenagoras*) on *Typhon*: yet *Isaacus Tetzzer*, a curious searcher of antiquities, gaue it *Atlas* of *Libya*: who besides his gifts of minde, was a man of vnequall and incomparable strength: from whom *Thales* the *Milesius*, as it is said, had the ground of his *Philosophy*.

§. V.

Of Deucalion and Phæton.



ND in this age of the World, and while *Moses* yet liued, *Deucalion* reigned in *Thessalie*, *Crotopus* then ruling the *Argives*. This *Deucalion* was the sonne of *Prometheus*, saith *Herodotus*, *Apollonius*, *Hesiodus*, and *Strabo*. *Hesiodus* gaue him

Pandora for mother; the rest *Clymene*: *Homer* in the fifteenth of his *Odyssees*, makes *Deucalion* the sonne of *Minos*: but he must needs haue meant some other *Deucalion*, for else either *Phyffes* was mistaken, or *Homer*, who put the tale into his mouth. For *Phyffes* after his returne from *Troy*, fained himselfe to be the brother of *Idomeneus*, who was sonne to this later *Deucalion*, the sonne of *Minos*: but this *Minos* liued but one age before *Troy* was taken: (for *Idomeneus* serued in that warre) and this *Deucalion* the sonne of *Prometheus*, who liued at once with *Moses*, was long before. In the first *Deucalions* time happened that great inundation in *Thessalie*; by which in effect euery soule, in those parts, perished, but *Deucalion*, *Pyrrha* his wife, and some few others. It is affirmed that at the time of this flood in *Thessalie*, those people exceeded in all kinde of wickednesse and villanie: and as the impiety of men is the forcible attractive of Gods vengeance, so did all that Nation for their foule finnes perish by waters: as in the time of *Noah*, the corruption and cruelty of all mankind drew on them that generall destruction by the flood vniuersall. Only *Deucalion*, and *Pyrrha* his wife, whom God spared, were both of them esteemed to be louers of *Vertue*, of *Iustice* and of *Religion*. Of whom *Ouid*:

*Non illa melior quisquam, nec amantior equi
Vixit: aut illa reuerentior colla deorum.*

No man was better, nor more iust than hee:
Nor any woman godlier than shee.

It is also affirmed that *Prometheus* fore-told his sonne *Deucalion* of this ouer-flowing; and aduised him to provide for his safety: who hereupon prepared himselfe a kinde of Vessell, which *Lucian* in his *Dialogue* of *Timon* calles *Cibotum*; and others *Larnax*. And because to these circumstances, they afterward adde the sending out of the *Doue*, to discover the waters fall and decrease, I should verily thinke that this Story had bene but an imitation of *Noahs* flood deuised by the *Greekes*, did not the times so much differ, and *Saint Augustine* with others of the Fathers and reuerent Writers approue this story of *Deucalion*. Among other his children *Deucalion* had these two of note, *Hellen* of whom *Greece* had first the name of *Hellas*, and *Melantho*, on whom *Neptune* is said to haue begot *Dolphus*, which gaue name to *Delfhos*, so renowned among the Heathen for the *Oracle* of *Apollo* therein founded.

And that which was no lesse strange and maruailous than this flood, was that great burning and conflagration which about this time also happened vnder *Phæton*; not only in *Æthiopia*, but in *Bria*, a Region in *Italie*, and about *Cume*, and the Mountaines of *Vesuius*: of both which the *Greekes*, after their manner, haue inuented many strange fables.

§. VI.

Of *Hermes Trismegistus*.

Vt of all other which this age brought forth among the Heathen, *Mercurius* was the most famous, and renowned; the same which was also called *Thymegistus*, or *Ter maximus*, and of the *Greekes*, *Hermes*.

Many there were of this name; and how to distinguish, and set them in their owne times, both *S. Augustinus* & *Laëtantius* find it difficult. For that *Mercury* which was esteemed the God of Theeues, the God of Wrestlers, of Merchants, and Sea-men, and the God of Eloquence (though all by one name confounded) was not the same which that *Mercury*, of whose many workes some fragments are now extant.

Cicero, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Arnobius*, and certaine of the *Greekes* reckon five *Mercuries*. Of which, two were famous in *Egypt*, and there worshipped; one, the sonne of *Nilus*, whose name the *Egyptians* feared to utter, as the *Tewes* did their *Tetragrammaton*; the other, that *Mercury*, which flew *Argus* in *Greece*, and flying into *Egypt*, is said to have deliuered literature to the *Egyptians*, and to haue giuen them Lawes. But *Diomed* affirmeth, that *Orpheus*, and others after him, brought learning and letters out of *Egypt* into *Greece*: which *Plato* also confirmeth, saying, That letters were not found out by that *Mercury* which flew *Argus*, but by that ancient *Mercury*, otherwile *Theues*; whom *Philo* so

Lod. Vives out of *Cicero* in *Aug. de Ciuil.* l. 8. c. 26.

Engl. l. 1. c. 6.
de Prop. Euum.

before) *Hermes*. And to this *Taautus*, *Sancioniatho*, who liued about the warre of *Troies*, the inuention of letters. But *Saint Augustine* making two *Mercuries*, which were both *Egyptians*, calles neither of them the sonne of *Nilus*, nor acknowledgeth either of them to haue slaine *Argus*. For he finds this *Mercury*, the slayer of *Argus*, to be the grand-child of that *Atlas*, which liued while *Moses* was yet young. And yet *L. Vives* vpon *Saint Augustine* seemes to vnderstand them to be the same with those, whom *Cicero*, *Alexandrinus*, and the rest haue remembered. But that coniecture of theirs, that any *Græcian Mercury* brought letters into *Egypt*, hath no ground. For it is manifest, (if there be any truth in prophane antiquity) that all the knowledge which the *Greekes* had, was transported out of *Egypt* or *Phenicia*; and not out of *Greece*, nor by any *Græcian* into *Egypt*. For they all confesse, that *Cadmus* brought letters first into *Bæotia*, either out of *Egypt*, or out of *Phenicia*: it being true, that betweene *Mercurius*, that liued at once with *Moses*, and *Cadmus*, there were these descents cast; *Crotopus* King of the *Argines*; with whom *Moses* liued, and in whose time about his tenth yeere *Moses* died; after *Crotopus*, *Sthenelus*, who reigned eleuentyeres; after him *Danaus* fifty yerres; after him *Lyncæus*: in whose time, and after him in the time of *Minos* King of *Crete*, this *Cadmus* arriued in *Bæotia*. And therefore it cannot be true, that any *Mercurius* about *Moses* his time, flying out of *Greece* for the slaughter of *Argus*, brought literature out of *Greece* into *Egypt*. Neither did either of those two *Mercuries* of *Egypt*, whom *Saint Augustine* remembreth, the one the grand-father, the other the Nephew or grand-child, come out of *Greece*. *Eupolemus* and *Artapanus* note, that *Moses* found out Letters and taught the vse of them to the *Tewes*; of whom the *Phenicians* their Neighbors receiued them; and the *Greekes* of the *Phenicians* by *Cadmus*. But this inuention was also ascribed to *Moses*, for the reason before remembred; that is, because the *Tewes* and the *Phenicians* had them first from him. For euery Nation gaue vnto those men the honour of first Inuentors, from whom they receiued the profit: *Diomed* makes that *Mercury*, vpon part of whose workes hee Commenteth, to haue bene foure descents after *Moses*; which he hath out of *Virgil*, who calles *Atlas*, that liued with *Moses*, the maternel grand-father of the first famous *Mercury*, whom others, as *Diomed*, call the Counsailler and Instructer of that renowned *Isis*, wife of *Osiris*. But *Ficinus* giueth no reason for his opinion herein. But that the elder *Mercury* instructed *Isis*, *Dionysius Scytus* affirmeth, and that such an inscription was found on a pillar erected on the Tombe of *Isis*. *Lod. Vives* vpon the sixe and twentieth Chapter of the eighth Booke of *Saint Augustine*, *De Ciuitate Dei*, conceiueth, that this *Mercury*, whose workes are extant, was not the first which was entituled, *Ter maximus*, but his Nephew or grand-child. *Sancioniatho*, an ancient *Phenician*, who liued shortly after *Moses*, hath other fancies of this *Mercury*, affirming that he was the Scribe of *Saturne*, and called by the *Phenicians*, *Taautus*; and by the *Egyptians* *Thout*, or *Thoth*. It may be, that the many yerres which he is

Virg. lib. 4. de
neid.

Ficinus, in *Pro-*
fat. Demand:
Mercurij Tris-
megisti.
de De Sancto
matthio: See
Engl. de prop.
Euum. lib. 1.
c. 6.

said to haue liued, to wit, three hundred yerres, gaue occasion to some Writers to finde him in one time, y and to others in other times. But by those which haue collected the grounds of the *Egyptian* Philosophie and Diuinitie, he is found more ancient than *Moses*: because the Inuentor of the *Egyptian* Wisdome, wherein it is said, that *Moses* was excellently learned.

It is true, that although this *Mercurie* or *Hermes* doth in his Diuinitie differ in many particulars from the Scriptures, especially in the approving of Images, which *Moses* of all things most detested; yet whosoever shall read him with an euen iudgement, will rather resolute, that these workes which are now extant, were by the *Greekes* and *Egyptian* Priests corrupted, and those fooleries inserted, than that euer they were by the hand of *Hermes* corrupted, or by his heart and Spirit deuiled. For there is no man of vnderstanding, and master of his owne wits, that hath affirmed in one and the same Tract, those things which are directly contrarie in doctrine, and in nature: For out of doubt (*Moses* excepted) there was neuer any man of those elder times that hath attributed more, and in a stile more reuerend and diuine, vnto almighty God, than he hath done. And therefore if those two Treatises, now among vs; the one conuerted by *Apuleius*, the other by that famed *Ficinus*, had bene found in all things like them; I thinke it had not bene perilous to haue thought with *Eupolemus*, that this *Hermes* was *Moses* himselfe; and that the *Egyptian* Theologie hereafter written, was deuiled by the first, and more ancient *Mercurie*, which others haue thought to haue bene *Ioseph*, the son of *Iacob*: whom, after the expolition of *Pharaohs* dreames, they called *Sapaneophane*, which is as much to say, as *ascenditorum repertor*; a finder out of hidden things. But these are ouer-venturous opinions. For what this man was, it is known to God. Enuie & aged time hath partiedefected, and partly worne out the certaine knowledge of him: of whom, whosoever he were, *Laëtantius* writeth in this sort: *Hic scripsit libros, & quidem multos, ad cognitionem diuinorum rerum pertinentes, in quibus Maiestatem summæ ac singularis Dei asserit, & semper nominibus appellat, quibus nos, Deum & Patrem; Hec habet written many bookes belonging to, or expressing the knowledge of diuine things, in which hee affirmeth the Maiestie of the most high and one God, calling him by the same names of God and Father, which wee do so.* The same Father also searcheth not to number him among the *Sydes* and *Prophets*. And so contrary are these his acknowledgements to those Idolatrous fictions of the *Egyptians* and *Græcians*, as for my selfe I am perswaded, that whosoever is found in him contrary therunto, was by corruption inserted. For thus much himselfe confesseth: *Deus omnium Dominus, & Pater, fons & vitta, potentia & lux, & mens, & Spiritus; & omnia in ipso, & sub ipso sunt. Verbum enim ex eius esse prodiens, perfectissimum existens, & generator & epifex, &c.* God (saith hee) the Lord and Father of all things, the fountaine, and life, and power, and light, and minde, and Spirit: and all things are in him and vnder him. For his Word out of himselfe proceeding, most perfect, and generatiue, and operative, falling upon fruitfull nature, made it also fruitfull and producing. And hee was therefore (saith *Suidas*) called *Ter maximus*, quia de Trinitate loquutus est: in Trinitate enim esse Deum asserit; Because hee spake of the Trinitie, affirming that there is one God in Trinitie. *Hic rumans* (saith *Ficinus*) præuidit præce Religiosis, hic ortum nouæ fidei, hic aduentum Christi, hic futurum iudicium, resurrectionem sancti, beatorum gloriam, supplicia peccatorum; This *Mercurius* foresaw the ruine of the olde or superstitious Religion, and the birth of the new faith, and of the coming of Christ, the future iudgement, the resurrection, the glory of the Blessed, and the torment or affliction of the wicked or damned.

To this I will only adde his two last speeches reported by *Calcidius* the *Platonist*, and by *Volterran* out of *Suidas*. *Hæc enus filius pulvis a patria, vici peregrinus & exul, nunc incolumis repto: cumq; post paulum a vobis corpore vinculis absolutus discessero, videretis me quasi mortuum lætatis: Nam ad illam optatam beatam, Ciuitatem regredior, ad quam vniuersi cives: moris conditione venturi sunt. Ibi namq; solus Deus est summus Princeps: qui cives suos replet suauitate mirifica: ad quam hæc, quam multis vitium existimant, mors est potius decenda quam vita; Hicerto, O Sonne, being driuen from my Country, I haue liued a stranger and banished man: but now I am repairing home-ward againe in safety. And when I shall after a few dayes (or in a short time) by being loosed from these bonds of flesh and blood depart from you, seethat you doe not bewaile me as a man dead, for I doe but returne to that best and blessed Citie, to which all their Citizens (by the condition of death) shall repaire. Therein is the onely God, the most high and chiefe Prince, who filleth or feedeth his Citizens with a sweetnesse more then*

marvellous: in regard whereof, this being, which others call a life, is rather to be accounted a death than a life. The other, and that which seemeth to be his last, is thus conuerted by others, agreeing in sense but not in words with Saydas: *O cælum magni Dei sapiens opus, teq; O vox patris quam ille primam emisit, quando vniuersum constituit mundum, adiutor vniuersum eius verbum, & Spiritum cuius a comprehendente, miseremini mei: I adiuue the O heauen, thou wise worke of the great God, and thee O voyce of the Father, which he first uttered, when he framed the whole world, by his onely begotten Word, and Spirit, comprehending all things, Haue mercy vpon me.*

But Saydas hath his inuocation in these words: *Obsecro te cælum magni Dei sapiens opus, obsecro te vocem Patris quam loquutus est primum, cum omnem mundum firmavit, obsecro te per vniuersum sermonem omnia continens, propitius, propitius esto. I beseech thee O heauen, wise worke of the great God, I beseech thee O voyce of the Father, which hee spake first when hee established all the world, I beseech thee by the onely begotten Word containing all things, be favourable, be favourable.*

§. VII.

Of Iannes and Iambres, and some other that liued about those times.



Here were also in this age both *Æsculapius*, which after his death became the God of Physicians, being the brother of *Mercurius*, as *Puer* thinks in his Commentary vpon *Augustine*, de Ciuitate Dei. lib. 8. and also those two notorious Sorcerers, *Iannes* and *Iambres*, who in that impious art excelled all that euer had bene heard of to this day: and yet *Moses* himselfe doth not charge them with any familiarity with Diuels, or ill Spirits: words indeed that feldome came out of his mouth, how-euer by the Septuagint they are called *Sophists* or *Venefici* and *Incantatores*, *Sophists*, poysoners, and Incantaters: by *Hierome*, *sapientes & malefici*; *Wise men*, and cull doers: and so by *Vatablus*, who also vseth the word *Magi*. The Greeke it selfe seemes to attribute somewhat of what they did to naturall *Magick*: calling them, *magici*, workers by drugs. The *Geneuean*, *Sorcerers* and *Incantaters*: *Iunius Sapientes*, *præfignificatores & Magi*. *Magicians* Women here by him are taken in one sense: and *Predigatores* are such, as dazzle mens eyes, and make them seeme to see what they see not: as false colours, and false shapes. But as some vertues and some vices are so nicely distinguished, and so resembling each other, as they are often confounded, and the one taken for the other: (Religion and superstition hauing one face and countenance) so did the workes and workings of *Moses*, and of *Pharaos* Sorceres appeare in outward shew, and to the beholders of common capacities, to be one and the same art and gift of knowledge. For the Diuell changeth himselfe into an *Angell* of light: and imitateth in all he can the wayes and workings of the most High. And yet on the contrary euery worke which surmounteth the wisdom of most men, is not to be condemned, as performed by the helpe or ministry of ill Spirits. For the properties and powers which God hath giuen to naturall things, are such as where he also bestoweth the knowledge to vnderstand their hidden and best vertues, many things by them are brought to passe, which seeme altogether impossible, and aboue nature or art: which two speculations of workes of nature, and of miracle, the *Cabalists* distinguished by these names: *Opus de Berefish*, & *opus de mericana*: the one they call *Sapientiam naturæ*, *The Wiselome of nature*: the other *Sapientiam diuinitatis*, *The Wiselome of diuinity*: the one *Iacob* practised in breeding the pided Lambes in *Mesopotamia*, the other *Moses* exercised in his miracles wrought in *Ægypt*, hauing receiued from God the knowledge of the one in the highest perfection, to wit, the knowledge of nature: of the other so farre as it pleased God to proportion him, both which he vseth to his glory that gaue them: assuiling to himselfe nothing at all, either in the least or most. Also *Saint Augustine* noteth, that from the time that *Moses* left *Ægypt*, to the death of *Ishmael*, diuers other famous men liued in the World, who after their deaths for their eminent vertues and inuentions, were numbred among the Gods: as *Dionysius* otherwise *Liber Pater*, who taught the *Gracians* the vse of the Vine in *Attica*: at which time also there were intired *Musicall* playes to *Apollo Delphinus*: thereby to regaine his fauour, who brought barrenesse and scarcity vpon that part of *Greece*, because they resisted not the attempts of *Dæmons* who poyled his Temple and set it on fire: so did *Erichonius* intire the like games

L'Vincin lib.
August de Civ.
D. 8. c. 26.

Erud. 9. 11.

to *Minerva*: wherein the Victor was rewarded with a present of *Oyle*, in memory of her that first prest it out of the *Oliue*.

In this age also *Xanthus* rauished *Europa*: and began on her *Radamantus*, *Sarpedon*, and *Minos*, which three are also giuen to *Iupiter* by other Historians. To these *Saint Augustine* addeth *Hercules*, the same to whom the twelue labours are ascribed, natue of *Argyria* City of *Peloponnesus*: (or as others say, onely nurled and brought vp there) who came into *Italy*, and destroyed many Monsters there; being neither that *Hercules*, which *Eusebius* (sumamed *Delphin*, famous in *Phanicia*; nor that *Hercules*, according to *Philoftratus*, which came to *Gades*, whom he calleth an *Ægyptian*: *Manifestum fit, non Thebanum* Hercules, sed *Ægyptium* ad *Gades* peruenisse, & ibi finem statuisse terre (saith *Philoftratus*.) It is manifest that it was the *Ægypt* in *Hercules*, and not the *Theban*, which traiailed as farre as the streights of *Gades*, and there determined the bounds of the earth. In this time also while *Moses* wandered in the Deserts, *Dardanus* built *Dardania*.

But whosoever they were, or how worthy fouer they were that liued in the dayes and age of *Moses*, there was neuer any man, that was no more than man, by whom it pleased God to worke greater things; whom he fauoured more, to whom (according to the appearing of an infinite God) he so often appeared; neuer any man more familiar and conuariant with Angels; neuer any more learned both in Diuine and Humane knowledge, neuer a greater Prophet in *Israel*. He was the first that receiued and deliuered the Law of God entire, the first that left to posterity by letters, the truth and power of one infinite God; his creating out of nothing the World vniuersall, and all the creatures therein; that taught the detestation of Idolatry, and the punishment, vengeance, and eradication, which followed.

Syrcides calleth *Moses* the belosed of God and Men, whose remembrance is blessed. He made him (saith the same Authour) like to the glorious Saints, and magnified him by the fauour of his enemies, made him glorious in the sight of Kings, shewed him his glory, caused him to heare his voyce, sanctified him with faithfulness and meeknesse, and chose him out of all men.

He is remembred among prophane Authours; as by *Clearchus* the *Peripatetic*: by *Megasthenes*, and *Numenius* the *Pythagorian*. The long liues which the *Patriarchs* enioyed before the flood, remembred by *Moses*, *Eliens*, *Hieronymus* *Ægyptius*, *Hecateus*, *Elanius*, *Ansilus*, *Ephorus*, and *Alexander the Historian*, confirme. The vniuersall flood which God reuealed vnto *Moses*, *Berosus*, *Nicolaus Damascenus*, and others haue testified. The building of the Tower of *Babel*, and confusion of tongues, *Abydenus*, *Esiens*, and *Sybil* haue approued. *Berosus* also honoureth *Abraham*. *Hecateus* wrote a Booke of him. *Damascenus* before cited, speaketh of *Abrahams* passage from *Damascus* into *Canaan*, agreeing with the Bookes of *Moses*. *Eupolemon* writeth the very fame of *Abraham*, which *Moses* did. For beginning with the building of *Babel*, and the ouerthrow thereof by diuine power, he saith that *Abraham*, borne in the tenth generation, in the City called *Camerina*, excelled all men in wisdom: and by whom the Astrology of the *Chaldeans* was inuented. *Iustitius* pietateq; sua (saith *Eusebius* out of the same Authour) sic Deo gratias fuit, ut diuino precepto in Phœnicem venerit, ibiq; habitauerit. For his iustice and piety he was speaking vnto God, as by his commandement he came into *Phanicia*, and dwelt there. Likewise *Diodorus Siculus*, in his second Booke and fifth Chapter, speaketh reuerently of *Moses*: There are many other among prophane Authours, which doe confirme the Bookes of *Moses*, as *Eusebius* hath gathered in the ninth of his *Preparation to the Gospel*, Chapter the third and fourth, to whom I referre the Reader. Lastly, I cannot but for some things in it commend this notable testimony of *Sirabo*, who writeth of *Moses* in these words. *Moses enim affirmabat, docebatq; Ægyptios non reitē sentire, qui bestiarum figurarum effigies adhibebant: idcirco solum esse Deum, quod nos & terram q; mare continet, quod cælum & mundum, & rerum omnium naturam appellamus: cuius profectō imaginem, nemo sana mentis, alius eorum rerum, que penes nos sunt, similem audeat effingere. Proinde (omni simulachrorum effigies repudiata) dignum ei Templum ac Delubrum constituendum, ac sine aliqua figura colendum: Moses affirmed and taught, that the Ægyptians thought amisse, which attributed vnto God the Images of beasts and castell: Also that the Affricans and Greekes greatly erred in giuing vnto their Gods the shapes of men: whereas that only is God in deede, which containeth both vs, the Earth and Sea, which we call: Heaven, the World, and the nature of all things, whose*

Sirabo lib. 1. c. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

image, doubtlesse, no wise man will dare to fashion out vnto the likenes of those things, which are among vs: That therefore (all deuising of Idols cast aside) a worthy Temple and place of prayer was to be erected vnto him, and he to be worshipped without any figure at all therein.

Now concerning the *Aegyptian* wisdome, for which the *Martyr Stephen* commended *Moses*, saying, That *Moses* was learned in all the wisdome of the *Aegyptians*; and was mighty in his works and words: the same is collected (how truly I know not) by *Diadorus*, *Diogenes*, *Laertius*, *Iamblicus*, *Philo Iudeus*, and *Eusebius Caesariensis*, and diuided into four parts, *viz.* Mathematicall, Naturall, Diuine, and Morall.

In the Mathematicall part, which is distinguish't into *Geometrie*, *Astronomie*, *Arithmetick*, and *Musike*, the ancient *Aegyptians* exceeded all others. For *Geometrie* which is by interpretation, measuring of grounds, was vnto them: because it consisting of infillible principles, directed them certainly in bounding out their proper Lands, and Territories, when their fields and limits, by the inundations of *Nilus*, were yeerely overflowne and confounded, so as no man could know what in right belonged vnto him.

For the second part, to wit, *Astronomie*, the site of the Countrey being a lenell and spacious Plaine, free and cleere from the clouds, yielded them delight with ease, in observing and contemplating the risings, fallings, and motions of the *Starrs*.

Arithmetick also, which is the knowledge of numbers, they studied; because without it, in *Geometrie* and *Astronomie*, nothing can be demonstrated or concluded. But of *Musike* they made no other account, nor desired further knowledge, than seemed to them sufficient to seruice and magnifie their Gods, their Kings, and good Men.

The Naturall part of this Wisdome, which handleth the principles, causes, elements, and operations of naturall things, differs little from *Peripatetick Philosophie*; teaching, that *Materia prima* is the beginning of all things; that of it all mixt bodies and liuing creatures haue their being; that Heauen is round like a Globe; that all *Starrs* haue a certaine fountaine heat, and temperate influences, whereby all things grow and are produced; that raines proceed and bee from mutations in the ayre; that the Planets haue their proper soules, &c.

The Diuine part of this wisdome, which is called *Theologie*, teacheth and beleeueth that the world had a beginning, and shall perish; that men had their first original in *Aegypt*; partly by means of the temperatenesse of that Countrey, where neither Winter with cold, nor Summer with heat are offensive; and partly through the fertilitye, that *Nilus* giueth in those places; That the soule is immortall, and hath transmigration from body to body; That God is one, the Father and Prince of all Gods; and that from this God, other Gods are, as the Sunne and Moone, whom they worshipped by the names of *Osiris* and *Isis*, and erected to them Temples, Statues, and diuers Images, because the true similitudes of the Gods is not knowne; that many of the Gods haue bene in the estate of mortall men, and after death, for their vertues, and benefits bestowed on mankind, haue bene Deified; that those beasts, whose Images and formes the Kings did carrie in their Armes, when they obtained victory, were adored for Gods: because vnder those Ensignes they prevailed ouer their enemies. Moreover, the *Aegyptian* Diuines had a peculiar kinde of writing, mytticall and secret, wherein the highest points of their Religion and worship of God, which was to be concealed from the vulgar sort, were obscured.

Clem. Str. l. 1. *Clemens* distributeth the whole summe of this later *Aegyptian* learning into three euerrall sorts, *viz.* *Epistolary*, which is vied in writing common Epistles; *Sacerdotal*, which is peculiar to their Priests; and *Sacred*; which Sacred containeth Scripture of two kinds: the one proper, which it expressed by letters Alphabetical in obscure and figuratiue words; as for example, where it is written: The *Isis* by the *Hornes* participateth the beauty of the Hawke; which is read thus: The Moone doth by the Sunne borrow part of the light of God: because Light is an Image of Diuine beauty; the other symbolically, or by signatures, which is threefold, *viz.* Imitatiue, Tropically, and *Enigmaticall*: Imitatiue, which designeth things by characters, like to the things signified, as by a Circle the Sun; and by the Hornes of the Moone, the Moone it selfe: Tropically or transferred, which applies the diuers formes and figures of naturall bodies or creatures, to signifie the dignities, fortunes, conditions, vertues, vices, affections, and actions of their Gods, and of men. So with the *Aegyptian* Diuines, the Image of an Hawke signifieth God, the figure of the *Hornes* signifieth the Sunne, the picture of the Bird *Isis* signifieth the Moone: by

by the forme of a Man, Prudence and Skillfulnesse: by a Lyon, Fortitude: by a Horfe, Liberty: by a Crocodile, Impudency: by a Fish, Haired to be vnderstood: *Enigmaticall* is a composition or mixture of Images or Similitudes: in which sense, the monstrous Image of a Lyons body hauing a Mans head, was grauen on their Temples and Altars, to signifie, that to men all diuine things are *Enigmaticall* and obscure. So the Image of the Sunne set on the head of a Crocodile, (which liueth aswell in the Waters, as on Land) expresseth that the Sunne nourisheth Meteors in the Ayre, aswell from the Waters as from the Earth. So a Scepter, at the top whereof is made an Eye, and an Eare, signifieth God, Hearing, Seeing, and Gouerning all things. The *Scythians* are thought to haue bene delighted with this kinde of writing. For *Pherceides Syrius* reporteth, That when *Darius* sending letters, threatned *Idanthura*, King of the *Scythians*, with ruine and destruction of his Kingdom, vnlesse he would acknowledge subiection: *Idanthura* returned to him a Moule, a Frog, a Bird, a Dart, and a Plough-share: which *Oromopagas*, Tribune of the Souldiers, interpreted to signifie, that by the moule, their dwellings: by the Frog, their waters: by the Bird, their ayre: by the Dart, their weapons: by the Plough, their lands: were signified to be ready to be deliuered to *Darius*, as their Soueraigne Lord. But *Xenophanes* made another construction, *viz.* that the King meant, That except *Darius* with his men did hasten away, as a Bird through the Ayre, or creepe into holes as a moule, or runne into the waters which they had passed as a Frog, they should not escape his armes, but either be slaine, or being made Captiues, Till his grounds. The same History is with *Herodotus* a little difference reported by *Herodotus*.

The fourth and last part, which is Morall and Politique, doth containe especially the Lawes, which (according to *Laertius*) *Mercurius Trimegistus*, or *Ter Maximus* deuised: who in his Bookes or Dialogues of *Pimander* and *Alepius*, hath written so many things of God, worthy of admiration, aswell (saith *Sextus Senensis*) of the *Trinity*, and of the coming of *Christ*, as of the last and fearefull day of Iudgement: that (as saith the same Author, the opinion being also ancient) he is not only to be accounted a Philosopher, but a Prophet of things to come.

Iamblicus in his Bookes of Mysteries of the *Aegyptians*, taking two very ancient Historians for his Authours, to wit, *Selenus* and *Menaeus*, affirmeth that this *Mercury* was not only the Inuentor of the *Aegyptian* Philosophy, but of all other learning, called, the Wisdome of the *Aegyptians* before remembred: and that he wrote of that subiect 36525. Bookes, or Pages. Of which there were numbered, of Fiery Spirits, one hundred Bookes; of Aerall Spirits as many, and of Spirits Celestiall a thousand; which because they were out of the *Aegyptians* language conuerted by certaine learned Philosophers into the naturall *Greekes*, they seemed to haue bene first written in that Tongue. *Clemens Alexandrinus* writeth, that among the Bookes of *Hermes*, to wit, of the wisdome of the *Aegyptians*, there were extant in his time 36. of *Physicke* fixe bookes; of the orders of *Priests*; ten; and of *Astrology* foure.

6. VIII.

A Briebe of the History of *Iosua*; and of the space betweene him and *Orthoniel*: and of the remainders of the *Canaanites*; with a note of some Contemporaries to *Iosua*: and of the breach of *Ephraim*.

After the death of *Moses*, and in the one and fortieth yeere of the Egression, in the first moneth called *Nisan*, or *March*, *Iosua* the sonne of *Nun*, of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, being filled with the Spirit of wisdome, tooke on him the gouernment of *Israel*: God giuing him comfort, and encouraging him to passe the Riuer of *Iordan*, and to possesse, and diuide among the *Israelites* the Land promised.

The beginning of *Iosua* rule Saint *Augustine* dates with the reigne of *Amyntas*, the eighteenth King in *Assyria*; with *Corax* the sixteenth King in *Sicyonia*, when *Danaus* gouerned the *Argiues*; and *Erichonius*, *Athens*.

Iosua imitating in all things his Predecessor, sent ouer *Iordan* certaine discouersers to view the cleare and strength of *Ierico*, the next City vnto him on the other side of the Riuer, which he was to passe ouer. Which discouersers being faued, and sent backe by *Rahab*, a woman of ill fame, because shee kept a Tauerne or Viding-house, made *Iosua* know that the Inhabitants of *Ierico*, and those of the Countrey about it, hearing of the approach

10f. 2. 11. of *Israel*, had lost courage. Whereupon the day after the returne of the Spies, which was the sixth day of the one and fortieth yeere after the Egression, *Iosua* remoued from *Sittim* in the plains of *Moab*, and drew downe his Armie to the banks of the River *Jordan*, and gaue them commandement to put themselves in order to follow the *Arke of God*, when the *Leuites* tooke it vp, and moued towards the Riuer; giuing them withall this forcible encouragement, That they should thereby assure themselves of his fauour and preference who is Lord of all the world, when the Riuer of *Jordan* should be cut off and diuided, and the waters coming from aboue should stand still in a heape, whereby those below towards the *Dead sea* wanting supply, they might passe ouer into the land of *Canaan* with dry feet.

10f. 7. 12. Hee also commanded *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the halfe Tribe of *Manasse*, to prepare themselves (according to their Couenant made with *Moses*) to march in the head of the rest, and as we call it in this age, to leade in the Vanguard, which through all the Defens of *A. rabia*, from the Mount *Sinai* to this place, those of the Tribe of *Juda* had performed. For these Tribes being already prouided of their habitations, and Countrie and Cities of the *Amorites*, by the helpe of the rest, conquered for them: It agreed with iustice and equitie, that *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the halfe of *Manasse* should also assist their brethren in the obtaining of their parts, as yet in their enemies possession.

10f. 4. 10. On the banks of *Jordan* they rested themselves from the sixth day to the ninth; and on the tenth day of the first moneth *Nisan*, or *March*, they past ouer to the other side, taking 20 with them twelve stones from the drie ground in the midst of the Riuer: which, for a memorie of that miracle by God wrought, they set vp at *Gilgal*, on the East side of the Citie of *Jerico*, where they encamped the first night. At which place *Iosua* gaue commandement, that all borne in the last fortieth yeere in the Deserts should be circumcised; which ceremonie to that day had bene omitted. Of the neglect whereof *S. Augustine* giueth for cause, The peoples contempt of their superiours. *Thomas* excuseth it in this sort, That the *Israelites* knew not the certaine time of their remouing from one place to another: *Damascen*, That it was not needfull by circumcision to distinguish them from other Nations, at such time as they liued by themselves, and a part from all Nations.

10f. 5. 10. On the fourteenth day of the same Moneth, the children of *Israel* celebrated the Pass-
ouer now the third time; first, at their leauing *Egypt*; secondly, at Mount *Sinai*; and now at *Gilgal*. After which being desirous to taste of the fruits of the Countrie, and ha-
uening, as it were, sursed on *Man*, they parched of the Corne of the land, being not yet fully ripe, and ate thereof.

10f. 10. 3. And as *Moses* began to distribute those Regions beyond *Jordan*, to wit, the Lands of the *Amorites*, which *Og of Basan*, and *Sihon* held, so did *Iosua* performe the rest; and after a view and partition made of the Territories, hee gaue to each Tribe his portion by lot. But this partition and distribution was not done at once, but at three severall times; first, by *Moses* to *Gad*, *Ruben*, and the halfe Tribe of *Manasse*, of the Lands ouer *Jordan*; secondly, by *Iosua*, to the Tribe of *Juda*, *Ephraim*, and the other halfe Tribe of *Manasse*, about the fifth yeere of his gouernment; proued in the 14. of *Iosua*, v. 10. and a third diuision was made to the other seuen Tribes at *Shilo*, where *Iosua* seated the *Tabernacle of the Congregation*.

10f. 18. The victories of *Iosua* against the Kings of the *Canaanites*, are so particularly set down in his owne books, as I shall not need to lengthen this part by their repetition. In whose Storie chiefly note these particulars. First, how in the beginning of the warre, those little Kings or *Reguli* of the *Canaanites*, had not so much vnderstanding, as to write themselves together against the *Israelites*; but according to the custome of those estates, from whose Gouernours God hath taken away all wisdom and fore-sight, they left those of their owne Nation, which were next the inuaders, to themselves, and to their owne defences; hoping that the fire kindled somewhat farre off, might againe haue been quenched, ere it could spread it selfe so farre as their owne Territories and Cities. But after such times *Jerico* and *Ai* were entred, and the Kings, People, and Cities consumed, ere it could spread it selfe so farre as their owne Territories and Cities. But after five of those 31. Kings (all which at length perished in that warre) ioyned themselves together, first attempting the *Gibeonites*, who had rendred themselves to *Iosua*. Only *Iue* (the rest looking on to the successe) namely, the King of the *Iebusites*, in *Iebus*, or *Ierusalem*, the Kings of *Hebron*, *Iarmosh*, *Lachis*, and *Eglon*, addrest themselves for resistance: whose Armie being by *Iosua* surpris'd and broken, themselves despairing to escape by flight,

flight, and hopelesse of mercy by submission, creeping into a Caue vnder ground, were thence by *Iosua* drawne forth and hanged. In the prosecution of which victory he also tooke *Makkedah*, and *Libnah*, and *Lachis*. To the reliefe whereof *Horam* King of *Gezar* hastened, and perished. After which *Iosua* possesst himselfe of *Eglon*, *Hebron*, and *Debir*, delroying the Cities with their Princes.

10 In the end, and when the South Countreies were possesst, the Cities thereof conquered, and their Kings and People made dust: the rest of the *Canaanites*, guided by the counter-ailles of necessity, vnited themselves, to make one grosse strength and body of an Armie: which *Iabin*, King of *Hazor*, practised and gathered together, by *Iosua* di-
10 covered, as the same rested neere the Lake of *Merom*, heu'd such diligence, as he came on them vnawares; and obtaining absolute victory ouer then, he prosecuted the same to the vttermost effect. And, besides the slaughter of the defendants, he entred their Cities, of which he burnt *Hazor* only, reseruing the rest for *Israel* to inhabite and enioy.

Secondly, I note, that *Iosua* shewed himselfe a skilfull man of Warre, for that in those ancient times he vfed the stratageme of an ambush in taking of *Ai*; and in that hee broke the Armies of the first five Kings of the *Amorites*, which attempted *Gibeon* by surpris. For he marched all night from his campe at *Gilgal*, and set on them early the next day; when he ouerthrew *Iabin* and his confederates. After which, making the best profit of his victory, he assaulted the great Citie of *Hazor*.

10 Thirdly, the miracles which God wrought during this warre, were exceeding admirable; as the stay of the Riuer *Jordan* at the Springs, so as the Armie of *Israel* past it with a drie foote; the fall of *Jerico* by the sound of the Hornes; the shoures of Haile-stones, which fell vpon the *Amorites* in their flight from *Gibeon*, whereby more of them perished than by the sword of *Israel*: againe, the arrest of the Sunne in the firmament, whereby the day was so much the more lengthened, as the *Israelites* had time to execute all those which fled after the ouerthrow: a wonder of wonders, and a worke onely proper to the all-powerfull God.

Fourthly, out of the passage between *Iosua* and the *Gibeonites*, the Doctrine of keeping Faith is so plainly and excellently taught, as it taketh away all euasion, it admitteth no distinction, nor leaueth open any hole or out-let at all to that cunning perfidiousnes, and horrible deceit of this latter age, called *Aquiuocation*. For, notwithstanding that these *Gibeonites* were a people of the *Heuites*, exprefly and by name, by the commandement of God to be rooted out, and notwithstanding that they were liars, and deceiters, and counterfeits, and that they did ouer-reach, and as it were, deride *Iosua*, and the Princes of *Israel*, by faining to bee sent as Embassadors from a farre Countrie, in which trauaile their clothes were worne, their bread mouldie; which they auowed to haue bene warme for newnesse when they first set out; their barrels and bottels of wine broken; their shoes patcht; and their sacks rent and ragged: Yet *Iosua* hauing sworne vnto them by the Lord God of *Israel*, hee durst not, though urged by the multitude of the people, to lay violent hands on them; but hee spared both their Liues, and the Cities of their inheritance.

Now if euer man had warrant to breake Faith, and to retract his promise made, *Iosua* had it. For first, the commandement which he receiued from God to root out this Nation among the rest, preceded by farre the peace which he had granted them. Secondly, hee might iustly haue put these men to the sword, and haue sackt their Cities; if there be any euasion from a promise made, whereof the liuing God is called to witnesse. For it was not to the *Gibeonites* he gaue peace, because hee knew them to be a people hated of God. Hee told them, that if they were of the *Heuites*, it was not in his power to make a league with them. But it was to a strange people that he gaue faith, & to a Nation which came from farre, who hearing of the wonders which the God of *Israel* had done in *Egypt* and ouer *Jordan*, sought for peace and protection from his people. Thirdly, the accord, which *Israel* made with these craftie *Canaanites*, was without warrant. For it is written in the same place, That the *Israelites* accepted their tale, that is, beleued what they had said, and consailed not with the mouth of the Lord. Fourthly, these men who were knowne Idolaters, and seru'd those Puppets of the Heathen, men of an Aposth Religion, as all Worshippers of Images are, could not challenge the witness of the true God, in whom they beleued not. I say therefore, that if euer man might haue seru'd himselfe by any euasion or distinction, *Iosua* might iustly haue done it. For hee needed not

not in this case the helpe of *Equiuocation*, or *Mensall Refutation*. For what hee swaie, hee swaie in good Faith; but hee swaie nothing, nor made any promise at all to the *Gibeonites*. And yet, to the end that the faithlesse subtiltie of man should borrow nothing in the future from his example, who knowing well, that the promises he made in the name of God, were made to the liuing God, and not to the dying Man, hee held them firme, and inuioiable, notwithstanding that they, to whom he had sworne it, were worshippers of the Deuill.

For it is not as faithlesse mentake it, that he which sweareth to a Man, to a Societe, to a State, or to a King, and sweareth by the name of the liuing Lord, and in his presence, That this promise (if it be broken) is broken to a man, to a Societe, to a State, or to a Prince; but the promise in the name of God made, is broken to God. It is God, that we therein neglect: we therein professe that we feare him not, and that we set him at naught, and desie him. If hee that without Refutation of honour giueth a lie in the presence of the King, or of his Superiour, doth in point of Honour giue the lie to the King himselfe, or to his Superiour; how much more doth he breake Faith with God, that giueth Faith in the presence of God, promitteth in his name, and makes him a witness of the Conuicte made?

Out of doubt, it is a fearefull thing for a Sonne to breake the Promise, Will, or Deed of the Father; for a State, or Kingdome, to breake those Contracts which haue bene made in former times, and confirmed by publike faith. For though it were 400. yeeres after *Iosua*, that *Saul*, euen out of deuotion, slaughtered some of those people descended of the *Gibeonites*: yet God who forgot not what the Predecessors and Fore-fathers of *Saul* and the *Israelites* had sworne in his name, afflicted the whole Nation with a continuing famine; and could not be appeased, till seven of *Sauls* sonnes were deliuered to the *Gibeonites* grieved, and by them hanged vp.

And certainly, if it be permitted by the helpe of a ridiculous distinction, or by a God-mocking equiuocation, to sweare one thing by the name of the liuing God, and to refuse in silence a contrary intent: the life of man, the estates of men, the faith of Subjects to Kings, of Seruants to their Masters, of Vassals to their Lords, of Wiues to their Husbands, and of Children to their Parents, and of all trials of right, will not only be made vncertaine, but all the chaines, whereby free men are tied in the world, become slender. It is by oath (when Kings and Armies cannot passe) that wee enter into the Cities of our enemies, and into their Armies: it is by oath that warres take end, which weapons cannot end. And what is it or ought it to be that makes an oath thus powerfull, but this; That he that sweareth by the name of God, doth assure others that his words are true, as the Lord of all the World is true whom he calleth for a witness, and in whole presence he that taketh the oath hath promised: I am not ignorant of their poore euasions, which play with the feuerity of Gods Commandments in this kinde: But this indeed is the best answer, That hee breakes no faith, that hath none to breake. For whosoever hath faith and the feare of God, dares not doe it.

The *Christians* in the *Holie Land* when they were at the greatest, and had brought the *Caliph of Agypt* to pay them tribute, did not onely lose it againe, but were soone after beaten out of the *Holie Land* it selfe: by reason (saith *William of Tyre*, a reuerend Bishop which wrote that storie) that *Almerick* the fiftieth King after *Godfrey* brake faith with the *Caliph Elhadeth*, and his Vicegerent, The *Soldan Sanar*; who being suddenly inuaded by *Almerick*, drew in the *Turke Syrac* to their aide: whose Nephew *Seladine*, after hee had made *Agypt* his owne, beat the *Christians* out of the *Holie Land*; neither would the wooden Crosse (the very Crosse, say they, that Christ died on) giue them victorie ouer *Seladine*, when they brought it into the field as their last refuge: seeing they had forsworne themselves in his name, that was crucified thereon. And if it be a direction from the holy Ghost, That he that speaketh lies, shall be destroyed, and that the mouth which uttereth them, slayeth the soule: how much more perillous is it (if any perill be greater than to destroy the soule) to sweare a lye? It was *Eugenius* the Pope, that perswaded, or rather commanded the King of *Hungarie* after his great victory ouer *Amarath the Turke*, & when the said King had compelled him to peace, the most aduantageous that euer was made for the *Christians*, to breake his Faith, and to prouoke the *Turke* to renew the warre. And though the said King was farre stronger in the field than euer; yet hee lost the battaile with 30000. *Christians*, and his owne life. But I will say my hand: For this first

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16. §. 1. 11.

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volume will not hold the repetition of Gods iudgements vpon faith-breakers; bee it against *Infidels*, *Turkes*, or *Christians* of diuers Religions. Lamentable it is, that the taking of othes now-a-daies, is rather made a matter of custome than of conscience.

It is also very remarkable; That it pleased God to leaue so many Cities of the *Canaanites* vnconquered by *Israel*, to scourge and afflict them, by fore-seeing their Idolatrie, and as it is said in the Scriptures, To be *Thornes in their eyes to proue them, and to teach them to make Warre*. For these Cities hereafter named did not only remaine in the *Canaanites* possession all the time of *Iosua*, but soone after his death, the Children of *Dan* were beaten out of the plaine Countries, and enforst to inhabite the Mountaines, and places of hardest access. And those of *Juda* were not able to be Masters of their owne Vallies; because, as it is written in the *Iudges*, The *Canaanites* had Chariots of Iron. And those principall Cities which stood on the Sea-side, adioyning vnto *Juda*, were still held by the remainder of the *Anakims*, or *Philistims*: as *Azazah*, *Gath*, *Ajdod*; out of one of which Cities came *Goliath*, remembred in *Samuel*.

Neither did the children of *Manasse* ouer *Jordan* expell the *Geshurites*, nor the *Machathites*: which inhabited the North parts of *Basan*, afterward *Tracomitis*.

Nor the *Nepthalims* possessed themselves of *Bethshemish*, nor of *Bethanah*, but they inforst those *Canaanites* to pay them tribute. Neither did *Asher* expell the *Zidonians*, nor those of *Acho*, or *Acon*, *Athlah*, *Achzib*; *Heblah*, *Apheke*, and *Rehob*, nor inforsethem to tribute.

No more could *Zabulon* enioy *Kitron*, and *Nahalol*, but receiued tribute from them. All the *Canaanites* dwelt in *Gezer* among the *Ephraims*: and among the children of *Manasse*, on the West of *Jordan*, the *Canaanites* held *Bethshean*, *Taanach*, *Dor*, *Ibleam*, and *Megiddo*; yea *Hierusalem* it selfe did the *Iebusites* defend aboute foure hundred yeeres, euen till *Dauids* time.

Now *Iosua* liued one hundred and ten yeeres, eightene of which he gouerned *Israel*, and then changed this life for a better. The time of his rule is not exprest in the Scriptures, which causeth diuers to coniecture diuersly of the continuance. *Iosephus* giues him fife and twentie yeeres, *Seder Ollam Rabbi* the Authors of the *Hebrew Chronologie* eight and twentie: And *Massius* fixe and twentie: *Maimonius* cited by *Massius*, fourteene: *Ioannes Lucidas*, seuentene: *Caietan*, ten: *Eusebius* giue him seuen & twentie: and so doth *S. Augustine*: *Melancthon*, two and thirtie: *Codoman*, fife and twentie. But whereas there passed 480. yeeres from the deliuerie of *Israel* out of *Agypt*, vnto the building of the Temple, it is necessary that wee allow to *Iosua* onely eightene of them; as finding therest supplied otherwise, which to mee seemes the most likely; and as I thinke, a well approued opinion.

The same necessitie of retaining precisely 480. yeeres from the departure out of *Agypt* vnto the building of the Temple, conuinceth of error, such as haue inserted yeeres betweene *Iosua* and *Othniel*, of whom *Eusebius* findes eight yeeres, to which *Arius Montanus* adhereth; and for which hee giueh his reason in his foure and twentith and last

40 Chapters vpon *Iosua*: *Bunting* reckons it nine yeeres: *Buchholzer* and *Reusner* but one, *Codoman* twentie, and *Nicephorus* no lesse than three and thirtie: whereas following the sure direction of these 480. yeeres, there can be no void yeeres found betweene *Iosua* and *Othniel*, vnlesse they be taken out of those eightene ascribed vnto *Iosua* by the account already specified. The prayles and acts of *Iosua* are briefly written in the fixe and fortieth Chapter of *Ecclesiasticus*, where among many other things it is said of him, who was there before him like to him, for he fought the battells of the Lord?

That he wrote the booke called by this name, it was the opinion of *Arius Montanus*, because it is said in the last Chapter, v. 26. And *Iosua* wrote these words in the booke of the law of God: which seemeth rather to haue been meant by the covenant which *Iosua* made with *Israel* in *Siechem*, where they all promised to serue & obey the Lord: which promise *Iosua* caused to be written in the booke of the Law: and of this opinion were *Caietan* and *Abulensis*: the latter doth likewise coniege that the booke of *Iosua* was collected out of an ancient Volume, intituled *Liber Iusorum*, remembred by *Iosua* himselfe, and others, that it was the work of *Samuel*: for whereas *Montanus* groundeth his opinion vpon these words of the 26. verse, And *Iosua* wrote these words, &c. this place hath nothing in it to proue it, for when the people had answered *Iosua*; The Lord our God will serue, & his voice will we obey, it followeth that *Iosua* made a covenant with the people, and wrote the same in the booke of the Law of God.

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There liued at once with *Iofua*, *Erichonius* in *Attica*, who taught that Nation to yoke beaſts together, thereby to till the ground with more eaſe and ſpeed: And about the ſame time the ſittie Daughters of *Danauſ* (as it is ſaid) ſlew the ſittie Sonnes of *Aegyptus*, all but *Lyneus* who ſucceeded *Danauſ*, if the tale be true. There liued alſo with *Iofua*, *Phœnix*, and *Cadmus*, and neere the end of *Iofuaſ* life, *Iupiter* is ſaid to haue rauifhed *Europa* the Daughter of *Phœnix*, (afterward married to *Aſterius* King of *Creta*) and began on her *Minos*, *Radamanthus* and *Sarpedon*. But *S. Auguſtine* reports this rauifhment to be committed by *Xanthus*, and yet they are more commonly taken for the Sonnes of *Iupiter*. But it may be doubted whether *Minos* was father to *Deucalion*, & *Deucalion* to *Idomeneus*, who was an old man at the warre of *Troy*, and *Sarpedon* was in perſon a young or ſtrong man at the *Troian* war. And ſo doth *Neflor* reckon vp in the Councell of the *Greeks*, *Theſeus* and *Perithous* for men of Antiquitie, and of ages paſt: *Minos* being yet more ancient than any of theſe. But hereof elſewhere.

Lib. 3. c. 112.
De Ciuit. Dei.Homer. Odſſ.
c. 11. ad.

Homer. Iliad. 1.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Tribes of *Iſrael*, that were planted in the borders
of *Phœnicia*, with ſundrie Stories depending
upon thoſe places.

§. I.

The Proeme to the deſcription of the whole Land of *Canaan*, with an Expo-
ſition of the name of *Syria*.



THE ſtorie of the *Judges* ought to follow that of *Iofua*, after whom the Common-wealth of the *Iewes* was gouerned by Kings, of which ſo many of them as ruled theſe Tribes, ſhall be remembered when we come to the deſcription of *Samarita*: but be-
cauſe the Land of *Canaan*, and the borders thereof, were the Stages and *Theaters*, whereon the greateſt part of the Story paſt, with that which followeth, hath been acted, I thinke it very pertinent (for the better vnderſtanding of both) to make a *Geographi-
cally* deſcription of thoſe Regions: that all things therein performed by the places knowne, may the better be vnderſtood, and conceiued. To which purpoſe (beſides the addition of the Neighbour Countries) I haue beſtowed on euery Tribe his proportion: and doe ſhew what Cities and Places of ſtrength were by the *Iewes* obtained: and what numbers it pleaſed God to leaue vnconquered; by whom he might correct and ſcourge them, when vngratefull for his many graces, they at ſundry times forgot or neglected the Lord of all power, and adored thoſe deafe and dead Idols of the Heathen. *Diuina bonitas* (ſaith *Auguſtine*) *ideo maxime irascitur in hoc ſeculo, ne irascatur in futuro: & miſericorditer temporalem adhibet ſeueritatem, ne æternam iuſte inferat ultionem*. The *Di-
vine* goodneſſe is eſpecially therefore angry in this world, that it may not be angry in the world to come, and doth mercifully uſe temporall ſeuerity, that it may not iuſtly bring vpon vs eternall vengeance.

To the Cities herein deſcribed, I haue added a ſhort Story of the beginnings and ends of diuers Kingdomes and common-wealths: and to helpe my ſelfe herein, I haue peruſed diuers of the beſt Authors vpon this ſubiect: among whom, becauſe I finde ſo great diſagreement in many particulars, I haue rather in ſuch caſes aduentured to follow mine owne reaſon, than to borrow any one of their old patternes.

And becauſe *Canaan*, with *Paſtina* of the *Philiftines*, and the Lands of *Og* and *Sion* Kings of *Baſan*, and the *Arabian Amoritæ*, were but ſmall Prouinces of *Syria*: it ſhall be neceſſarie, firſt to diuide and bound the generall, and ſo to deſcend to this particular, now called the holy Land.

Syria, now *Soria*, according to the laſteſt deſcription, and as it was anciently taken, embraced all thoſe Regions from the *Euxine* Sea, to the *Red* Sea: and therefore were the *Cappadocians*, which looke into *Pontus*, called *Leucogryans*, or white *Syrians*. But taking it ſhorter,

Procl. Affa:
lib. 4.

Procl. 3.

ſhorter, and from the coaſt of *Cilicia*, which is the North border, vnto *Idumea* towards the South, *Tigriſ* towards the Sunne riſing, and the *Mediteran* Sea Weſtward: it then containeth beſides *Babylonia*, *Chaldea*, *Arabia the Deſert*, and *Arabia Petraea*, that Region alſo which the *Greekes* call *Meſopotamia*, the *Hebrewes* *Syria*, of the two Riuerſ, to wit, *Tigriſ* and *Euphrates*, for ſo *Araam Nabairajim* is expounded: alſo *Padan Araam*: that is, *Ingen* *Syria*, becauſe the two Riuerſ goe along in it as it were in a yoke.

Edſſa, ſometime *Rages*, now *Rage*, was the *Metropolis* of this Region of *Syria*. In *Syria* taken largely, there were many ſmall Prouinces, as *Celeſyria* which the *Latines* call *Syria* *Cana*, becauſe it lay in that fruitfull Valley betwene the Mountaines of *Lybanus*, and *Antiochianus*, in which the famous Cities of *Antioch*, *Laodicea*, *Apamea*, with many others were ſeated. Then *Damaſcena* or *Syria Lybanica*, taking name of the Citie *Damaſcus*, and the Mountaines of *Lybanus*, the Regall ſeat of the *Adadeſ*, the firſt Kings of *Syria*. Ad-
ioyning to it was the Prouince of *Sephene*, or *Syria Soba*, *Choba*, or *Zobal*: ouer which *Adadeſ* commanded in *Salomons* time. Then *Phœnicia* and the people *Syraphanices*: and laſtly *Syria Paſtina* bordering *Aegypt*: of which *Ptolomie* maketh *Iudea* alſo a part: and to that Prouince which *Moſes* calleth *Seir* and *Edom*, *Pomponius Mela* giueth the name of *Syria Iudea*.

1. R. 11.

Herod. in Pe-
lym: Dic. 1. 27.Procl. Affa:
lib. 4.

§. II.

Of the bounds of the land of *Canaan*, and of the promiſes touching this Land.

THAT Land which was anciently *Canaan*, taketh a part of *Phœnicia*, and ſtretcheth from behinde *Lybanus* to the great *Deſert* betwene *Idumea* and *Aegypt*: bounded by the Mid-land Sea on the Weſt, and the Mountaines of *Hermion*, *Galaad* and *Arnon* towards the Eaſt: the ſame Hills which *Strabo* calleth *Traconi* or *Tracônitis*, and *Ptolomie* *Hippus*. The name of *Canaan* it had from *Canaan* the Sonne of *Cham*, & lingua appellata ſuit *Canaan*: The language was alſo called *Canaan*, ſaith *Montanus*: and after *Hebreæ* of the *Hebrewes*: who tooke name from *Heber*, the Sonne of *Sale*, according to *S. Auguſtine*. But *Arias Montanus* not ſo well allowing of this derivation, makes it a common name to all thoſe of *Noahs* Sonnes, which paſt ouer *Euphrates* towards the Weſt Sea. For the word *Heber*, ſaith he, is as much as *transiens* or *transmittens*, of going or paſſing over. And becauſe the children of *Abraham* had for a long time no certaine abiding: therefore as he thinks, they were by the *Aegyptians* called *Hebrai*, as it were paſſengers, which is alſo the opinion of *C. Sigonius*, and of *Eusebius* long before them both. It had alſo the name of *Iudea* from *Iuda*; and then afterwards intuled The holy Land, becauſe therein our *Sauour Chriſt* was borne and buried. Now this part of *Syria* was againe diuided into foure; namely, into *Edom*, (otherwiſe *Seir*, or *Edumæa*) *Galilee*, *Samarita*, and *Iudea*. *Galilee* is double, the ſuperior called *Genetium*, and the inferior: and that *Galilee* and *Iudea* are diſtinguiſhed, it is plaine in the *Euangelists*, though both of them belong to *Phœnicia*.

Euseb. Præp.
l. 1. c. 17. 4. 3.Mark. 2:
Luc. 2.
John 4.

Now beſides theſe prouinces of *Phœnicia*, and *Paſtina* (both which the Riuer of *Jordan* boundeth; being that *Phœnicia* ſtretcheth a little more Eaſterly towards *Damaſcus*) that part alſo to the Eaſt of *Jordan*, and within the Mountaines of *Hermion*, *Gilead*, and *Arnon*, otherwiſe *Traconi*, fell to the poſſeſſion of haſie *Manaſſe*, *Gad*, and *Reuben*, and therefore are accounted a part of *Canaan* alſo: aſwell becauſe anciently poſſeſt by the *Amoritæ*, as for that they were conquered and enioyed by the *Iſraelites*, which Eaſtermoſt parts are againe diuided into *Baſan* or *Batanea*, into *Gilead*, *Moab*, *Midian*, *Armon*, and the Territories of the *Maſchati*, *Geſſuri*, *Argobæ*, *Huæ*. They are knownto the latter *Cosmographers* by the name of *Arabia* in generall: and by the names of *Tracônitis*, *Pieria*, *Batanea*, &c. of which I will ſpeake in their proper places.

But where *Moſes* deſcribeth the Land of *Canaan* in the tenth of *Genetiſ*, hee maketh mention of the later Prouinces, which fell to *Manaſſe*, *Gad*, and *Reuben*, for theſe be his words, *Then the border of the Canaanites was from Zidon, as thou commeſt to Gerar vntill Azab* (which is *Gaza*) and this was the length of the Countrey North and South: then it followeth in the Text; *And as thou goeſt vnto Sodome and Gomorah, and Admah, and Seboim, euen vnto Laſbi*: by which words *Moſes* ſetteth downe the breadth, to wit, from the *Dead Sea* to the *Mediteran*. But in *Deuteronomie* it ſeemeth to be far more large: For it is therein written; *All the places whereon the ſole of your feet ſhall tread, ſhall be yours*: *Deut. 1. 21.*

your coast shall be from the wilderness and from Libanon, and from the River Perah, unto the uttermost Sea. Now for the length of the Countrey North and South, this description agreeth with the former: only Libanon is put for Zidon: and the Wilderness for Gerar and Aszrah, which make no difference: but for the breadth and extent East and West, if Perah be taken for Euphrates: then the Land promised stretcheth it selfe both ouer Arabia Petraea, and the Desert as farre as the border of Babylon: which the Israelites neuer posside, nor at any time did so much as invade or attempt. And therefore Vadianus doth conceiue that by the River Perah, was meant Jordan, and not Euphrates: taking light from this place of Iosua: Behold, I haue diuided vnto you by los these Nations, that remaine to be an inheritance according to your Tribes: from Jordan with all the Nations that I haue destroyed, euen vnto the great Sea Westward.

And though it be true that David greatly enlarged the Territorie of the Holie Land: yet as Vadianus well noteth, if Perah in the former place be taken for Euphrates, then was it put per gentes in amicitiam receptas. For David did not at any time enter so farre to the East as Assyria, or Babilonia. Neither doth the not possessing of all these Countreies giue aduantage to those that would make any irreligious cauil, as touching the promise of God to the Israelites vnperformed: For when both their Kings, Magistrates, and People, fell from his worship and seruice, it pleased him not onely to inclose them within that Territorie, which was for so many people exceeding narrow: but therein else where to subiect them vnto those Idolatrous Nations, whose false and foolish Gods they themselves also serued and obeyed. And sure the promise by which the Hebrewes claimed the inheritance of Canaan, and the lasting inioying thereof, to wit, as long as the heauens were above the earth, was tied to those conditions, both in the Vcrises preceding, and subsequent; which the Israelites neuer performed. And therefore they could not hope for other then all mankind could or can expect; who knew that all sorts of comforts from the mercifull goodnesse of God looked for, as well in this life as after it, are no longer to be attended, than while we perseuer in his loue, seruice, and obedience. So in the eight Verse of the cleuenth of Deuteronomie, the keeping of Gods Commandements was a condition ioyned to the prosperity of Israel. For therein it is written, Therefore shall ye keepe all the Commandements which I command you this day: that ye may be strong, and gain, and possess the Land, whither ye goe to possess it. Also that you may prolong your dayes in the Land which the Lord swore vnto your Fathers, &c.

The like condition was also annexed to the enioying of the land conquered, and the possession thereof, so long as the heauens were above the earth. For if ye keepe diligently, faith hee, all these commandements, which I command you to doe, that ye, so loue the Lord, your God, &c. then will the Lord cast out all these Nations before you, and ye shall possess great Nations, & mightier than you. And here, though it be manifest, that by reason of the breach of Gods Commandements, and their falling away from the worship of his all-powerfull Maiestie, to the Idolatrie of the Heathen, the conditionall promises of God were absolutely void, as depending vpon obedience vnperformed: yet I cannot mislike that exposition of Melancthon: For, faith hee, ostendit promissionem precipuam non esse de hoc Politico regno; He sheweth that his chiefe promise is not of a ciuill Kingdome. To which agrees that answer, which S. Hierome made to a certaine Heretique in his Epistle ad Dardanum, who accused S. Hierome that he ouerthrow the reputation of the Iewes Storie, & brought the truth thereof in question, by drawing it altogether into an Allegorie, and ad illam duntaxat vniuersum terram qua in caelo est; (that is) Onely to that Land of the liuing which is in Heauen. Quotiam tota Iudeorum Regio adeo angusta sit ambitu, ut cit longitudine beat 160. miliarium, latitudine vero 40. & in his citiam regiones, loca, vrbes & oppida sunt plurima, nungquam a Iudeis occupata, sed tantum diuina pollicitatione promissa; Because the whole Countrey of the Iewes is so narrow in compasse, that it scarce bath 160. miles in length, & 40. miles in breadth, and in these are Countreies, places, Cities, & many Townes, which the Iewes neuer possessed, but were onely granted by diuine promise. In like manner the same Father speaketh vpon Esay touching the blessings promised vnto Hierusalem: where hee hath these words: De quo dicimus Hierusalem nequaquam in Palestina Regione petendam: quae totius Prouinciae deterrima est: & saxosis montibus asperatur, & penuriam pasturum sitis: ita ut celestibus vltatur pluujs; & rarissimis fontium cisternarum structurae solatur: sed in Dei manibus ad quam dicitur, scissinauerunt fructus eius; From whence, faith hee, we learne, that Hierusalem is not to be sought in that region of Palestina, which is the worst of the whole Prouince, & rugged

Vadian. Epist.
triu terra par-
tem cap. Pa-
lestina.

Deut. 11. 7. 21.

Deut. 11.

Deut. 11.

Cyp. 4. 5. 14.

with craggie Mountaines, and suffereth the penurie of the first: so as it preferreth raine water, and supplieth the scarcitie of Wells by building of Cisternes; but this Hierusalem is in Gods hands, to which it is said, Thy builders haue hastened: so farre S. Hierome, where also to prevent mistaking, he thus expoundeth himselfe. Neg, hoc dico in suggestatione terra Iudeae, et Hereticus Sycephanta mentitur: aut quo auferam bistorie veritatem: quae fundamentum est intelligentie spiritualis, sed ut decus supercilium Iudeorum: qui Synagogam angustias latitudinis Ecclesie preferunt. Si enim occidentem tantum sequuntur literam, & non spiritum viuificant: ostendant terram promissionis lacte & melle manantem; Neque (faith hee) say I this to disgrace the land of Iudas (as the Hereticall Sycephanta doth belie me) or to take away the truth of the Historie, which is the foundation of spirituall vnder it aniding, but to beat down the pride of the Iewes: which enlarge the straits of the Synagoge farther then the breadth of the Church: for if they follow onely the killing letter, and not the quickening spirit, let them shew the Land of promise, flowing with milke and honnie.

By this it may also be gathered, howlooser it be unlikely (seeing the West-bound in the place Deut. 11. 24. had his truth in the literal sense, that Euphrates or Perah, which is made the East bound, should be taken onely in a spirituall sense) yet neuertheless that Hieromes opinion inclineth to this, as if this Perah were not to be vnderstood for Euphrates: and that the promise it selfe was neuer so large: much lesse the plantation and conquest of Israel.

And now for a more particular description of this Holy Land, because Asher, Nephthaim, and Zabulon, held the Northernmost part, and were seated in Phenicia, I will begin with these three, taking Asher for the first: of which Tribe yet before I speake, I must admonish the Reader touching the names of places in this, and the other Tribes to be mentioned, that he remember that many names by reason of the diuers fancies of Translators, are diuersly expressed, so that to the vnskillfull they may seeme diuers, when they are one and the same: the reason of this diuersitie (as by those learned in the Hebrew I am taught) is partly because the ancient Editions of the Hebrew want vowels, the old Translators imagined others vowels then now the Hebrew editions haue; and partly because the Ancient expressed or omitted diuers consonants, otherwise than the latter doe thinke fit.

§. III.

THE TRIBE OF ASHER.

†. I.

The bounds of the Tribe of Asher.

The Asherites descended of Asher the Sonne of Iacob by Zelpha, the handmaid of Lea, were increased while they abode in Egypt, to the number of 41500. and odde persons, all men about twenty yeeres of age, and able to beare armes at the time, when they were mustered by Moses at Mount Sinai; all which number perishing in the Deserts, there remained of their issues, besides women and children 53400. bodies fit for the warres: which past the River of Arnon, into the Plaines of Moab, and after the Conquest of Canaan, had for their portion that part of Phenicia, from Zidon and the fields of Libanus, vnto Ptolemais, along the Sea-coast: containing thirtie English miles or thereabout: and from the Mid-land sea to the East border sometwelue miles: though Ant. 116. Ant. 116. makes it somewhat larger. This part of Canaan was very fruitfull, abounding in Wine, Oile, and Wheate, besides the Balsamum, with other pleasant and profitable commodities: according to that Prophecie, Asher pinguis panis: Concerning Asher, his bread shall be fat, And he shall giue pleasures for a King.

†. II.

Of Zidon.

The first City seated on the North border of the Territorie of Asher, was Zidon, which Iosua calleth the great Zidon; both for strength and magnitude. The Greeces and

Ios. 1. 18.

Gen. 10. 10.

Esa. 23. Hier.

47. Eccl. 28.

Eccl. 21. 24. 25.

Psal. 124. Hier.

19. Valerius.

Plin. 2. 16.

Strab. 1. 6.

Strab. 1. 6.

Zach. 2. 5.

Heracl. 1. 1.

Plin. 1. 5. c. 10.

* It seems that

even in *Iosus*

time they pra-

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whence *Strabo*for *Misphre-*both *misphre-*

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that of *Tyre*,

into places re-

mote: as vnto

Thebes, *Cities*of *Beotia* in*Greece*.*Strabo* and*Plinie* give the*Zidonians* the

invention of

Glasse, which

they vied to

make

of those sands

which are taken

out of the Riuer

Belus, fallinginto the *Mediterran**Sea*, as it seems,

because thereof

necere *Psolomais*or *Acon*: and

from whence

the *Venetians*

fetch the matter

of those cleere

Glasses which

they make at

Q. Curtius make *Agenor* the founder thereof: and *Iustine* deriues the name from the abundance of fish found on those shores: whereof it hath beene called *Zidon*. But that it was farre more ancient, *Moses*, *Iosus*, and *Iosephus* witness, the same being founded by *Zidon* the eldest of *Canaan*'s Sonnes: and so strong it was in *Iosus*'s time, as neither did himselfe attempt it, neither could the *Assyrians*, or any of their successors master it: but it continued all the time of the *Judges* and *Kings*, euen vnto the coming of *Christ*, a Citie interchangeably gouerned, by their owne Princes or other Magistrates: though according to the warnings and threats of the *Prophets Esay*, *Hieremie*, *Ezechiel*, and *Zacharie*, it was often afflicted both by the enemies sword, and by the pestilence.

Zidon is seated on the very wath of the *Phenician* Sea, which is a part of the *Mediterran* or Mid-land Sea. It hath to the North the Citie of *Berythus*, and the Riuer *Leontis*: and to the South *Sarepta*, or *Sarphas*: which standeth betwene it and *Tyre*, the distance betwene which two great and famous cities, to wit, *Zidon* and *Tyre*, is 14. thousand paces, faith *Seiglerus*: but *Plinius* makes it two hundred furlongs, and so doth *Welfinburg* in his description of the holy Land, and both from *Strabo*: which two hundred furlongs make five and twentie miles. This difference of distance as well betwene these two known Cities, as all the rest, make it ouer-difficult to deuise any new scale to the Mappe and description of the holy Land.

Where Kings it had till *Agenor*'s time: there is no memorie: The story which *Zeno* the Philosopher, who was a *Zidonius*, wrote thereof, being by time consumed and lost. It seemeth to be more ancient then *Tyre*, which was also built by the *Zidonians*. For as *Strabo* noteth, *Homer* speaking of *Zidon*, neglecteth the memorie of *Tyre*, because it was but a member of *Zidon*, and a Citie subiect to the Kings thereof: though it be true that in after-times it contended with *Zidon* for Primacie, and became farre more renowned, opulent, and strong: From *Zidon* had *Salomon* and *Zorobabel* their principal workemen, both in Timber and Stone, for the building of the Temple. For as it flourished in all

sorts of learning, so did it in all other Mechanicall Arts or Trades: the Prophet *Zacharie* calling them the wise *Zidonians*. The Citie was both by Nature & Art exceeding strong, hauing a Castle or Citadell on the North-side, standing vpon an vnaccessible Rocke, and compassed by the Sea, which after the Citizens became Christians, was held and defended by the Knights of the Dutch Cyder: and another Castle it hath on the South side by the Port of *Aegypt*, which the Templers guarded. It also sent many other Colonies beside that of *Tyre*, into places remote: as vnto *Thebes*, and *Sophyra*, Cities of *Beotia* in *Greece*.

Strabo and *Plinie* give the *Zidonians* the inuention of Glasse, which they vied to make of those sands which are taken out of the Riuer *Belus*, falling into the *Mediterran* Sea, as it seems, because thereof necere *Psolomais* or *Acon*: and from whence the *Venetians* fetch the matter of those cleere Glasses which they make at *Murana*: of which *S. Hierome* and *Plinie*: *Zidon insignis artificis vitri*: *Zidon vitrarioris officinis Nobilis*: *Zidon a famous Glassmaker, or a skillfull workman in Glasse-houses*.

They were in Religion Idolaters (as the rest of the *Canaanites*) worshippers of *Baal* and *Astaroth*: which Idols though common to the other of the issue of *Canaan*, as *Phidias* the Gods of the *Zidonians*: as appears 1. *Kings* 11. 5. in the storie of *Salomon*'s Idolatrie: where *Astaroth* is called the God of the *Zidonians*: and 1. *Reg.* 16. 33. in the story of *Achab*, the chiefe worshipper of *Baal*, where it is said that hee marrying *Iezabel* the Daughter of the King of the *Zidonians*, worshipped their *Baal*. *Diuers Baals* & *diuers Astartes* in their Idolatries they acknowledged: as it appears by the plurall names of *Baals*: some of them and *Astartes*, 1. *Sam.* 12. 10. and elsewhere: for euen the name *Astartes*, as I am informed to haue beene a shepheard, med by a skillfull *Hebrician*, is plural: the singular being *Astarte*: whence *Iud.* 2. 23. the word *Septuagint* reads *iniquos in Astarte*. They worshipped the *Astartes*. The occasion of this their multiplying of their *Baals*, and *Astartes*, may be diuersly vnderstood: either in respect of the diueritie of the formes of the Images, or of the worship in diuers places, or of the diuers stories depending vpon them: which (as fables vse to be) were doubtlesse in diuers Cities diuers. *Augustine* quest. 12. in *Iud.* thinks *Baal* and *Astarte* to be *Iupiter* and *Iuno*. For as it seems, knew it by the name of *Sarra*: for *Virgil* calleth the purple of *Tyre*, *Oftrum Sarra*, by which name *Iouenal* and *Silius* remember it. The *Zidonians* built it vpon a high Hill, whereof many ruines remaine to this day: the place being still knowne by the name of the ancient *Tyre*: and because it was a Colonie of the *Zidonians*, the Prophet

Esay

ueneration commonly worshipped of the *Assyrians*: and *Hierome* vpon *Ezek.* 8. 44. notes that *Thammuz* (whom there the Idolatrous women are noted to bewaile) is the name of *Adonis* among the *Syrians*. So that it may seeme that in the worship of *Astarte* or *Venus*, they did bewaile her Husband *Adonis*: as also the *Gracians* did in their songs of *Adonis*: *Mourne* for *Adonis* the faire, dead is *Adonis* the faire. Howbeit others in that place of *Ezekiel* not without good probability, expound the mourning for *Thammuz*, to be the mourning for *Osiris* in the sacrifice of *Isis*: whose losse of her Husband *Osiris*, was as famous in the *Aegyptian* Idolatry, as with the *Gracians*, *Venus* losse of *Adonis*. And to this agreeeth that which *Plutarch* hath, de *Iside* & *Osiride*; that *Osiris* with the *Aegyptians* is called *Ammuz*: which word may seeme to be the same with *Ezekiel*'s *Thammuz*. But howsoever these *Zidonians* were thus anciently fostered with the milke of Idolatry: yet they were more apt to receiue the Doctrine and Gospell of *Christ* after his Ascension, than the *Jews*: who had beene taught by *Moses* and the *Prophets* so many yeeres, whereof our Saviour in *Mathew* and *Luke*: *Woe be to the Corazin*, &c. for if the great works which were done in thee, had beene done in *Tyris* and *Zidon*, they had repented long agoe &c. but I say vnto you, it shall be easier for *Tyris* and *Zidon*, at the day of iudgement, than for you.

It receiued a Christian Bishop with the first: who was afterward of the Diocesse of *Tyre*. But in the yeere of our Redemption 636. it fell into the hands of the *Saracens*: and continued in their possession till *Baldwinus* the first, then King of *Hierusalem* in the yeere 1111. by the helpe of the *Danes* and *Normanes*, who came with a Fleete to visite the holy Land, and tooke Port at *Ioppa*, it was againe recovered, the commandment thereof being giuen to *Eustace Gremer* a Noble man of that Countrey. And againe in the yeere 1250. it was reedified and strengthened by *Lodowicke* the French King: while he spent foure yeere in the Warre of the holy Land. Lastly, in the yeere 1289. it was reconquered by the *Saracens*: and is now in possession of the *Turke*, and hath the name of *Zai*.

†. III.

Of *Sarepta*, with a brieue History of *Tyre* in the same Coast.

Sarepta, or after the Hebrew *Sarphath*, is the next City Southward from *Zidon*, between the Riuer called *Naar*, or *Fons hortorum Libani* (of which more hereafter) standing in the way towards *Tyre*, a City very famous for the excellent wine growing neere it: of which *Sidonius*:

Vina mihi non sunt Gazetica, Chia, Falerna,
Quæq; Sareptano palmite missa bibas.

I haue no wine of *Gazeta*, nor *Falerna* wine,
Nor any for thy drinking of *Sarepta*'s vine.

This City had also a Bishop of the Diocesse of *Tyre*: after it came to the *Saracens* and *Turkes* as the rest: and is now called *Saphet*, faith *Postellus*.

Not farre from *Sarepta* was situate that sometime famous City of *Tyre*, whose fleets of shippes commanded, and gaue the law ouer all the *Mediterran* Sea, and the borders thereof: during which time of greatnesse and power, the *Tyrians* erected *Punica*, *Leptis*, and *Carthage* in *Africa*, of which *Virgil*. *Præstis antiqua fuit, Tyrijs tenuere Coloni, Carthago*. And *Carthage* was therefore called *Punica* quasi *Phœnicum*, a Colonie of the *Phœnicians*. In 50 *Spain* they founded *Gades*, now *Cadiz*. In *Balie*, *Nola*: in *Asia* the lesse, *Dromos*. *A. Plin.* 5. c. 19. *thyllis*, which City the Scholiast of *Apollonius* placeth neere the Riuer *Phyllis*, in *Bi-Macellan*. 1. 22. *thyllis*.

It had anciently the name of *Zor*, or *Tzor*: and so it is written in *Iosus* the 19. taking name from the situation, because built on a high Rock, sharpe at one end. The *Latines*, *Gellius* 1. 4. c. 6. as it seems, knew it by the name of *Sarra*: for *Virgil* calleth the purple of *Tyre*, *Oftrum Sarra*, by which name *Iouenal* and *Silius* remember it. The *Zidonians* built it vpon a high Hill, whereof many ruines remaine to this day: the place being still knowne by the name of the ancient *Tyre*: and because it was a Colonie of the *Zidonians*, the Prophet

Esay

Iulim. 1. 18.

Cem. 10. Ioseph

Eli. 23. Hier:
47. Ezek. 28.
Cp 32. 2te. 9.Pakel. Scig. f.
1. 2. Vadian.
Phar. 127:
Sarat. 116.

Strabo. l. 16.

Zach. 9. 7. 2.

Hier. 1. 15.

Plin. l. 6. c. 9.

Plin. l. 6. c. 9.

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2. *Curtius* make *Agenor* the founder thereof: and *Iulime* deriues the name from the abundance of fish found on those shores: whereof it hath beene called *Zidona*. But that it was farre more ancient, *Moses*, *Iofua*, and *Ioseph* witnesse, the same being founded by *Zidon* the eldest of *Canaan* Sonnes: and so strong it was in *Iofua*'s time, as neither did him selfe attempt it, neither could the *Aserites*, or any of their successors master it: but it continued all the time of the *Judges* and *Kings*, euen vnto the coming of *Christ*, a Citie interchangeably gouerned, by their owne Princes or other Magistrates: though according to the warnings and threats of the *Prophets Esay*, *Hieremie*, *Ezechiel*, and *Zacharie*, it was often afflicted both by the enemies sword, and by the pestilence.

Zidon is seated on the very wall of the *Phenician* Sea, which is a part of the *Mediterran* or Mid-land Sea. It hath to the North the Citie of *Berythus*, and the Riuer *Leontis*: and to the South *Sarepta*, or *Sarphat*: which standeth betweene it and *Tyre*, the distance betweene which two great and famous cities, to wit, *Zidon* and *Tyre*, is 14. thousand paces, but *Vadianus* makes it two hundred furlongs, and so doth *Weistunbur* in his description of the holy Land, and both from *Strabo*: which two hundred furlongs make five and twentie miles. This difference of distance as well betweene these two known Cities, as all the rest, make it ouer-difficult to deuise any new scale to the Mappe and description of the holy Land.

What Kings it had till *Agenor*'s time there is no memorie: The story which *Zeno* the Philosopher, who was a *Zidonian*, wrote thereof, being by time consumed and lost. It seemeth to bee more ancient then *Tyre*; which was also built by the *Zidonians*. Foras much as *Strabo* noteth, *Homer* speaking of *Zidon*, neglecteth the memorie of *Tyre*, because it was but a member of *Zidon*, and a Citie subiect to the Kings thereof: though it be true that in after-times it contended with *Zidon* for Primacie, and became farre more renowned, opulent, and strong: From *Zidon* had *Salomon* and *Zerobabel* their principall workmen, both in Timber and Stone, for the building of the Temple. For as it flourished in all sorts of learning, so did it in all other Mechanical Arts or Trades: as the Prophet *Zacharie* calling them the wile *Zidonians*, The Citie was both by Nature & Art exceeding strong, hauing a Castle or Citadell on the North-side, standing vpon an vnaccessible Rocke, and compassed by the Sea, which after the Citizens became Christians, was held and defended by the Knights of the Dutch Order: and another Castle: hath on the South side by the Port of *Aegypt*, which the Templers guarded. It also sent many other Colonies beside as *combustion*: that of *Tyre*, into places remote: as vnto *Thebes*, and *Sephrya*, Cities of *Bacotia* in *Greece*.

Strabo and *Plinie* giue the *Zidonians* the inuention of * Glasse, which they vied to make of those sands which are taken out of the Riuer *Belus*, falling into the *Mediterran* Sea, neere *Ptolomais* or *Acon*: and from whence the *Venetians* fetch the matter of those cleere Glasses which they make at *Murano*: of which S. *Hierome* and *Plinie*: *Zidon infamis artificis vitri*: *Zidon vitrariorum officinis Nobilis*; *Zidon a famous Glassemaker, or a skilfull worker in Glasse-houses*.

They were in Religion Idolaters (as the rest of the *Canaanites*;) worshippers of *Baal* and *Astarte*: which Idols though common to the other of the issue of *Canaan* as *Plinie* and *Astarte* out of 1. *Sam.* 31. 10. and *Iud.* 10. 6.) yet especially and peculiarly were accounted the Gods of the *Zidonians*: as appeares 1. *Kings* 11. 5. in the storie of *Salomon*, who had the same Idols: where *Astarte* is called the God of the *Zidonians*: and 1. *Reg.* 16. 33. in the story of *Achab*, the chiefe worshipper of *Baal*, where it is said that hee marrying *Iezabel* the Daughter of the King of the *Zidonians*, worshipped their *Baal*, *Diuers Baals* & *diuers Astartes*. The forme of *Astarte* in their Idolatries they acknowledged: as it appeares by the plurall names of *Baal*, *Astarte*, *Ishtar*, and *Astarte*, 1. *Sam.* 12. 10. and elsewhere: for euen the name *Astarte*, as I am informed by a skilfull *Hebrician*, is plural: the singular being *Astarte*: whence *Iud.* 2. 13. the Septuagint reader *in agnitione sua accipit*: They worshipped the *Astartes*. The occasion of this their multiplying of their *Baals*, and *Astartes*, may be diuersly vnderstood: either in respect of the diuersitie of the formes of the Images, or of the worship in diuers places, or of the stories depending vpon them: which (as fables vsed to be) were doubtlesse in diuers Cities diuers. *Augulime* quest. 19. in *Iud.* thinks *Baal* and *Astarte* to be *Iupiter* and *Iuno*. For as for the *Carthaginians* (which were *Tyrans*) call *Iuno* by such a name as *Astarte*. *Tullius*, lib. 3. de *Nat. Deorum*, making *diuers Goddesses* of the name of *Venus*, expounds the fourth to be *Astarte*: whom hee makes to be borne of *Tyrrus* and *Syria*, and to haue bene the Wife of *Adonis*: as also *Macrobius*, 2. *Satur.* cap. 21. saies that *Adonis* was with great

eneration commonly worshipped of the *Assyrians*: and *Hierome* vpon *Ezek.* 8. 44. notes that *Thammuz* (whom there the Idolatrous women are noted to bewaile) is the name of *Adonis* among the *Syrians*. So that it may seeme that in the worship of *Astarte* or *Venus*, they did bewaile her Husband *Adonis*: as also the *Gracians* did in their fongs of *Adonis*: *Mourne* for *Adonis* the faire, dead is *Adonis* the faire. Howbeit others in that place of *Ezekiel* not without good probability, expound the mourning for *Thammuz*, to be the mourning for *Osiris* in the sacrifice of *Isis*: whose losse of her Husband *Osiris*, was as famous in the *Aegyptian* Idolatry, as with the *Gracians*, *Venus* losse of *Adonis*. And to this agreeeth that which *Plutarch* hath, *de Iside & Osiride*: that *Osiris* with the *Aegyptians* is called *Ammon*: which word may seeme to be the same with *Ezekiel's* *Thammuz*. But howsoever these *Zidonians* were thus anciently fostered with the milke of Idolatry: yet they were more apt to receiue the Doctrine and Gospell of *Christ* after his Ascension, than the *Iewes*: who had beene taught by *Moses* and the *Prophets* so many yeeres, whereof our Saviour in *Mathew* and *Luke*: *Woe be to the Corazin, &c.* for if the great workes which were done in thee, had bene done in *Tyrrus* and *Zidon*, they had repented long ago. &c. but I say vnto you, it shall be easier for *Tyrrus* and *Zidon*, at the day of iudgement, than for you.

It receiued a Christian Bishop with the first: who was afterward of the Diocesse of *Tyre*. But in the yeere of our Redemption 636. it fell into the hands of the *Saracens*: and continued in their possession till *Baldwinus* the first, then King of *Hierusalem* in the yeere 1111. by the helpe of the *Danes* and *Normans*, who came with a Fleete to visite the holy Land, and tooke Port at *Ioppa*, it was againe recovered, the commandment thereof being giuen to *Eustace Gremer* a Noble man of that Countrey. And againe in the yeere 1250. it was reedified and strengthened by *Lodowicke* the French King: while he spent foure yeere in the Warre of the holy Land. Lastly, in the yeere 1289. it was reconquered by the *Saracens*: and is now in possession of the *Turke*, and hath the name of *Zai*.

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Vina mihi non sunt Gazetica, Chia, Falerna,
Qua, Sareptano palmite missa bibas.

40 I haue no wine of *Gazza*, nor *Falerna* wine,
Nor any for thy drinking of *Sarepta's* vine.

This Citie had also a Bishop of the Diocesse of *Tyre*: after it came to the *Saracens* and *Turkes*, as the rest: and is now called *Saphet*, faith *Possellus*.

Not farre from *Sarepta* was situate that sometime famous Citie of *Tyre*, whose fleets of stipes commanded, and gaue the law ouer all the *Mediterran* Sea, and the borders thereof: during which time of greatnesse and power, the *Tyrans* erected *Vica*, *Leptis*, and *Carthage* in *Africa*, of which *Virgil*. *Vrbis antiqua fuit, Tyrry tenuere Coloni, Carthago*. And *Carthage* was therefore called *Punica* quasi *Phoenicum*, a Colony of the *Phenicians*. In 50 *Spain* they founded *Gades*, now *Caliz*. In *Italie*, *Nola*: in *Asia* the lesse, *Dromos A*. *Plin.* lib. 5. c. 13. *Chili*, which Citie the *Scholias* of *Apollonius* placeth neere the Riuer *Phyllis*, in *Bi*. *Marcelin.* lib. 2. c. 13.

It had anciently the name of *Zor*, or *Tzor*: and so it is written in *Iofua* the 19. taking name from the situation; because built on a high Rocke, sharpe at one end. The *Latines*, as it seems, knew it by the name of *Sarra*: for *Virgil* calleth the purple of *Tyre*, *Ofrum Sarraenum*, by which name *Lucretius* and *Silius* remember it. The *Zidonians* built it vpon a high Hill, whereof many ruines remaine to this day; the place being still knowne by the name of the ancient *Tyre*: and because it was a Colony of the *Zidonians*, the Prophet *Esay*

Esay calleth it the Daughter of *Zidon*; which *Trogus* also confirmeth, though *Berosus* by affinity of name makes *Thir* as the sonne of *Iaphet* to be the Parent thereof: and though no doubt it was very ancient (for so much the Prophet *Esay* also witnesseth, *Is not this your glorious City, whose antiquity is of ancient dayes?*) yet, that *Thir* as the sonne of *Iaphet* set himselfe in the bosome of the *Canaanites* who built *Zidon*, and peopled all that Region: I see nothing to periwade me.

But that new *Tyre* in after-times so renowned, seemeth to be the worke of *Agenor*: and of this opinion was *Curtius*; and *Iosephus*, and *Eusebius* make this City elder than *Sidon*: *Isidore* the *Monks* Temple 240. yeeres: *Cedrenus* 361. who also addeth that *Tyrrus* the wife of *Agenor* gaue it her name: but of *Agenor* I will speake more at large in the story of their Kings.

For strength and for the commodity of the harbour, and the better to receive Trade from all places, it was in this new erection founded in an Island, 700. paces from the continent: and therefore *Ezekiel* placeth it in the middle of the Sea, as some reade, or as others in the inner-most part of the Sea, whence hee calleth it *situate at the entry of the Sea*, as also the same Prophet calleth it *the Mart of the people for many Iles*: and *Esay* a *Mart of the Nations*: and so Proude, Wealthy, and Magnificent was this City, as the Prophet *Esay* calleth the Merchants thereof Princes, and their Chapmen the Nobles of the World.

It excelled both in learning, and in manufecture: especially in the making and dying of Purple, and Scarlet-cloth: which, saith *Julius Pollux*, was first found out by *Hercules* Dogge, who passing along the Sea-coast, and eating of the Fish *Conchilis* or *Purpura*: the haire of his lippes became of that colour. It worshipped the same Idols that *Zidon* did: sauing that *Hercules* became their Patron in after-times. For *Alexander Macedon*, when the *Tyrians* presented him with a Crowne of gold, and other gifts, desiring to remaine his friends and allies, answered them, that he had vowed a sacrifice to *Hercules*, the Defender of their City, and the Ancestor of the *Macedonians* Kings: and must therefore enter it. Whereupon they sent him word, that *Hercules* his Temple was in the Mountaine of old *Tyre*: where he might performe that ceremony: but this availed not. For *Alexander* was not so superstitious, as ambitious; he desired to enter the Towne, which being denied he, as one whom no perill could feare, nor labour weary, gathered together as many ships as he could, and brought from *Libanus* so great a number of Cedars, and so many weighty stones, from the old City of *Tyre* adioyning, as notwithstanding that his materials were often waht away with the strength of the Sea, and the Tides, yet he neuer rested, till hee had made a foote passage from the Continent to the Island: and having once approached their Wallles, he ouertopt them with Turrets of wood, and other frames: from whence (having filled the body of force with the violent mouing Spirit of resolution) he became Lord thereof, putting all to the Sword that resisted; after which he caused 2000. more to be hung vp in a ranke all alongst the Sea-shore: which execution vpon cold blood he performed (as some Authours affirme) vpon the iusses of those slaues which had formerly slaine all their Masters, taking their Wiues, Children, Riches, and power of Government to themselves. This victory of *Alexander* ouer the *Tyrians*, *Iosephus* remembreth: and how *Sanaballat* revolted from *Darius*, and came to *Alexander* with 8000. Souldiers: who was the last *Satrapa* or Princiuall Gouvernour, which *Darius* feared in *Samaria*: the same who hauing married his Daughter to *Manasse*, brother to *Iaddus* the high Priest of *Hierusalem*, obtained of *Alexander* that a Temple might be built on the Mountaine *Gerezim* ouer *Samaria*: that the forces of the *Jewes* being diuided, *Alexander* might the better hold them in obedience. The honour of which Priesthood he bestowed on his son in law *Manasse*, whom the *Jewes* oppugned, for that he had married out of their Tribes, and with a Gentile: but while *Alexander* besieged *Gaza*, *Sanaballat*, whom *Gull. Tyrrus* calleth *Sanabala*, died.

Long before this desolation of *Tyre* by the cruelty of *Alexander*, it was attempted by *Salmanassar* the *Assyrian* King: when the growing pride of the *Assyrians*, after that they had conquered the ten Tribes, with the rest of *Syria*, became enuious of the beauty, riches, and power of that City. He besieged it both on the Land-side, and with three score shippes of Warre held the Port: to the end that neither any victuals nor any supply of men might enter it: but the *Tyrians* with twelve saile scattered that fleet, and tooke 500. prisoners of the *Assyrians*: notwithstanding, the *Assyrian* continued his resolution, and lay before

before it by his Lieutenants five yeeres, but with ill successe. And this siege *Menander Euphratus*, cited by *Iosephus*, made report of in his *Chronicles*, as hee found the Story among the *Annals* of the *Egyptians* (which the faide *Menander* conuerted into *Greece*) adding, that *Eulaleus*, whom *Tyrrus* calleth *Heliuseus*, was then King of *Tyre*, hauing gouerned the same fixe and twenty yeeres. Soone after this repulse of *Salmanassar*, and about 200. yeeres before the victory of *Alexander*, *Nabuchodonosor* at such time as he destroyed *Hierusalem* with the Temple, came before this City: who indeede gaue to *Nabuchodonosor* the example of that despairfull worke, of ioyning it to the Continent. For *Nabuchodonosor* had formerly done it: though by the diligence of the Citizens, and the strength of the Sea, the 10 same cawly and passage was againe broken downe, and demolished.

Against *Nabuchodonosor*, for many yeeres, the *Tyrians* defended themselves: for so long did the *Babylonians* continue before it, as every head was made bald, and every shoulder made bare, saith *Ezekiel*, who with the Prophet *Esay* had manifestly foretold the destruction of this proud place. In the end and after thirteene yeeres siege or more, the *Tyrians* despoiled of all their hopes, and remembering ouer-late the predictions and threatenings of Gods Prophets, hauing prepared a conuenient number of shippes, abandoned their City, transporting with themselves the ablest of all that remained: and with their wiues, children, and portable riches sayled thence into *Cyprus*, *Carthage*, and other Maritime Cities of their Tributaries, or Confederates: so as the *Babylonians* finding nothing therein, either to satisfie so many labours and perils, or any person vpon whom to auenge themselves for the losse of so many bodies in that Warre: It pleased God in recompence thereof (who strengthned this resolution, as in a worke of his owne) to make *Nabuchodonosor* victorious ouer the *Egyptians*: and gaue him that Kingdome and the spoile thereof, as it were in wages for his Army. Whereupon Saint *Hierome* noteth, that God leaue not the good deeds of the Heathen vnrewarded: who though they cannot hope by any laudable worldly action, to attaine vnto that eternall happinesse reserved for his Seruants and Saints: yet such is the boundlesse goodnesse of God, as he often repayeth them with many worldly gifts and temporall blessings.

Now of this enterprise of *Nabuchodonosor* against *Tyre*, prophane Historians haue 30 not bene silent. For both *Diodorus*, and *Philostratus* (as *Iosephus* citeth them) the one in his second Booke, the other in his *Phenician* Histories remember it.

After these two great *Pastusions* by the Kings of *Babylon* and *Macedon*: this City of *Tyre* repaired and recovered it selfe againe; and continued in great glory about 300. yeeres, vnto the coming of our Saviour *Christ*: and after him flourished in the Christian Faith neere 600. yeeres: the Archbishop whereof gaue place to none but to the Patriarke of *Hierusalem* onely, who within his owne Diocesse and foureteen great Cities, with their Bishops and Suffragans: namely *Caipha*, otherwile *Porphiria*, *Acon*, or *Ptolomais*, *Sarepta*, *Zidon*, *Caesarea*, *Philippi*, *Berytus*, *Byblus*, *Botrys*, *Tripolis*, *Orthosia*, *Archis*, *Aradus*, *Antaradus* (or *Torisfa*) and *Maraclea*. But in the yeere 636. it was with the rest of that beautifull Region of *Phenicia* and *Palestina*, subiected to the cruell and faithlesse *Saracens*. Vnder the burthen and yoke of whose tyranny it suffered with the other *Palestine* Cities 488. yeeres.

In the yeere 1112. it was attempted by *Baldwine* King of *Hierusalem*; but in vaine: yet in the yeere 1124. by *Guaremonde*, Patriarke of *Hierusalem*, Vicegerent to *Baldwine* the second, with the assistance of the *Venicians*, and their fleet of Gallies, it was againe recovered, and subiected to the Kings of *Hierusalem*, and so it remained 165. yeeres.

Finally, in the yeere 1189. *Saladine* hauing first taken *Hierusalem*, removed his whole Army and late downe before *Tyre*: drawing his fleet of shippes and Gallies from *Antaradus* into the Port, this City as then onely remaining in the Christian power.

The Citizens finding themselves reduced into great famine, and many other miseries, they at once with certaine rafters of timber, fiered, burnt, and braketh the *Saracens* fleet, and sallying out resolutely vpon his armie, slew great numbers of them, and followed their victory with such fury, as that the *Saracens* forsaking their Trenches and Tents, removed in great disorder and dishonour. Two yeeres after which victory the body of that famous *Fredericke Barbarossa* (who by the lamentable accident of following the *Christians* enemies ouer a River vnfordable, perished by the weight of his armour therein) was brought and interred in the *Cabebral* Church of *Tyre*, neere vnto that glorious Sepulchre of *Origen*, garnished and grauen with guilt pillars of Marble; 940. yeeres before

before therein buried: but in the yeere 1289. the Saracens againe attempted it, and carried it, and it now remaineth subiect to the Turkes.

†. IIII.

Of Ptolomais or Acon.

The third City alongst the coast of the Sea, which the *Asserites* could not obtaine on the South bound of *Affer* was *Acho*, which was the ancient name thereof after *Hierome*, though other good Authours affirme that it tooke name from *Acon* the brother of *Ptolomy*. *Plinie* calleth it *Ace*: and otherwise the *Colonie* of *Claudius*. It had also the name of *Coth*, or *Cod*, and by *Zeiglerus* it is called *Hacipos*.

Plin. lib. 5. c. 19.
In description
fines:

Ptolomaeus
Ptolomaeus.

But lastly, it was intituled *Ptolomais* after the name of one of the *Aegyptian* *Ptolomies*: which City also as it is, 1 *Macc.* 11. another of the *Ptolomies*, infideliously writt from his sonne in law *Alexander*, which called himselfe the sonne of *Antiochus* *Epiphanes*: the same *Alexander* having married *Cleopatra* daughter of the faide *Ptolomie* not long before. Therein also was *Jonathan* *Maccabaeus* treacherously surprized and slaine, as it is 1 *Macc.* 12. 48. by the perfidiousnesse of *Tryphon*, whom soone after *Antiochus* pursued, as it is in the Story ensuing: and by like reason about the same time was the aforefaide *Alexander* in the warre against *Demetrius*, one of the sonnes of *Antiochus* the great with whom *Ptolomaeus* ioynd, ouerthrowne & treacherously murdered by *Zabdiel* the *Arabian*: to whom he fled for succour: and his head presented vnto his father in law *Ptolomie*: who enjoyed not the glory of his victory and treason about three dayes, for God stricke him by death.

1 Macc. 11. 10.

1 Macc. 11. 18

For the beauty and strength of this City, this *Alexander* made it his regall seat: two parts of the same being inuironed by the Sea, and the Port for safety and capacity inferior to any other in all that Tract. This City is distant from *Hierusalem* some foure and thirty miles: foure miles to the North from the Mountaine *Carmel*, and as much to the South from *Castrum Lamberti*: from *Tyre*, *Antonius* maketh it two and thirty Italian miles. In the middle of the City there was a Tower of great strength, sometime the Temple of *Belzebub*: and therefore called the Castle of *Flics*, on the top whereof there was maintained a perpetuall light, like vnto that called *pharus* in *Aegypt*: to giue comfort in the night to those shippes, which came nere and sought that part. It had in it a Bishops seate, of the Diocesse of *Tyre*, after it became *Christian*: but in the yeere 636. (a fatall yeere to the Christians in those parts) it was forced and taken by *Haamarius* the Saracen. In the yeere 1104. it was regained by *Baldwine* the first, by the helpe of the Gallies of *Cenais*: to whom a third of the reuenew was giuen in recompence. Again, in the yeere of our Lord God, one thousand one hundred fourecore and feuen, *Saladine* King of *Aegypt*, and one, by *Richard* King of *England*, and *Philip* King of *France*, it was repossessed and redelivered to the Christians. Lastly, in the yeere 1291. it was by the fury of the Saracens besieged with an Army of 150000. entred, sackt, and vterly demolished: though in some fort afterward reedified, and it is now *Turkish*.

Ant. Iliu.

Harold:

G Tyrrhell fa-
cr. lib. 10. cap.
28. Herold li.
bell. fac. m. 7.
cr. lib. 2. cap. 2
cr. alibi.

†. V.

Of the Castle of Saint George.

Five miles from *Ptolomais* towards the East, is the Castle of Saint George seated, in which he was borne: the Valley adioyning bearing the same name. And though for the credit of Saint Georges killing the Dragon, I leaue euery man to his owne belief: yet I cannot but thinke, that if the Kings of *England* had not some probable record of that his memorable act, among many others: it was strange that the Order full of Honour, which *Edward* the third founded, and which his Successours royally haue continued, should haue borne his name, seeing the World had not that scarcity of Saints in those dayes, as that the *English* were driuen to make such an erection vpon a fable, or person fained. The place is described by *Adrichomius* in his description of *Affer*, to haue bene in the fields of *Libanus*: betweene the Riuer *Adonis*, and *Zidon*: his owne wordes are these:

Etich.

Tim. 4.
Of the place
and memory of
his death. See
Chap. 9. §. 1.

these: *Hoc loco qui ab incolis Cappadocia appellatur, non longe à Beryto, memorant inclytum Christi Militem D. Georgium, Regis filium ab immanissimo Dracone asseruasse: eamq. matris a bestia parentis restituisse. In cuius rei memoriam Ecclesiastico modum fuit edificata: In this place, which by the Inhabitants is called Cappadocia, not farre from Berytus, men say that the famous Knight of Christ Saint George, did rescue the Kings Daughter from a huge Dragon: and huius killed the beast, deliuered the Virgin to her parent. In memory of which deede a Church was after built there: Thus farre *Adrichomius*. His Authours he citeth *Lodouicus Roman. Patrie. Nauigationum* l. 1. c. 3. and *Bridenbach Itin.* 5. The Valley vnder this Castle sometime called *Affer*, was afterward called the Valley of Saint George. If this authority suffice not, we may rather make the Story allegorically, figuring the victory of Christ, than accept of *Georgethe* *Arrian* Bishop, mentioned by *Am. Marcellinus*.*

†. VI.

Of Acciza, Sandalium, and others.

Betweene *Ptolomais* and *Tyre* alongst the Sea coast, was the strong City of *Acciza*, or *Achazib*, which Saint *Hierome* calleth *Achzaph*, and *Iosephus* *Ecdippus*, *Plinie* *Ecdippa*, one of those which defended it selfe against the *Asserites*. *Belforrest* findes *Acciza* and *Sandalium*, or the Castle of *Alexander* to be one, but I know not whence he had it.

The twelue searchers of the Land which *Moses* sent from *Cadesbarne*, trauailed as farre to the North as *Reob*, or *Rechob*, in the Tribe of *Affer*, which *Rechob*, as also *Berothe* which by *Ezekiel* cap. 47. verse 16. is placed in these North borders, belonged in *Dauids* time to the King *Hadarbeser*, as it may be gathered out of the second of *Samuel* the 8. chap. and 8. verse, and chap. 10. verse 6. and it defended it selfe against the *Asserites*, as *Zidon*, *Tyre*, *Achzaph*, *Ptolomais*, *Alab*, *Helbab*, and *Aphek* did.

Hierom. de La-
cin Hebr.
Iof. Bell. Iud.
l. 1. c. 11.
Plin. l. 5. c. 19.

This *Aphek* it was, whose wall falling downe, flew seuen and twenty thousand of *Benhadad*s Souldiers, after that a hundred thousand had bene slaughtered by the *Israelites*, vnder the conduct of *Abab*. Here *Iunius* finds that the *Philistims* encamped a little before the battaile at *Gilboa*, though in his note vpon the first of *Samuel*, the 9. and 1. he takes *Aphek* there mentioned (at which battaile the *Arke* was taken) to haue bene in *Iuda*. Of which *Iof.* 15. and 53. and in the second of *Kings* 13. 17. he reads, *Fortiter*, for, in *Aphek*. Where others conuert it, *Percutiens Syros* in *Aphek*.

Kim. 20. 29.
Sa m. 29. 1.

The next place alongst the coast is *Sandalium*, first called *Schandaliu* of *Schander*, which we call *Alexander*, for *Alexander* *Macedon* built it, when he besieged *Tyre*: and set it on a point of Land which extendeth it selfe into the Sea, betweene *Acciza* and *Tyre*: which Castle *Baldwine* the first rebuilt and fortified; in the yeere of Christ 1157. when he undertooke the recovery of *Tyre*.

Not much about a mile from this Castle, there ariseth that most plentifull Spring of water, which *Salomon* remembreth, called the Well of liuing Waters: from whence not onely all the fields and plaines about *Tyre* are made fruitful by large pipes hence drawne: but the same Spring, which hath not about a bow-shot of ground to trauaile till it recover the Sea, driueth fixe great Milles in that short passage, saith *Brochard*.

Cam. 4.

Tim. 1.

Within the Land, and to the East of *Acciza*, and *Sandalium*, Randeth *Hofa*: and beyond it, vnder the Mountaines of *Tyre*, the City of *Achzaph*, or *Acab*, or after Saint *Hierome* *Aijapa*: a City of great strength, whose King amongst the rest was slaine by *Iofsa*, at the waters of *Merom*.

Iof. 12. 200

†. VII.

Of Thoron, Giscala, and some other places.

Farther into the Land towards *Iordan*, was seated the Castle of *Thoron*, which *Hugo de Sancto Abdemare* built on the Easter-most Hillles of *Tyre*, in the yeere 1107. thereby to restrain the excursions of the *Saracens*, while they held *Tyre* against the *Christians*: the place adioyning being very fruitfull, and exceeding pleasant. From this Castle the Lords of *Thoron*, famous in the Story of the Warres for the recovery of the Holy Land, deriue their names, and take their Nobility. It had in it a curious Chappell, dedicated to the blessed Virgin, in which *Humfrey* of *Thoron*, Constable to *Baldwine* the third, King of *Hierusalem*, lyeth buried: There were fixe Castles besides this within the Territory of *Affer*: where

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whereof foure are seated almost of equall distance from each other: to wit, *Castrum Lam-
perts, Montfort, Indin* (or *Saron*) *Castrum Regium*, and *Belfort*: The first neere the Sea vnder
the Hill of *Saron*: the next three, to wit, *Indin, Montfort*, and *Regium*, stand more within
the Land, and belonged to the Brotherhood and Fellowship of the *Teutonic*, or *Dutch
Knights* (by which they defended themselves, and gaue succour to other *Christians* at such
time as the *Saracens* posselt the best part of the vpper *Galilee*) the chiefe of which Order
was in *Peolomais Acon*. The first Fortresse was for beauty and strength called *Belfort*, sea-
ted in the high ground vpon the Riuer *Naar*, neere the City *Rama*: of which in this Tribe
Ios. 19. 29. for which the *Vulgar* reads *Horma*: making the article a part of the word, and
mistaking the vowels: from the siege of this Castle of *Belfort*, the great *Saladine* King of
Syria and *Aegypt*, was by the *Christians* Army raised, and with great losse and dishonour
repulced.

To the East of *Belfort*, is the strong City of *Alab* (or *Achlah*) which Saint *Hierome* cal-
leth *Chalab*, one of those that defended themselves against *Affer*, as *Roob* (or *Rehob*) not
farre thence did.

Towards the South from *Roob* they place *Gabala* (which *Herod*, surnamed the *Afca-
nite* rebuilt) making it of the Territory of *Chabul*, *Quod Syrorum lingua displicere significa-
t* (saith *Wesphenburg*) to called, because *Hiram* of *Tyre* was ill pleased with those twenty Ci-
ties, seated hereabout, which *Salomon* presented vnto him in recompence of those pro-
mitions sent him for the building of the Temple. Others thinke this *Chabul* or *Cabal*, con-
taining a circuit of those twenty Cities given to *Hiram*, to haue bene without the com-
passe of the holy Land: though bordering *Affer* on the North-side: as it is saide, *1 Reg. 9.
11.* that they were in *Regione limitis*: that is, in *limite Regionis*, in the border of the Coun-
treys: for it was not lawfull, say they, to giue to strangers any part of the possessions al-
lotted to the *Israelites*: howlocuer, that after *Hiram* had refused them, they were peopled by
the *Israelites*, it appears *2 Chron. 8. 14.* And it seemes they were conquered by *Dauid*
from the *Syri Rehobee*, whose City *Roob*, or *Rehob*, was in these parts.

Almost of equall distance from the Castle of *Thoron*, they place the Cities of *Gisala*,
and *Gadara*: of which *Gadara* is rather to be placed ouer *Jordan*: *Gisala* was made famous
by *Iohn* the sonne of *Leni*, who from a meane estate gathering together foure hundred
Thecues, greatly troubled all the vpper *Galilee*: at such time as the *Romans* attempted the
conquest of *Iudaea*: by whose practise *Iosephus*, who then commanded in the vpper *Galilee*,
was greatly endangered: whereof himselfe hath written at large, in his second Booke of
those Warres. This *Iohn* betraying in all he could the City of *Gisala* (whereof he was
native) to the *Roman State*: and finding a resistance in the City, gaue opportunity during
the contention, to the *Tyrians* and *Gadarmes*, to surprize it: who at the same time for it,
and burnt it to the ground: but being by *Iosephus* authority rebuilt, it was afterward re-
ded to *Titus* by composition. They find also the Cities of *Cana Maior*, and * *Cades*, (or
Cedessa) of the first was that *Syro-phœnician*, whose Daughter *Christ* deliuered of the euill
Spirit. Neere the other, they say, it was that *Ionathas Machabees* ouerthrew the Army
of *Demetrius*.

There are besides these forenamed Cities within the Tribe of *Affer*, diuers others: as
on the South border, and neere the Sea, *Messall* or *Misbeal*: within the Land * *Beja*,
Bethadon, and *Beibemec*, standing on the South border betwene *Affer* and *Zabulon*: on
the North side ioyning to *Syro-phœnicia*, is the City of *Hebhalon*, or *Chethlon*, the vnmort
of the holy Land that way: vnder which towards the Sea is *Chali*, and then * *Enoch* suppo-
sed to be built by *Cain*, and named of his sonne *Enoch*, but without probability, as I haue
formerly proued: there are others also besides these, as *Ammon* or *Chammom*, of which *Ios.
19. 28.* where also we read of *Nebiel*, *Rama*, *Alamelec*, and *Beton*: the Cities of *Alath*, or
Chelcath, *Habdon*, and *Rehob*, and *Misbeal*, which wee haue already mentioned, were
by the *Afferites* giuen to the *Leuites*. Of others held by the *Canaanites*, mention is
made, *Judges 1. 30.* to which out of *Iosua* wee may adde *Ebron*, *Amnah*, and others,
on which no story dependeth; and therefore I will not pester the description with
them.

†. VIII

†. VIII.

Of the Riuers and Mountaines of *Affer*.

THE Riuers to the North of *Affer*, are *Adonis*, afterward *Canis*, to which *Ziegler* ioy-
neth *Lycus*, *Polomie*, *Leontis*: both which fall into the Sea neere *Berytus*: which Riuer
of *Leontis*, *Montanus* drawes neere vnto *Zidon*: finding his head notwithstanding, where
Polomie doth, betwene *Zidon* and *Tyre*. It hath also a Riuer called *fos hortorum Libani*. *Aff. Tab. 4.*
bani, which *Adrichome* out of *Brochard* intituleth *Eleutherus*: for which hee also citeth
10 *Plinie*, and the first of *Machabees* the 11. Chapter, but neither of those authorities proue
Eleutherus to be in *Affer*: for this Riuer falleth into the Sea at the Ile of *Aradus*: not farre
from *Balanea*, witnesseth *Polomie*: and therefore *Pmetus* calleth it *Valania*, and *Postellus* *Ve-*
lana: which Riuer boundeth *Phœnicia* on the North-side: to which *Strabo* also agreeeth: for
but this principall Riuer of *Affer*, *Arias Montanus* calleth *Gabatus*. *Christians* *Schrot* out
of the mouth and Papers of *Peter Laestian* (which *Laestian* in this our age both viewed
and describ'd the Holy Land) calleth the maine Riuer *Fons hortorum Libani*: and one of
the freemes which runneth into it from the North-side, *Naar*, and another from the
South-west, *Chabul*: of the City adioyning of the same name: for *Eleutherus* it cannot be.
There is also another Riuer d-scribed by *Adrichome*, named *Iepthael*, which I finde in no
20 other Authour, and for which he citeth the nineteenth of *Iosua*, but the word *Ghe* which
is added there to *Iepthael*, is not taken for a Riuer, but for a Valley: and for a Valley the
Vulgar, the *Geneca*, and *Arias Montanus* turneit. There is also found in *Affer*, the Riuer of
Belus, remembered by *Iosephus* and *Tacitus*, which is also called *Pagidas*, saith * *Plinie*:
out of the sands of this Riuer are made the best Glasse, which sometime the *Zidonians*
practised: and now the *Venicians* at *Murana*. *Arias Montanus* makes *Belus* to be a branch
of *Cheidamin*, which it cannot be: for *Belus* is knowne to flow from out the Lake *Cende-*
nia, as all *Cosmographers* both Ancient and Moderne, and the later Travellers into those
parts witnesseth. It is true that the Riuer of *Chislon* taketh water from *Cheidamin*: but not
in that fashion which *Montanus* hath describ'd it: neither doth it find the Sea at *Peolomais*,
30 *Acon*, according to *Montanus*: but farther to the South betwene *Caiphas* and *Sicaminum*,
witnesseth *Ziegler*, *Adrichomius*, and *Schrot*.

Besides these Riuers there are diuers famous Springs and Fountaines, as that of *huing*
waters adioyning to *Tyre*: and * *Maseroph*, or after Saint *Hierome*, *Maserophotracim*,
of the whole Well filled by the flood of the Sea adioyning, (they say) the Inhabitants by fee-
ding the water make salt thereof, as at *Nantwich*.

The Mountaines which bound *Affer* on the North, are those of *Anti-libanus*, which
with *Libanus* bound *Cœlesyria*: two great ledges of Hillies, which from the Sea of *Phœni-*
cia and *Syria*, extend themselves farre into the Land East-ward: foure hundred stadia of
furlongs according to *Strabo*: for that length he giueth to the Valley of *Cœlesyria*: which
40 those Mountaines inclose: but *Plinie* giues them 1500. furlongs in length from the VVest
(where they begin at *Theiopsophon*, or *Desfacies*, neere *Tripolis*) to the Mountaines of *Ara-*
bia beyond *Damascus*: where *Anti-libanus* turneth towards the South. These ledges where
they beginato part *Tracônitis* and *Balan* from the *Desert Arabia*, are called *Hermom*: which
Mases also nameth *Sien*, the *Phœnicians* *Syrian*, and the *Amorites* *Samir*, neither is this any
one Mountaine apart, but a continuation of Hillies: which running farther Southerly, is
in the Scriptures called *Galaad* or *Gilead*: the same being still a part of *Libanus*, as the Pro-
phet *Eliemy* proueth: *Galaad tu mihi caput Libani*: noting that this *Galaad* is the highest
of those Hillies of *Libanus*. *Strabo* knowes them by the name of *Tracônitis*: and *Plinie*
by *Hippus*. *Arias Montanus* calleth these Mountaines bordering *Affer*, *Libanus*, for *Anti-*
50 *libanus*, contrary to all other *Cosmographers*, but he giueth no reason of his opinion.

They take the name of *Libanus* from their white tops, because according to *Tacitus*,
the highest of them are covered with Snow all the Summer, the Hebrew word *Libanus*
(saith *Wesphenburg*) significeth whitenesse. Others call them by that name of the Fran-
kincense which those Trees yeeld: because *Libanus* is also the Greeke word for that
Gumme.

Niger out of *Aphraidesius* affirmeth, that on *Libanus*, there falleth a kinde of hony dew,
which is by the *Syrians* congealed into hard fugar, which the Inhabitants call *Sacchar*, from
whence came the Latine word *Saccarum*.

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Of *Dicaeſia*, nothing remained with that Emperour, but the memory of his impiety: so in Saint *Hieromes* time the Citizens remembered their former *Panetas*, and so recalled it, with the Ter-
Enſe. hiſt. Eccl. 7. c. 14.
Niceph. l. 6. c. 15.
 ritory adjoining by the ancient name. Of this City was that woman whom *Chriſt* healed of a bloody iſſue, by touching the hemme of his Garment with a conſtant Faith: who afterward, as ſhee was a woman of great wealth and ability, being mindfull of Gods goodneſſe, and no leſſe gratefull for the fame, as *Eusebius* and *Nicephorus* report, cauſed two Statues to be caſt in pure Copper: the one repreſenting *Chriſt*, as *neere as it could be moulded*: the other made like her ſelfe, kneeling at his feete, and holding vp her hands towards him. Theſe three mounted vpon two great Baſes or *Pedeſtals* of the ſame Metall, which ſhee placed by a Fountaine neere her owne Houſe: both which (ſaith *Eusebius*) remained in their firſt perfection, euen to his owne time: which himſelfe had ſcene, who lived in the Reigne of *Conſtantine* the Great. But in the yeere after *Chriſt* 353. that Mon-
ſter *Julian Apoſtata*, cauſed that worthy Monument to be caſt downe, and deſaced: ſetting up the like of his owne in the ſame place: which Image of his was with fire from Heauen broken into ſifters: the head, body, and other parts, ſundered and ſcattered, to the great admiration of the people at that time liuing. The truth of this accident is alſo confirmed by *Sozomenus Salaminus* in his fifth booke, and twentieth Chapter.

This City built by the *Danites*, was neere the ioyning together of thoſe two Riues in a ſhoyle exceeding fruitfull, and pleaſant: for, as it is written, *Judges* 18. it is a place, in which doth want nothing that is in the World. In the fields belonging to this City it was ſaid that Saint Peter acknowledged *Chriſt* to be the Sonne of God: whereupon it was ſworn, *Tu es Petrus, & ſuper hanc petram, &c.* After this City receiued the *Chriſtian* faith, it was honoured with a Biſhops ſeate: and it ranne the ſame fortune with the reſt, ſort was after taken and retaken by the *Saracens*, and *Chriſtians*: vnder *Euleh* the fourth King of *Etiopus*, and after the death of *Goffry of Bullion*, the King of *Damaſcus* wreſted from the *Chriſtians*; and ſhortly after by them againe it was recovered. Laſtly, now remaineth with all that part of the World ſubiected to the *Turke*.

†. IIII.

Of Capernaum, and the Cities of Decapolis.

Among the remarkable Cities within this Tribe, *Capernaum* is not the leaſt: ſo often remembered by the *Euangelists*. This City had the honour of *Chriſts* preſence three yeeres: who for that time was a Citizen thereof, in which he firſt preached and taught the Doctrine of our ſaluation: according to that notable Prophecy of *Eſay* 9. *The people that walked in darkneſſe, haue ſeene a great light: they that dwell in the Land of the ſhadow of death, vpon them hath the light ſhined.*

Capernaum was ſeated on *Iordan*, euen where it encreth into the Sea of *Galilee*: in an excellent and rich ſhoyle: of whoſe deſtruction *Chriſt* himſelfe prophecied in theſe words, *And thou Capernaum which art ſituated vpon heauen, ſhalt be brought downe to Hell, &c.* which ſhewed the pride and greatneſſe of that City: for it was one of the principall Cities of *Decapolis*, and the Metropolis of *Galilee*. And although there were ſome maries of this Cities magnificence in Saint *Hieromes* time, as himſelfe confeſſeth: it being then a reaſonable Burge or Towne: yet thoſe that haue ſince, and long ſince ſcene it, as *Brocard*, *Breidenbech*, and *Saliniac* affirme, that it then conſiſted but of fix poore Fithers houſes.

The Region of ten principall Cities called *Decapoliſ* or *Decapolis*, is in this deſcription often mentioned, and in Saint *Matthew*, *Marke* and *Luke*, alſo remembered; but I find no agreement among the *Cosmographers*, what proper limits it had: and ſo *Plinie* himſelfe confeſſeth; for *Marius Niger* ſpeaking from others, bounds it on the North by the mountaine *Cafius* in *Cafſotis*: and endeth it to the South at *Egypt* and *Arabia*; by which deſcription it embraceth *Phoenicia*, a part of *Celeſyria*, all *Paleſtina*, and *Iudea*.

Plinie alſo makes it large, and for the ten Cities of which it taketh name, hee numbeth four of them to be ſituated towards *Arabia*: to wit, firſt theſe three, *Damaſcus*, *Opetus*, *Raphana*, then *Philadelphus* (which was firſt called *Amana*, ſaith *Stephanus*, or as *Ignele* *Amoma* rather, becauſe it was the chiefe City of the *Ammonites*, knowne by the name of *Rabbah*, before *Ptole*. *Philadelphus* gaue it this later and new name.) Then *Scythopolis*, ſometimes

ſometimes *Niſa*, built (as is ſaide) by *Bacchus*, in memory of his Nurſe, who died therein, anciently knowne by the name of *Bethſan*; for the ſixth he ſetteth *Gadara* (not that *Gadara* in *Celeſyria*, which was alſo called *Antioch* and *Selencia*: but is *Gadara* in *Baſan*, which *Plinie* in this place meaneth, ſeated on an high hill, neere the Riuer of *Hieromax*. This Riuer *Ortelius* takes to be the Riuer *Iaboc*: which boundeth *Gad* and *Manaſſeh* ouer *Jordan*: but he miſtaketh it; for *Hieromax* falleth into the Sea of *Galilee*, betwene *Hippus* and *Geraſa*, whereas *Iaboc* encreth the ſame Sea betwene *Ephron* and *Phanuel*. For the ſeuenth he nameth * *Hippus*, or *Hippion*, a City ſo called of a Colonie of Horſemen there gathered by *Herod*, on the Eaſt ſide of the *Galilean* Sea, deſcribed hereafter in the Tribe of *Manaſſeh* ouer *Jordan*. For the eighth *Pella*, which is alſo called *Buris*, and *Berenice*, ſeated in the South border of the Region ouer *Jordan*, called *Perea*. For the ninth *Gelaſa*, which *Iſeppus* takes to be *Geraſa*: and *Geraſa* is found in *Celeſyria* by *Iſeppus*, *Hegeſippus*, and *Stephanus*: but by *Plinie* (whom I rather follow) in *Phoenicia*. The tenth and laſt, *Plinie* nameth *Canatha*, and ſo doth *Suetonius* and *Stephanus*, which *Volaterran* calles *Gamala*, but *Hegeſippus* rightly *Camala*, a City in the Region of *Baſan* ouer *Jordan*, ſo called becauſe thoſe ten Hillies on which it is ſeated, haue the ſhape of a Camell. But the collection of theſe ten Cities, whereof this Region tooke name, is better gathered out of *Brocard*, *Breidenbech*, and *Saliniac*, which makes them to be theſe, *Ceſarea Philippi*, and *Afor*, before remembered, *Cede*, *Nephthalim*, *Sephet*, *Corazin*, *Capernaum*, *Bethſaida*, *Joſopata*, *Tiberias*, and *Scythopolis*, or *Bethſan*. For all other Authours diſagree herein, and giue no reaſon for their opinion. One place of the *Euangelist* Saint *Matthew* makes it manifeſt, that this Region called *Decapoliſ*, was all that Tract betwene *Zidon*, and the Sea of *Galilee*. For thus it is written: *And he departed againe from the coaſts of Tyrus and Zidon, and came vnto the Sea of Galilee, through the miſt of the coaſts of Decapoliſ*: ſo that it was bounded by *Damaſcus* and *Libanus* on the North: by the *Phenician* Sea, betwene *Zidon* and *Ptolemais* on the Weſt: by the Hillies of *Gelbo* and *Bethſan* on the South: and by the Mountaines *Tracones*, otherwiſe *Hermom*, *Sanir*, and *Galaad*, on the Eaſt: which is from Eaſt to Weſt the whole breadth of the Holy Land: and from the North to the South, neere the ſame diſtance which may be each way forty Engliſh miles.

†. V.

Of Hamath.

But to looke backe againe towards *Libanus*, there is ſeated neere the foote thereof of the City of * *Hamath* or *Chammath*, of which (as they ſay) the Countrey adjoining taketh name: the ſame which *Iſeppus* calleth *Amathitis*, and *Amathensis*: a *Iacobus* *Emath*, *Zeigler*, *Iurae*, *Iurae Regio cetera borealis tribus Nephthalim*, per montem *Libanus* & *g. Trachones*. The Countrey of *Iurae*, ſaith he, containeth the North parts of the 40 Tribe of *Nephthalim*, along the Mount *Libanus* to *Trachones*. But herein following *Strabo*, who calles *Trachonitis* *Iurae*, he miſtakes the ſeate of this Region: and ſo doth *Mercator*. For indeede were *Iurae* (which *Hegeſippus* calles *Perea*, and *G. Tyrim*, *Baccar*) the ſame with *Tracomis*, yet *Tracomis* is ſelfe ſo farre more to the Eaſt than *Hamath* in *Nephthalim*: for *Tracomis* lieth betwene *Ceſarea Philippi*, and the Mountaines *Trachones*: which the *Hebrewes* call *Gilead*: and this *Hamath* or *Chammath* is ſeated vnder *Ceſarea*, towards the Sea Weſtward. And it ſeemeth that this miſtaking grew by confounding *Emath* or *Hamath* the great in *Celeſyria*, beyond the Mountaines *Trachones*, which *Hierome* vpon *Amos* calles *Antiochia*, with 50 *Hamath* or *Hamath* the leſſer in *Phoenicia*, and *Nephthalim*, which he calleth *Epiphania*: for this *Hamath*, or in our Tranſlation *Hamath*, (and not that which is commonly called *Emath*, which 2 *Chron.* 8. 3. is ſet farre from the North border of *Canaan* in *Syria Soba*) is remembered in *Numbers* 34. verſe 8. and *Numbers* 13. verſe 22. and in *Eſekiel* 47. 16. In the firſt of which places it bordereth the Land of promiſe, theſe being the words: *From Mount Ebor you ſhall point (that is, direct or draw a line) vntill it come to Hamath: in*

* The Septuagint write it *Amath*, *Hierome* *Emath*, *Iſeppus* *Amath*, *Zeigler* *Iurae*, *Iurae Regio cetera borealis tribus Nephthalim*, per montem *Libanus* & *g. Trachones*, a *Iacobus* *Emath*, *Zeigler* *Iurae*, *Iurae Regio cetera borealis tribus Nephthalim*, per montem *Libanus* & *g. Trachones*.

b So *Hierome* in his Comment in *Amos*, c. 6. v. 2. where there is mention of *Hamath* the great, as it ſeemes, for diſtinction from the other in *Nephthalim*, though *Matt.* *Berolius* receiuing *Hierome*, rather follow the opinion of *Zeigler* or *Amos* mentioned, as indeede it cannot eaſily be ſubſiſted, that either one or other of theſe is either *Antiochia* or *Epiphania*, howbeit that the ſame City which *Iſeppus* 19. 31. is called *Chammath*, and placed in *Nephthalim*, was alſo called *Hamath* (whence the word *Hamath* & *Emath*, were ſprung) it may be gathered partly becauſe the other *Hamath*, 2 *Chron.* 8. 3. for diſtinction is called *Chammath* *Epiphania*, as this (as it may ſeeme by *Iſeppus* 19. 31.) was *Chammath* *Dura*.

and *Chamath* *Iuda*, as we have noted, 2 Reg. 24. Secondly, because *Nun* 3. 4. and also *Ezekiel* 47. 10. *Chamath* in the North side of the holy Land, is placed too neere the West comes, to be the *Chamath* *Ybela*: for in the line which should make the North border which begins at the great Sea, they make *Maser* to name neere a place Eastward along the breadth of the holy Land, & vntill we come to *Herman* (for so they expound Mount *Hir*, *Nun* 3. 4. 7.) and beyond *Herman* Eastward in this North side, they make him to name diuers Townes, first *Chamath*, then *Tifad*, then *Ziphon*, and lastly, *Chasip*, being, a thing most vailly: seeing *Israell* had little or nothing Eastward beyond *Herman*. Therefore we must needs expound *Hir* to be one of the Hills neere *Sidon*, and so those Townes, as they are named to lie in order on the North side of *Asper*, *Nephthaim*, and *Herman*, and in like manner those in *Beniet*: first *Chasip*, then *Chamath*, and so in order, *Berith*, *Sibrim*, *Tifad*, *Chasip*, *Chasip*, *Chasip*, *Chasip*. c Of which *Reb*, 35. d Which *Reb*, or *Reb*, in *Iofua* 19. 28. is placed in *Asper* towards *Zidon*, in the confines of *Nephthaim*.

which it hath to the West Sea, and the City of *Reb* adioyning prouie it: the other *Hamath* or *Emath* (being farre removed and beyond the forenamed mountains, which inclose all those Lands which *Israell* euer had possession of) is that *Emath*, which is also called *Ituraea*, witnesse *Stella* and *Latician*; and not that in *Nephthaim*, where *Jonathas* *Macchabeus* attended the Army of *Demetrius*, who fled from him, and removed by night.

For though *Tracomitis* be comprehended within *Ituraea* (and therefore it is saide to be *Tricomitis Galilee Gentium*) yet it hath beginning ouer the mountains *Tracomis*, and so it stretcheth into the plains of the Territory of *Ituraea*; whence *Philip* the brother of *Herod* was *Tetrarch* or *President* both of *Ituraea* and *Tracomitis*: both which are ouer *Iordan* towards the East. But *Chamath* in *Nephthaim*, is on the West side of *Iordan* towards the Mediterranean Sea.

The Country *Ituraea* was so called of *Itur* one of the sonnes of *Israell*; it is placed in properly belongeth to the bounds of *Calefryria* and *Arabia* the Desert. The people *Ituri* were valiant and warlike men, and excellent Archers: Of whom

* That is doth properly belongeth to *Arabia*, the name of *Itur* *Ituraea* (sonne, *Vir* il: whose issue settled in the *Arabians*, may in part give witnesse. Also the place of the i *Chro*. 5. 39. confirms it where *Itur* is named among the *Agarenes*, against the *Eumaites* & *Gadites* made war, & whose country they possessed in the time of *Terabon*, as their fore-fathers had done in the time of *Saul* after his conquest of the *Amalekites*, *Chro*. 1. 1. *Israell*.

This City *Chamath* or *Hamath* in *Nephthaim* seemes to haue beene as ancient as the other in *Ituraea*, both built by *Amathus* the eleuenth son of *Canaan*. Whether in the time of *Dauid*, this, or the other had *Tobu* for King, it is not certain; for *Hamath* or *Emath* beyond the Mountains, and *Hamath* in *Nephthaim*, were both neighbours to *Damascus*: of whose subugation *Tobu* reioyced, because *Hadafer* whom the *Damasceni* came to helpe, was his enemy. This *Tobu* fearing the strength and prosperity of *Dauid*, hearing of his approach towards his Territory, bought his peace with many rich presents, and with many ancient vessels of gold, silver, and brasse.

But it seemeth that *Dauid* in such great successe would not haue had peace with *Tobu*, if he had bene King of any place in *Nephthaim*, and therefore it is probable that he ruled in *Tifad*: which City *Salomon* after his Fathers death made himselfe Master of, as a part of the lands (* in the larger and conditionall promise) allotted by God to the children of *Israell*.

But this *Hamath* of *Nephthaim*, in the end, and after diuers mutations and changes both of name and fortune, being, as it hath bene saide, possessed by *Antiochus* *Epiphanes*, it was called *Epiphania*.

While *Saint Hierome* liued, it remained a City well peopled, knowne to the Syrians by the name *Amath*, and to the *Greekes* by *Epiphania*.

¶ VI.

Of *Reblatha* and *Rama*, and diuers other Townes.

In the border of *Hamath* or *Emath* towards *Iordan* standeth the Citie *Reblatha*, or *Billa*, watered from the fountaine *Daphni*: which falleth into the lake of *Merom*. Heere *Chano*

was *Zedekias* brought prisoner, after his surprize in the fields of *Tericho*: and deliuered to *Nabuchodonosor*: who to be auenged of *Zedekias*'s infidelity, beyond the proportion of pietie, first caused the Princes his children to be slaine in his presence: and to the end that this miserable spectacle might be the last that euer he should behold in this world, and so the most remembered, he commanded both his eyes presently to be thrust out: and binding him in yron chaines, he was led a slave to *Babylon*, in which estate he ended his life. Of which feldome-exempld calamitie, though not in expresse words, *Hieremie* the Prophet fore-told him in *Hierusalem* not long before: But *Ezekiel* thus directly, speaking in the person of God, I will bring him to *Babel* to the Land of the *Chaldeans*, yet shall he not see it, though he shall die therein.

There are besides these before remembered, many other strong Cities in *Nephthaim*, as that which is called *Cedes*: there are two other of the same name, one in *Isachar*, another in *Iuda*, of which *Iof*. 15. 23. and therefore to distinguish it, it is knowne by the addition of *Nephthaim*, as *Iudg*. 4. It is seated on a high hill, whence *Iof*. 20. 7. *Kede* in *Galilee* in mente *Nephthai*: *Iosephus* calls it *Cedes*, and in *Saint Hierome*'s time it was called *Cidius*. Belfors greatly mistakes this *Cedes*, and confounds it with *Cades* in the Desert of *Pharan*.

After the King thereof among other of the *Canaanites* perished by the hand of *Iofua*, it was made a Citie of refuge, and giuen to the *Leuites*. Herein was *Barac* borne; who overthroweth the Armie of the second *Tabin* of *Hazor*, at the Mount *Tabor*. It was sometime possit by *Teglatphalser*, when he waited all *Nephthaim*: afterward by the *Romans*, and numbered for one of the ten Cities of the *Decapoli* Region: When it had embraced the Christian faith, it was honoured with a Bishops seate, but in time it fell with the rest into the power of the *Saracens* and *Turkes*, and by them it was demolished.

From *Cedes* some foure Italian miles towards the South-west, standeth *Sephet*, otherwise *Zepet*, which was also one of the ten *Decapoli* Cities: a place exceeding strong, and for many yeeres the inexpugnable Fortresse of the Christians, and afterward of the *Saracens*; for from hence they conquered all the neighbour Cities of those Regions, both In-land and Maritima neere it. Touching *Rama* of *Nephthaim*, seated Northward neere *Sephet*: this is to be noted; that there are diuers places of this name in *Palestine*, all situated on Hills: and therefore called *Rama* (*Rama* *Hebrais* *excelsum*, *Ramah* with the *Hebreus* is high). Also that from this *Rama* *Iof*. 19. 26. they read *Arama*, making the article (which it hath in the *Hebrew*, as being a name of diuers Towns) to be a part of the words: whence casting away the aspiration, they read *Arama*. From *Sephet* towards the West they place *Bethfemes*, of which *Iof*. 19. 28. which defended it selfe against *Nephthaim*, *Iud*. 1. 33. but paid them tribute. On the other side of *Sephet* towards the East was *Bethanath*, who also kept their Citie from the *Nephthalims*.

Adioyning to which standeth *Cartham* or *Kiriathaim* a Citie of the *Leuites*, not farre from the Mountain out of which the springs of *Capharnaum* arise, called *Mons Christi*: a place by our Saviour often frequented: as also then when calling his Disciples together, he made choise of twelue, which he called and ordained to be his *Apostles* or Messengers: of which place or the acts therein done, there is often mention in the *Euangelists*.

Adioyning to these are *Magdalea*, a place of strength, and *Mesaloth* of which we reade that it was forced by *Baruchides* in the time of the *Macchabees*: also (according to *Adri-* chomius) one of the two *Beriths* of *Nephthaim*. For *Adrichomius* maketh two of this name in this Tribe, one neere *Chamath* in the North border, of which *Ezek*. 47. 6. another (vpon a weakie coniecture out of *Ioseph. anti*. 1. 5. c. 2.) he therefore placeth in this tract neere the waters of *Merom*; because the Kings that ioyned with *Tabin* against *Iofua*, which incamped at the waters of *Merom*, *Iof*. 11. 5. are by *Iosephus* said to haue incamped at the

50 Citie *Beritha* in *Galilee*, not farre from *Cedes* *superior*, which is also in *Galilee*: all which may be true of that *Beritha* of which *Ezek*. seeing it is in that *Galilee* which is called the upper *Galilee* or *Galilee* of the *Gentiles*. The same *Adrichomius* placeth the Region of *Beritha* neere *Abela* (of which *Abela* or *Abel-beth Mahachab* we haue spoken already) this he *Isidorus* in *Reu-* doth vpon a coniecture touching the place 2. *Sam*. 20. 14. where some reade *Abel* by *Beth-* *Abela*, *et omnia loca Berim*: but the better reading is, *et omnes Berim*, that is, with all the *dem* *com* *Berim*: for *Shebath* being of *Beniamin* (in which Tribe also there is a Citie called *Beritha* or *Bereth*) drew the men of that Citie after him.

To the North of *Beritha* of *Nephthaim* standeth *Sebarim* vnder *Libanus*, remembered by *Ezek*.

streame Eastward to the Sea of Galilee, and with another streame Westward into the great Sea. This River of *Chifon* where it riseth, and so farre as it runneth Southward, is called *Chedumim* or *Cadumim*: and for mine owne opinion, I take it to be the same which *Ptolomie* calleth *Chorfeus*: though others distinguish them, and set *Chorfeus* by *Cesaria Palestina*. There is a second Torrent or Brooke that riseth in the Hills of *Bethulia*, and falleth into the Sea of Galilee by *Magdalum*: and the third is a branch of a river rising out of the Fountaines of *Capharnaum*, which falleth also into the same Sea, and neere *Magdalum*, which Torrent they call *Dotham*, from the name of the Citie, from which it passeth Eastward to *Bethsaida*, and so ioyning with *Jordanis parvus*, which runneth from the Valley of *Iephtahel*, which *Iosua* reckoneth in the bounds of *Zabulon*, it endeth in the Sea of Galilee.

See Levellus
Map in Ori-
ent.
Is. 19. 14.

§. VI.

THE TRIBE OF ISACHAR.

IHenext adioyning Territorie to *Zabulon*, to the South and Southwest, was *Isachar*, who inhabited a part of the neather *Galilee*, within *Jordan*: of whom there were increased in *Egypt*, as appeared by their musters at Mount *Sinai*, 54400. able and warlike men, who leaving their bodies with the rest in the Deserts, there entered to the Holy Land, 64300.

Tarichea in
Sueton.

The first Citie of this Tribe neere the Sea of Galilee, was *Tarichea*, distant from *Tiberias* eight English mile, or somewhat more; a Citie wherein the *Iewes* (by the practice of a certaine mutinous vsptart, *Iohn* the sonne of *Leui*) tooke armes against *Iosephus* the Historian, then Gouvernour of both *Galilees*. This Citie was first taken by *Cassius*, and 3000. *Iewes* carried thence captiue; and afterward with great difficultie by *Vespasian*, who entered it by the Sea side, having first beaten the *Iewes* in a sea-fight vpon the Lake or Sea of *Galilee*; he put to the sword all sorts of people, and of all ages: sauing that his furie being quenched with the riuers of blood running through every street, he reserved the remainder for slaues and bond-men.

Next to *Tarichea* is placed *Cestion*, or *Cistion*, of the *Leuites*, and then *Isachar*, remembered in the first of *Kings* 6. 4. v. 17. then *Abes* or *Ebets*, *Ios. 19. 20.* and *Remeth*, of which *Ios. 19. 21.* otherwise *Ramoth*, 1 *Chron. 6. 73.* or *Iarmuth*, *Ios. 21. 29.* this also was a Citie of the *Leuites*, from whose Territorie the Mountaines of *Gilboe* take beginning: and range themselves to the *Mediterran* Sea, and towards the West as farre as the Citie of *Iezrah*, between which and *Ramoth*, are the Cities of *Bethpheses*, or *Bethpasses*, according to *Zeigler*, and *Enadda*, or *Hen-chadda*, neere which *Saul* slew himselfe: vnder those, *Apheer*, or *Apheca*, which *Adrichomius* placeth in *Isachar*: betwene which and *Sunah*, he saith, that the *Philistims* incamped against *Israel*, & afterward against *Saul*: a Land thirstie of blood, for herein also, saith he, the *Syrians* with two and thirty *Regals* assisting *Benhadad*, incurred *Acab*: and were overthrowne and slaughtered: to whom the King of *Israel* made a most memorable answer, when *Benhadad* vaunted before the victory: which was, *Tell Benhadad, Let not him that girdeth his harness boast himselfe, as he hath puteth it off*: meaning that glorie followed after victorie, but ought not to precede it. In the yeere following in the fields, as they say, adioyning to this Citie, was the same vaine-glorious *Syrian* viterly broken and discomfited by *Acab*: and 100000. footmen of the *Aramites* or *Syrians* slaine: before which overthrow the seruants and Counsaillors of *Benhadad* (in derision of the God of *Israel*) told him, *That the Gods of Israel were Gods of the Mountaines: and therefore if they fought with them in the plaines, they should overcome them*.

Vnder *Apheer* towards the Sea they set the Citie of *Esdrulon*, in the plaines of *Galilee*, so called also the great field of *Esdrulon*, and *Magedo*: in the border whereof are the ruines of *Apheer* to be seene, saith *Brochard*, and *Breidenbach*. After these are the Cities of *Casaloath*, of which, 1. *Machab. 9. 2.* *Anem* or *Hen-Gannim* of the *Leuites*, and *Seefima* or *Shabasfima*, the West border of *Isachar*, of which *Ios. 19. 22.* From hence ranging the Seacoast, there is found the Caste of *Pilgrimes*: a strong Caste inuironed with the Sea, sometime the store-houle and Magasin of the *Christians*, and built by the Earle of *S. Giles* or *Tolouse*.

From the Caste of *Pilgrimes* the Sea maketh a great Bay towards the North, and the farthest

farthermost shore beginneth Mount *Carmel*, not farre from the River *Chifon*, where *Elijah* assembled all the Prophets and Priests of *Baal*, and prayed King *Achab* and the people assembled, to make triall whether the God of *Israel*, or the Idoll of *Baal* were to be worshipped, by laying a sacrifice without fire on the Altar: which done, the Priests of *Baal* prayed, and cut their owne flesh after their manner, but the fire kindled not, while *Elijah* in derision told them that their God was either in pursuit of his enemies not at leisure, or perchance a-sleepe, &c. but at the prayer of *Elijah* his fire kindled, notwithstanding that he had caused the people to cast many Vessels of water thereon: by which miracle the people increased, slew all those Idolaters on the banks of *Chifon* adioyning.

At the foot of this Mountaine to the North standeth *Caphas*, built, as they say, by *Caphas* the high Priest. It is also knowne by the name of *Porfima* and *Porphyria*, sometime a *Suffragane* Bishops seate. Returning againe from the Seacoast towards *Tiberias* by the banks of *Chifon*, there are found the Citie of *Hapharaim* or *Apharaim*, and the Castles of *Mera*, and *Saba*: of which *Brochard* and *Breidenbach*: and then *Naim* on the River *Chifon*: a beautifull Citie while it stood, in the Gates whereof *Christ* raised from death the widowers onely sonne.

Luc. 7.

Then *Seon* or *Shion* named *Ios. 19.* betwene the two Hills of *Herman*, in *Isachar*: beyond it standeth *Endor*, famous by reason of the Inchantresse that vndertook to raise vp the body of *Samuel* at the instigation of *Saul*.

Beyond it stands *Anaharath* and *Rabbith* named *Ios. 6. 19. v. 19. 20.* Then *Dabarath* as it is named, *Ios. 2. 28.* or *Dobrath*, as it is named, 1 *Chron. 6. 72.* This Citie (which stretcheth it selfe over *Chifon*) was a Citie of refuge belonging to the *Leuites*.

Next to *Dabarath* is *Arbela* situate, neere the Caues of those two Thecues which so greatly molested *Galilee* in *Herods* time. It ioyneth on one side to the Mountaine of *Isachar* or *Herman*, and on the other to the Valley of *Israhel*: which valley continueth it selfe from *Bethan* or *Scythopolis*, the East border of *Isachar*, euen to the *Mediterran* Sea: two parts whereof are inclosed by the Mountaines of *Gilboe* on the South, and by *Herman*, and the River *Chifon* on the North. In these plaines *Gedeon* ouerthrew the *Madianites*, and herein, they thinke, *Saul* fought against the *Philistims*: *Acab* against the *Syrians*, and the *Tartars* against the *Saracens*.

*Called Cem-
pus Magnus,
1 *Mac. 12. 49.*
and *14. 34.*
for *Harabath*,
1 *Mac. 5. 23.*
1 *Sam. 31.*
1 *Sam. 31.*
1 *Sam. 31.*

§. VII.

THE HALFE OF THE TRIBE
OF MANASSE.

†. I.

Of the bounds of this halfe Tribe: and of *Scythopolis*, *Salem*, *Thersa*, and others.

IHenext Tribewhich ioyneth it selfe to *Isachar* towards the South, is the halfe of *Manasse*, on the West side of *Jordan*. *Manasses* was the first begotten of *Joseph*, the eleuenth sonne of *Iacob*. His mother was an *Egyptian*, the daughter of *Puaphar*, Priest and Prince of *Heliopolis*: which *Manasses* with his brother *Ephraim*, the grand-children of *Iacob*, were by adoption numbered amongst the sonnes of *Iacob*, and made vp the number of the twelue *Patriarkes*.

Of *Manasse* there were increased in *Egypt*, as they were numbered at Mount *Sinai*, 32200. able men: all which being consumed in the Deserts, there entered of their issues, 32700. bearing armes. The Territory which fell on this one halfe of *Manasse*, was bounded by *Jordan* on the East, and *Dora* vpon the *Mediterran* Sea on the West, *Israhel* on the North, and *Machmas* is the South border.

The first and principall Citie which stood in this Territorie was *Bethsan*, sometime *Nysa*, saith *Plinie*, built by *Liber Pater*, in honour of his Nurse there buried, of the same name, which *Solinus* confirms. Afterward when the *Scythians* invaded *Asia* the lesse, and pierced into the South, to the vttermost of *Calasyria*, they built this Citie a-new, and very magnificent: and it had thereupon the name of *Scythopolis*, or the Citie of *Scythians* given by the *Greces*.

These barbarous Northren people constrained the *Iewes* to fight against their owne Nation

Apollonia: though *Ptolomie* sets *Apollonia* elsewhere, & toward *Egypt*, between this *City* and *Ioppe*, to which *Epifan* gave the name of *Flavia Colonia*. It was by *Herode* built, who therein laboured to exceed all the works in that part of the world. For besides the edifices, which he reared within the Walls, of cut and polish marbles, the *Theater* and *Amphitheater*, from whence he might looke over the Seas farre away, with the high and stately Towers and Gates: hee forced a Harborow of great capacite, being in former times but an open Bay: and the wind blowing from the Sea the *Marchants* haunting that Port, had no other hope, but in the strength of their cables and Anchors. This worke he performed with such charge and labour, as the like of that hath not been found in any Kingdom, nor in any age: which, because the *Materials* were fetched from farre, and the weight of the stones was such as it exceedeth belief, I have added *Iosephus* owne words

S. Hierome nameth Theophilus, Eusebius, Acacius, Euzorus, and Gelasius to haubeme Bishops thereof. In this Citie was *Cornelius the Centurion* baptized by Saint *Peter*: and herein dwelt *Philip the Apostle*: S. *Paul* was heerein two yeres prisoner, under the *President Felix*, unto the time and government of *Porcius Festus*: by whom making his appeal, he was sent to *Cesar*. Here, when *Herod Agrippa* was passing on to celebrate the *Quinquennalia*, taking delight to be called a God by his flatteries, hee was thicken with an Angell unto death, saith *Iohannes*.

To the North of *Cafaria* standeth *Dora*, or *Naphoth Dor*, as some read: *Iof. 1. 2.* foiled (faith *Adrichomius*) because it ioyneth to the Sea, whose King was slaine by *Iofas*. But *Iunius* for in *Naphoth Dor*, reads in *trabidus Dor*: and for the *Vulgar*, in *negidius Dor*; although *1. Reg. 4. 11.* for the like speech in the *Hebrew* it readeth *omnis Nephth Dor*: The *Septuagint* in the place of *Iofas* call it *Nephthi-Dor*, and in the other of the Kings, *Nepha-Dor*: but the true name by other places (as *Iof. 12. 23. Iudg. 1. 27.*) may seeme to be *Dor*. It was a strong and powerfull Citie, and the fourth in account of the twelue Principalities or *Sitarches*, which *Salomon* erected. *Iunius* vpon *Maceab. 15. 11.*⁴⁰ placeth it betwene the Hill *Carmel*, and the mouth of the Riuer *Chersenus*: for so some name the Riuer *Chorfas*, of which we haue spoken already.

Into this Citie, for the strength thereof, *Tryphon* fled from *Antiochus* the son of *Demetrius*, where hee was by the same *Antiochus* besieged with 12000. foot-men, and 8000. Horse: the same perfidious villain that receiued 200.talents for the ranfome of *Ionathan Maccabaeus* (whom he had taken by treacherie) and then slew him: and after him flew his owne Maister, vsurping for a while the Kingdome of *Syria*. It had also a Bishops seate of the Dioceffe of *Caesaria*.

From *Cafaria* towards the South, they place the Cities of *Capharnaum*, *Gabe*, and *Gilgal*: for besides that *Capharnaum* famous in the *Evangelists*, they finde in these parts neere the West Sea, another of the same name. Of *Gabe* *Hierome* in *locis Hebraicis*. The famous *Galgol* or *Gilgal*, was in *Benjamin*: but this *Gilgal*, they say, it was whole King was slaine by *Iofua*.

Then *Antipatris* is called *Herode*, in honour of his Father: but in the time of the *Machabees* it was called *Capharjalama*: in the fields whereof *Judas Machabees* overthrew a part of the Armie of *Nicanor*, Lieutenant to *Demetrius*: an armie drawn into *Judas* by a traitorous *Jew*, called *Alimus*: who contended for the Priest-hood, first vnder *Bacchides*, and then vnder *Nicanor*. To this was *S. Paul* carried prisoner from *Hierusalem*, concluded

conducted by 470. Souldiers, to defend him from the furie of the *Leues*. In after-times the Armie of *Godfrey of Bullion* attempted it in vaine: yet was it taken by *Baldovine*. It was honoured in thole daies with a Bishops seate, but it is now a poore Village called *Affur*, faith *Brochard*. Neere vnto this Citie the Prophet *Iomas* was three daies preferred in a Whale.

In the bodie of a Whale.

In the Land, from *Antipatris* and *Cesaria*, standeth *Narbata*, whereof the Territory taketh name: which *Cestus* the *Romane* waisted with fire and sword, because the *Jewes* which dwelved at *Cesaria* fled thence, and carried with them the Bookes of *Moses*. Neere unto it is the Mountaine of *Abdin*, the Steward of King *Achab*: wherein hee hid an hundred Prophets, and fedde them, after which he himselfe is said to haue obtained from God the Spirit of Prophecie also.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Kingdome of Phœnicia.

6. I.

20 The bounds and chiefe Cities, and Founders, and Name, of this Kingdome: and of the invention of Letters ascribed to them.



BEcause these five Tribes, of *Asher, Nephthim, Zabulon, Issachar,* and the halfe of *Manasse*, possit the better part of that ancient Kingdome of *Phenicia*, to wit, of so much as lay to the South part of *Anti-libanus*: I haue therefore gathered a brieue of those Kings which haue gouerned therein: at least so many of them as time (which deuoureth all things) hath left to posteritie: and that the rest haue perished, it is not strange; seeing so many volumes of excellent learning in so long a race and reuolution, and
30 in so many changes of Estates and Conquests of Heauenly Princes, haue bene torne, cast away, or otherwise consumed.

The limits of this Kingdom, as touching the South parts, are very uncertaine: but the *Cafuzers* do in effect agree, that it takes beginning from the North, where that part of Syria, which is called *Casios*, ends: most of them bounding it by *Orthofia*, to the North of *Tripolis*. *Scotoma* makes it a little larger, as reaching from the River *Euphrates*, she fills into the Sea at the Land of *Aradas*, somewhat to the North of *Orthofia*, and stretching from thence along the coast of the *Mediterranea*, as far as the River of *Cleueus*, which seems to be that which the *Iewes* call the Tormen or River of

40 Magedo. Plinie extends it farther, and comprehends Toppe within it: *Corvinus* and *Bu-* Plin. lib. 5. c. 19
deus, Toppe and Gaza. *Phœnicia apud priscos appellata* (saith Budæus) *que nunc Palaestina* Sy-
riæ dicitur. It was called Phœnicia of old (saith he) which now is called Palaestina of Syria.

Seraboe comprehends in this Country of *Ptoemicia*, all the Sea side of *Tuscia*, and *P.z-leina*, curvum *Pelufium*, the first Port of *Agypt*. On the contrary *Dioscorus Siculus* foldeth it up in *Caletyria*, which hee boundeth not. But for my selfe I take a middle course, and like best of *Ptolemies* description, who was seldom deccied in his owne Art. It had in it these famous Marinimatic Cities (besides all those of the Ilands) to wit, *Aradas*, *Chorbusa*, *Tripolis*, *Batrys*, *Hyblus*, *Erytus*, *Sidon*, *Tyre*, *Ptolomae* (or *Acon*) *Dora*, and *Caletyria Palestine*: and by reason of the many Ports and goodly Sea-townes, it accordingly commanded the Trades of the Easterne world: and they were absolute Kings of the *Mediterran* Sea.

The ancient Regall Seat of those Princes was *Zidon*, built by *Zidon* the first sonne of *Canaan*: and the people then subiect to that people were called *Zidonians*: the same fate continuing euen vnto *Iosias* time. For till then it is probable that there was but one King of all that Region: afterward called *Phœnicia*: which *Procopius* also confirmeth in his second Booke of *Pandallwarres*. But in proceesse of time the Citie of *Tyre* adioyning became the more magnificent: yet according to the Prophet, it was but a Daughter of *Zidon*, and by them first built and peopled.

Of the Kings of Tyre.

But whatsoever remaineth of the storie and Kings of *Phœnicia* (the books of *Zeno*, *Sachonias*, *Manias*, and others of that Nation, being no where found) the same is to be gathered out of the Scriptures, *Iosephus*, and *Theophilus Antiochenus*.

Agenor lived at once with *Iofua*, to whom succeeded *Phanix*; of whom that part of *Canaan*, and so farre towards the North as *Aradus*, took the name of *Phœnicia*: what King succeeded *Phanix* it doth not appeare: but at such time as the *Grecians* besieged *Troy*, *Phaïs* governed *Phœnicia*.

In *Hieremie* time, and while *Seidaim* ruled in *India*, the *Tyrians* had a King apart: for *Hieremie* breakeeth of the Kings of *Zidon*, of *Tyre*, of *Edom*, &c. as of severall Kings.

In *Xerxes* time, and when he prepared that incredible Armie wherewith hee invaded *Greece*, *Tetramnestus* ruled that part of *Phœnicia*, about *Tyre*, & *Zidon*: who commanded, as some writers affirme, *Xerxes* fleete, or rather, as I suppose, those 300. Gallies, which himselfe brought to his aide: for at this time it seemeth, that the *Phœnicians* were Tributaries to the *Persian*: for being broken into Regals, and petty Kings in *Hieremie* time, they were subdued by *Nabuchodonosor*; of whose conquests in the Chapter before remembred, *Hieremie* prophced.

Tennes, though not immediately, succeeded *Tetramnestus*, remembred by *D. Siculus* in his 14. Booke.

Strato, his successer, and King of *Zidon*, *Alexander Macedon* threw out, because of his dependance vpon *Darius*, and that his Predecessors had serued the East Empire against the *Grecians*. But diuers Kings, of whom there is no memorie, came betwene *Tennes* and *Strato*. For there were consumed 130. yeeres and somewhat more betwene *Xerxes* and *Alexander Macedon*. And this man was by *Alexander* esteemed the more unworthy of restitution, because (saith *Curcius*) he rather submitted himselfe by the instigation of his Subiects (who foresaw their viter ruine by resistance) than that he had any disposition thereunto, or bare any good affection towards the *Macedonians*.

Of this *Strato*, *Albenicus* out of *Theopompus* reporteth, that he was a man of ill living: and most voluptuous; also that hee appointed certaine games and prizes for Women, dancers, and singers: whom hee to this end chiefly inuited, and assembled: that hauing beheld the most beautifull and finely among them, he might recouer them for his owne vse and delights. Of the strange accident about the death of one *Strato* King of these coasts, *S. Hieremie* and others make mention: who hauing heard that the *Persians* were near him with an Armie too wayghty for his strength, & finding that he was to hope for little grace, because of his falling away from that Empire, and his adhering to the *Egyptians*: he determining to kill himselfe, but fainting in the execution, his wife being present, wrested the sword out of his hand and slew him: which done, shee also therewith pierced her owne bodie, and died.

After *Alexander* was posselt of *Zidon*, and the other *Strato* driuen thence, He gaue the Kingdom to *Hephæstion*, to dispose of: who hauing receiued great entertainment of one of the Citizens, in whose house he lodged, offered to recompence him therewith; and willingly offered to establish him therein: but this Citizen no lesse vertuous than rich, desired *Hephæstion* that this Honour might be inferred on some one of the blood and race of their ancient Kings: and presented vnto him *Balonymus*, whom *Curcius* calls *Abdolominus*, *Iustine* *Abdolominus*, and *Plutarch* *Alonymus*: who at the very house that he was called to this regall Estate, was with his owne hands working in his Garden, setting hearbs and rootes, for his reliefe and sustenance: though otherwife a wise man and exceeding iust.

These were the ancient Kings of *Zidon*: whose estate being afterward changed into Popular or *Aristocratall*: and by times and turnes subiected to the Emperours of the East: there remaineth no farther memorie of them, than that which is formerly deliuered in the Tribe of *Afer*.

The Kings of *Tyre*, who they were before *Samuels* time, it doth not appeare: *Iosephus* the Historian, as is saide, had many things wherewith hee garnished his Antiquities from the *Tyrian* Chronicles: and out of *Iosephus*, and *Theophilus Antiochenus*, there may be

gathered a descent of some twenty Kings of the *Tyrians*, but these Authors, though they both pretend to write out of *Menander Ephesus*, doe in no sort agree in the times of their reignes; nor in other particulars.

Abibalus is the first King of the *Tyrians*, that *Iosephus* and *Theophilus* remember: whom *Iosephus* calls *Abmalus*; the same perchance that the sonne of *Sirach* mentioneth in his fourth and sixth Chapter, speaking of the Princes of the *Tyrians*.

To this *Abibalus*, *Saron* succeeded, if he be not one and the same with *Abibalus*. *David* (saith *Eusebius* out of *Eusepius*) constrained this *Saron* to pay him Tribute, of whom also *David* complaineth, *Psalm* 83.

Hiram succeeded *Saron*, whom *Iosephus* calls *Irom*, and *Theophilus* sometime *Hieronimus*, sometime *Hieropus*, but *Tatian* and *Zonaras* *Chiram*. He entred into a league with *David*, and sent him *Cedars* with *Masons* and *Carpenters*, to performe his buildings in *Hierusalem*: after he had beaten thence the *Iebusites*. The same was he that so greatly assisted *Salomon*: whom he not onely furnished with *Cedars*, and other Materials towards the raising of the Temple, and with great summes of money, but also he ioynd with him in his enterprize of the East *India*, and of *Ophir*: and furnished *Salomon* with Mariners and Pilots: the *Tyrians* being of all Nations the most excellent Navigators: & lent him 120. talents of gold. Of this *Hiram*, there is not onely mention in diuers places of Scripture, but in *Iosephus* in his Antiquities the 7. and 8. chap. 2. & 3. in *Theophilus* his 3^d.

10. booke, in *Tatianus* his Oration against the *Greekes*: and in *Zonaras* Tome the first. This Prince seemed to be very mighty and magnificent, hee despised the 20. Townes which *Salomon* offered him: he defended himselfe against that victorious King *David*: & gaue his daughter in marriage to *Salomon*, called the *Zidonian*: for whose sake he was contented to worship *Astarte*, the Idoll of the *Phœnicians*. *Hiram* liued 53. yeeres.

Balesartus whom *Theoph. Antiochenus*, calleth *Bazorus*, succeeded *Hiram*, King of *Tyre* and *Zidon*, and reigned 7. yeeres according to *Iosephus*.

Abdastartus the eldest sonne of *Balesartus*, gouerned 9. yeeres, and liued but 30. yeeres according to *Iosephus*: but after *Theophilus* hee reigned 12. yeere, and liued 54. who being slaine by the foure sonnes of his owne Nurse, the eldest of them held the Kingdom 12. yeeres.

Astartus brother to *Abdastartus*, recouered the Kingdom from this Vsurper, and reigned 12. yeeres.

Astarimus, or *Atharimus*, after *Theophilus*, a third brother followed *Astartus*, and ruled 9. yeeres, and liued in all 54.

Phelles the fourth sonne of *Balesartus*, and brother to the three former Kings, slew *Atharimus*, and reigned 8. moneths; liued 50. yeeres.

Ithobalus (or *Iubobalus*, in *Theophilus*) son to the third brother *Astarimus*, who was the chiefe Priest of the Goddess *Astarte*, which was a dignity next vnto the King, reuenged the death of his father, and slaughtered his Vnckle *Phelles*: and reigned 32. yeeres, the same which in the first Kings, chap. 16. is called *Ethbaal*, whose daughter *Iezabel*, *Astarte* chab married.

Badezor or *Bazor* the sonne of *Ithobalus* or *Ethbaal*, brother to *Iezabel*, succeeded his Father, and reigned 6. yeeres, and liued in all 45.

Mettimus succeeded *Badezor*, & reigned but 9. yeeres (saith *Iosephus*) he had two sons, *Pygmalion* and *Barca*, and two daughters *Elisa* and *Anna*.

Pygmalion reigned after *Mettimus* his Father 40. yeeres, and liued 56. In the seventh yeere of whose reign, *Elisa* sailed into *Africa*, and built *Carthage*, 143. yeeres and 8. moneths, after the Temple of *Salomon*: which by our account was 289. yeeres after *Troy* taken, and 143. before *Rome*: and therefore that fiction by *Virgil* of *Aeneas* and *Dido* must be sette out of square. For *Pygmalion* courteous of *Sichus* his riches, who had married his sister *Elisa*, slew him traiterously as he accompanied him in hunting: or if we beleue *Iustine* and *Virgil*, at the Altar: whereupon *Elisa* fearing to be despoiled of her husbands treasure, fled by Sea into *Africa*, as aforesaid: whom when *Pygmalion* prepared to pursue, he was by his mothers teares, and by threats from the Oracle arrested. *Barca* accompanied his sister, and assisted her, in the erection of *Carthage*: and from him sprang that noble Family of the *Barce* in *Africa*, of which race descended many famous Captaines, and the great *Hanniball*. *Seruius* interprets this name of *Dido* by *Virago*, because of her man-like acts, others from *Iedidia*, a surname of *Salomon*.

Eluleus succeeded *Pygmalion*: and reigned 36. yeeres: the same that overthrew the fleet of *Salmanaſſar*, in the Port of *Tyre*: notwithstanding which, he continued his siege before it on the Land side five yeeres, but in vaine.

After *Eluleus*, *Ethobales* governed the *Tyrians*, who vaunted himselfe to be as wise as *Daniel*: and that he knew all secrets (saith *Ezekiel*) of whom the Prophet writteth at large in his 28. Chapter: out of whom it was gathered, that this Prince dyed, or was slaine in that long siege of *Nabuchodonosor*: who surrounded and attempted *Tyre*, 13. yeeres together, ere he prevailed.

Baal followed *Ethobales*, and reigned 10. yeeres a tributary, perchance, to *Nabuchodonosor*: for after his death, it was gouerned by diuers *Judges*, succeeding each other: 10 First, by *Embalus*, then by *Chelbis*, *Abarus* the Priest, *Mittonus*, and *Geraſtus*, who held it among them some 7. yeeres, and odd months: after whom *Balastorus* commanded therein as a King for one yeere: after him *Merbalus* sent from *Babylon* 4. yeeres: after him from sentence also, 20. yeeres. In the 17. of whose reigne *Cyrus* beganne to gouerne *Persia*.

§. III.

Of *Bozeus* his conceit, that the *Edumians* inhabiting along the Red Sea, were the *Progenitors* of the *Tyrians*, and that the *Tyrians* from them received and brought into *Phœnicia* the knowledge of the true God.

IF the great mutations of this Kingdome and State of the *Tyrians*, mixed with a discourse of diuers other Nations, there is one *Bozius* that hath written a Treatise at large, intituled de ruinis *Gentium*. And although the great, and many alterations found in this and other Cities, yea in all things vnder heauen, haue proceeded from his ordinance who only is vntchangeable, and the same for euer; yet whereas the sayde *Bozius*, enforcing heere-hence, that the prosperity and ruine of the *Tyrians*, were fruites of their embracing or forsaking the true Religion, to proue this his assertion, supposeth the *Tyrians* to haue bene *Edumians*, descended from *Eſau*, *Iacob*s brother: first, it can hardly be beleueed that *Tyre*, when it flourished most in her ancient glory, was in aie for truly deuout and religious. But to this end (besides the prooue which the Scriptures giue of *Hiram*s good affection when *Salomon* built the Temple) hee brings many coniecturall arguments; whereof the strongest is their pedigree and descent: it being likely in his opinion, that the posterity of *Eſau* receiued from him by Tradition the Religion of *Abraham* and *Isaac*. That the *Tyrians* were *Edumians*, he endeouours to shew, partly by weakere reasons, painefully strained from some affinity of names, which are arguments of more delight than weight: partly by authority. For *Strabo*, *Herodotus*, *Pliny*, & others witnesse, that the *Tyrians* came from the Red Sea, in which there were three Ilands, called *Tyros*, *Aradus*, and *Sidon*: which very names (as he thinketh) were afterwards giuen to the Cities of *Phœnicia*. Considering therefore that all the coast of the Red Sea, was (in his opinion) vnder the *Edumians*: as *Elah* and *Eſiongaber*, or vnder the *Amalekites*, who descended of *Amalec* the Nephew of *Eſau*, whose cheefe City was *Madian*, so called of *Madian* the sonne of *Abraham* by *Cethura*, whose posterity did people it: the consequence appeares good (as he takes it) that the *Tyrians* originally were *Edumites*: differing little or nothing in Religion from the children of *Israel*. Heereunto he addeth, that *Cadmus* and his Companions brought not into *Greece* the worship of *Aſturtis*, the Idoll of the *Sidonians*. That the Parents of *Thales* and *Pherecydes* being *Phœnicians*, themselves differed much in their Philosophy from the idolatrous customes of the Greeks. That in *Teman*, a Towne of the *Edumians*, was an *Vniuersity*, wherein as may appeare by *Eliphaz* the *Temanite*, who dispuerd with *Iob*, Religion was sincerely taught.

Such is the discourse of *Bozius*, who labouring to proue one *Paradox* by another, deferues in both very little credit. For neither doth it follow, that if the *Tyrians* were *Edumians*, they were then of the true Religion, or well affected to God and his People: neither is it true that they were *Edumians* at all. In what Religion *Eſau* brought vp his children, it is no where found written, but that himselfe was a prophane man, and disauowed by God, the Scriptures in plain termes expresse. That his posterity were Idolaters, is directly proued in the 25. Chapter of the second booke of *Chronicles*. That the *Edumites* were perpetual enemies to the House of *Israel*, saue onely when *Dauid* & some of his race, Kings of *Iuda*, held them in subiection, who knows not: or who is ignorant

rant of *Dauid*s vnfriendly behauiour amongst them, when first they were subdued: Surely it was not any argument of Kindred or Alliance, betwene *Tyros* & Mount *Ser*, which *Hiram* held such good correspondence with *Dauid*: euen then when *Iob* flew all the males of *Edom*: neither was it for their deuotion to God, and good affection to *Israel*, that the *Edumites* were so ill intreated. It seemeth that the piety and ancient wildome of *Eliphaz* the *Temanite* was then forgotten, and the *Edumians* punished for being such as *Dauid* in his owne dayes found them. Although indeede the City of *Teman* whence *Eliphaz* came to reason with *Iob*, is not that in *Edumia*, but another of the same name, lying East from the Sea of *Galilee*, and adioyning to *Hier*, the Country of *Iob*: and so to *Sach* the City of *Bildad* the *Sabite*, as both such *Chorographers* who best know those parts, do plainly shew, and the holy Text makes manifest. For *Iob* is said to haue exceeded in riches; and *Salomon* in wildome, all the people of the East; nor the inhabitants of Mount *Ser*, which lay due South from *Palestina*. True it is that *Eliphaz* the sonne of *Eſau* had a sonne called *Teman*: but that Fathers were wont in those dayes to take name of their sonnes, I no where finde. And *Ismael* also had a son called *Teman*: of whom it is not unlike that *Teman* in the East had the name: for as much as in the 7. Chap. of the booke of *Judges*, the *Midianites*, *Amalekites*, & all they of the East are called *Ismaelites*. And hee w^t considers how great and strong a Nation *Amalec* was, which durst giue battaile to the Host of *Israel*, wherein were 600000. able men, will hardly beleuee that such a people were descended from one of *Eſau*s his grand-children. For how powerfull and numberlesse must the forces of all *Edom* haue beene: if one Tribe of them, yea one Family of a Tribe had bene so great: surely Mount *Ser* and all the Regions adioyning could not haue held them. But we no where finde that *Edom* had to do with *Amalec*: or assisted the *Amalekites*: when *Saul* went to roote them out. For *Amalec* is no where in Scripture named as a Tribe of *Edom*: but a Nation of it selfe, if distinct from the *Ismaelites*. The like may be said of *Midian*, that the Founder thereof being sent to *Abraham* by *Cethura*, doubtles was no *Edomite*. And thus much in general for all the *Seignory* of the Red-sea coast, which *Bozius* imagines the *Edumians* to haue held: if the *Edumites* in after-times held some places as *Elan* and *Eſiongaber* on the Red Sea shore, yet in *Mos*s time, which was long after the building of *Tyre*, they held them not. For *Mos*s himselfe saith, that *Israel* did compass all the borders of *Edom*: within which limits had *Midian* flood, *Mos*s must needs haue known it: because he had sojourned long in that Country: and there had left his wife and children, when he went into *Egypt*.

But coniecturall Arguments, how probable soeuer, are needlesse in so manifest a case. For in the 83. Psalm. *Edom*, *Amalec*, and *Tyre*, are named as distinct Nations: yea the *Tyrians* and *Sidonians* being one people, as all good Authors shew, and *Bozius* himselfe confesseth, were *Canaanites*, as appeares, *Gen. c. 10. v. 15. & 19.* appointed by God to haue bene destroyed, and their Lands giuen to the children of *Israel*, *Ief. 29.* because they were Idolaters, and of the cursed seede of *Canaan*, not Cousins to *Israel*, nor professors of the same Religion. For though *Hiram* said, Blessed bee God that hath sent King *Dauid* a wife sonne: we cannot inferre that he was of *Dauid*s Religion. The *Turke* hath saydes much of *Christian* Princes, his confederates. Certaine it is, that the *Sidonians* then worshipped *Aſtareth*; and drew *Salomon* also to the same Idolatry.

Whereas *Hiram* ayded *Salomon* in building the Temple, he did it for his owne ends, receiving therefore of *Salomon* great prouision of Corne, and Oyle, and the offer of 20. Townes or Villages in *Galilee*. And if wee rightly consider things, it will appeare that *Hiram* in all points, dealt Merchant-like with *Salomon*, he allowed him Timber, with which *Libanus* was, and yet is ouer-pestered: being otherwise apt to yeelde silkes: as the *Andarim* silkes which come from thence, and other good commodities. For Corne and Oyle, which he wanted, he gaue that which he could well spare to *Salomon*. Also Gold for Land: wherein *Salomon* was the wiser, who hauing got the gold first gaue to *Hiram* the worst Villages that he had: with which the *Tyrian* was ill pleased. But it was an necessary policy which enforced *Tyros* to hold league with *Israel*. For *Dauid* had subdued *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Edom*, the *Aramites*, and a great part of *Arabia*, euen to *Euphrates*: thorough which Countries the *Tyrians* were wont to carrie and re-carrie their Wares on Camels, so their flects on the Red Sea, and backe againe to *Tyros*: so that *Salomon* being Lord of all the Countries through which they were to passe, could haue cut off their Trade.

But the *Israelites* were no Sea-men, and therefore glad to share with the *Tyrians* in their adventures. Yet *Salomon* as Lord of the Sea-townes, which his Father had taken from the *Philistines*, might have greatly distressed the *Tyrians*, & perhaps have brought them even into subjection. Which *Hiram* knowing, was glad (and no meruaile) that *Salomon* rather meant as a man of peaceto employ his Fathers treasure, in magnificent works, than in pursuing the conquest of all *Syria*. Therefore he willingly ayded him, and sent him cunning workmen, to encrease his delight in goodly buildings, imageries, and instruments of pleasure.

As these passages betwene *Salomon* and *Hiram*, are no strong Arguments of pietie in the *Tyrians*: so those other proofes which *Bozins* frames negatively vpon particular to examples, are very weak. For what the Religion of *Cadmus* was, I think no man knowes. It seems to me, that hauing more cunning than the *Greekes*, and being very ambitious, he would faine haue purchased diuine honours: which his Daughters, Nephewes, and others of his house obtained, but his owne many misfortunes beguiled him of such hopes, if he had any. *Thales* and *Pherecydes* are but single examples. Euery saluage Nation hath some wisdom excellen the Vulgar, euen of ciuill people. Neither did the morall wisdom of these men expresse any true knowledge of the true God. Only they made no good mention of the Gods of *Greece*: whom being newly come thither, they knew not. It is no good argument to say, that *Cadmus* and *Thales* being *Tyrians*, are not knowne to haue taught Idolatry, therefore the *Tyrians* were not Idolaters. But this is of force, That *Carthage*, *Phicia*, *Leptis*, *Cadix*, and all *Colonies* of the *Tyrians* (of which I thinke, the Islands before mentioned in the Red Sea to haue beene, for they tradid in all Seas) were Idolaters, euen from their first beginnings: therefore, the *Tyrians* who planted them, and to whom they had reference, were so likewise.

This their Idolatry from *Salomons* time on-wards is acknowledged by *Bozins*, who would haue vs thinke them to haue bene formerly a strange kinde of deuout *Edomites*. In which fancie he is so peremptory, that he styeth men of contrary opinion *impoliticos*, as if it were impiety to thinke that God (who euen among the Heathen, which haue not knowne his name, doth fauour Vertue and hate Vice) hath often rewarded morall honesty, with temporall happinesse. Doubtlesse, this doctrine of *Bozins* would be better haue agreed with *Julian* the *Apostata*, than with *Cyril*. For if the *Assyrians*, *Greeks*, *Romanes*, and all those Nations of the *Gentiles*, did then prosper most, when they drew neere vnto the true Religion: what may be saide of the foule Idolatry which grew in *Rome*, as fast as *Rome* selfe grew: and was enlarged with some new superstition, almost vpon euery new victory? How few great battailes did the *Romanes* win, in which they vowed not either a Temple to some new God, or some new Honor to one of their olde Gods: yea, what one Nation, saue only that of the *Iewes*, was subdurd by them, whose Gods they did not afterward enterrage in their City? Onely the true God, which was the God of the *Iewes*, they reiectd, vbraiding the *Iewes* with him, as if he were unworthy of the *Romane* Maiesty: shall we hereupon enforce the lowd and foolish conclusion, which Heathen writers vied against the *Christians* in the *Primitive Church*: That such Idolatry had caused the Citie of *Rome* to flourish, and that the decay of those abominations did also bring with it the decay of the Empire? It might well be thought so, if prosperitie were a signe or effect of true Religion. Such is the blinde zeale of *Bozins*, who writing against those whom he falsely termes impious, giues strength to such as are impious indeed. But such indiscretion is usually found among men of his humour; who hauing once either foolishly embraced the dreames of others, or vainely fashiond in their owne braines any strange *Chimeras* of Diuinity, condemne all such in the pride of their zeale, as *Atheists* and *Infidels*, that are not transported with the like intemperate ignorance. Great pitty is it, that such mad dogges are oftentimes encouraged by those, who hauing the command of many tongues, when they themselues cannot touch a man in open and generous opposition, will wound him secretly by the malicious vertue of an *Hypocrite*.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Tribe of Ephraim, and of the Kings of the ten Tribes, whose head was Ephraim.

§. 1.

Of the memorable places in the Tribe of Ephraim.



20 phraim by the North and South; as Jordan, and the Mediterranean Sea, did by the East and West.

Auging now past ouer *Phanicia*, wee come to the next Territorie adioyning: which is that of *Ephraim*: sometime taken *per excellentiam* for the whole Kingdome of the ten Tribes. *Ephraim* was the second sonne of *Ioseph*, whose yfices when they left *Egypt* were in number 45000. all which dying in the *Desarts*, (*Ioseph* excepted) there entred the Holy Land of their children growne to be able men 32500. who fate downe on the West side of *Jordan*, betwene *Manasse*, and *Beniamin*: who bounded *E-*

The first and chiefe Citie which *Ephraim* had, was *Samaria*, the Metropolis of the Kingdome of *Israel*, built by *Amris* or *Homri* King thereof, and seated on the toppes of the Mountaine *Samron*, which ouer-looketh all the bottome, and as farre as the Seacoast. It was afterward called *Sebaste*, or *Augusta*, in honour of *Augustus Caesar*. This City is often remembred in the Scriptures: and magnificent it was in the first building, for as *Bruchard* obserueth, the ruines which yet remaine, and which *Bruchard* found greater then those of *Hierusalem*, tell those that behold them, what it was when it stood vpright: for to this day there are found great store of goodly Marble pillars, with other hevrne and 30 carued stone in great abundance, among the rubble.

It was beaten to the ground by the sonnes of *Hircanus* the high Priest: restored and built by the first *Herod* the son of *Antipater*: who to flatter *Cesar* called it *Sebaste*. Here were the Prophets *Heliseus*, and *Abdias* buried: and so was *Iohn Baptist*. It now hath nothing but a few Cottages filled with *Grecian* Monkes.

Neere *Samaria* toward the South, is the Hill of *Bethel*, and a towne of that name: on the top of which Mountaine, *Ieroboam* erected one of his golden Calues, to be worshipped: with which he seduced the *Israelites*.

In sight of this Mountaine of *Bethel*, was that ancient City of *Sichem*; after the restoration called *Neapolis*, now *Pelosa*, and *Napolsa*: It was destroyed by *Simeon* and *Leui*, in reuenge of the raiishment of their sister *Dina*: and after that by *Abimelec* euened with the foyle. *Ieroboam* raised it vp againe: and the *Damascens* a third time cast it downe.

Vnder *Sichem* toward the Sea standeth *Pharaton* or *Pirbathon* on the Mountaine *Amale*, the Citie of *Abdon* Iudge of *Israel*. And vnder it *Bethoron* of the *Leuites*, built as it is said by *Sara*, the daughter of *Ephraim*. Neere to this Citie *Iudas Machabees* ouerthrew *Saron* and *Lysias*, Licutenants to *Antiochus*. This City had *Salomon* formerly repaired and fortified.

Betwene *Bethoron* and the Sea, standeth *Samir*, of which *Ios. 10.* And *Saron* whose King was slaine by *Iofa*: it is also mentioned *Acts 9. 35.* and of this *Saron* the Valley taketh name, which beginning at *Cesarea Palestina*, extendeth it selfe alongst the coast as farre as *Ioppe*, saith *Adrichome*. Though indeed the name *Sarona* is not particularly giuen to this Valley, butto euery fruitfull plaine Region; for not onely this Valley is so called, to wit, betwene *Cesarea* and *Ioppe*, but that also betwene the Mountaine *Taber* and the Sea of *Galilee*: for so *S. Hierome* vpon the five and thirtieth Chapter of *Esaie*, interprets the word *Saron*: and so doth the same Father in his Commentaries vpon *Abdias*, reade *Saron* for *Asaron*: vnderstanding thereby a Plaine neere *Lidda*: which *Lidda* in his time was called *Diophysol*, or the City of *Iupiter*, one of the Toparchies of *Indea*, the first in dignity (for the third after *Pliny*) where Saint *Peter* (*non sua sed Christi virtute*) cutt off *Amas*. *Niger* calls all that Region from *Anti-libanus* to *Ioppe* *Sarona*. This *Ioppe* is the same as *Jaffa*.

was burnt to the ground by the *Romanes*, those *Rauens* and Spoyle of all Estates, disturbers of Common-weales, vsurpers of other Princes Kingdomes; who with no other respect led than to amplify their own glory, troubled the whole world: and themselves, after murdering one another, became a prey to the most saluage and barbarous Nations.

Of this Saint George see more above in this 2 booke. C. 7. §. 3. & 5.

In *Diopolis* (saith will of Tyre) was *S. George* beheaded, and buried: in whose honour and memory *Iustinian* the Emperour caused afaire Church to be built over his Tombe, these be *Tyrinus* his words: *Relicta ad exervi locis maritimis Antipatride, & Ioppe, per late patrem plantium Elutberiam pertransiunt, Liddam que est Diopolis, ubi & egregij Martyris Georgij scilicet bodie Sepulchrum ostenditur, perueniunt, eius Ecclesiam quoniam ad honorem eiusdem Martyris pium & orthodoxum Princeps Romanorum, Augustus Iustinianus multo studio & deuotione prompta edificari precepit, &c.* They hauing left (saith he) on the right hand, the Sea Townes *Antipatris*, and *Ioppe*, passing ouer the great open plaine of *Elutberia*, came to *Lidda*, which is *Diopolis*: where the sumptuous Tombe of the famous Martyr *S. George* is at this day shewed; whose Church, when the *Goaly* & *Orthodox* Prince of the *Romanes*, *High* and *Mighty* *Iustinian* had commanded to bee built, with great earnestnesse and present deuotion, &c. Thus saith *Tyrinus*, by whose testimony, we may coniecture that this *S. George* was not that *Arrian* Bishop of *Alexandria*, but rather some better *Christian*: for this of *Alexandria* was slaine there in an vprore of the people, and his ashes cast into the Sea, as *Ammianus Marcellinus* reports. And yettall so it may be, that this *Georgius* was a better *Christian*, than he is commonly thought for his words of the Temple of *Genius*, *How long shall this Sepulchre stand?* occasioned the vprore of the people against him: as fearing lest he would giue attempt to ouerthrow that beautifull Temple. This also *Marcellinus* reports; who though he say that this *Georgius* was also deadly hated of the *Christians*, who else might haue rescued him: yett he adde, that his ashes, with the ashes of two others, were therefore cast into the Sea, lest their Reliques had bene gathered vp, Churches should be built for them, as for others. But for my part, I rather thinke that it was not *Georgius*, whose name liues in the right honourable Order of our Knights of the Garter, but rather another, whom *Tyrinus* aboue cited, withnesse to haue bene buried at *Lidda*, or *Diopolis*. The same also is confirmed by *Victori*. *S. Hierome* affirms that it was sometime called *Tigrida*, and while the *Christians* inhabited the Holy Land, it had a Bishop *Suffragan*.

L. 22. & 11.

Saith Town 6. C. 6.

See in the Tribe of Benjamin, cap. 12. §. 1.

Sam. 1. 2. f. v. 5.

Neere to *Lidda* or *Diopolis* standeth *Ramatha* of the *Leuites*, or *Aramathia*: afterward *Pama*, and *Ramula*, the native Citie of *Ioseph*, which buried the body of *Christ*. There are many places which beare this name of *Rama*, one they set in the Tribe of *Iuda* neere *Thebus* in the way of *Hebron*; another in *Nephthalim*, not far from *Sebeth*; a third in *Zabulon*, which they say, adioyneth to *Sephoris*; a fourth, which they make the same with *Silo*; and a fifth, which is this *Rama*, in the Hills of *Ephraim*, called *Rama-Sophim*, where *Samuel* liued, and wherein he is buried.

From hence to the North alongst the coast are *Holon*, or *Aialon* of the *Leuites*, of 40 which 1. Chron. 6. *Apollonia*, of which *Iosephus* in his Antiquities, and in the war of the Bell. Ind. 1. 6. *Ierues*. Also *Balsafusa* (for which *Iunius* 2. Reg. 4. 42. reads *planities Shaltis*) they place her about in this Tribe of *Ephraim*; but *Iunius* vpon 1. Sam. 6. where we read of the Land of *Shaltis*, findeth it in *Beniamin*.

On the other side of the Mountaines of *Ephraim* standeth *Gofna*, one of the *Teparchies* or *Cities* of government, the second in dignity, of which the Country about it taketh name.

Then *Thamnath-sara*, or according to the Hebrew *Thimnath-Serach*: one also of the ten *Teparchies* or *Presidencies* of *Iuda*, which they call *Thamnathica*; a goodly City and strong, seated on one of the high Hills of *Ephraim*; on the North of the hill called *Gas*; which City and Territory, *Israel* gaue vnto their Leader *Iosua*; who also amplified it with buildings, neere which he was buried. His Sepulchre remained in *S. Hieroms* time, and ouer it the *Summe* engrauen, in memory of that greatest of wonders, which God wrought in *Iosua* time.

In the places adioyning standeth *Adarsa*, or *Adasa*; where *Iudas Maccabew* with 3000. *Iewes* ouerthrew the Army of *Nicanor*, Lieutenant of *Syria*; neere to *Gas* or *Gerzer* which *Iosua* tooke, and hung their King; a Citie of the *Leuites*. It was afterward taken by *Pharao* of *Agypt*; the people all slaine, and the Citie razed, *Salomon* re-built it.

To

To the East of this place is the Frontier Citie of *Iefeth*, of which *Iof. 16. 3.* otherwise *Peleti*, whence *David* had part of his *Pratorian* Souldiers, vnder the charge of *Benai*. Then that high and famous Mountaine and Citie of *Silo*, whereon the *Arke* of God was kept so many yeeres, till the *Philistins* got it.

To this they ioyn the Citie of *Michmas* or *Michmas*: in which *Ionathas Maccabew* inhabited, a place often remembered in the Scriptures. It standeth in the common way from *Samaria* towards *Hierusalem*: and is now called *Byra*.

Then the Village of *Natioh* where *Saul* prophesied; and neere it *Ephraim*, one of those Cities which *Abijah* recovered from *Ieroboam*; after the great ouerthrow giuen him. Then *Kibthim*, of the *Leuites*, of which *Iosua* 2. 22. which *Iunius* thinks to be the same with *Iokmetham*, of which 1. Chro. 6. 28. As for *Abisalom Basaleph*, which they finde here about, *Iunius* reads it in the Plaine of *Chazor*; and findes it in the Tribe of *Iuda*; as *Iof. 15.* we read of two *Chazors* in that Tribe; one neere *Keddeh*, v. 23. and the other the same as *Chetron*, v. 25.

In this Tribe also they finde the Citie of *Mello*; whose Citizens, they say, ioyned with the *Sichemites* in making the Bastard *Abimelec* King: adding that for the building thereof with other Cities, *Salomon* raised a Tribute vpon the people. But it kernes that *Mello* or *Millo* is a common name of a strong Fort or Cittadell: and so *Iunius* for *domus* Ind. 9. 10. 6. *Millo* reads *incola munitionis*, and for *Salomo edificabit Mello*, he reads *edificabit munitionem*, and so the *Septuagint* reads *in idem* in that place. And without doubt the *Millo* *Parablon* which *Salomon* built, cannot be that of *Sichem*, but another in *Hierusalem*.

The other Cities of marke in *Ephraim* are *Taphuach*, whose King was slaine by *Iosua*, *leuen publicum* and *lanuch* or *Linach* spoiled by *Teglatphalassar*; *Pekah* then gouerning *Israel*; with diuers others, but of no great fame. The Mountaines of *Ephraim* sometime signifie the greatest part of the Land of the Sonnes of *Ioseph*, on the West of *Iordan*: severall parts whereof are the Hill of *Samron* or *Samaria*, 1. Reg. 16. 24. * the Hill of *Gabas*, Ind. 2. 9. * the Hill of *Tsalmon* or *Salmon*, Ind. 9. 48. the Hills of the Region of *Tuph* or *Tophim*, Ind. 9. 5. where *Rama-Tophim* stood, which was the Citie of *Samuel*.

The great plenty of fruitfull Vines vpon the fides of the Mountaines, was the occasion that *Isaiah* in the Spirit of Prophecie, Gen. 49. 22. compared *Iosephs* two branches, *Ephraim* and *Manasse*, to the branches of a fruitfull Vine planted by the Well side, and spreading her, Daughter-branches along the Wall: which Allegorie also *Ezekiel*, c. 22. in his Lamentation for *Ephraim* (that is, for the tenne Tribes, whose head was *Ephraim*) proferres: as also in his Lamentation for *Iuda*, he followeth the other Allegorie of *Isaiah*, Gen. 49. 9. comparing *Iuda* to a Lyon. Vpon the top of one of the highest of these Hills of *Ephraim*, which ouerlooketh all the plaines on both fides of *Iordan*, they finde the Cattle called *Dok*: which they make to be the same with *Dagon*, of which *Ioseph* 1. Bell. Ind. 4. 2. in which Cattle as it is, 1. Macc. 16. *Ptolomie* most traiterously, at a banquet, slew *Simon Maccabew* his Father in Law.

Among the Riuers of this Tribe of *Ephraim*, they name *Gas*, remembered in the second of *Samuel*, c. 23. v. 30. where though *Iunius* reads *Hiddai ex vna vallium Gabasi*: yett the *Vulgar* and *Arabian* reads *Giddai* of the Riuier of *Gas*. Also in this Tribe they placeth the Riuier of *Capthi*, by which the Prophet *Elias* abode during the great droughth, where he was fed with the *Rauens*: and after that the Riuier was dried vp, he traualled (by the Spirit of God guided) towards *Sidon*: where he was relieued by the poore *Widow* of *Zarepta*, whose dead sonne he reuiued, and increased her pittance of Meale and Oyle: whereby he sustained her life.

§. II.

Of the Kings of the ten Tribes from *Ieroboam* to *Achab*.

For the first Kings of *Israel*, I omit in this place to speake: and referue it to the Catalogue of the Kings of *Iuda*: of whom hereafter.

Touching the acts of the Kings of the ten Tribes, but briefly, beginning after the diuision from *Iuda* and *Beniamin*, now it followeth to speake. The first of these Kings *Ieroboam*, the sonne of *Nebat*, an *Ephraimite* of *Zereda*, who being a man of strength & courage, was by *Salomon* made ouer-see of the buildings of the Muration in *Hierusalem*, for as much as belonged to the charge of the Tribes of *Ephraim* & *Manasse*: & so many of them as wrought in those works. During which time as he went from

Hli

Hierusalem;

See in *Beniamin*. Maccab. 2. 9. v. 16. *Gen. 14. 24.* and see *Rams* in *Beniamin*.

Ind. 9. 10. 6. Reg. 11. 27. *Parablon* ex-pounds *Millo* in this place.

leuen publicum *mesuratum* *ciuitatis* *terrefolij* *minima* *aque* *sp. seluic*.

Reg. 15. 29. *Iof. 17. 2. 15. 16* *Allo* the Hill of *Phanias*, where *Elezzer* the high Priest

the son of *Adram*, was buried. *Iof. 14. 33.* And the two tops of Hills, *Gerizim* where the blessing, & *Habal* where the cursing were to be read to the people: of which *Deut. 11. 17.* & *Iof. 1. 11.*

of *It* kernes in this prophecie the rather vseth the word *Daughters* for *branches*; thereby the more plainly to figure Colonies: which in the Hebrew phrase are called

Daughters of the *Metropolis*: as in *Iosua* and elsewhere often: 1. Reg. 17. 5.

50

salem, he encountered the Prophet *Ahijah*: who made him know that hee was by God destined to be King of *Israel*: and to command ten of the twelve Tribes. After this fearing that those things might come to *Salomons* knowledge, he fled into *Egypt* to *Shishak*, whom *Eusebius* calleth *Ochores*, whose Daughter he married: the Predecessor of which *Shishak* (if not the same) did likewise entertaine *Adad* the *Idumean*, when he was carried yong into *Egypt* from the furie of *David*, and his Captaine *Iothab*; which *Adad*, the King of *Egypt* married to his Wives sister *Taphnes*; vying both him and *Ieroboam* as instruments to shake the Kingdome of *Israel*; that himselfe might the easier spoile it, as he did: for in the fift yeere of *Rehoboam*, *Shishak* sackt the Citie of *Hiersusalem*, and carried thence all the treasure of *David* and *Salomon*, and all the spoiles which *David* tooke from *Adadenezzer* of *Soba*, with the presents of *Tobu*, King of *Elamath*, which were of an inestimable value.

This *Ieroboam* after the death of *Salomon* became Lord of the ten Tribes: and though he were permitted by God to gouerne the *Israelites*, and from a meane man exalted to that state: yet preferring the policies of the world before the seruice and honour of God (as fearing that if the Tribes vnder his rule should repaire to *Hiersusalem* to doe their vsuall Sacrifices, they might be drawne from him by degrees) he erected two golden Calues, one in *Dan*, and another in *Bethel*, for the people to worship (an imitation of the *Egyptian Apis*, saith *S. Ambrose*, or rather of *Aarons* Calfe in *Horeb*) further he made election of his Priests out of the basest and vnlearned people. This King made his chiefe seate and Palace at *Sichem*: Hee despised the warning of the *Idumean* Prophet, whom *Iosephus* calleth *Adon*, and *Glycas* *Iael*: his hand there-after withered, and was againe restored: but continuing in his Idolatry; and hardened vpon occasion that the Prophet returning was slaine by a Lyon, *Ahijah* makes him know, that God purposed to roote out his posterity.

He was afterward ouerthrowne by *Abia* King of *Juda*, and died after hee had gouerned two and twenty yeeres; whom *Nadab* his son succeeded: who in the second yeere of his raigne, together with all the race of *Ieroboam* was slaine, and rooted out by *Baasha*, who raigned in his stead: so *Nadab* liued King but two yeeres.

Baasha the sonne of *Ahijah*, the third King after the partition, made warre with *Asa* King of *Juda*: he seated himselfe in *Thersa*; and fortified *Rama* against *Juda*, to restrain their excursions. Here vpon *Asa* entertained *Benhadad* of *Damascus* against him, who inuaded *Nephtalim*, and destroyed many places therein: the meane while *Asa* carried away the Materials, with which *Baasha* intended to fortifie *Rama*; but being an Idolater, he was threatened by *Iehu* the Prophet, that it should befall his race, as it did to *Ieroboam*: which afterward came to passe: He ruled foure and twenty yeeres and died.

To *Baasha* succeeded *Ela* his sonne, who at a feast at his Palace of *Thersa*, was in his cups slaine by *Zambris* after he had raigned two yeeres: and in him the prophetic of *Iehu* was fulfilled.

Zambris succeeded *Ela*, and assumed the name of a King seauen dayes; But *Ambrius* in reuenge of the Kings Murther, set vpon *Zambris*, or *Zimri*, and inclosed him in *Thersa*, and forst him to burne himselfe.

Ambrius or *Omri* succeeded *Ela*, and transferred the Regall seate from *Thersa* to *Samarria*: where he bought of *Shemer*, built, and fortified it. This *Ambrius* was also an Idolater, no lesse impious than the rest: and therefore subiect to *Tabremmon*, King of *Syria*; the Father of *Benadad* according to *Eusebius* *Nicephorus*, and *Zonaras*: but how this should stand, I doe not well conceiue; seeing *Benadad* the Sonne of *Tabremmon* was inuited by *Asa* King of *Juda*, to assaile *Baasha* King of *Israel*, the Father of *Ela* who forewent *Ambrius*. This *Ambrius* raigned twelue yeeres, fixe in *Thersa*, and fixe in *Samarria*, and left two children, *Achab* and *Athalia*.

§. III.

Of Achab and his Successors, with the captiuitie of the ten Tribes.

Achab or Achab succeeded *Omri*, who not onely vp-held the Idolatrie of *Ieroboam*, borrowed of the *Egyptians*: but he married *Iezabel* the *Zidonian*: and as *Ieroboam* followed the Religion of his *Egyptian* Wife: so did *Achab* of his *Zidonian*.

man: and erected an Altar and a Groue to *Baal* in *Samarria*. He suffered *Iezabel* to kill the Prophets of the most high God. God sent famine on the Land of *Israel*. *Achab* met *Elias*: *Elias* prevailed in the triall of the Sacrifice, and killeth the false Prophets: and afterward flyeth for feare of *Iezabel*.

Benadad, not long after, besieged *Samarria*: and taken by *Achab*, was by him set at libertie: for which the Prophet (whom *Glycas* calleth *Michaas*) reprimeth him: afterward he caused *Naboth* by a false accusation to be stoned. Then ioyning with *Iosaphat* in the warre for the recovery of *Ramoth*, he was slaine as *Michaas* had foretold him.

Hee had three sonnes named in the Scripture, *Ochozias*, *Ioram*, and *Ioa*s: besides seauentie other sonnes by sundry wiues and Concubines.

Ochozias succeeded his father *Achab*. The *Moabites* fell from his obedience: he brui-
sed himselfe by a fall: and sent for counsaile to *Beelzebub* the God of *Achazon*. *Elias* the Prophet meeteth the messenger on the way: and mistaking that *Ochozias* sought helpe from that dead Idoll, asked the messenger, If there were not a God in *Israel*? *Ochozias* sendeth two Captiues, and with each fiftie fouldiers to bring *Elias* vnto him, both which with their Attendants were consumed with fire. The third Captaine besought mercie at *Elias* hands, and he spared him, and went with him to the king; auowing it to the king that he must then die, which came to passe in the second yeere of his raigne.

Ioram the brother of *Ochozias* by *Iezabel*, succeeded: He allured *Iosaphat* king of *Juda*, and the king of *Edom* to assist him against the *Moabites*, who refused to pay him the tribute of 20000 sheepe. The three kings wanted water, for themselves and their Horses, in the Deserts. The Prophet *Elisha* causeth the ditches to flow. The *Moabites* ouerthrowne: their king flyeth to *Kirharaseth*, and being besieged, according to some Expositors, burnt his sonne on the wals as a Sacrifice, whereat the three kings moued with compassion, returned and left *Moab*, wasting and spoiling that Region. Others, as it seemes with better reason, vnderstand the Text to speake of the sonne of the king of *Edom*, whom they suppose in this irruption to haue beene taken prisoner by the *Moabites*, and that the king of *Moab* shewed him ore the wals, threatening, vnlesse the siege were dissolved, that he would offer him in sacrifice to his Gods. Wherevpon the king of *Edom* brought those of *Juda* and *Israel* to breake off the siege for the safety of his sonne: which the other kings refused to yeeld vnto, & that *Moab* according to his former threatening had burnt the king of *Edom*'s sonne vpon the rampire, that all the assailants might discern it, the king of *Edom* being by this sad spectacle enraged, forsooke the party of the other kings; for want of whose assistance the siege was broken vp.

After this the king of *Aram* sent to *Ioram*, to heale *Naaman* the Captaine of his Armie of the Leprosie. The answer of *Ioram* was; Am I God to kill, and to giue life, that he doth send to heale a man from his Leprosie? adding, that the *Arameans* sought but matter of quarrell against him. *Elisha* hearing thereof, willed the king to send *Naaman* to him; promising that hee should know that there was a Prophet in *Israel*, and so *Naaman* was healed by washing himselfe seauen times in *Iordan*. *Elisha* refused the gifts of *Naaman*. But his seruant *Gehazi* accepted a part thereof: from whence the sellers of spirituall gifts are called *Gehazites*, as the buyers are *Simonians* of *Simon* Magus.

Afterward *Benhadad* king of *Aram* or *Damascus*, hauing heard that this Prophet did discover to the king of *Israel* whatsoever the *Arameans* conspired in his secretest counsell, sent a rouspe of horse to take *Elisha*: all whom *Elisha* strooke blinde, and brought them captiues into *Samarria*: *Ioram* then asked laue of the Prophet to slay them, *Elisha* forbade him to harme them: but caused them to be fed and sent back to their own Prince in libertie.

The King of *Aram* notwithstanding these benefits, did againe attempt *Samarria*, and brought the Citizens to extreame famine. *Ioram* imputeth the cause thereof to the Prophet *Elisha*. *Elisha* by prayer caused a noise of Chariots and armour to sound in the ayre, whereby the *Arameans* affrighted, fled away, and left the siege; an act of great admiration, as the same is written in the second of *Kings*. After this, when *Achab* ob-
tained the kingdome of *Syria* by the death of his Maister, *Ioram* entring vpon his frontiers, rooke *Ramoth Gilead*: in which war he receiued diuers wounds, and returned to *Jersalem* to be cured. But whilest he lay there, *Iehu* (who commanding the armie of *Ioram* in *Gilead*, was anointed king by one of the children of the Prophets sent by *Elisha*) surprized him: and

and slew both him and all that belonged vnto him, rooting out the whole posteritie of *Ahab*.

Iehu who reigned after *Iehoram*, destroyed not onely the race of his fore-goers, but also their religion; for which he receiued a promise from God. That his seed should occupie the Throne vnto the fourth generation. Yet hee vpheld the idolatry of *Ierobom*, for which he was plagued with greuous warre, wherein hee was beaten by *Hazeael* the *Aramite*, who spoiled all the Countreies to the East of *Jordan*: in which warre hee was slaine, saith *Cedrenus*: whereof the Scriptures are silent. *Iehu* reigned 28.yeeres.

Ioachaz or *Iehoahaz* the sonne of *Iehu* succeeded his father, whom *Azael* and his son *Benhadad* often invaded, and in the end subiected, leauing him onely 50. horse, 20. chariots, and 10000. foot; and as it is written in the Scriptures, he made them like dust beaten into powder. *Ioachaz* reigned 17. yeeres.

After *Ioachaz* *Ioas* his sonne gouerned *Israel*, who when hee repaired to *Elisba* the Prophet as hee lay on his death-bed, the Prophet promised him three victories ouer the *Aramites*: and first commanded him to lay his hand on his bowe, and *Elisba* couered the Kings hands with his, and bad him open the window westward (which was toward *Damascus*) and then shoot an arrow thence out. Hee againe willed him to beate the ground with his arrowes, who smote it thrice, and ceased: The Prophet then told him, that hee should haue smitten five or sixe times; and then he should haue had so many victories ouer the *Aramites* as he gaue strokes. And so it succeeded with *Ioas*, who ouerthrew the *Aramites* in three battels, and recouered the Cities and Territorie from *Benhadad* the sonne of *Azael*, which his Father *Ioachaz* had lost. He also ouerthrew *Amaſia* King of *Juda*, who prouoked him to make the warre, whereupon hee entered *Hierusalem*, and sacked it with the Temple. This *Ioas* reigned fixteene yeeres and died; in whose time also the Prophet *Elisba* exchanged this life for a better.

Ieroboam the third from *Iehu*, followed *Ioas* his father, an Idolater as his predecessor; but he recouered all the rest of the lands belonging to *Israel*, from *Hamath* which is neere *Libanus*, to the dead Sea, and reigned one and forty yeeres.

Zacharias the fift & last of the house of *Iehu*, slaine by *Shallum* his vassal, who reigned in his stead, gouerned fix moneths. *Shallum* held the kingdome but one month, being slaughtered by *Menahem* of the *Gadites*.

Menahem who tooke reuenge of *Shallum*, vsed great cruelty to those that did not acknowledge him: ripping the bellies of those that were with childe. This *Menahem* being invaded by *Phul*, bought his peace with ten thousand talents of siluer, which hee exacted by a Tribute of fifty shekels from euery man of wealth in *Israel*. *Menahem* gouerned twenty yeeres.

Pekahiah or *Phacsa*, or after *Zonaras Phacesia*, succeeded, and after hee had ruled two yeeres, he was slaine by *Phaca* or *Pekab* the Commander of his army, who reigned in his place. In this *Pekabs* time, *Phalsar* or *Tiglat-Phalsar* invaded the kingdom of *Israel*, and wanstion, *Abel-Bethmaaca*, *Iamach*, *Kedesb*, *Husor*, and *Gilead*, with all the Cities of *Gallilee*, carrying them captiues into *Affria*: he was drawne in by *Achas* king of *Iudea* against *Pekab* and *Rezin*, the last of the *Adades*. For *Achas* being waisted by *Pekab* of *Israel*, and by *Rezin* of *Damasus*, did a third time borrow the Church riches, & therewith engaged the *Affrian*, who first suppressed the Monarchy of *Syria* and *Damasus*, and then of *Israel*: and this inuading of the great *Affrian*, was the vtter ruine of both States, of *Israel* and of *Iudea*. *Pekab* reigned twenty yeeres.

Then *Hoshea* or *Osea*, who slew *Pekab*, became the vassal of *Salmanassar*; but hoping to shake off the *Affrian* yoke, he sought aide from *So*, or *Sua*, or *Sebisus* king of *Egypt*: which being knowne to the *Affrian*, he cast him into prison, besieged *Samaria*, and mastered it: carried the ten idolatrous Tribes into *Ninuiue* in *Affria*, and into *Rages* in *Media*, and into other Easterne Regions, and there dispersed them: and replanted *Samaria* with diuers Nations, and chiefly with the *Cutha* (inhabiting about *Cutha* a riuer in *Persia*, or rather in *Arabia Deserta*) and with the people *Catanei* bounding vpon *Syria*, and with those of *Sebaruagim* (a people of *Sebar* in *Mesopotamia* vpon *Euphrates* of whose conquest *Senacherib* vaunteth) also with those of *Assa*, which were of the ancient *Auini*, who inhabited the Land of the *Philistims* in *Abrahams* time, dwelling neere vnto *Gaza*, whom the *Captiues* rooted out: and at this time they were of *Arabia* the *Desart*, called *Haui*, willing to returne to their ancient seats. To these he added those of *Chamath* or

or *Intrea*, the ancient enemies of the *Israelites*, and sometime the Vassalls of the *Adads* of *Damasus*, which so often afflicted them. And thus did this *Affrian* aduise himselfe better than the *Romans* did. For after *Titus* and *Vespasian* had waisted the Cities of *Iudea*, and *Hierusalem*, they carried the people away captiue: but left no others in their places, but a very few simple labourers, besides their owne thin Garrisons, which soone decayed: and thereby they gaue that dangerous entrance to the *Arabians* and *Saracens*, who neuer could be driuen thence againe to this day.

And this transmigration, plantation, and displantation, hapned in the yeeare of the world 3292. the sixth yeeare of *Ezekiah* King of *Juda*: and the ninth of *Hoshea* the last King of *Israel*.

A Catalogue of the Kings of the ten TRIBES.

1.	Ieroboam,	Raigned	22	Yeeares.
2.	Nadab,		2	Yeeares.
3.	Baſſa,		24	Yeeares.
4.	Ela,		20	Yeeares.
5.	Zambris,		7	Dayes.
6.	Omri,		11	Yeeares.
7.	Achab,		22	Yeeares.
8.	Ochozias,		2	Yeeares.
9.	Ioram,		12	Yeeares.
10.	Iehu,		28	Yeeares.
11.	Ioachaz,		17	Yeeares.
12.	Ioas,		16	Yeeares.
13.	Ieroboam,		41	Yeeares.
14.	Zacharias		6	Moneths
15.	Shallum,		1	Moneth.
16.	Menahem,		10	Yeeares.
17.	Pakahia,		2	Yeeares.
18.	Phaca,		20	Yeeares.
19.	Hosca.		9	Yeeares, about whose time writers differ.

CHAP. X.

Of the memorable places of Dan, Simeon, Fuda, Reuben, Gad, and the other halfe of Manasse.

§. 1.

Of Dan, whereof Toppe, Gath, Accaron, Azotus, and other Townes.



Now following the coast of the *Mediterran* Sea, that portion of Land assigned to the Tribe of *Dan*, ioyneeth to *Ephraim*, whereof I spake last: of which family there were numbered at Mount *Sinai* 62700. fighting men, all which leauing their bodies with the rest in the *Desarts*; there entered the Holy Land of their sons 66400. bearing armes. The first famous Citie in this Tribe on the Sea-coast was *Toppe*, or *Iapha*, as in the 19. of *Iosua*: one of the most ancientest of the World, and the most famous of others on that coast, because it was the Port of *Hierusalem*. From hence *Ionas* embarked himselfe when he fled from the seruice of God, towards *Tharſis* in *Cilicia*. In the time of the *Machabees* this Citie receiued many changes: and while *Iudas Macchabeus* gouerned the *Iewes*, the *Syrians* that were Garrisoned in *Toppe*, hauing their fleet in the Port, inuited 200. principall Citizens aboard them, and cast them all into the Sea: which *Iudas* reuenged by firing their fleet, and putting the companies which sought to escape to the sword.

H b 3

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Vol. vi. cap. 12.

men (saith *Volsterran*) as *Antiochus*, *Sofus*, *Cygnus*, *Dorathem* the Historian, and *Artemidorus*, who wrote the storie of *Bithynia*.

Alicie in
Tribe Simeon.

In *Ascalon*, as some say, was that wicked *Herod* borne, that seeking after our Sauour, caused all the Male-children of two yeeres olde and vnder to be slaine. In the Christian times it had a Bishop, and after that, when it was by the *Saladine* defaced, *Richard King of England*, while he made Warre in the Holy Land, gaue it a new wall and many buildings. *Eius muros cum Saladinus diruisset*, *Richardus Anglorum Rex instaurauit*, saith *Adrichomius*.

2. Sam. 1.

In *Dauids* time it was one of the most renowned Cities of the *Philistims*: for hee nameth *Gath* and *Ascalon* onely, when he lamenteth the death of *Saul* and *Jonathan*: not to speaking of the other three. Tell it not in *Gath*, nor publish it not in the streetes of *Ascalon*: It is now called *Salame*. *Gabinus* restored it as he did *Azotus* and *Gaza*.

Pol. 6. 11.

Next to *Ascalon* stood *Gaza* or *Gazera*, which the *Hebrewes* call *Hazza*, the *Syrins* *Azan*: of *Azenus* (as they say) the sonne of *Hercules*. Other prophane writers affirm, that it was built by *Impier. Pomp. Mela* giues the building thereof to *Cambyfes the Persian*; because belike hee re-built it, and *Gaza* in the *Persian* tongue is as much to say as Treasure. This *Gaza* was the first of the five *Satrapies* of the *Philistims*: and the South bound of the Land of *Canaan* towards *Egypt*. But this Citie was farre more ancient than *Cambyses*, as it is prooued by many Scriptures. It was once taken by *Caleb*: but the strength of the *Anakims* put him from it. At such time as *Alexander Macedon* invaded the Empire of *Persia*, it receiued a Garrison for *Darius*: in despite whereof it was by the *Macedonians* after a long siege demolished, & was called *Gaza* of the *Defart*.

Scrip. de Heb.
Iud. 1. 6. 16.
1 King. 6. 29
Alicie.

Eph. 13 ant. 29.

Alexander Linnus King of the *Lewes* surprized it: and slew five hundred Senators in the Temple of *Apollo* which stood thither for Sanctuarie: but this *Gaza* was not serpy in the same place againe, to wit, on the foundations which *Alexander Macedon* had ouerturned, but somewhat neerer the Sea side: though the other was but two mile off. It was a Towne of great account in the time of the *Maccabees*, and gaue many wounds to the *Iewes* till it was foist by *Simon*: of which hee made fo great account, as that hee purposed to reside therein himselfe, and in his absence left *Iohn* his Soune and Successor to bee Gouverneur. In *Brochard* his time it was still a goodly Citie, and knowne by the name of *Gazara*.

Macc. 1. 15.
Brochard. 11. 7.Hist. trip. 16. c.
4. Nicph. 10.
Ist. cap. 4.

At the very out-let of the Riner of *Befor*, standeth *Maioma* the Port of *Gaza*: to which the priuiledge of a Citie was giuen by the great *Constantine*, and the place called *Constantia* after the name of the Emperours Sonne. But *Iulian the Apostata* soone after flourishing the *Gazeans*, made it subiect vnto them, and commanded it to bee called *Gaza maritima*.

Iosep. 19. ant.
1. 9. 21.

On the other side of *Befor*, standeth *Anthedon*, defaced by *Alexander Linnus*, restored by *Herod*, and called *Agrippias*, after the name of *Agrippa*, the fauorite of *Augustus*.

Iosep. 19. ant.
21. 14. 24.
1. 14. 24.

Then *Raphia*, where *Philopater* ouerthrew the great *Antiochus*: and beyond it *Rhinocura*, whose Torrent is knowne in the Scriptures by the name of "the Torrent of *Egypt*", *Valis Egypti* till the *Septuagint* conuerted it *Rhinocura*: to difference it, *Es. 27. 12.* giuing the name of the Citie to the Torrent that watereth it. *Plinie* calls it *Rhinocolura*; and *Iosephus*, *Rhinocorura*: a *Epiphanius* reports it as a Tradition, that at this place the world was diuided by lot, betwene the three Sonnes of *Noah*.

Valis Egypti
the name of
the streame
seems to be
Rhincor.See in
Affer. Chap. 7.
§. 3. 7. 8.In the margin
a *Epiphanius* from
the *Septuagint*.In the margin
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the *Septuagint*.

Within the Land and vpon the Riuier of *Befor* they place *Gerar*: which the Scripture placeth betwene *Kadesh* & *Shur*, *Gen. 20. 1.* That it was neere to the Wildernesse of *Beer-sheba*, it appears *Gen. 20. 31.* and therefore no maruell that as elsewhere *Beer-sheba*, so sometime *Gerar*, hee made the South bound of *Canaan*. It was of olde a distinct Kingdome from the *Philistin* *Satrapies*, the Kings by one common name were called *Amalechis*, Saint *Hierome* saith that afterward it was called *Regio salutaris*; the healthy Countie: so that it was no maruell that *Abraham* and *Isaac* liued much in those parts. Of King *Asa's* conquest of the Cities about *Gerar*, see *2. Chron. 14. 14.*

1. Sam. 30.

More within the Land was *Siceleg* or *Tsiglak*, which was burnt by the *Amalechites*, when *Dauid* in his flying from *Saul* to the *Philistims* had left his carriages there, but *Dauid* followed them ouer the Riuier of *Befor*, and put them to the slaughter, and recovered the prey.

Eph. 10. 11. 12.

Next *Dabir* sometime *Cariath-Sopher*, the Citie of Letters, the Vniuersitie, as they say, or *Academie* of old *Palestine*. In Saint *Hieromes* time it seemes it had the name of

Dabir: *Iosua 15. 49.* it is called *Vrbis Sanna*: from the name, as it seemes, of some of the *Anakims*, as *Hebron* was called *Vrbis Arbabi*. For euen hence also were these Giants expelled. It was taken chiefly by *Orhaniel*, encouraged by *Caleb*s promise of his Daughter in marriage; but that *Iosua* and the Hoast of *Israel* were at the surprize, it appears *Ios. 10. 39.* This Citie *Ios. 21. 15.* is named among those which out of *Simeon* and *Juda* were giuen to the *Leuites*. And hence it seemes they attribute it to this Tribe.

Besides these, there are many others in the Tribe of *Simeon*, but of lesse fame, as *Hayn*, of which *Ios. 19. 7.* which also *Ios. 21. 16.* is reckoned for one of the Cities of the *Leuites*, giuen out of the portion of *Juda* and *Simeon* (for which *Iunius* thinks *Halbam* is named in *1. Chron. 6. 59.* though "in the place of *Iosua* these two are distinguished) also *Tholad* so named in *1. Chron. 4. 29.* for which *Iosua 19. 4.* we haue *Elieholad*. *Chatzar-Susa* so named in *Iosua 19. 5.* for which *Iosua 15.* we haue *Chatzar-Gadda*, both names agreeing in signification: for *Gadda* is *Turma*, and *Susa* *Equitatus*.

In the same places of *Iosua* and of the *Chronicles* *Chorma* is named, which they thinke to be the same with that of which *Numb. 14. 45.* to which the *Amalekites* and *Canaanites* pursued the *Israelites*: But that *Chorma* cannot be in *Simeon*, nor within the Mountaines of *Edoma*. For *Israel* fled not that way: but backe againe to the Campe, which lay to the South of *Edomaea*, in the *Desart*.

Deut. 1.

The same places also name *Beer-sheba* in this Tribe: so called of the Oath betwene *Abraham* and *Abimelec*: neere vnto which *Hagar* wandered with her Sonne *Ismael*. It was also called the Citie of *Issac*, because hee dwelt long there. While the *Christians* held the Holy Land, they laboured much to strengthen this place, standing on the border of the *Arabian Desart*, and in the South bound of *Canaan*. It hath now the name of *Gibelin*. The other Cities of *Simeon* which are named in the places of *Iosua*, and of the *Chronicles* about noted, because they helpe vs nothing in storie, I omit them. In the time of *Ezekia* King of *Juda*, certaine of this Tribe being strengthened in their owne Territories, passed to "Gedor," as it is, *1. Chron. 4. 39.* (the same place which *Ios. 15. 36.* is called *Gedor* and *Gederotaima*) which at that time was inhabited by the issue of *Cham*: where they feared themselves: as also five hundred others of this Tribe, destroyed the Reliques of *Amalec* in the Mountaines of *Edom*, and dwelt in their places.

The Mountaines within this Tribe are few, and that of *Sampson* the chiefest: vnto which hee carried the Gate-post of *Gaza*. The Riuers are *Befor*, and the Torrent of *Egypt* called *Shichar*, as is noted in *Affer*.

As it seemes
in the Land of
Juda. See in
the first Para-
graph of this
Chapter in the
Cities of Dan.
Iud. 16. 3.

§. III.

THE TRIBE OF IUDA.

In *Juda* the fourth Sonne of *Jacob* by *Lea*, there were multiplied in *Egypt* 74600. All which (Caleb excepted) perished in the *Desarts*. And of their sonnes there entered the Land of *Canaan* 76500. bearing arms: Agreeable to the great efficacy of this number was the greatest Territorie giuen, called afterward *Judea*: within the bounds whereof were the portions allotted to *Dan* and *Simeon* included. And many Citie named in those Tribes, did first, as they say, belong vnto the Children of *Juda*: who had a kinde of Soueraignie ouer them: as *Succoth*, *Cariathiarim*, *Lachis*, *Beth-semes*, *Tsiglak*, *Beer-sheba*, and others. The multitude of people within this small Prouince (if it be measured by that ground giuen to this Tribe onely) were incredible, if the witnesse of the Scriptures had not warranted the report. For when *Dauid* numbered the people, they were found five hundred thousand fighting men.

The Cities of *Juda* were many. But I will remember the chiefest of them: beginning with *Arad*, or *Horma*, which standeth in the entrance of *Judea* from *Idumaea*: whose King first surprized the *Israelites* as they passed by the border of *Canaan* towards *Moub*, and tooke from them some poyles, and many prisoners: who being afterward ouerthrowne by the *Israelites*, the sonnes of *Keni*, the Kinsmen of *Moses*, obtained a possession in that Territorie: who before the comming of the *Israelites*, dwelt betwene *Madian* and *Amalek*.

Following this Frontiertowards *Idumaea* and the South, *Ascensu Scorpiomis*, or *Acrabim* is placed: the next to *Arad*: so called because of *Scorpions*, which are said to bee in that

Numb. 21. v. 9.
Iud. 1. 7. 4.
Iud. 1. 7. 6.Numb. 34. 4.
Deut. 1. 15.

that place: from which name of *Acrababim*, *Hierome* thinks that the name of the *Taperchie* called *Acrabathema* was denominated: of which we haue spoken in *Manasse*. On the South side also of *Iuda* they place the Cities of *Iagur*, *Adama*, *Adada*, *Cedes*, *Alma*, *Iethnam*, and *Afor* or *Chafor*, most of them Frontier Townes.

And then *Ziph*: of which there are two places so called: one besides this in the body of *Iuda*, of which the *Defare* and *Forrest* adioyning tooke name: where *Dauid* hid himselfe from *Saul*. After these are the Cities of *Efron*, *Adar*, *Karkab* and *Afemon*, or *Hufmon*, of no great fame.

Turning now from *Iudaea* towards the North, wee finde the Cities of *Danna*, *Shemah*, *Amam*, the other *Afor*, or *Chafor*, *Bebaloth*, and the two *sochoes*: of all which see *Iofe* 15. 8. v. 1. *Iofe* 15. also *Cariath* by *Iofua*. c. 15. v. 25. called *Keriath*: whence *Iudas* the Traitor was called *Is-cariath*, as it were a man of *Cariath*. Then *Betham* the abode of *Sampson* on which *Rehebeam* recified. Beyond these towards the North border, and towards *Eleutheropolis*, is the Citie of *Iethar*, or *Iathir*, belonging to the *Leuites*. In Saint *Hieromes* time it was called *Iethira*: and inhabited altogether with *Christians*: neere vnto this City was that remarkable battaile fought betwene *Afa* King of *Iuda*, and *Zara* King of the *Arabians*, who brought into the field a Million of fighting men: and was notwithstanding beaten and put to flight: *Afa* following the victory as farre as *Gerar*, which at the same time he recovered.

Not farre from *Iether*, standeth *Iarmuth*, whose King was slaine by *Iofua*, and the City ouerturned. Next vnto it is *Adarefa* the natie Citie of the Prophet *Michea*: Betwene it and *Odolla*, *Iudas Macchabeus* ouerthrew *Gorgias* and sent thence ten thousand *Dragons* of silver to be offered for Sacrifice.

Odolla or *Haulamit* selfe was an ancient and magnificent Citie, taken by *Iofua*, and the King thereof slaine. *Jonathas Macchabeus* beautified it greatly. Then *Cadur* or *Kala* afterward *Echela*, where *Dauid* sometime hid himselfe: and which afterward he deliuered from the assaults of the *Philistims*: neere which the Prophet *Abacuc* was buried: whose monument remained, and was scene by *S. Hierome*.

Neere it is *Hebron*, sometime called the Citie of *Arabah*, for which the *Fulgur* hath *Cariatharbe*: the reason of this name they giue as if it signified the Citie of foure: because the foure *Patriarchs*, *Adam*, *Abraham*, *Iaac*, and *Jacob*, were therein buried; but of *Adam* it is but supposed: and it is plaine by the places, *Iofua* 14. 14. and 15. 13. and 20. 11. that *Arabah* here doth not signifie foure, but that it was the name of the Father of the *Gittims* called *Anakim*, whose sonnes it seemes *Anak* was: and *Achimam*, *Shelhai*, and *Talmoi* (whom *Caleb* expelled, *Iofe* 15.) were he sons of this *Anak*, *Nam*. 13. 23. The name of *Anak* signifieth *Torquens*, a chaine worne for ornaments; and it seemes that this *Anak* enriched by the spoyle which himselfe and his Father got, wore a chaine of gold; and so got this name: and leauing the custome to his posteritie, left also the name: so that intime the name of *Anakim* may not amisse be expounded by *Torquati*.

The Citie *Hebron* was one of the ancientest Cities of *Canaan*, built seven yeres before *Joseph* or *Tanis* in *Egypt*: and it was the head and chiefe Citie of the *Anakims*, whom *Caleb* expelled: to whom it was in part giuen, to wit, the Villages adioyning, and the rest to the *Leuites*. It had a Bishop in the *Christian* times, and a magnificent Temple built by *Helen* the Mother of *Constantine*.

Not farre hence they finde *Eleutheropolis* or the free Citie, remembred often by Saint *Hierome*. Then *Eglon* whose King *Dabir* associated with the other foure Kings of the *Amorites*, to wit, of *Hiersusalem*, *Hebron*, *Iarmuth*, and *Lachis*, besieging the *Gibonites*, were by *Iofua* utterly ouertrowne. From hence the next Citie of fame was *Emasa*, afterward by *Iudas Macchabeus* (after hee had formerly beaten both *Apolonius* and *Seron*) gaue a third overthrow to *Gorgias* Lieutenant to *Antiochus*.

In the yere 1301. it was ouerturned by an earth-quake, saith *Eusebius*. In the *Christian* times it had a Bishops seate of the Diocesse of *Casaria* of *Palestine*.

From *Emasa* toward the West Sea there are the Cities of *Nahama*, *Bethagon*, and *Gader* or *Gedera*, or *Gederotaima*, of which and of *Gederoth* *Iofe* 15. v. 36. and 41. Then *Azecha*, to which *Iofua* followed the slaughter of the foue Kings before named, a Citie of great strength in the Valley of * *Terebinth*, or *Turpentine*, as the *Fulgur* readeth, *I. Sam*. 17. 2. whence (as it seemes) they fear it neere vnto *Soco*, and vnto *Lebens* of the *Leuites*.

Iofe 15. 8. v. 1.
Chri. 21. 6. Jun.
out of the 1.
Chron. 4. 31.
notes that this
Hebr though
it were within
the bounds of
Iuda belonged
to *Simeon*.
Iofe 15. 48.
Hieron in loc.
Hebr.

2. *Mac*. 12. 33

Gen. 8. 7. v. 1.
Iofe 15. 15.

3. *Sam*. 23. 1.

Iofe 10. 7. 11.

Maeca 3.
Euseb in *Chri*.
Brach. 11. 6.
* *Allo* in *Chro*.
4. 39. as is a
place remem-
bered in the
Tract of *Si*.
meon.
A *Iouine* Fort in
the *Terreb*.
vnto him in
the *quere*.
the *Hebreu*
reading in
the *Elab*.

It resulted from the subiection of the *Iewes* while *Ioram* the sonne of *Iosaphat* reuled in *Hiersusalem*: And next vnto this standeth *Maceda*, which *Iofua* utterly difpeopled.

On the other side of *Emasa* towards the East standeth *Bethsur*, otherwise *Bethfara*, and *Bethfor*: one of the strongest and most fought for places in all *Iuda*. It is seated on a high Hill, and therefore called *Bethsur* (the house on the Rocks, or of strength.) It was fortified by *Roboam*, and afterward by *Iudas Macchabeus*. *Lyfius* fort it; and *Antiochus Eupator* ref. 13. ant. 9. by famine: *Ionathas* regained it: and it was by *Simon* exceedingly fortified against the *Syrian* Kings.

Bethlem is the next vnto it within fixe miles of *Hiersusalem*, otherwise *Leban*: some-
times *Ephraim*; which name, they say, it had of *Caleb* wife, whereas it is so called by *Mose* before *Caleb* was famous in those parts, *Gen*. 38. 16. Of this Citie was *Abesam* or *Isa-*
zab, Judge of *Israel*, after *Iephrah*, famous for the thirty Sonnes and thirty Daughters be-
gotten by him. *Elimelec* was also a *Bethlemite*, who with his wife *Naomi* sojourned in
Mab during the famine of *Iuda* in the time of the *Judges*, with whom *Ruth* the daughter
in law of *Naomi* returned to *Bethlem*: and married *Booz*, of whom *Obed*, of whom *Ishai*, of
whom *Dauid*. It had also the honour to bee the natie Citie of our Saviour *Iesus Christ*;
and therefore shall the memorie thereof neuer end.

In *Zadabon* of *Galilee* there was also a Citie of the same name: and therefore was this
10 of our Saviour called *Bethlem Iuda*.

From *Bethlem* some foure or five mile standeth *Thecua*, the Citie of *Amos* the Pro-
phet: and to this place adioyning is the Citie of *Bethzacaria*, in the way betwene *Beth-*
sur and *Hiersalem*: on whose Hills adioyning the glorious guilt fields of *Antiochus* (*hu-*
like lamps of fire in the eyes of the *Iewes*). The Citie of * *Bezek* was also neere vnto
Bethlem, which *Adam-Bezek* commanded, who had during his raigne tortured 70. Kings
by cutting off the ioynts of their Fingers and Toes: and made them gather bread vnder
his Table: but at length the same end befell himselfe by the sonnes of *Iuda*, after they
had taken him prisoner.

Thereto of the Cities in this part (most of them of no great estimation) we may passe
30 by vntill wee come to the magnificent Castle of *Herodium*, which *Heroderect*ed on a
Hill, mounting thereunto with 200. Marble Steps, exceeding beautifull and strong. And
towards the Dead Sea, and adioyning to the Desert of *Ezrael*, betwene it and *Tekoa*, is
that *climax floridus*, where in the time of *Iehosaphat*, the *Iewes* stood and lookt on the *Mo-*
abites, *Ammonites*, and *Edomites*, massacring one another, when they had purposed to
ioyne against *Iuda*: neere which place is the Valley of blessing, where the *Iewes* the fourth
day after, solemnely came and blessed God for so strange deliuerance.

Now the Cities of *Iuda* which border the Dead Sea, are these; *Aduran* beautified by
Roboam: and *Tjohar* which the *Fulgur* calleth * *Segor*: so called because *Lot* in his prairie
for it wred that it was but a little one: whence it was called *Tjohar* which signifieth a
little one: when as the old name was *Belah*, as it is *Gen*. 14. 22. In the *Romanes* times it had
a Garrison, and was called (as they say) *Pannier*: in *Hieromes* time *Balexona*. Then *En-*
gaddi or *Hemagaddi*, first *Afsonthamar*: neere vnto which are the Gardens of *Balfammum*,
the best that the world had called *Opobalsammum*: the most part of all which Trees *Cleo-*
ptra Queene of *Egypt* sent for out of *Iudaea*, and *Herod* who either feared or loued *An-*
thonie her husband, caused them to be rooted vp and presented vnto her: which shee re-
planted neere *Heliopolis* in *Egypt*. This Citie was first taken by *Chedorlamer*, and the
Amorites thence expelled. It was one of the most remarkable Cities of *Iudaea*: and one
of the *Presidences* thereof.

The rest of the Cities are many in the In-land, and among them *Isefrael*, not that which
50 was the Citie of *Naboth*, of which already: but another of the same name, the Citie of
Actinon, the wife of *Dauid*, the mother of that *Ammon*, whom *Abalom* slew: also as
some thinke the Citie of *Amasa*, *Abalom*s Lieutenant, and the commander of his Ar-
mie. But this seemeth to be an error grounded vpon the neere of the words, *Israel*
and *Isefrael*: and because the 2. *Sam*. 17. 25. *Amasias* father is called a *Israhelite*, who first
of the *Chron*. 2. 17. is called an *Israhelite*: indeed the *Hebrew Orthographie* sheweth that
Amasias Father is not said to be of the Citie *Isefrael*, but an *Israhelite* in Religion, though
otherwise an *Israhelite*.

In this Tribe there were many high Hills and Mountaines, as those of *Engaddi* vpon
the

Chri. 21. 6. Jun.

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the Dead Sea: and the Mountaines of *Ida*, which begin to rise by *Emaus*, and end nere *Tapna*, and these part *Ida* from *Dan* and *Simoon*. Of others which stand single, theris that of *Hebron*: at the foot whereof was that Oake of *Mambre*, where the three Angels appeared to *Abraham*, which *S. Hierome* callen a Fir-tree; and saith, that it stood till the time of *Constantine* the yonger. There is also that Mountaine called *Collis Achile*, on the South of *Ziph*: on the top whereof the great *Herod*, inclosing the olde Caste, erected by *Ionathas Machabaeus*, and called *Massada*, garnished it with 27. high and strong Towers: and therein left Armour and furniture for an hundred thousand men; being as it seemeth a place vnaccessible, and of incomparable strength.

In the Valley afterward called the Dead Sea, or the Lake *Asphaltica*, this Countie had to foure Cities, *Adama*, *Sodom*, *Seboim*, and *Gomorrah*, destroyed with fire from Heauen for their vnnatural finnes.

§. III.

THE TRIBE OF REUBEN
and his Borderers.

†. I.

The Seats and bounds of *Midian*, *Moab*, and *Ammon*, part whereof the *Reubenites* waunge from *Sehon King of Hesbon*.

IN the other side of the Dead Sea, *Reuben* the eldest of *Jacobs* sonnes inhabited: of whose children there were numbered at Mount *Sinai* 46000. who dying with the rest in the *Deserts*, there remained to possesse the Land promised 43700. bearing armes. But before we speake of these or the rest that inhabited the East side of *Jordan*, something of their borderers: to wit, *Midian*, *Moab*, and *Ammon*, whose land in our writers are confusedly described, and not easily distinguished. And first we are to remember that out of *Abrahams* kindred came mighty Families: as by *Isaac* and *Jacob* the Nation called *Israel*, and afterward Iewes: by *Esau* or *Edom* the *Idumeans*: by *Ismael* the eldest sonne of *Abraham*, the *Ismaelites*: and by *Keturah*'s last wife the *Midianites*. And againe by *Lot*, *Abrahams* brothers sonne, those two valiant Nations of the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*: all which being but strangers in the Land of *Canaan* (formerly posselt by the *Canaanites*, and by the Families of them descended) these issues and alliance of *Abraham*, all but *Jacob*, whose children were bred in *Aegypt*, inhabited the frontier places adioyning.

Esau and his sonnes held *Idumea*, which bounded *Canaan* on the South, *Ismael* took from the South-east part of the Dead Sea; stretching his possession ouer all *Arabia Petraea*, and a part of *Arabia the Desert*, as farre as the Riuer of *Tigris*, from *Sar* to *Hawilah*.

Moab took the rest of the coast of the Dead Sea, leauing a part to *Midian*, and pulling ouer *Arnon*, inhabited the plaines betwene *Jordan* and the Hills of *Abarim* or *Armon*, as farre North as *Essebon*, or *Coesbon*.

Ammon late downe on the North-east side of *Arnon*, and posselt the Tract from *Rabbah* afterward *Philadelphia*, both within the Mountaines of *Gilbead*, and without them as farre North as *Arroer*, though in *Moses* time he had nothing left him in all that Valley: for the *Amorites* had thrust him ouer the Riuer of *Iaboc*, as they had done *Moab* ouer *Arnon*. As these Nations compassed sundry parts of *Canaan*, so the border betwene the Riuer of *Iaboc* and *Danajcus* was held by the *Amorites* themselues, with other mixt Nations: all which Territorie on the East side of *Jordan*, and on the East side of the Dead Sea, was granted by *Moses* to the Tribes of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and halfe *Manasse*; whereof that part which *Moab* had, was first posselt by the *Emims* a Nation of Giants weakened and broken by *Chedorlahomer*, after expelled by the *Moabites*, as before remembered. That which the *Ammonites* held, was the Territorie and ancient possession of the *Zamzumims* or *Zurims*, who were also beaten at the same time by *Chedorlahomer*, *Amraphel*, and the rest: and by them an easie way of conquest was prepared for the *Ammonites*.

Now where it is written that *Arnon* was the border of *Moab*, the same is to be vnderstood according to the time when *Moses* wrote. For then had *Sehon* or his Ancestors

beaten the *Moabites* out of the plaine Countie, betwene *Abarim* and *Iordan*, and driven them from *Hesbon* ouer *Arnon*; and this happened not long before *Moses* arrivall vpon that border, when *Phah* gouerned the *Moabites*. For he that ruled *Moab* when *Moses* past *Arnon*, was not the sonne of *Phah*, but his name was *Balac* the sonne of *Zippor*. And it may be that those Kings were electing, as the *Edumeans* anciently were.

Now shall we part of *Moab* betwene *Arnon* and *Jordan*, as farre North as *Essebon*, was inhabited by *Reuben*. And when *Israel* arrivd there out of *Aegypt*, it was in the possession of *Sehon*, of the race of *Canaan* by *Amoreus*: and therefore did *Phah* the Iudge of *Israel* lustily defend the regaining of those Countie against the claime of the *Ammonites*: because (as he alledged) *Moses* found them in the possession of the *Amorites*, and not in the hands of *Moab* or *Ammon*: who (saith *Phah*) had 300. years time to recouer them, *Iudg. 11.* and did not: whence he inferreth that they ought not to claime them now.

And lest any should maruell why the *Ammonites* in *Rephahs* time should make claime to these Countie: whereas *Moses* in the place *Numb. 21. v. 26.* rather accounts them to haue bene the ancient possession of the *Moabites*, than of the *Ammonites*: it is to be noted that *Deut. 3. 11.* when it is said that the yron bed of *Og* was to be seene at *Rabbath*, the chiefe Citie of the *Ammonites*, it is also signified, that much of the Land of *Og*, which the *Israelites* posselt, was by him or his Ancestors got from the *Ammonites*, as much of *Sehon* was from the *Moabites*.

And as the *Canaanite* Nations were seated so confusedly together that it was hard to distinguish them: so also were the sonnes of *Moab* and *Ammon*, *Midian*, *Amalek*, & *Ismael*. Yet the reason seemeth plaine enough why *Ammon* commanded in chiefe, in *Rephahs* time; for sometime the one Nation, sometime the other of all those borderers acquired the Souerainetie: and againe that one part of the Land which *Gad* held, namely within the mountaines of *Galaad*, or *Gilbead*, and as farre South as *Arroer* belonged to the *Ammonites*. And therefore taking aduantage of the time, they then sought to recouer it againe. Yet at such time as *Moses* ouerthrew *Sehon* at *Iahaz*, the *Ammonites* had lost to the *Amorites*, all that part of their possession which lay about *Arroer*, and betwene it and *Iaboc*: *Sehon* and *Og* two Kings of the *Amorites* hauing displanted both *Moab* and *Ammon* 30. of all within the Mountaines. For it is written in the one and twentieth of *Numb. v. 24.* that *Israel* conquered the Land of *Sehon* from *Arnon* vnto *Iaboc*, euen vnto the children of *Ammon*, loas at this time the Riuer of *Iaboc* was the South bound of *Ammon*, within the Mountaines, when as anciently they had also possessions ouer *Iaboc*, which at length the *Gadites* posselt, as in the 13. chapter of *Iosua*, vers. 25: it appears.

†. II.

Of the memorable places of the *Reubenites*.

THE chiefe Cities belonging to *Reuben* were these, *Kedemoth*, for which the *Pulgar*, without any shew of warrant, readeth *Ieshon*. The *Pulgar* or *Hierome* followed the Septuagint, those two vers. 36. and 37. in 2. 1. *Ios.* being wanting in the olde *Hebrew* Copies, and the Septuagint read *Kedson* for *Kedmoth*, which *Kedson* by writing slip into *Ieshon*.

This Citie which they gaue to the *Leuites*, imparts her name to the *Desert* adioyning: from whence *Moses* sent his Embassage to *Sehon*. In the same place of *Iosua* where this *Kedmoth* is mentioned, the *Pulgar* for *Ieshon* reads *Bosor* in solitude *Midior*, without any ground from the *Hebrew*: whence *Arichonius* makes a Towne called *Midior*, in the border betwene *Reuben* and *Gad*. Farther from *Kedmoth* nere the Dead Sea (for the Countie betwene being Mountainous hath few Cities) they place two Townes of note, *Lafa* or *Lefbush*, of which *Genesis* 10. vers. 19. The *Greekes* call it *Cal. Irbis*: neere which there is a Hill, from whence there floweth Springs both of hot and cold, bitter and sweeter water; all which soone after their rising, being ioyned in one streame, doe make a very wholesome bath, especially for all contraction of sinewes: to which *Herod* the elder, when hee was deperate of all other helpe, repaired, but in vaine. Others say that these Springs arise out of the hills of *Macherus* in this Tribe. The like fontaines are found in the *Pyrgenes*; and in *Pera*, called the Baths of the *Ingas* or *Kings*. The other towne is *Macherus*, the next betwene *Lafa* and *Jordan*: of all that part of the world the strongest Inland Citie and Caste, standing vpon a Mountaine

every way vnacceffible. It was first fortified by *Alexander Iannæus*, who made it a frontier against the *Arabians*: but it was demolished by *Gabinus*, in the war with *Arifobolus*, faith *Iofephus*. It was thither (faith *Iofephus*) that *Herod* sent *Iohn Baptift*, and wherein hee was flaine: his amie foone after being viceroy throwne by *Aretas* King of *Arabia*, and himfelfe after this murder neuer prospering. Not farre from *Maacharus* was *Bofor*, *Bozra*, a towne of refuge, and belonging to the *Leuites*, and nere it *Lunias* vpon *Jordan*, which *Herod* built in honour of *Liniæ* the mother of *Tiberius Cæfar*.

To the North of *Lunias* is *Setim*, or *Sittim*: where the children of *Israel* embraced the daughters of *Midian*, or *Moab*: and where *Phineas* pierced the body of *Zimri* and *Cozbi*, with his fpeare, bringing due vengeance vpon them, when they were in the midft of their finne: and from hence *Iofua* sent the Difcouersers to view *Ierico*, ftaying heere vntill hee went ouer *Jordan*. As for the *Torrem Setim*, which in this place *Adrichomius* dreames of, reading *Iof. 3. 18. irrigabit torrentem Setim*: The vulgar hath *torrentem spinarum*: and *Iunius*, calling *Cedronum*: expounding it not for any particular place in *Canaan*: but for the Church, where the iuft being placed, grow as the *Cedars*, *Plal. 92. 13*.

The plaine Country hereabout, by *Mofes* called The *Plaines of Moab*, where he expounded the Book of *Deuteronomie* to the people a little before his death, is in the beginning of the fame booke precifely bounded by *Mofes*. On the South it had the great *Defert of Paran*, where they had long wandered. On the East it had *Chaferoth*, & *Dizabab* (of which the two former is that *Gazorus*, of which *Platome* in *Palestina*, the later was a Tactie belonging to the *Nabathæi* in *Arabia Petraea*, where was *Mezabab*, of which, *Gen. 36. 39*.) by the *Geographers* called *Medana* and *Medaba*. On the West it had *Jordan*, and on the North it had *Laban* (in *Iunius* Edition, by the fault of the Print, *Lamban*, *Deuter. 1. 1*) the fame which the *Geographers* call *Lubias*: and some confound it with *Lunias*, of which euen now wee fpeake.

Alfo on the fame North fide towards the confines of *Calefryia*, it had *Theophel*: where about sometime *Pella* of *Calefryia* flood: which was in the region of *Decapolis*, and as *Stephanus* faith, was sometime called *Butis*. It is alfo noted in *Mofes* to be ouer-against or nere vnto *Suph*, for which the vulgar hath the Red Sea, as alfo *Numb. 2. 14*. it tranflate the word *Suphab* in like manner: whereas in this place of *Deuteronomie* there is no mention of any word in the Hebrew to fignifie the Sea: and yet the Scripture, when this word is fo to be taken, vith the addition of *Mara*, thereby to diftinguifh it from the region of *Suph* or *Suphab*: which doubtleffe was about thefe *Plaines of Moab* towards the dead Sea: where the Country being full of reedes, was therefore thus called: as alfo the dead Sea was called *Mara Suph*, for like reason.

The place in thefe large *Plaines of Moab*, where *Mofes* made thofe diuine exhortations, fome fay was *Bethabara* where *Iohn* baptized, which in the *Storie of Gedeon* is called *Beth bara*. *Iofephus* faies it was where after the Citie *Avila* flood, nere *Jordan*, in a place fet with *Palme* trees: which fure was the fame as *Abel-fittim* in the *Plaines of Moab*, *Numb. 33. 49*. (that fome call *Abel fathaim* and *Bel-fathim*) which is reckoned by *Mofes* in that place of *Numbers* for the 43. and laft place of the *Israelites* incamping in the time of *Mofes*: This place is alfo called *Sittim*; which word if we fhould interpret, we fhould rather bring it from *Cedars*, than from *Thornes*, with *Adrichomius* and others. It was the wood of which the *Arke* of the *Tabernacle* was made.

Toward the East of thefe *Plaines of Moab*, they place the Citie, *Nebo*, *Baal-Mon*, *Silma* and *Heshon* the chiefe Citie of *Sehon*, and *Elhahel*, and *Kiriathama* the feate of the *Giant Emim*. Of thefe two firft of thefe *Mofes* feemes to giue a note that the names were to be changed: becaufe they tasted of the *Moabites* * *Idolatry*. For *Nebo* (in stead of which *Iunius*, *Ef. 46. 1*. reads *Deus quatinus*) was the name of their Idoll-Oracle, and *Baal-mon* is the habitation of *Baal*. Of the fame Idoll was the Hill *Nebo* in thefe parts denominat: from whose top, which the common *Translators* call *Phafgab*, *Mezabab* by his death faw all the Land of *Canaan* beyond *Jordan*. In which *Itoric Iunius* doth not take *Phafgab* or *Pifgab*, for any proper name: but for an appellatiue, fignifying a Hill: and fo alfo *Fatablus* in fome places; as *Numb. 21. 20*. where hee noteth that fome call *Pifgab* that top which looketh to *Iericho*, and *Hair* as it looketh to *Moab*, which opinion may be fomewhat ftrengthened by the name of a Citie of *Reuben* mentioned *Iof. 13. 20*. called *Alphoth-Pifga*, which is as much as *decursus Pifga*: to wit, where the waters did runne downe from *Pifga*. In the fame place of *Iofua* there is alfo named *Beth-por*, as below

belonging to *Reuben*: fo called from the Hill *Por*: from whence alfo *Baal* the Idoll was called *Baal-por*, which they fay was the fame as *Prappus*: the cheefe place of whole worship feemes to haue beene *Bamoth-Bahal*, of which alfo *Iof. 13. 13*. in the *Cities of Reuben*: for which *Numb. 22. 41*. they read the high places of *Baal* (for fo the word fignifieth) to which place *Balaak* firft brought *Balaam* to curfe the *Israelites*.

f. III.

Of diuers places bordering *Reuben* belonging to *Midian*, *Moab* or *Edom*.

There were besides thefe diuers places of note ouer *Arnon*, which adioyned to *Reuben*: amongst which they place *Gallim*, the Citie of *Phalti*: to whom *Saul* gaue his Daughter *Michal* from *Dauid*: but *Iunius* thinks this Towne to be in *Beniamin*: gathering fo much out of *Efay 10. vers. 29*. where it is named amongst the *Cities of Beniamin*. With better reason perhaps out of *Numb. 21. v. 19*. wee may fay that *Mathaus* and *Nahaliel* were in thofe confines of *Reuben*: through which places the *Israelites* paff after they had left the Well called *Beer*: Then *Deblathaim* which the Prophet *Hieremie* threatneth with the reft of the *Cities of Moab*.

Midian alfo is found in thefe parts, the chiefe Citie of the *Madianites* in *Moab*: but not that *Midian* or *Madian* by the Red Sea; wherein *Iethro* inhabited. For of the *Midianites* there were two Nations, of which thefe of *Moab* became *Idolaters*, and receiued an exceeding overthrow by a Regiment of twelue thoufand *Israelites*, fent by *Mofes* out of the *Plaines of Moab*: at fuch times *Israel* began to accompanie their Daughters: their five Kings with *Balaam* the Soothfayer were then flaine: and their Regall Citie with the reft destroyed. The other *Madianites* ouer whom *Iethro* was Prince, or Priest, forgot not the God of *Abraham* their Ancestor; but reliued & affifted the *Israelites* in their painfull trauals through the *Deserts*: and were in all that paffage their guides. In the South border of *Moab* adioyning to *Edom*, and sometime reckoned as the chiefe Citie of *Edom*, there

is that *Petra* which in the Scriptures is called *Selah*, which is as much as *rupe* or *petra*. It was alfo called *Iothbeth*, as appears by the place *2 Reg. 14*. It was built (faith *Iofephus*) by *Liba*, one of thofe five Kings of the *Madianites* flaine as before is faid: after whom it was called *Recon*: Now they fay it is called *Crac* and *Mozera*. The *Soldans* of *Egypt*, for the exceeding ftrength thereof, kept therein all their treasures of *Egypt* and *Arabia*: of which it is the firft and ftrongeft Citie: the fame perhaps which *plinie* and *Strabo* call *Nabutha*, whence alfo the Prouince adioyning tooke name: which name feemes to haue been taken at firft from *Nabathoth* the fonne of *Abraham* by *Kethura*. For *Nabathas* is no where vnderftood for all *Arabia Petraea*, (at leaft where it is not mif-vnderftood) but it is that Prouince which neighboureth *Iudea*. For *Pharan* inhabited by *Ismael*, whose people *Platome* calleth *Pharanites*, in stead of *Ismaelites*, and all thofe Territories of the *Cufites*, *Madianites*, *Amalekites*, *Ismaelites*, *Edomites*, or *Idumeans*, the Lands of *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Hus*, *Sin*, and of *Og* King of *Bafan*, were parts of *Arabia Petraea*: though it be alfo true, that fome part of *Arabia* the *Defert* belonged to the *Amalekites*, and *Ismaelites*: all which Nations the Scriptures in the firft of *Chronicles* the fifth calls *Hagarims* of *Hagar*.

This Citie *Petra*, *Scarus* befieged with the *Roman* Armie, & finding the place in fiew impregnable, he was content by the perfuafion of *Antipater*, to take a composition of money, & to quit it. Yet *Amasias* king of *Iuda* (after he had flaughtered 10000. of the *Arabians* in the valley called *Salinarum*) was alfo this Citie. *S. Hierome* findes *Ruth* the *Moabit* to be natural of this Citie. In the meane time when the *Chriftians* held the Kingdom of *Ierufalem*, it had a *Latine* Bifhop, hauing before beene vnder the *Greeke* Church. It is feated not far from *Har* where *Aaron* died, & on the other fide towards the North is the river of *Zared* or *Zered*, by which *Mofes* incamped in the 38. Station. *Adrichome* describeth the waters of *Nemrim*, or rather *Nemrim*, in his Map of *Reuben*, not far hence, and betweene *Zared* and *Arnon*: and fo hee doth the Valley of *Saua*: but the waters of *Nimra*, or *Beth-Nimra* (for which it feemes *Adrichomius* writ *Nemrim*) refeth the *Plaines of Moab*: and the confluence of thofe waters of *Nimra* are in the Tribe of *Gad*. *Saua* alfo cannot be found in this place, that is, to the South of *Arnon*, & vnder *Midian*. For after *Abraham* returned from the purfuit of the *Affirian* and *Perfian* Princes, the King of *Sodom* met him in the Valley of *Saua*, or *Sauab*, which is the Kings Dale, where *Abfalom* fct vp his Monument, as it feemes, not farre from *Ierufalem*. And at the fame time *Melchizedec* King of *Salem*

What name they vied for *Nebo* it doth not appeare: but *Balaam* in it fometimes they named *Sometime* *Bagis*, as *Ef. 15. 2*. and *Sometime* *Beth-mon* *Efay 48*.

Hierem. 48.

Ef. 16. 10.

It. 1. Reg. 14. 7.

Liba. 4. Am. 7.

Recon. 10. 10.

2 Reg. 14. 14.

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also incountred him. But Abraham coming from the North, and Melchizedec inhabiting, either near Bethsan otherwise Scythopolis in the halfe Tribe of Manasse, or in Hierusalem (both places lying to the West of Jordan) could not incountner each other in Arabia: and therefore Sane, which was also called the Kings Dale, could not be in these parts.

†. IIIL Of the Dead Sea.

Now because the Sea of Sodom or the Dead Sea, called also the Lake of Asphaltitis, and the salt Sea (in distinction from the Sea of Tyberias which was fresh water) also to the Sea of the Wilderness, or rather the Sea * of the plains, is often remembered in the Scriptures, and in this storie also, therefore I thinke it not impertinent, to speake somewhat thereof. For it is like unto the Caspian Sea, which hath no out-let or disburthening. The length of this Lake Josephus makes 180. furlongs (which make 22. miles and a halfe of ours) and about 150. in breadth, which makes 18. of our miles and somewhat more. Plinie makes it a great deale lesse. But those that haue of late yeeres seene this Sea, did account it (saith Weissenburg) eight Dutch miles (which is two and thirte of ours) in length: and two and a halfe of theirs (which is ten of ours) in breadth. Of this Lake or Sea Tacitus maketh this report: *Lacus est in immenso ambitu, speciei maris, sapore corruptior, grauitate odoris accolis pestifer: neq. vento impellitur neq. pisces aut suetas aquas volucres patitur incertum unde superiecta res solido feruntur, perit imperitq. nandi perinde attolluntur.* That is it is very great, and (as it were) a Sea of a corrupt taste: of small infectious, and pestilent to the borderers. It is neither moued nor raised by the winde: nor indureth fish to live in it, or fowle to swimme in it. Those things that are cast into it, and the vnskillfull of swimming, as well as the skillfull, are borne up by this water. At one time of the yere it catcheth up Bitumen: the Art of gathering which, Experience (the finder of other things) hath also taught. It is vsed in the trimming of ships, and the like busineses.

And then of the Land, he speaketh in this sort: "The fields not farre from this Lake, were sometime fruitful and adomed with great Cities were burnt with lightning, of which the ruines remaine, the ground looking with a sad face, as hauing lost p her fruitfulness; for whatsoever doth either grow or is set thereon, be it fruits or flowers, when they come to ripenesse, haue nothing within them, but moulder into ashes." Thus saith Tacitus. And it is found by experience, that those Pomegranates and other Apples or Oranges, which doe still grow on the banks of this cursed Lake, doe looke faire, and are of good colour on the out-side, but being cut haue nothing but dust within. Of the Bitumen which this Lake catcheth vp, it was by the Greekes called Asphaltis. Josephus desirous to be satisfied of these reports, went of purpose to see this Lake, and caused certaine Captiues to be cast into it, who were not onely vnskillfull in swimming, but had their hands also bound behind them, and notwithstanding they were carried on the face of the waters, and could not sinke.

†. V.

Of the Kings of Moab, much of whose Country within Arnon Reuben posselt.

OF the Kings of Moab, whose Country (within Arnon) Reuben posselt (though not taken from Moab but fro Sehon the Amorite) few are known. Inimus in the 21. of Numbers, ver. 14. nameth Pahel, which seems to be the Ancestor or Predecessor of Balac, the son of Zipper: which Balac sent for Balaam to curse Israel. For fearing to contend with Moses by armes by the examples of Sehon and Og, hee hoped by the helpe of Balaams curfings or incantments, to take from them all strength and courage, and to cast on them some petulant diseases; And though Balaam at the first, moued by the spirit of God, bid Israel contrary to the hope and desire of Moab: yet being desirous in some sort to satisfie him, and to doe him seruice, he aduised Moab to send Madianitish Women among the Israelites: hoping by them, as by fit instruments of mischief, to draw them to the habitation of the Heathen: but in the end hee receiued the reward of his falling from God, and of his euill counsaile, and was slaine among the rest of the Princes of Midian.

After these times the Kings of the Moabites are not named: sauing that wee find in the first of Chronicles the fourth, that Iokim, and the men of Chozabai, and Iosb, and Sareph,

Sareph, all being of the tribe of Iuda, sometime had the Dominion in Moab: but as it is written in the same Verse. These also are ancient things: to wit, as some expound it, the particulars of these mens Governments are no where extant or remaining: or as others, hee prius fuerit, these Families of Iuda were once thus famous: but now their posterity chuse rather to abide in Babylon, and be Clay-workers to the King there.

Then we finde Eglon King of Moab, who with the helpe of Ammon, and Amalec mastered Israel, and commanded them eighteen yeeres: which Eglon, Ehad flew in his owne house, and afterward 1000. of his Nation. What name the King of Moab had vnto whom David fled fearing Saul, it doth not appeare: or whether it were the same against to whom Saul made Warre, it is not manifest, for neither are named. But in respect that this Moabite was an enemy to Saul, he receiued David, and releued him; knowing that Saul sought his life.

After this, David himselfe entred the Region of Moab, but not likely in the same Kings time: for hee slaughtered two parts of the people; and made the third part tributarie: whereupon it was said of David, Moab is my wash-pot. ouer Edom will I cast my shoe: meaning that hee would reduce them to such an abiection, and appoint them for base seruices: And that hee would tread downe the Idumeans.

The next King after Davids time, of the Moabites, whose name liueth, was Melba: who falling from Iuda, (perhaps in remembrance of the feuerie of David) fastened himselfe to the Kings of Israel, and paid tribute to Ahab 100000. Lambes, and 200000. Rams, with the wooll: who reuolting againe from Israel after the death of Ahab, was invaded by Iehoram: with whom ioynd the Kings of Iuda & Idumea: and being by these three Kings prest and broken, hee fledde to Kir-hareseth, as is elsewhere shewed: There is also mention made of the Moabites without the Kings name: when that Nation, assisted by the Ammonites and Idumeans, invaded Iehoshaphat: and by reason of some priuate quarrels among themselves, the Moabites and Ammonites set vpon the Idumeans, and slaughtered them: and then one against another, so as Iehoshaphat had a notorious victorie ouer them all, without either blood or wound. Also in the time of Hieremie the Prophet, there was a King of Moab which is not named, which was after Melba of Hierem. 27. Moab many deicents: for Melba liued with Iehoram, and this Moabite in Zedekias time, foureene Kings of Iuda coming betwene, who waited three hundred and odd yeeres.

§. V.

Of the memorable places of the Gadites, and the bordering places of Ammon.

THE Territory adioyning to Reuben, is that of Gad: whereof all that part which layned to the Mountaines, was sometime in the possession of the Ammonites, as we see farre to the South as Arzer. Of the children of Gad the seventh son of Jacob by Leah, the hand-maid of Lea, there parted out of Egypt, and died in the Deserts, 45550. and of their sonnes there entred the Land promised, 45000. bearing armes: from the halfe Tribe of Manasse the Riuer of Liboe diuided them: from Reuben the Cities of Hesbon, Elhele, and Apher.

The chiefe Citie of Gad was Arzer: which they make to be the same with Ar, or Rabbath Moab, the great or commanding Moab. But the learned Ianius is more diligenter to those words of Moses, Dent. 2. 36. Ab habhero, quae est in ripa fluminis Arnon, et Cinuatae ipsa quae est in flumine; Where the Citie in the Riuer is distinguished from the Citie upon the bank of the Riuer, (as also in like manner Ios. 12. v. 2. and 13. v. 9.) thinketh that Harob which doubletse belonged to the Gadites (as Numb. 32. 34. it is said that they built it) was inde de seated neere Har of the Moabites, but diuerse from it. For that Har was neuer posselt by Moses, it is plainc Deuteronomie 2. 9. where God forbidding Moses to touch it, saith hee hath giuen Har for an inheritance to the sonnes of Lot. Now that this Citie, which in diuers places is said to be within and in the middle of the Riuer of Arnon (and so distinguished from Harob, which is said in the same places to be on the bank of Arnon) is Har of the Moabites, the same Ianius proueth out of Genib. 21. 15. where Arnon is saide to bee diuided into diuers streames, where or among which Har is seated: And the same is confirmed by the place of Ios. 13. 25. where Harob is said to bee seated before Rabbab: which Rabbab as it seemes, cannot bee the

Rabbah of the *Ammonites* (for they feare not *Harob* neere it, nor in sight of it) and therefore by *Rabbah* heere we must vnderstand *Rabbah* of *Moab*, which they make to be *Aror* *Har*: and so we must needs distinguish it from *Harob*. And as for *Har* (which also gaue the name to the coast adioyning) it seemes it continued in the possession of the *Ma-gites* after they had once expelled the Giant-like people called *Emims*, first weakened by *Chedorlamer* and his Associates: but *Harob* by the interchange of times suffered many ancient changes, as being wonne from the *Moabites* by *Sehon*, and from him by the *Israelites*, and from them as it seemes in the story of *Iephtha*, by the *Ammonites*: and from the *Ammonites* againe by the *Israelites* vnder the conduct of *Iephtha*. In *S. Hierome* time the greatest part of this Citie perished by an earthquake, as also *Zoar*, in which *Lot* saved himselfe, in the destruction of *Sodom*, seated not farre hence: which they say was there called *Vitula conuersans*, because as a wanton tumbling Heifer, she was thrice overthrowne with earth-quake: for which cause also *Hierome* seemes to thinke that this *Zoar* was called *Salissa*, or *Bal-salissa*, as if *Baal* had been a remainder of the old name *Balah*, or *Belah*, (of which *Gen. 14.2.*) and *Salissa* which hath a signification of the ternarie number, had alluded to the three earth-quake.

Brocard takes *Harob* to be *Petra*, but erroneously, as before it is noted, seeing that *Petra* was in the South border of *Moab*, adioyning to *Edom*, whereas *Harob* is in the North-east border. Betwene *Harob* and *Jordan* they seate *Dibon*, which is attributed to the *Gadites*, because they are said to haue built it, *Numb. 32.34.* though *Iosua 13.20 vers. 17.* it is said that *Moses* gaue it to the *Reubenites*. Of this Citie among the rest of *Moab*, both *Esay* and *Hierome* prophesied, that it should perish: and the Lakes about it turne with the blood of the Inhabitants. It was a great Village neere *Arnon* in *Saint Hierome* time.

Keeping the banks of *Arnon*, one of the next Cities of fame to *Aror*, was *Bethim-rab*, of which *Esay* prophesieth. *That the waters thereof should be dried up: and all the coale of Moab withered.* Not farre from *Bethimrab* in this Tribe *Adrichomius* placeth *Iogbeha*, and *Nobach* or *Nabe*: of both which we read in the storie of *Gedeon*: and that *Iogbeha* was in *Gad*, built by the *Gadites*, it appeares, *Numb. 32.35.* and therefore *Nobach* also must needs be in these parts; but whether in *Gad* or *Manasse* it is not certain: only that it was anciently called *Kenath*, *Moses* witnesseth. *Nobach* also (saith hee) went and noted *Kenath* with her Townes, and called it *Nobach* of his owne name, where because the euesel precedent speake of the *Manassites*, and because it is not likely that *Moses* would haue feared this seate of the *Gadites* from the rest, of which he spake before, *v. 34.35.36.* therefore it may seeme that this *Nobach* was in than part of *Manasse*, which was in the East

of *Jordan*: though *Adrichomius* place it in *Gad*. For whereas hee supposed it to be the same with *Reb*, which *Saul* destroyed, of this we shall speake in the Tribe of *Beniamin*. And as for that *Karkor* where *Zebach* and *Salmanub* rested themselves in their flight from *Gedeon*, to which place *Gedeon* marched through this *Nabach* and *Iogbeha*, though some place it in *Gad*, and make it the same with *Kir-chares*, of which *Esay 15.* and *2. Reg. 3.25.* yet there can be no certainty that it was in *Gad*: and if it be the same with *Kir-chares*, it is certain that it was a principall Citie held still by the *Moabites*, and not in the Tribe of *Gad*.

In the body of this Tribe of *Gad* they place *Hatath*: of which name the Scripture witnesseth that two Cities were builded by the *Gadites*; the former simply called *Hatath*, the later *Hatath-Sophan*: for which latter the *Vulgar* makes two Cities, *Reb* and *Sophan*: the name *Hatath*, is as much as *Corone*.

In the Valley of the Kingdome of *Sehon*, together with *Bethimrab*, of which we haue spoken, *Iosua. cap. 13. v. 27.* nameth *Beth-haram* and *Succoth*: the former, *Numb. 32.36.* (where it is called *Beth-haram*) together with *Bethimra*, is said to haue been built by the *Gadites*, which (perhaps the rather, because in *Iosua* it is called *Beth-haram*, some take to be *Betarapha*, (of which *B. Iosaphus*) after by *Herod* called *Iulias*. But whether this *Betarapha* were corrupted from *Beth-haram*, or from *Beth-Aramath* of which *Aramath* there is mention in *Iosaphus* or from *Beth-Remphan* (of which *Remphan*, an Idol of those Countries, we read; *Acts 7.43.* and to which *Iunius* referres the name of the Citie *Rephan*, *1. Machub. 37.*) of this question it were hard to resolue. But touching *Iulius* (according to *Iosaphus* sometimes *Betarapha*) the same *Iosaphus* placeth in the Region of *Perea*, beyond *Jordan*, which *Regio Perea*, as the Greeke word signifieth, is

no more then *Regio Iulior*, or the Countrey beyond the River; and therefore they which labour to set downe the bounds of this *Perea*, take more paines then needs. *Fourte* cerre Villages this *Iulias* had belonging vnto it, according to *Iosaphus*. He makes it to haue beene built by *Herod Antipas*, and named *Iulias*, in honour of the adoption of *Livia Augustus* his Wife, into the *Italian* family: by which adoption she was called *Iulia*. *Ano* *Iosaph. Ant. 18.2.* which *Iulias*, hee saith was builded by *Philip* the brother of *Herod*, in the lower *Gaulanitis*, & *Belusid. 2.3.* which, he saith, is the same as *Bethsaida*.

Vpon the Sea of *Galilee* neere to *Iulias* in *Perea*, (that is, in the Region ouer *Jordan*) they finde *Vitezabrah*, as it is called in *Iosaphus*, for *Beth-zabab*, which is as much as *domus Iosaph. de Bell. Ind. 7. c. 4.* *Iosaphi*. Of a noble woman of this Citie, which for safeguard in the time of Warre with the *Romanes*, came with many others into *Hiernsalem*, and was there besieged, *Iosaphus* in the place noted, reports a lamentable History; how for hunger she ate her owne childe; with other tragical accidents hereupon ensuing.

Of *Succoth* (which we said *Ios. 13.* is placed with *Ben-haran*, in the Valley of the Kingdome of *Sehon*) it is layne by the story of *Gedeon* that it is neere vnto *Jordan*: where it is said, that as he was past *Jordan* with his three hundred, wearie in the pursuit of *Zebach* and *Salmanub*, hee requested reliefe of the men of *Succoth*: who denying him, and that with contempt, in *Gedeon* returne were by him tortured, as it seemes vnder a the rhing Carre of *Tribulum*, betwene which and their flesh he put *Thomes* to teare their flesh as they were prest and trod vnder the *Tribulum*, and after which fort also *Dauid* vied (some of the *Ammonites*, though not with *Thomes*, but with yron teeth of the *Tribulum*. As *2 Sam. 12.31.* for the name of *Succoth*, which signifieth such Tabernacles as were made in halfe, either for Men or Cattell, *Moses. Gen. 33.17.* witnesseth that the originall of the name was from such harbours, which *Iacob* in his returne from *Mesopotamia* built in that place: as also the place beyond the Red Sea, where the children of *Israel*, as they came from *Ramesses* in *Aegypt*, had their first Station, was vpon like reason called *Succoth*: because there they set up their first Tabernacles or Tents: which they vied after for forty yeeres in the Wilderness. In remembrance whereof, the Feast of *Succoth*, or Tabernacles was instituted.

Otherfour Cities of *Gad* are named, *Ios. 2.13.8.* *Ramoth* in *Gilehad*, *Machanaïm*, *Cheshon*, and *Iahzer*, all of them by the *Gadites* giuen to the *Leuites*, of which *Iahzer*, as *Cheshon* or *Heshon* was a chiefe Citie of *Sehon*, whence *Num. 32.1.* his Countrey is called the Land of *Iahzer*. It was taken by *Moses*, hauing first sent spies to view it. In the first of the *Chronicles* it is made part of *Gilehad*. In latter times (as it may be gathered by the prophesie of *Esay*, touching *Moab*) it was possessed by the *Moabites*: to which *Esay 6.8.* place of *Esay* also *Hierome* in a like prophesie alludes. It was at length regained (but as it seemes from the *Ammonites*) by *Iudas Maccabaeus*: as it is *1 Macc. 5.8.* where *Iunius* out of *Iosaphus* reade *Iahzer* though the Greeke hath *Gazer*. For *Gazer* or *Gezer* (as he gathereth out of *Iosua 16.3. & 8.* and *Ind. 1.29.*) was farre from these Countreies of *Se-*

40 *hon*, seated in the West border of *Ephraim*, not possessed by the *Israelites*, vntill *Salomon* time, for whom the King of *Aegypt* won it from the *Canaanite*, and gaue it him as a Dowrie with his Daughter.

Of *Cheshon* it may be marvelled that in the place of *Iosua*, and *1 Chron. 6.8.* it should be said to haue beene giuen to the *Leuites* by the *Gadites*, seeing *Iosua 13. v. 17.* it is reckoned for a principall Citie of the *Reubenites*: *Adrichomius* and such as little trouble themselves with such scruples, finding *Cashon*, *1 Macc. 5.36.* among the Cities of *Gilehad*, taken by *Iudas Maccabaeus*, makes two Cities of one: as if this *Cashon* had beene the *Cheshon* of *Gad*: and that of *Reuben* distinct from it: but the better reconciliation is, that it being a bordering Citie, betwene *Gad* and *Reuben*, was common to both, and that the *Gadites* gaue their part to the *Leuites*, for so also it seemes that in like reason *Dibon* is said in one place built by the *Gadites*, and in another giuen to *Reuben*, as before is noted. Of *Machanaïm*, which word signifieth a double Arme, we reade *Gen. 32.2.* that it was therefore so called, because the *Angels* of God in that place met *Iacob* in manner of another Host or company, to ioyne with his for his defence: as also *Luke 2.13.* we reade of a multitude of the Hoste of Heauen, which appeared to the sheepe-herds, at the time of our Saviours birth: and so vnto the Godly King *Oswald* of *Northumberland*, when hee was soone after to ioyne battaile with the *Pagan Pends* of middle-England, *Bede* reports, that the like comfort appeared: whence the field where the

tion. For besides other adventures, it was taken by *L. Amnius* Lieutenant to *Vespasian*, and 2000. of the ablest young men put to the sword, and the Citie burnt. In the year 1120. it was rebuilt by *Baldwine* King of *Damascus*: and in the same year recovered by *Baldwine* King of *Hierusalem*: and by him utterly razed. *Necce vito* *Gerass* is the village of *Magedan*, or after the *Syriack* *Magedu*, or after the *Greeke* *Migdale*, where the *Pharisees* and *Sadducees* desired of our Saviour a signe from heaven: the same place or some adioyning to it, which *S. Marke* calleth *Dabaranutha*. By the circumstances of which storie it appears that this coast lay betwene the Lake of *Tiberias* and the Countie of *Decapolis*. *Brochard* makes both these places to be one, and findes it to be *Elhid*, the fontaine of *Jordan* according to *Iosephus*: but this *Phiale* is too farre from the Sea of *Galilee*, and from *Bethsaida* to be either *Magdala* or *Dabaranutha*. For as it appears by the storie, not farre hence towards the North was the *Desart* of *Bethsaida*, where *Christ* filled 5000. people with the five Barley loaves and two Fishes.

On the North of this *Bethsaida* they place *Iulias*, not that which was built by *Herod*, but the other by *Philip*, which boundeth the Region *Trachonitis* towards the South. It was sometime a Village, and not long after the birth of *Christ* it was compassed with a wall by *Philip* the *Tetrarch* of *Turea* and *Trachonitis*: and after the name of *Iulias*, the wife of *Tiberius*, called *Iulias*, as hath beene farther spoken in the Tribe of *Gad*: where it was noted that *Iosephus* makes this *Iulias*, to be the same as *Bethsaida*. Upon the East side of the same Lake of *Tiberias* stands *Corozaim*, or *Corazim*, of which *Christ* in *Mat. 20* them, *Woe be unto thee Corazim*.

But the principall Citie of all these in ancient time was *Asteroth*: sometime peopled with the Giants *Raphaim*: and therefore the Countie adioyning called the Land of Giants, of whose race was *Og*, King of *Basán*. In *Genesis* this Citie is called *Asteroth of Canaan*, whence 1 *Mac. 5. 26*. it is called simply *Carnaim*, as *Ios. 13. 21*. it is called *Asteroth* without the addition of *Carnaim*. The word *Carnaim* significeth a paire of Hornes, which agree well with the name of their Idoll *Asteroth*, which was the Image of a sheepe, as it is elsewhere noted, that *Asteroth* in *Deuteronomie* significeth sheepe. Others from the ambiguity of the Hebrew take *Carnaim*, to have beene the name of the people which inhabited this Citie: and expounding *heroes* * *radimantes*. For of old the *Raphai* which inhabited this Citie (*Gen. 14. 5*) were Giant-like men, as appears by comparing the words *Deut. 3. 11*. *Og rex residuo gigantum*; with the words, *Ios. 13. 12*. *Og rex reliquius Raphaim*: but if the *Carnaim* (or *Carnaim*) were these *Raphai*, the word would not have beene in the duall number: neither would *Iaques* in the place of *Genesis* have said the *Raphai* in *Asteroth* of the *Carnaim*; but either the *Raphai* in *Asteroth* of the *Raphai*, or some other way fittest for periphrasie: for this naming of both thus in the same clause, distinguisheth one from the other.

Not farre from *Asteroth* *Adrichomius* out of *Brochard* and *Breidenbachius* placeth *Cedar*, in the way out of *Syria* into *Galilee*, foure miles from *Corazim*. This Citie (saith he) is remembered in the *Canticles*, and in the booke of *Judith*, and there are that of this Citie vnderstand *Dauid* in his 120. *Psalme*: and here the Sepulchre of *Iob* is yet to be seene, saith *Breidenbach*.

Now concerning the Texts which he citeth, it is so that the *Greeke* hath *Galaad* in stead of the word *Cedar*, which the *Vulgar* doth vñ in that place of *Judith*, and ioyneith *Carmel* and *Galilee*. The *Canticles* and the 120. *Psalme* doe rather proue that *Cedar* was not hereabout, than any way helpe *Adrichomius*. For that they speake of *Scenita Cedar*, it is apparent, and as euident by the place in the *Canticles* that they were decore, much more than any vnder the *Climates* of the Land of *Canaan*: whence *Iunius* out of *Lampridius* and *Plinie* placeth them in *Arabia Petrea*, farre from these parts. Touching the Sepulchre of *Iob*, it is certaine that the *Arabians* and *Saracens* (holding those places) saye many things to abuse the *Christians*, and to get money. Further, it may well be confirmed, that many (if not all) the historical circumstances of *Iob* are so obscure, that we should rather by finding his Countie seeke to get some knowledge of him, than by any presumptions founded vpon him, inferre what his Countie was, and build vnto him a Citie by coniecture.

Of *Iob* himselfe, whether he was the same *Iobab* remembred in the 36. of *Genesis*, descended from *Esaus*, and King also of *Idumaea*, though *Rupertus*, *Lyranus*, *Oleaster*, and *Bel-larmine* are of another opinion, yet *S. Ambrose*, *Augustine*, *Chrysostome*, and *Gregory*, with

with *Athanasius*, *Hippolytus*, *Irenaeus*, *Eusebius*, *Emisenus*, *Apollinaris*, *Eusebius* and other, as *S. Hierome* in his 126. *Epist.* to *Euzagrius*, take him for the same.

The Land of *Huts* or *Hus* wherein *Iob* dwelt is from the *Greeke* *Oús*, which the *Septuaginta* for the word *Hus*, translated by the *Vulgar* sometime *Hus*, as *Iob 1. 2. 1*. Sometime *Asthis*, as *Hierem. 25. 20*. This Land is placed by *Iunius* between *Palastina* and *Celestria*, besides *Chamatha* (or *Hamath*) vnder *Palmyrene* in the Countie called by *Ptolomee* *Trachonitis* or *Bathanaea*, the bounds of which Countie are confounded with *Basán*, in this halfe Tribe of *Manasse*. And that this Land of *Hus* was thus seated, it may in part be gathered out of the place of *Ieremie* the 25. 20. where he reckons the *Hushites* among the promiscuous borderers of the *Israhelites*, whom he therefore calleth promiscuous or miscellaneum turbam, because their bounds were not only ioyned but confounded, and their *Seigniories* mingled one with the other, but of this place the words of *Hierem*, *Lamentations* 4. 21. speaking of the same prophetic, of which hee speaketh in the five and twentieth Chapter, must needs be expounded: as *Iunius* reads them, distinguishing the Land of *Hus* from *Edom*: *O filia Edom, q̄ que habitas in terra Hutz, O Daughter of Edom, O thou which dwellest in the Land of Hus*. Now because the *Vulgar* doth not so distinguish, but readeth *Filia Edom que habitas in terra Hus*, *Daughter of Edom which dwellest in the Land of Hus*: Hence, as it seemes, some of the learned have thought that *Iob* was an *Edomite*, as we haue said, and King of *Edom*, which if they vnderstand by *Idumaea* or *Edom*, so called in *Moses* time, they are greatly mistaken, seeing this Land of *Hus* to be in *Edumaea*. For it is very probable that *Esaus* when hee departed from *Iacob*, did not seate himselfe in *Edom* or *Seir*, which lieth on the South border of *Iudea*, but inhabited *Seir* farre to the East of *Jordan*, and held a part of those Mountaines otherwise called *Galaad*, and *Hermon*, which by corruption the *Sidonians* call *Shirion*, and the *Amorites* *Shenir* for *Seir*, and from this habitation did *Esaus* encounter *Iacob* when he returned out of *Mesopotamia*, who passed by the very border of *Esaus* his abiding. It is true that at such time as *Moses* wandered in the *Deserts*, that the posterity of *Esaus* inhabited *Seir* to the South of *Iudea*: for it is like that the *Amorites* who had beaten both *Ammon* and *Moab*, did also drive the *Edomites* out of those parts, who thence forward feared themselves to the South of *Iudea*, bordering the *Desart Paran*, and stretched their habitations ouer the *Desart* as farre as *Hor* where *Azazel* died.

Now for this *Hus* which gaue the name to a part of the Land of *Trachonitis*, whether it were *Hus* the sonne of *Aram*, as *Iunius* thinkes in his note vpon *Gen. 10. 23*. or rather *Hus* the sonne of *Nachor*, *Abrahams* brother, the question is doubtful. For my part I rather incline to thinke, that it was *Hus* the sonne of *Nachor*: partly because their Families of *Aram* seeme long before to haue beene lost: and partly because in *Iob 6. 32. 2*. *Elihu* the fourth of *Iob*'s friends, which seemes to be of *Iob*'s owne Countie, is called a *Buzite*, of *Buz* the brother of *Hus*, the sonne of *Nachor*: as also *Hieremie 25*, in the same continuation (though some other Nations named betweene) where *Hus* is spoken of, there *Buz* is also named. Neither doth it hinder our coniecture, that in the place of *Iob 22*. *Elihu* the *Buzite* is said to be of the Family of *Ram*: (which *Iunius* expounds to be as much as of the Familie of *Aram*) for that by this *Aram* we are not to vnderstand *Aram* the sonne of *Sem*, *Iunius* himselfe maketh it plaine, both in his annotation vpon the beginning of this booke, where he saith that one of *Iob*'s friends (which must needs be this *Elihu*) was of the posterity of *Nachor* (as also in this place hee confesseth so much expressly,) and in as much as he readeth not *de familiâ Aram*, or *Ram*, but *de familiâ Syria*: like as elsewhere *Laban* who sprung of *Nachor* is called a *Syrian*.

As for the other three of *Iob*'s friends (of whom by this note of *Elihu* his being of the *Syrian* Familie, or of the Familie of *Nachor*) it is implied that they were of other kindred, as also by the *Septuaginta*'s addition, that this *Elihu* was of the Land of *Hus*, or *Ausitis*, it is implied that they thought onely *Elihu* to haue beene of *Iob*'s owne Countie.

Franciscus Brochard the *Monke*, in his description of the holy Land in the iourne from *Acra* Eastward, findeth *Suetia*, and *Theman* on the East of the Sea of *Galilee*: both very neere to the Land of *Hus*: whereof the one may seeme to haue denominated *Bildad* the *Shuchite*; the other *Eliphaz* the *Themanite*: two of the three friends of *Iob*, of the which *Iob 2. 11*. But *Iunius* thinkes that the *Shuchites* were inhabitants of *Arabia* the *Desart*, descended of *Shuach* the sonne of *Abraham* and *Reura*: of whom *Gen. 25. 2*. perhaps, saith he, the same whom *Plinie* calls *Sacae*. So also he thinketh the *Themanites* of whom

Matt. 15.

Marke 8.

Brochard. 2.

Of this Phiale

see in Neph.

C. 7. 6. 4. 7.

Matt. 14.

Marke 6.

Luke 9.

Iohn 6.

Ios. 18. ant. 3.

cf. alibi.

Gen. 14. 5.

See chap. 7.

§. 3. 1. 2.

* Because

Horne when

it is polished

shineth, hence

it is that the

Verbe of this

Noun is some

time Lucere:

as it were corn

num esse:

whereupon the

Vulgar, *Exod. 34. 1*

reading cornu

tum cornu,

or lucidum fa

ciem, saucoc

casion to the

fabulous paint

ings to paint

Ioseph with*Homes*.*Berthier*, 8.1 *Cant.* 5.*Ios. 13. 21*O. *lact.* in *Gen.**Berthier* Com. 1.de *ver. Din.* 5.*Ambros.* Ep. ad*Rom.* Aug. deciuit. *Doct.* 18.c. 4. *Cryl.* Hom.2. *De patientia*Bel. *Greg.* com.in *Iob*.

For *usu* and *su* are often changed one into the other: whence they read *Ausitis* for *Ousitis*, &c. Hence also by *Iunius* and others it is called *Ausitis*, and so as it seems they read it in the *Septuaginta*. *Iun.* in *Gen. 10. 23*.

Deut. 5. 5.

Whence the *Septuaginta* call him *ex regione Ausitis*.

See *Sextus* *Seneca*.

Eliphaz was, to haue bene of *Arabia the Desert*: and *Eliphaz* himselfe to haue bene of the posteritie of *Theman* the sonne of *Eliphaz*, which was the sonne of *Ejau*. And so also *Nahamah*, whence *Tisbhar* the third of *Iob*'s friends (which in this place of *Iob* c. 2. v. 11. are mentioned) is by the same learned expofitor, thought either to be named of *Thinnath* by transposition of letters (which *Thinnath*, *Gen.* 3. 6. 40. is named among the sonnes of *Ejau* that gaue denomination to the places where they were feated) or else to be the same *Nahamah*, which *Iof.* 15. 4. 1. is reckoned for a Citie of *Iuda* in the border, as he thinks, of *Edom*. And yet I deny not but that neere the Land of *Hus*, in *Bafan*, as it seems, in the Tribe of *Manaffes*, there is a Region which at least in later times was called *Sutis*, or offome like name. For this is euident by the Historie of *Willielmus Tyrinus*, which reports of a Fort in this Region of *Sutia* or *Suites* (as he calls it diuerfly) of exceeding great strength and vife for the retaining of the whole Countrie: which, in the time of *Salomone*, the second King of *Hierusalem*, was with great digging through rocks recovered by the *Christians*: hauing not long before bene lost to the great disadvantage of the Countrey, while it was in the hands of the *Saracens*. The situation of this Fort is by *Tyrinus* described to be fixtene miles from the Citie *Tiberias*, on the East of *Jordan*: by *Adrichomius* foure miles Northward from the place where *Jordan* enters the Lake *Tiberias* at *Corazin*.

Other Cities of this part of *Manaffes* named in the Scripture are these: *Golan*, *Behshihera*, *Mitpha* of *Gilead*, and *Kenath*, which after the comming of the *Israelites* was called *Nobach*. Of *Nobach* or *Kenath*, and *Mitpha* of *Gilead*, we haue spoken by occasion among the Cities of *Gad*: The two other were giuen to the *Leuites*, and *Golan* made one of the Cities of refuge: from which *Golan* we haue both *Gaulanitis superior* and *inferior*, oft in *Iosephus*. *Behshihera* is accounted the chiefe Citie of *Bafan* by some, but the writers corrupting the name into *Bazra*, it is confounded with *Beser* or *Bazra* of *Reuben*, and with *Bazra* of *Edom*. *Argob* is oft named for a Region in this Tract, and hence *Hierome* hath *Arga*, a name of a Citie placed by some about the waters of *Merom* (as they are called by *Iofua*) which make the Lake *Samachonitis*, as *Iosephus* calls it. This Lake being as it were in the midst between *Casarea Philippi* and *Tiberias*, through which as through the Lake of *Tiberias*, *Jordan* runneth, boundeth part of this halfe Tribe on the West. When the snow of *Libanus* melteth, it is very large, saith *Brochard*: otherwise more compact, leauing the marsh ground on both sides, for *Lions* and other wilde beasts, which harbour in the shrubs that plentifully grow there.

Adioyning to this Lake in this Countrey of *Manaffes*, *Iosephus* names two places of strength, fortified by himselfe in the beginning of the *Iewes* rebellion: *Seleucia* the one, and *Sogane* the other. In the North side of this halfe Tribe of *Manasse*, and in the North-east, the Scripture nameth diuers bordering places toward *Damascus*, as *Tisfad*, *Chauran*, and *Chatsar-Henan*, lying in a line drawne from the West, of which three Cities were at *Ezek.* 47. 15. with which also agrees the place *Numb.* 34. 8. where for *Chauran*, between *Tisfad*, and *Chatsar-Henan*, *Ziphron* is named. From this *Chauran* is the name of *Auritis regio*, in *Iosephus* and *Tyrinus*, whose bounds (as also the bounds of *Geffur* and *Maba* of *Chathor* or *Macari*, which were likewise borderers to *Manaffes* toward the North-east) are vnkowne: onely that *Geffur* was of might, it appears in that *Dauid* married *Maba* the Daughter of *Thalmay* King of *Geffur*: by whom he had the most beautiful, but wicked, and vnfortunate *Abfalon*.

CHAP. XI.

The Historie of the Syrians the chiefe borderers of the Israelites that dwelt on the East of Jordan.

S. I.

Of the Citie of *Damascus* and the diuers fortunes thereof.



*D*amascus of all other in this Border, and of that part of the world, was the most famous, excelling in beautie, antiquitie, and riches, and was therefore called the Citie of ioy or gladnesse, and the House of pleasure, and is not onely remembred in many places of Scripture, but by the best Historians and Cosmographers. The Hebrewes, saith *Iosephus*, thinke it to haue bene built by *Hus* the sonne of *Aram*: of which opinion *S. Hier.*

S. Hierome vpon *Ejau* seemeth to be: though in his Hebrew questions hee affirmeth that it was founded by *Damascus*, the sonne of *Eliezer Abrahams* Steward, a thing very unlikely, seeing the Citie was formerly knowne by that name, as appears by *Abrahams* calling this his Steward *Eliezer* of *Damascus*. *Dauid* was the first that subiected it to the Kingdome of *Iuda*, after the ouerthrow of *Adadazer* their King, but in *Salomons* time, *Rezon* recovered it againe, though he had no title at all or right to that principallitie: but *Dauid* hauing ouerthrowne *Hadadzer* king of *Sophenia* (otherwise *Syria Suba* or *Zobah*) *Razon* or *Rezon* with the remainder of that broken armie, invaded *Damascus*, and posselt *Damascus* in selfe, and became an enemi to *Salomon* all his life.

The next King of *Damascus* was *Azad* the *Edomite*, who flying into *Egypt* from *Dauid* and *Isab*, when they slew all the males in *Edom*, was there entertained, and married *Taphnes* the King of *Egypt*'s wiues sister: of whom *Taphnes* in *Egypt* was so called. This *Azad* returning againe, became an enemie to *Salomon* all his life, and (as some writers affirm) invaded *Damascus*, and thrust *Rezon* thence out. In the line of *Azad* that Kingdome continued nine descents (as hereafter may be shewed in the catalogue of those Kings of *Syria*) to whom the *Affrians* and then the *Gracians* succeeded. This Citie was exceeding strong, compassed with waters from the riuers of *Abraham* and *Parpar*: whereof one of them prophane writers call *Chrysorrhoas* the golden river. *Iunius* takes it for *Adonis*. The countrey adioyning is very fruitful of excellent wines and wheats, and all manner of excellent fruits. It had in it a very strong Castle, built as it seems by the *Florentines*, after it became *Christian*: the lillies being found cur in many marbles in that Citie. Against this Citie the Prophets *Amos*, *Ejau*, *Hieremie* and *Zacharias*, prophesied that it should be taken, burnt, demolished, and made a heape of stones. In the time of the last *Rezon* and tenth King of the *Damascens*, *Teglatphalassar*, imited by *Abas*, King of *Iuda*, carried away the naturals of *Damascus* into the East: leauing of his owne nation to inhabit it. After that it was vtterly ruined by the *Babylonians*, saith *Hierome* vpon *Ejau*: which thing was performed by *Salmanassar*, according to *Iunius* in his note vpon that place, five yeeres after the Prophecie. In time it was restored by the *Macedonians*, and the *Ptolomies*: but long after when *Syria* fell into the hands of the *Romans*, it was taken by *Maxellus* and *Lollus*. In the time of the *Christians* it had an Archbishop: *S. Hierome* liuing, as hee affirmeth vpon the *Acts*, it was the Metropolis of the *Saracens*: being taken by *Haomar* their King from the *Romans*, in the yeere of our redemption 636. And in the yeere 1147. *Conrad* the third, Emperour of *Rome*, *Lewis* King of *Fraunce*, *Baldwine* the third King of *Hierusalem*, *Henry* Duke of *Austria*, brother to *Conrad*, *Frederick* Barbarossa afterward Emperour, *Theodorick* Earle of *Flanders*, and other Princes assembled at *Ptolomais Acon*, on the sea coast, determined to recouer *Damascus*: but being betrayed by the *Syrians*, they failed of the enterprize.

In the yeere 1262. *Hilon* the *Tartar* incompass it, and hauing formerly taken the King, brought him vnder the wals, and threatened extreame torture vnto him, except the Citizens rendered the place: but they refusing it, the King was torne alunder before them, and in fine the Citie taken, *Agab* the sonne of *Hilon* was by his father made King thereof.

In the yeere 1400. *Tamberlaine* Emperour of the *Partians*, invaded that region, and besieged the Citie with an armie of 1200000. (if the number be not mistaken.) He entered it, and put all to the sword, filling the ditch with his prisoners, those that retired into the Castle which seemed a place impregnable, hee ouertopped with another Castle adioyning: hee forbore the demolishing of the Citie in respect of the beauty of the Church, garnished with 40. gates or sumptuous porches. It had within it 9000. lanterns of gold and siluer: but while hee invaded *Egypt*, they againe surprized *Damascus*. Lastly, in his returne after three moneths siege hee forst it: the *Mahometans* prostrating themselves with their priests, desired mercie: But *Tamberlaine* commanding them to enter the Church, hee burnt them, and it, to the number of 30000. and did demolish it, as those that came afterwards to see their houses, knew them not by the foundations. And as a Trophy of his victorie hee raised three Towers with great Art, builded with the heads of those whom hee had slaughtered. After this it was restored and reposselt by the Soldane of *Egypt*, with a garrison of *Mammalukes*: And in the yeere 1517. *Selimus* Emperour of the *Turkes* wrested it out of the hands of the *Egyptians*:

in whose possession it now remaineth inhabited with *Mabometans*, and *Christians*, of all neighbouring nations.

§. II.

Of the first Kings of *Damascus*, and of the growing up of their power.

NOW be it that *Damascus* were founded by *Hu* the sonne of *Aram*, or by *Damascus* the sonne of *Elieser* *Abrahams* steward, we finde no relation of their Kings, or Common-wealth till *Dauids* time. For it stood without the bounds of *Canaan*: and therefore neglected by *Moses*, *Iesus*, and the *Iudges*, as impertinent to that storie: But were it so that it had some reguli, or petty Kings ouer it, as all the Cities of those parts had, yet none of them became famous for ought that is left to writing, till such time as *Dauid* ouerthrew *Adadazer* prince of *Sophena* or *Syria Zoba*: the same Nation which *Plinie* calleth *Nubei*, inhabiting betwene *Batanea* and *Euphrates*. Now the better to vnderstand the storie of those *Syrian* Princes, whom soone after the Kings of *Damascus* made their vassals, the reader may informe himselfe, That on the North-east parts of the holy Land, there were three chiefe principalities, whereof the Kings or Commanders greatly vexed or disturbed the State or Common-wealth of *Israel*, namely *Damascus* or *Aram*, *Sophena* or *Syria Zoba*, and *Chamath*, or *Chamath-Zoba*, of which these were the Princes in *Dauids* and *Salomons* times: *Razon* or *Rezon* of *Damascus*, *Adadazer* of *Syria Zoba*, and *Tobu* of *Chamath*. But it seemeth that *Damascus* was one of the cities subiect to *Adadazer* when *Dauid* invaded him, though when *Saul* made warre against *Zoba*, *Damascus* was not named. And as *Iosephus* affirmeth, the leader of those succours, which were leuied and sent to *Hadad-Hezer* from *Damascus*, had the name of *Adad*: who was in that battaile slaine with 12000. *Aramites* of *Damascus*: whereof, as of the ouerthrow of *Adadazer*, *Rezon*, the Commander of his armie, taking advantage, made himselfe King of *Damascus*: *Adadazer* and *Adad* of *Damascus* being both slaine. About the same time *Tobu* King of *Chamath* or *Ituraea*, hearing that his neighbour and enemy *Adadazer* was vtterly ouerthrowne, sendeth for peace to *Dauid*, and presenteth him with rich gifts, but in *dolo* saith *S. Hierome*, it was craftily done of him. Now to the North of the Holy Land, and to the West of *Damascus*, the *Tyrrians* and *Zidonians* inhabited: but they for the most part were in league and peace with the *Isidians* and *Israelites*. But to returne to the Kings of *Syria*, I meane of *Syria*, as it is taken in the Scriptures, containing *Damascena*, *Soba* or *Zoba*, and *Chamath*, or *Ituraea*, to which I may adde *Geshur*, because it is so accounted in the second of *Sam.* 15. as ioyning in the Territorie to *Damascus* (for *Syria* at large is farre greater, of which *Palestina* it selfe is but a Prouince, as I haue noted in the beginning of this Tract.) It is not agreed among the Historians of former times, nor of our later writers, who was the first of those *Adads* of *Syria Zoba*, and *Damascus*.

Some account *Rezon*, other *Adad* of *Idumaea*: of whom it is written in the first of Kings, that *Dauid* hauing invaded that Region, and left *Ioab* there to destroy all the male children thereof: *Adad* of the Kings seede, fled into *Egypt*; and was there married to *Taphnes* the Queenes sister, as before, who hearing of *Dauids* death, and of the death of his Captaine *Ioab* (whom indeede all the bordering Nations feared) he returned againe, and as *Bunting* thinketh, this *Adad* did expell *Rezon* out of *Damascus*; and was the first of the *Syrian* Kings. To mee it seemeth otherwile. For as I take it, *Adadazer* the sonne of *Rehob*, whom *Saul* invaded, was the founder of that Principallitie: and the first of *Adads*, who forsaking his Fathers name, as hee grev powerfull, tooke vpon him the stile of *Adad*, the great god of the *Affrians*, saith *Macrobius*, which signified onnesse or *Virtue*. I also finde a Citie called *Adad* in the same part of *Syria*: of which whether these Princes took the name, or gaue it, I am ignorant. For *Adad-azer*, *Ben-adad*, *Eli-adad* were the same in name, with the differences of *Ezer*, *Ben*, and *Eli*, adioyned. An that *Adadazer* was of greatest power, it appeareth first, because it is against him, that *Dauid* vndertooke the warre: secondly, because hee leuied 12000. *Aramites* out of the Territorie of *Damascus*: as out of his proper Dominions: for had the *Damascens* had a King apart, it is probable that the Scriptures would haue giuen vs his name; thirdly, because *Syria Zoba*, the most of which of *Adadazer* was King, was an exceeding large Territory, and contained of *Arabia* the *Desart* as far as to *Euphrates*, according to *Plinie*: and

and the greatest part of *Arabia Petraea*, according to *Niger*. Whofocuer was the first, whether *Adadazer*, or *Adad* of *Idumaea*, *Rezon* was the second: Who was an enemy to *Israel* all the dayes of *Salomon*. Besides the euill that *Adad* did, the euill that *Hadad* did, seemeth to be referred to *Hadad* of *Idumaea*, lately returned out of *Egypt*: to wit, 23. yeeres after he was carried thither.

The third king of *Damascus*, and of *Zobah* both, was *Hezion*; to *Hezion* succeeded *Tabriemmon*, or *Tabremmon*; to him *Benhadad*, as is proued in the first of Kings. For *Asa* King of *Iuda* the son of *Abiam*, the son of *Roboam*, the son of *Salomon*, being vexed & invaded by *Basbas*, the successeur of *Adad*, the son of *Reboam*, sent to *Benhadad* the son of *Tabriemmon* the sonne of *Hezion*, King of *Aram*, that dwelt at *Damascus*, to inuade *Israel* (while *Basbas* sought to fortifie *Rama* against *Asa*: thereby to block him vp, that he should not enter into any of the Territories of *Israel*) who according to the desire of *Asa*, hauing received his presents, willingly inuaded the Countrie of *Nepthalim*, and tooke diuers Cities, and spoiles thence: *Asa* in the meane while carrying away all the Materials, which *Basbas* had brought to fortifie *Rama* withall, and conuered them to his owne vse.

This *Benhadads* Father *Tabremmon* was in league with *Asa*: and so was his Father *Hezion*: for *Asa* requireth the continuance of that friendship from *Benhadad*, his sonne: though it seemeth that the gold and siluer sent him out of the Temple, was the most forcible argument. And that this *Tabremmon* inuaded *Israel*, before the enterprize of his sonne *Benhadad*, it is coniectured. For *Benhadad* when he was prisoner with *Achab*, spake as followeth: The Cities which my Father tooke from thy Father, I will restore: and thou shalt make streetes or keepers of the borders, for thee in *Damascus*: as my father did in *Samaria*. And herein there ariseth a great doubt (if the argument it selfe were of much importance) because *Tabremmon* was Father indeede to *Benhadad* which inuaded *Basbas*, at the request of *Asa*; But this *Benhadad* that twice entred vpon *Achab*, and was the second time taken prisoner, was rather the sonne of *Benhadad*, the first of that name, the confederate of *Asa* and *Abiam*, as before, than the sonne of *Tabremmon*. For betwene the inuasion of *Benhadad* the first, in *Basbas* time, and the siege of *Samaria*, and the ouerthrow of *Benhadad* by *Achab*, there past 49. yeeres, as may be gathered out of the reignes of the Kings of *Israel*. So that if we allow 30. yeeres of age to *Benhadad*, when he inuaded *Basbas*, and after that 49. yeeres ere he was taken by *Achab*, which make eighty lacking one, it is vnlikly that *Benhadad* at such an age should make warre. Besides all this, the first *Benhadad* came with no such pompe; but the second *Benhadad* vaunteth, that he was followed with 32. Kings: and therefore I resolve, that *Benhadad* the sonne of *Tabremmon* inuaded *Basbas* and *Omri*; and *Benhadad* the second inuaded *Achab*, at whose hands this *Benhadad* receiued two notorious ouerthrowes: the first at *Samaria*, by assaile of 700. *Israelites*: the second at *Aphec*, where, with the like number in effect the *Israelites* slaughtered 100000. of the *Aramites*, besides 27000. which were crushed by the fall of the wall of *Aphec*. And this *Benhadad*, *Achab* againe setteth at liberty: to whom hee rendereth those townes that his father had taken from the Predecessour of *Achab*, but being returned, he refused to render *Ramoth Gilead*, a frontier towne, and of great importance. Now three yeeres after (for so long the league lasted) *Ramoth* not being delivered, *Achab* inuaded *Gilead*, and assigeth the Citie, being assisted by *Iosephat*. The *Aramites* came to succour and fight: in which *Achab* is wounded, and dyeth that night. After this, *Benhadad* sendeth the commander of his forces called *Naaman*, to *Toram* the son of *Achab* to be healed of the leprosie, and though *Elizeus* had healed him, yet he picketh quarrell against *Toram*: and when *Toram* by *Elizeus* his intelligence, had escaped his plot, he sent men, and Chariots to take the Prophet, as is aforesaid. After *Benhadad* besieged *Samaria* again, and being terrified thence from heaven, he departeth home, and sickness, and sendeth *Azael* with great gifts to *Elizeus*, to know his estate if he might liue. *Azael* returning, smothereth him. *Zonarus* and *Cedrenus* call this *Benhadad* *Adar*, and the sonne of *Adar*: *Amos* and *Hieremie* mention the towres of *Benhadad*. *Iosephus* writeth that he and his successeur *Azael* were worshipped for Gods by the *Syrians* to his time, for the presumptuous Temples which they built in *Damascus*. The *Syrians* also boasted much of their antiquity, ignorant, saith he, that scarce yet 100. yeeres are complete since their warres with the *Israelites*.

Hazael or *Azael*, the first King of the race of the *Adads* of *Damascus*, was annointed by *Elisba*, or *Elizeus*, when he was sent by *Benhadad* to the Prophet, to know whether *Ben-*

hadad should recover his present sickness: He waged warre with *Ioram*, who received diuers wounds at the encounter at *Ramoth in Gilead*: from whence returning to be cured at *Iezreel*, he and the King of *Juda*, *Ahabziah*, or *Ochozias*, are slaine by *Iehu*, as before is said. After the death of *Ioram*, *Azrael* continued the warre against *Iehu*, and wasted *Gilead*, and all those portions of *Gad*, *Reuben*, and *Manasse*, ouer *Jordan*. He then invaded *Juda*, and tooke *Gath*, but by gifts from *Iosias* he was auerted from attempting *Hierusalem*: for he presented him all the *hallowed things which* *Iehofaphat*, *Iehoram*, and *Ahaziah* his fathers, *Kings of Iuda* had dedicated; and which he himselfe had dedicated: and all the gold which was found in the treasures of the Lord, and in the Kings house. This was the second time that the Temple was spoiled to please the *Adads* of *Damascus*. For *Azrael* presented *Benhadad* with those treasures, when he invited him to warre vpon *Basbas* King of *Israel*. And notwithstanding this composition betwene *Iosias* and *Azrael*, yet a part of his Armie spoiled the other Prouinces of *Judea*, and slaughtered many principall persons. Lastly, *Azrael* vexed *Iosias* the sonne of *Iehu*, and brought him to that extremity, he left him but fifty horsemen, ten Chariots, & ten thousand footemen of all his people.

§. III.

Of the latter Kings, and decay and overthrow of their power.

AFTER *HAZUEL*, *Benhadad* the second, or rather the third of that name, the sonne of *HAZUEL*, reigned in *Damascus*: who fought against *Israel*, with ill success: for *Iosias* King of *Israel*, the sonne of the unhappy *Ioachaz*, as hee was foretold by *Elisha* the Prophet, beat *Benhadad* in three severall battels: and hee lost all those Cities to *Israel*, which his Father *HAZUEL* had taken violently from *Israel*.

After this *Benhadad* the sonne of *HAZUEL*, there succeeded three others by the same name, of whom the Stories are lost, onely *Nicholaus Damascus* cited by *Iosephus*, makes mention of them: and in one of these Kings times it was that *Ieroboam* the second, the sonne of *Iosias* recovered *Damascus* it selfe, to *Judah*, saith the *Genecis*, but better in *Hebrew*, *utique recuperabat Damascus*; & *Chamatham Ichude pro Israele*; that is, And hee recovered for *Israel*, *Damascus*; *Chamatham* of *Judea*; for these Cities sometimes conquered by *Dauid*, did of right belong to the Tribe of *Juda*.

And it is likely that this conquest vpon the *Adads* was performed: the first of these three *Adads* then living, of whom there is no Story. For when as *Iehosias* the King of the ten Tribes had thrice overcome the *Syrians* in the time of *Benhadad* the sonne of *HAZUEL*, and had recovered the Cities which *HAZUEL* had won from *Israel*, and so left his Kingdom to his sonne *Ieroboam* the second, it seemeth that this *Ieroboam* without delay, and hauing nothing else left for him to enterprize, instantly followed his fathers good fortune, and invaded *Damascus*.

Razins, or *Rezin*, after *Iosephus* *Rases*, after *Zonaras* *Raason*, the 10. *Adad*, making league with *Pekah*, or *Phacis* King of *Israel*, against *Achaz* King of *Juda*; both carry away great number of prisoners. After this they both besiege *Achaz* in *Hierusalem*: but in vaine. Then *Adad* alone invaded *Elath*, and bearing out the *Tewer*, maketh it a Colonie of *Syrians*. Wherefore *Achaz* brought *Teglatphalassar* against *Razins*, who tooke him, and beheaded him, and won *Damascus*: with whom ended the line of the *Adads* and the Kingdom of *Damascus*: the *Affrians* becomming masters both of that and *Israel*. These *Adads* as they reigned in order are thus reckoned.

1. *Adadzer* the sonne of *Rehob*.
2. *Rezin* the sonne of *Eliadad*, or *Razins*.
3. *Rezin*.
4. *Tabeemmon*.
5. *Benhadad*, who invaded *Basbas*.
6. *Benhadad* the second, taken prisoner by *Achaz*.
7. *HAZUEL*, whom *Elisha* foretold, with teares, of his advancement; the same who overthrew *Ioram* King of *Israel*, at *Ramoth Gilead*. And that there was a second *HAZUEL* which preceded *Benhadad* the third, it is not improbable, because that *HAZUEL* which tooke *Geth*, and compounded the warre with *Iosias*, made the Expedition thirty yeeres, and perchance more,

more, after the first *Hazael* which stilled his master *Benhadad*, and had slaine *Ioram* the sonne of *Achab* King of *Israel*. For *Das* began to reigne in the 7. yeere of *Iehu* King of *Israel*; and after he had reigned 23. yeeres, the Temple was not yet repaired, after which (and how long we know not) it is said that *Hazael* took *Geth*, and turned his face towards *Ierusalem*. It is also some proofe that *Hazael* that tooke *Geth*, was not the same with *Hazael* that murdered *Benhadad*, because he could not at that time be of good yeeres, being as it seemeth, the second person in the kingdom, and Commander of *Benhadads* men of warre. To this *Hazael*, be he the first or second, succeeded:

8. *Benhadad* the third, whom *Iosab* King of *Israel* thrice ouerthrew.
9. *Rezin* or *Rezin* the last, who ioyned with *Pekah* King of *Israel*, against *Juda*, at which time *Achaz* King of *Juda* waged for his defence *Teglatphalassar*.

Now between *Benhadad* the third, and *Rezin* the last, *Nicolaus Damascus* findes three other Kings of the *Adads*, which make twelue in all.

For the rest of the Princes of *Syria*, which were but *reguli*, as those of *Emath*, and *Gessur*, we finde that *Tobu* was King of *Emath* or *Chamath* in *Dauids* time, to whom he sent, *Sam. 8. 36* his sonne *Ioram* with presents, after *Dauids* victory against *Adadzer*. Also *Sennacherib* *Esa. 37* speaketh of a King of *Emath*, but names him not.

§. IIII.

20. Of other lesser Kingdomes of the *Syrians*, which being brought under the *Affrians*, neuer recovered themselves againe.



For *Gessur* we finde two Kings named; to wit, *Talmu*, and his Father *Ammihur*: To *Talmu*, whose daughter *Dauid* married, it was that *Abshalon* fledde, who was his maternall grandfather. Of the Kings of *Sophena* or *Syria*, *Soba* or *Celsofria*, there are two named, *Rehob* or *Rechob* the Father of *Adadzer*, and *Adadzer* himselfe, and it is plain that after his death the seat of the Kings of *Soba* was transferred to *Damascus*, a Citie better fitting their greatnesse. After *Rezin* became Lord of both Principallities. And the race of the Kings of *Syria*, (which became so potent, and ioyned *Soba*,

30. *Damascus*, *Emath*, and the Desert of *Arabia* with other Prouinces into one, vnder *Rezin* the second of the *Adads*) as it began with *Dauid*, so it ended at once with the Kingdom of *Israel*. For *Achaz* King of *Juda* waged the *Affrian* *Teglatphalassar* against *Pekah* King of *Israel*, and against *Rezin* the last King of *Damascus*: which *Teglat* first invaded *Damascus*, and the region of *Soba*, and tooke *Damascus* it selfe, and did put to death *Rezin* the last, carrying the inhabitants captiue. This was the second time that the *Affrians* attempted *Israel*. For first, *Phul Belochus* entered the borders thereof (*Menabem* governing *Israel*) who stopt the enterprize of *Phul* with a thousand talents of siluer: for this *Phul Belochus*, whose pedigree wee will examine hereafter, being scarce warlike as yet in his seat at *Babylon*, which hee, with the help of his companion *Arbaces*, had wrested 40 from *Sardanapalus*: hauing besides this King of *Syria* in his way, who seemed to be a great and strong Prince, was content to take the composition of a thousand talents of the King of *Israel* for that present time. But his sonne *Teglat* following the purpose of his Father *Belochus*, and finding to excellent an occasion, as the warre begun betwene *Israel* and *Judah*, *Pekah* commanding in the one, and *Achaz* in the other, his neighbour *Rezin* being also wrapt in that warre, and waited in strength thereby, did willingly accept the offer of *Achaz* King of *Juda*, his imprest and entertainment. So, first attempting *Damascus*, which lay in his path towards *Israel*, hee carried it (as is before remembred) and then with great ease possessed himselfe of the Cities of *Nephtalim*, leading with him a great part of the people captiue. And his sonne *Salmanasser*, whom *Ptolomie* calleth *Nibomassar*, after the revolt of *Hofea*, forced *Samaria*, and rent the Kingdome asunder. So as the line and race of *Ninus* in *Sardanapalus*, whom *Belochus* supplanted; the race and Monarchie of the *Syrian* *Adads* in *Rezin*, whom *Teglat* slaughtered; the Kingdom of *Israel* in *Hofea*, whom *Salmanasser* ouerturne; happened neere about a time: that of *Ninus* in the dayes of *Belochus*, and the other two in the dayes of *Teglatphalassar*, and *Salmanasser* his son. For *Sardanapalus* perished, *Ofis* ruling *Juda*; and the other two Kingdomes were dissolved, *Achaz* yet living.

Lastly, the Kingdom of *Juda* it selfe, being attempted by *Sennacherib*, the sonne of *Salmanasser* in vaine, and preserved for the time by God miraculously, was at length utterly

utterly ouerturned. Hierusalem and the Temple burnt 132. yeeres after the captiuitie of *Israel*, and *Samaria*: the destruction of *Israel* being in the ninth yeere of *Hosea*: that of *Juda* in the eleuenth of *Zedechia*. Now the Emperours of *Assyria* and *Babylon* held also the Kingdome of *Syria*, from the eight yeere of *Salmansar*, to the last of *Balsasar*, whom 3603. *Herodotus* calleth *Labyntus*: in all about 200. yeeres. After these the *Persians* from 3811. unto *Darius* their last King, held *Syria* about 200. yeeres.

Then *Alexander Macedon* tooke this among other Prouinces of the *Persian* Empire, and his successors the *Seleucida* reigned therein, till it became subiect vnto the power of the *Romans*, from whom it was wrested long after by the *Saracens*, and remaineth now in possession of the *Turke*, as shall be shewed in due place. Thus much of the nations to bordering vpon the *Israelites*; with whom they had most to doe both in warre and peace, being the onely people, whose History in those ancient times carried an afflicted face of truth.

CHAP. XII.

OF THE TRIBE OF BENIAMIN,
and of Hierusalem.

§. I.

Of diuer memorable places in the Tribe of *Beniamin*, whereof *Hiericho*, *Gilgal*, *Mitspa*, *Bethel*, *Rama*, *Gobah* and *Gibba*.



Of the Tribe of *Beniamin*, the twelfth and yongest sonne of *Isach*, whom he had by *Rachel*, there were mustered at Mount *Sinai* 35000. able bodies: all which perishing in the *Deserts*, there entered the Holy Land of their issues 45600. fit to beare Armes: and these had their Territory on this side *Jordan*; betweene *Juda* and *Ephraim*: The Cities within this Tribe neerest *Jordan*, are *Lod*, *Haded*, and *Ono*: of which *Lod* and *Ono* were built by *Shimon* a *Beniamite*: they were all three re-inhabited with *Beniamites*, after the returne out of Captiuitie, as is mentioned, *Nehem. 11. 35.* and *Esd. 2. 35.* where *Adrichomius* reading *Lod*, *Haded*, *Ono*, makes besides *Haded* in *Nehemia*, a Citie called *Lodbadid*: This *Haded* or *Chadid* was rebuilt by *Simon* *Maccabaeus*.

Samarim or *Tjemaraim*, named of *Tjemary*, one of the sonnes of *Canaan*, was another of their Cities: and further into the Land standeth *Iericho*, one of the *Toparchies*, and the last of *Juda*, seated in a most fruitfull valley, adorned with many palm trees: and thereupon fore elsewhere called the citie of *Palmes*. From the time of *Iosua*, who utterly destroyed it, lay waste vntill the time of *Achab*: in whose dayes *Chief* of *Bethel* held the new *Temple* is foundation of it, in the losse of *Abiram* his eldest sonne, and built the gates of it in the losse of his yongest sonne *Segub*: according to the curse of *Iosua*: in which and other respects, *Hos. 12. 14.* calleth *Iosua* a Prophet. In after-times it was destroyed by *Pashur*, and rebuilt by *Adrian*.

To the South-east of *Iericho* stood * *Halmon* of the *Leuites*, of which *Ios. 21. 18.* To the South *Beitaraba*, of which *Ios. 15. 5.* and *c. 18.* Then that *Gilgal* of which there is so much mention in the Scripture, where *Iosua* first ate of the fruits of the land, circumcised all those borne in the *Desert*, and celebrated the *Passeouer*.

The reason of the name, or rather a memorable application of the *Etymologie* of this name (for it seemes by the place, *Deut. 11. 30.* that the name was knowne before the coming of the *Israelites* into *Canaan*) is noted *Ios. 5. 9.* *Ob deuolutionem praebr. Egyptiac*, because their fore-skinnes (the people being there circumcised) were tumbled downe the Hill: which from thence was called *Colubus preputiorum*. This *Gilgal* was also called *Giloth*, as appears by comparing the places, *Ios. 15. 7.* and *18. 17.* for it was in the borders of *Jordan*, of which *Ios. 22. 13.* and *Giloth* signifieth borders. It stood (though in some distance) directly Eastward, ouer against the two * Hills *Gazazim* and *Hebel*: vpon the one

of which the blessings, and on the other the cursings were to be read to the people, both being the mountains of *Ephraim*. Further, for the situation of this *Gilgal*, it is to be noted, that both it, and *Mitspa* of *Beniamin* (of which also wee read of in the Scripture) were seated about the midde of the length of the land of *Canaan*: for which reason * *Sa. 2. 1. Sam. 7. 15.* *Imael* chose these two places, to either of which he came yearly to giue iudgement to the *Israelites*; of which two, *Gilgal* (as is said) was neere *Jordan* on the East side of this Tribe; and *Mitspa* neere the West Sea, towards the land of the *Philistims*.

The third place, which is named with these two, whither also *Samuel* vied yeerely to come, is *Bethel*: which also was seated in this Tribe of *Beniamin*. But to returne to *Gilgal*, which was the first place where the *Arke* resided, after they past ouer *Jordan* (from whence it was carried to *Silo*, and thence to *Kiriath-betharim*, and at length to *Hierusalem*) here in *Gilgal* it was that *Iosua* pitched vp the twelve stones, which were taken out of the channell of *Jordan*, when it was drie, that the *Israelites* might passe ouer it: by which storie, as it is set down *Ios. 4.* it appears, that the same day that they passed ouer *Jordan*, they lodged at *Gilgal*. At the same *Gilgal*, to omit many other memorable things, it was that *Samuel* hewed *Agag* the King of the *Amalekites* in pieces. And as for *Mitspa*, whither *Samuel* came yeerely to giue iudgement, there also were often the greatest meetings held: as that for the reuenge of the *Leuites* wife against *Gibba*, and the *Beniamites*, *Iud. 10. 1.* and another against the *Philistims*, *1. Sam. 7. 12.* Thither also *Iudas Maccabaeus* gathered the *Tewes*, (when *Hierusalem* was possessed by the *Heathen*) as it is *1. Macc. 3. 47.* in which place this reason of their meeting is added; *Quia locus Orationis fuerat Mitspa ante Israel*. Touching this *Mitspa*, to auoid confusion, it is to be remembred, that the Scriptures mention foure places of this name: *Mitspa* of *Juda*, of which *Ios. 15. 38.* * *Mitspa* of *Gilead*, of which we haue spoken already in the Tribe of *Gad*: *Mitspa* of the *Moabites*, where *David* for a while held himselfe, commending his Parents to the King of *Moab*, *1. Sam. 22. 3.* and lastly, this chiefe *Mitspa* of the *Beniamites*. And as in this place the chiefe meetings were held both before *Hierusalem* was recovered from the *Iebusites*, and also in the time of the *Maccabees* (as we haue said) when *Hierusalem* was held by the wicked vnder *Antiochus*: so also in the time of *Hieremie*, after the destruction of the Temple by the *Chaldees*, *Gedaliah* whom *Nabuchodonosor* left in *Ierury*, as Gouvernour over those that were left in the land, held his abiding in this place: vntill (to the great hurt of the *Tewes*) hee was slaine by the treason of *Ismael*, one of the royall blood of *Juda*, as then it is *Hierem. 41.*

Neere vnto this *Mitspa*, the Scripture mentioneth *Beth-car*, after called *Aben-Hezer*, that is, the Stone of helpe: where *Samuel* pitched vp the pillar or Stone, for a Trophy against the *Philistims*.

Touching *Bethel* which (as it seemes) was the third place where *Samuel* held his chiefe meetings for the ministring of Iustice, that it was anciently called *Luz*, and how it was taken by the issue of *Ioseph* (though it belonged to the portion of *Beniamin*, as it is *Nehem. 11. 31.* and *Ios. 18. 22.*) and how another Citie called *Luz* neere adioyning to it, was built by the man of the Citie which shewed the entrance to the Spies, as it is *Iudg. 1. 1.* and of the occasion of the name from *Jacob*'s vision: as how *Ieroboam*, by erecting one of his calves heere, of *Bethel* (which signifieth the house of God) made it *Beth-anen*, that is, the house of Vanitie, *Ios. 4. 15.* and *10. 5.* as also other memorable things of this place, they are so well knowne, out of the Histories of the Scripture, that we may well passe them ouer.

The territorie of *Bethel*, which at the first belonged to the Kingdome of the tenne Tribes, from the time of the great victorie of *Abia* against *Ieroboam* (of which *2. Chron. 13.*) was taken from them, and adioyned to the Kingdome of *Juda*: and so it continued, as appears by the storie of *Iosias*: which performed the Prophecies against the altar of *Bethel*, *2. Reg. 23.* whence those coats *1. Macc. 11. 34.* are called *Aphreema*, which Greeke word signifieth as much as, *A thing taken away*, to wit, from the tenne Tribes. It was one of the three *Seignories* or *Prefectures* which *Demetrius* in his Epistle mentioneth, as added by him to the Dition of the *Tewes*, out of the *Samaritan* Country. A part of it, as appears *2. Chron. 13. 19.* was *Hephraim*, which *Ios. 18. 23.* is called *Hephram*, belonging to this Tribe of *Beniamin*.

Not farre from this *Bethel*, in this Tribe, we findeth three other Cities often mentioned in the continuall of the Kingdomes of *Juda* and *Israel* betweene *Hai* and *Bethel*, *Ios. 7. 21.* and *18. 12.*

in the Scriptures, *Rama, Gibba, and Gebah*. Of the name *Rama*,^b it is noted already, in the description of *Ephraim*, that there were many townes so called, because of their high situation. But whereas they finde out *Rama* in the Tribe of *Juda* (as it seemes because *Mat. 2.* it appeares that it bordered *Bethlehem*) and also out of *Brochard* and *Breidenbach* make *Silo* to have bene called *Rama*, and finde yet another *Rama* in *Zabulon*; these three have no warrant in the Scripture. Of *Rama* in the Tribe of *Asher*, as it seemes, wee haue testimonie, *Iof. 19. 29.* and of another in *Nephtalim*, *Iof. 19. 36.* of a third *Rama*, where *Samuel* dwelt in Mount *Ephraim*, *1. Sam. 25. 1.* which more often is called *Ramathaim*, and *1. Sam. 1. 1. Ramathaim Tophim*: for which the Septuagint haue *Aramathaim Tophim*, taking the Article affixed in the beginning, for a part of the word, whence they thinke *Iofeph* of *Arimathaea*, *Mat. 27. 57.* was denominated.

Of a fourth *Rama* wee read *2. Reg. 8. 29.* which is *Ramoth in Gilead*. The first, which is most often mentioned, is *Rama* of *Beniamin*, feared as we said, neere *Bethel* the vttermost South-border of the Kingdome of the tenne Tribes: for which cause *Basfa* in the time of *Afa* King of *Juda*, fortified it, to hinder those that did flie from him to *Afa*. Of this *Rama* or *Ramath* I should rather thinke *Iofeph* was, that buried *Christ*: because it is neerer to *Hierusalem*, and after the captiuitie belonged to *Iudea*, as it appeares *Esa. 2. 26.* where in that it is ioyned with *Gebah*, it is plain that he spake of that *Rama* with whose stones (after *Basfa* had ceased to build it) *Afa* (as it is *1. Reg. 25. 22.*) built *Gebah* adioyning to it: both being in *Beniamin*. And as *Rama* was the South-border of the ten Tribes, so was *Gebah* the North-border of the Kingdome of *Juda*: whence *2. Reg. 23. 8.* wee read that *Iofiah* through all his Kingdome, euen from *Gebah*, which was the North-border, to *Beer-sheba* which was the South-border, destroyed the places of Idolatry.

The third Citie *Gibba* which was the Citie of *Saul* (the wickednesse of which Citie in the time of the *Judges* had almost vtterly rooted out this Tribe) *Adrichamius* confounds with *Gebah*, making one of two (as they are evidently distinguished *Esa. 10. 27.* of which word *Gibba*, in another forme *Gibbath*, hee imagineth *Gibbath* another Citie in this Tribe, making two of one. The vicinitie of this Citie also to *Rama* of *Beniamin*, appeares *Iud. 19. 13.* where the *Leuite* with his wife, not able to reach to *Rama*, took vp his lodge³⁰ ing at *Gibba*. By that place of *1. Sam. 22. 6.* it seemes that there was in this *Gibba* some Pulgar out at towne or Citadell called *Rama*: where *Junius* reads in *exceffo*, for in *Rama*: but it may be that the name of the Kings palace in this Citie, was *Rama*: as it seemes that in *Rama* of *Siddelech*, the name of the chiefe place where *Samuel* with the Colledge of Prophets abode; was *Naioth*. The great Citie of *Hai* ouerthrowne by *Iof. 7. 2.* is placed neere *Beth-aen* vpon the East of *Bethel*, was in this Tribe, as is proued *Neh. 7. 10. 30.* though it be not named by *Iofua* c. 18. for it was burned by him and laid desolate, as it is *Iof. 8. 28.* *In solitudinem in tumulum perpetuum*: Another Citie of chiefe note is reckoned *Iof. 18. 25.* In this Tribe was *Gibbion*, the chiefe Citie of the *Heuites*: whose cunning to bind the *Israelites* by oath to faue their liues, is set downe *Iof. 9.* whence they were reckoned⁴⁰ among the *Nethinai* or *Proflites*: and were bound to certaine publicke seruices in the house of God: who oath of fauing the *Gibeonites*, broken in part after by *Saul*, was by God punished by a famine *2. Sam. 21. 1.* This *Gibeon* or *Gibbion* with *Almon* and *Iebah* (of both which wee haue spoken) and with *Hanoth* the natall place of *Eliet* the Prophet, were said *Iof. 2. 1. 28.* to be giuen to the *Leuites* by the *Beniamites*. Neere to this *Hanoth* was *Nob*, as appeares *1. Reg. 2. 26.* where *Eliathar* the Priest, which was of *Nob* before it was destroyed by *Saul*, is sent to his grounds at *Hanoth*: It is reckoned in the Tribe of *Beniamin*, *Nehem. 9. 3. 1.* and though in the time of *Saul* the residing place of the *Arke* was at *Kiriath-iearim*: yet by the lamentable tragedie of bloudshed, which *Saul* proued in this place (as is set downe *1. Sam. 22. 1. 22.*) in the iudgement of *Iunius*, it is⁵⁰ proued that the Tabernacle was there for a time.

Micmas also in this Tribe *Nehem. 9. 31.* was a place of fame, of which *Esa. 10. 28.* where also he nameth *Gallim*, and *Migrom* in this Tribe. In *Micmas* *Saul* had his Campe, *1. Sam. 13. 2.* (when he left *Gibba* to *Ionathan*) and there also was *Ionathan* *Macchabeus* his aboad, *1. Macc. 9. 73.* Of *Gisgala* in *Galilee* *Iofephus* makes often mention, but of any heere in *Beniamin*, which they make the natall place of *S. Paul*, whence (they say) when it was taken by the *Romans*, he failed with his parents to *Thursis*, of this I find no good warrant. Other places of lesse importance I omit, & come to the Citie of *Hierusalem* and the Princes

Princes and Gouernours of this Citie: A great part whereof was in the Tribe of *Beniamin*, whence *Iof. 18. 28.* it is named among the Cities of *Beniamin*.

§. II.

Of diuers memorable things concerning Hierusalem.

What time *Hierusalem* was built (which afterward became the Princeesse of all Cities) it doth not appeare. Some there are who imagineth that *Melchisedec* was the founder thereof in *Abrams* time. But * according to others, that Citie * See in the higher halfe of Manasse. to out of which *Melchisedec* incourted *Abraham* (in his returne from the ouerthrow of the *Assyrian* and *Persian* Kings or Captaines, when *Lot* was made prisoner) standeth by the riuer of *Iordan*, in the halfe Tribe of *Manasse* bordering *Zabulon*, which was also called *Salem*, and by the *Greekes* *Solima*.

Hierusalem (whensoever or by whomsoever built) was a principall Citie in *Iofua* his time: yet not so renowned as *Hazer* the Metropolis (in those dayes and before) of all the *Canaanites*. *Adonizedek* (whom *Iofua* slew) was then King of *Hierusalem*. That it was belonging to the *Iebusites* it is manifest: for how long soeuer they held it before *Moses* time, they were Masters and Lords thereof almost 400. yeeres after him: euen till *Dauid* wanne it: and therefore in all likelihood, it was by the *Iebusites* (the children of *Iebus* ens to the sonne of *Canaan*) built: after whom it was called *Iebus*. And so much did that Nation relye on the strength of the place, as when *Dauid* attempted it, they bragged that their lame, and blinde, and impotent people should defend it.

Dauid, after he had by Gods assistance posselt it, and turned out the *Iebusites*, gaue it an exceeding great increafe of circuit: strengthened it with a Citadell or Castle: and beautified it with many Palaces, and other buildings: changing the name from *Iebusalem*, the Citie of the *Iebusites*, to *Hierusalem*, which the *Greekes* call *Hierosolyma*. After *Dauids* time *Salamon* amplified, beautified, and strengthened it exceedingly. For besides the worke of the Temple, which was no lesse admirable than renowned among all Nations, the Palaces, gates, and walles, could not any where in the world be exampled: and besides that it had 150000. inhabitants, the women and children not accounted. The ditch like hath feldome bene heard of, either since or before.

After the death of *Salamon*, and that the Kingdome of the *Iewes* was cut asunder, *Shishac* King of *Aegypt*, and his predecessor, hauing bred vp for that purpose, *Adad* the *Idumean*, and *Ieroboam*, *Salamons* seruants; and both married to *Aegyptians*: the State by the one disturbed, by the other broken: *Shishac* first inuaded the Territorie of *Juda*, entered *Hierusalem*, and sackt it, and became Master not onely of the riches of *Salamon*, but of all those spoiles which *Dauid* had gotten from *Adadzer*, *Tobu*, the *Ammonites*, and other Nations. It was againe sacked, and a part of the wall throwne downe by *Ioaas* King of *Israel*: while *Amasias* the twelfth King thereof gouerned *Juda*.

Not long after *Achaz* the fifteenth King of *Juda* impouerished the Temple, and presented *Typhalpassar* with the treasures thereof. And *Manasses* the sonne of *Ezekiab*, the sonne of *Achaz*, by the vaults made by *Ezekiab*, to the Embassadors of *Mede*, *rodech*, lost the remaine, and the very bottoome of their treasures. It was againe spoiled by the *Babylonians*, *Ioukim* then reigning. But this vngodly, Idolatrous, and rebellious Nation, taking no warning by these Gods gentle corrections and afflictions, but persisting in all kinde of impietic, filling the Citie cun to the mouth with innocent blood, God raised vp that great *Babylonian* King *Nabuchodonosor*, as his scourge and reuenger, who making this glorious Citie and Temple with all the Palaces therein, and the Walls and Towers which embraced them, euen and leuell with the dust, carried away the spoiles with the Princes and people, and crusht them with the heauie yoke of bondage and seruitude full secentie yeeres, in somuch as *Sion* was not onely become as a stone and plowed-up field, *Hierusalem* an heape of stone, and rubble, the mountaine of the Temple as a groue, or wood of thornes and briars; but (as *Hierome* speaketh) euen the birds of the ayre scorned to flie ouer it, or the beasts to tread on that desiled yoyle.

Then 70 yeeres being expired, according to the Prophecie of *Daniel*, and the *Iewes* by the grace of *Cyrus* returned: the Temple was againe built, though with interruption and difficultie

difficultie enough : and the Citie meanelie inhabited, and without walls or other defences, for some 60. and odd yeeres, till *Nubem* by the favour of *Artaxerxes* rebuilt them. Then againe was the Temple and Citie spoyled by *Bagoses*, or *Vagoses*, the Lieutenant of *Artaxerxes*: after by *Ptolomeus* the first; then by *Antiochus Epiphanes*: and againe by *Apollonius* his Lieutenant. By *Pompey* it was taken long after, but not destroyed, nor robbed, though *Craffus* in his *Parthian* expedition tooke as much as hee could of that which *Pompey* spared.

But the damages which it sustained by the violence of sacrilegious *Tyrants*, were commonly recompensed by the industrie or bountie of good Princes, the voluntary contribution of the people, and the liberallitie of strangers. Before the captivity, the people of the land through the exhortation of godly Kings, made many and large offerings to repaire the Temple of *Salomon*. The wrong done by *Ptolomeus Lagi* to the said Temple, was requited by the bountie of his sonne *Ptolomeus Philadelphus*. The mischief wrought by *Antiochus Epiphanes* and his followers, was amended partly by the great Offerings which were sent to *Hierusalem* out of other Nations. Finally all the losses, which either the Citie or Temple had endured, might well seeme forgotten in the reigne of *Herod* that usurping and wicked, but magnificent King, who amplified the Citie, new built the Temple, and with many sumptuous workes did so adorne them, that hee left them farre more stately and glorious than they had beene in the days of *Salomon*.

§. III.

Of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans.

IN this flourishing estate, it was at the comming of our Saviour *Christ Jesus* and after his death and ascension, it so continued about 40. yeeres. But then did *Jesus the Roman*, being stirred up by God, to be the revenger of *Christ* his death, and to punish the *Jewes* sinfull ingratitude, incompasse it with a *Roman* armie, and became Lord thereof. He began the siege at such time as the *Jewes*, from all parts, were come to the celebration of the *Passover*: so as the Citie was then filled with many hundreds of thousands of all sorts; and no manner of provision or store for any such multitudes. An extreme famine, with the civill dissension, oppress them within the walles; a terrible enemy assailed them without. The *Idumaeans* also, who lay in wait for the destruction of the *Jewes* Kingdom, thrust themselves into the Citie, of purpose to betray it: who also burnt the Temple, when *Nabuchodonosor* tooke it. And to be short, there perished of all sorts, from the first besieging to the consummation of the victory, eleven hundred thousand soules: and the Citie was so beaten downe and demolished, as that which came afterward to see the desolation thereof, could hardly beleieve that there had bene any such place or habitation. Only the three *Herodian* towres (works most magnificent, and over-topping the rest) were spared, as well for lodgings for the *Roman* garrisons, as that thereby their victorie might be the more notorious and famous: for by those buildings of strength and State remaining, after-ages might judge what the rest were; and their honour bee the greater and more shining, that there-over became victorious.

After this, such *Jewes* as were scattered heere and there in *Judea*, and other Provinces, began againe to inhabit some part of the Citie, and by degrees to rebuild it, and strengthen it as they could, being then at peace, and tributaries to the *Roman* State: but after 65. yeeres, when they againe offered to revolt, and rebell, *Aelius Adrianus* the Emperour slaughtered many thousands of them, and overturned those three *Herodian* Towres, with all the rest, making it good which *Christ* himselfe had foretold: That there should not stand one stone upon another, of that vneratifiable Citie. Afterward, when his furie was appeased, and the Prophecie accomplished, he tooke one part without the wall, wherein stood *Mount Calvarie*, and the Sepulcher of *Christ*, and excluding of the rest the greatest portion, he againe made it a Citie of great capacitie, and called it after his owne name, *Aelia Capitolina*. In the gate toward *Bethel*, hee caused a Sowe to be cut in marble, and set in the front thereof, which hee did in despite of the *Jewes* Nation: making an *Edict*, that they should not from thenceforth ever enter into the Citie, neither should they dare so much as to behold it from any other high place out-topping it.

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But the *Christian* Religion flourishing in *Palastina*, it was inhabited at length, by all Nations, and especially by *Christians*; and so it continued 500. yeeres. It was afterward in the 636. yeere after *Christ*, taken by the *Aegyptian Saracens*, who held it 400. and odd yeeres.

In the yeere 1099. it was regained by *Godfrey of Bullon*, by assault, with an exceeding slaughter of the *Saracens*, which *Godfrey*, when hee was elected King thereof, refused to be crowned with a Crowne of gold, because *Christ*, for whom hee fought, was therein crowned with thornes. After this recovery, it remained vnder the successors of *Godfrey* foure score and eight yeeres: till in the yeere 1197. it was regained by *Saladine* of *Egypt*: and lastly, in the yeere 1517. in the time of *Selim*, the *Turkes* cast out the *Aegyptians*, who now hold it, and call it *Cuzumbarec*, or the Holy Citie. Neither was it *Jerusalem* alone that hath so oftentimes bene beaten downe and made desolate, but all the great Cities of the World have with their inhabitants, in severall times and ages, suffered the same shipwracke. And it hath bene Gods iust will, to the end others might take warning, if they would, not onely to punish the impietie of men, by famine, by the sword, by fire, and by slaughter; but hee hath reuenged himselfe of the very places they possesse; of the walls and buildings, yea of the soyle and the beasts that feede thereon.

For, even that land, sometime called holy, hath in effect lost all her fertilitye, and fruitfulness; witnesseth the many hundreds of thousands which it fed in the daies of the Kings of *Judea* and *Israel*; it being at this time all over, in effect, exceeding stony and barrenne. Itallo pleased God, not onely to consume with fire from heaven, the Cities of the *Sodomites*; but the very soile it selfe hath felt, and doth feele the hand of God to this day. God would not spare the beasts that belonged to *Amalek*, no not any small number of them to be sacrificed to himselfe; neither was it enough that *Achan* himselfe was stoned; but that his moueables were also consumed and brought to ashes.

§. IIII.

Of the ruine and malicious reports of Heathen writers, touching the ancient Jewes.

IF the originall of the *Jewes*, prophane writers haue conceived diuersly and injuriously. *Quintilian* speaks infamously of them, and of their leader; who (saith he) gathered together a pernicious Nation. *Diodore* and *Strabo* make them *Aegyptians*. Others affirme that while *Isis* gouerned *Egypt*, the people were so increased, as *Ierusalem*, and *Judas* led thence a great multitude of that Nation, with whom they planted the neighbour Regions; which might be meant by *Moses* and *Aaron*: for the name of *Moses* was accidentall, because he was taken up and saved out of the waters. But *Iustine* of all other most malicious, doth deriue the *Jewes* from the *Syrian* Kings; to whom *Damascus*, saith he, was the first: and to him succeeded *Abraham*, *Moses*, and *Israel*. He againe supposeth (somewhat contrary to himselfe) that *Israel* had ten sonnes, among whom hee diuided the land of *Juda*; so called of *Judas* his eldest; who had the greatest portion. The youngest of the sonnes of *Israel* he calleth *Ioseph*: who being brought up in *Egypt*, became learned in magicall Arts, and in the interpretations of Dreames, and signes prodigious, and this *Ioseph* (saith he) was father to *Moses*: who with the rest, by reason of their foule discates, and lest they should infect others, were banished *Egypt*. Further, he telleth how these men thus banished, when in the *Desarts* they suffered extreme thirst and famine, and therein found reliefe the seauenth day, for this cause euer after observed the seauenth day, and kept it Holy; making it a Law among themselves, which afterward became a branch of their Religion. Hee addeth also that they might not marrie out of their owne Tribes, lest discomicing their vncleaneesse, they might also be expelled by other Nations, as they were by the *Aegyptians*. These and the like fables hath *Iustine*.

Corneilius Tacitus doth as grossly belie them, in affirming, that in the inmost Oratorie of their Temple, they had the golden head of an *Asse*, which they adored. But herein *Tacitus* forgotteth himselfe, hauing in the fifth booke of his owne Historie truly confessed of the *Jewes*, that they worshipped one only God: and thought it most prophane to repre-

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sent the *Deities* by any materiall figure, by the shape of a man, or any other creature: and they had therefore in their Temples, no Image or representation, no not so much as in any Citie by them inhabited. Somewhat like this hath *Alexander Polyhistor*, in *Stephanus*; who also makes *Indas* with *Idumea*, the first parents of the *Jewes*.

Cited by *Stephanus* in *Indas*.

Claudius Iolus draws them from *Iudeus*, whose parents were *Sparton* and *Thebis*; whence it came that the *Spartans* or *Lacedemonians* challenged kindred of the *Hebrewes*: but they did it as descended of *Abraham*, saith *Iosephus*. Some of these reports seeme to haue beene gathered out of diuine letters; though wrested and peruerred, according to the custome of the Heathen. For so haue they obscured and altered the Storie of the Creation; of *Paradise*, of the Flood; and given new names to the children of *Adam* in the first age: to *Noah* and his sonnes, in the second: and so to *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, *Moses*, and the rest of the Fathers, and leaders of the *Hebrewes*: all which failings, as touching the *Jewes* and their originalls, *Iosephus* against *Appion*, and *Tertullian* haue sufficiently answered. For that the *Hebrewes* were the children of *Arphaxad* and *Heber*, no man doubteth: and so *Chaldeans* originallie, taking name either of *Heber*, the sonne of *Sale*, or else (saith *Montanus*) of wandering, as is before remembered. And therefore doth *Stephanus*, the Greeke *Grammarians*, deriue the *Hebrewes* or *Jews*, from *Araxon*; hauing mistaken the name of *Abraham*, who was the sonne of *Heber*, in the sixth descent. Their ancient names were first changed by the two grand-children of *Abram*: for after *Jacob*, otherwise *Israel*, the chiefe part were called *Israel*, another part after *Esau* or *Edom*, *Edomites*; at length the remnant of *Jacob*, being mozt of the Tribe of *Juda*, honoured the name of *Indas*, the sonne of *Jacob*, and became *Iudeans* or *Jewes*: as also for a time in the name of *Ephraim* the sonne of *Ioseph*, the chiefe of the *Patriarches* of the tenne Tribes, the rest of the tenne Tribes were comprehended: but were first rooted out when the Kingdome of *Israel* fell. The *Iudeans* continued their names, though they suffered the same seruitude not long after, vnder *Nabuchodonosor*.

Tert. in Apol.

Caleb. f. 63.

The gouernement which this Nation vnder-went, was first paternall: which continued till they serued the *Aegyptians*. They were secondly ruled by their Captaines and Leaders, *Moses* and *Iosua*, by a policie Diuine. Thirdly, they subiected themselves to Iudges. Fourthly, they desired a King, and had *Saul* for the first: Of whom and his successours, before we intreat, we are first to speake of their Gouernment vnder Iudges, after the death of *Iosua*: with somewhat of the things of Fame in other Nations about these times.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the memorable things that happened in the World, from the death of *Iosua* to the Warre of Troy: which was about the time of Iephtha.

§. I.

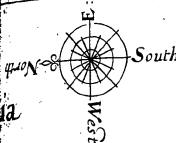
Of the inter-regnum after *Iosua's* death: and of Othoniel.



When *Iosua* was now dead, who with the aduice of the 70. Elders, and the high Priest, held authoritie ouer the people, and ordered that Common-weale: it pleased God to direct the Tribe of *Juda* (in whom the Kingdome was afterward established) to undertake the Warre against the *Canaanites*, ouer whom (with Gods fauour, and the assistance of *Simcon*) they became victorious.

In the first attempt which they made, they not only slew tenne thousand, but made *Adonibezek* prisoner: the greatest and cruellst Commander, both of the *Canaanites* and *Perizites*. This tyrants crueltie, as elsewhere hath beene signified, they returned in the same kinde vpon his owne head: and so by the torments which he now felt in his owne person (before no otherwise knowne vnto him but by his malicious

cious



Saccæa

The desert Arabia

Arabia the Stonie

Agubeni

Agræi

Sauē or *Saba* from whence the Sabaeans spoiled Job



cious imagination) made him confesse and acknowledge Gods iudgements against himselfe.

The Tribes of *Juda* and *Simoon* did also master and possesse during this *inter-regnum* (or as some thinke, before the death of *Iosua*) the Cities of *Azotus*, *Ascalon*, *Ebron* and *Hierusalem*, which they burnt, and the *Lebuzites* after recified. They tooke also the Cities of *Hieron*, *Debir*, or *Kiriathsepher*, and *Zephath*, afterwards *Horma*. And although it be not set downe in expresse words that any one person commanded in chiefe ouer the people, as *Moses* and *Iosua* did: yet it seemeth that *Caleb* was of greatest authority among them: and that he with the aduice of *phinees* directed and ordered their warres. For if you thinke that they proceeded without a Chiefe, the good successe which followed their vndertakings witnesseth the contrary. And it was *Caleb* euen while *Iosua* gouerned, as appeares, *Ios.* 10. 39. that propounded the attempt of *Debir*, to the rest of the *Canaanites*: for the performance of which enterprife, hee promised his Daughter *Achisaph*, which he performed to *Othoniel* his yonger brother after the conquest: whose behauiour in that seruice was such, as (next vnto the ordinance of God) it gaue him the greatest reputation among them, and may be esteemed the second cause of his preferment and election for their first Iudge soone after. But while those of *Juda* made warre with their borderers, from whom they onely recouered the mountainous Countries (for they could not driue out the inhabitants of the Valleys, because they had Chariots of *Iud.* 1. 19.) The rest of the Tribes fought also to enlarge and establish their owne Territories: in which warre they laboured with variable successe: for as the house of *Ioseph* recouered *Bethel*, or *Luz*, from the *Hittites*, so did the *Amorites* recouer from *Dan* all the plaine Countries, and forst them to saue themselves in the Mountaines. And now the *Israelites* vnmindfull of Gods benefits, and how often hee had miraculously a-fore-time defended them, and made them victorious ouer their enemies (the Elders being also consumed, who better aduised them in the *Inter-regnum*) did not onely ioyne themselves in marriage with the Heathen Nations: but (that which was more detestable) they serued the Idols of *Baal*, and *Aseroth*, with other the dead gods of the *Canaanites* and *Amorites*. And therefore did the Lord God whom they had prouoked with their Idolatrie, deliuer them into the hands of the *Aramites* of *Mesopotamia*: whom *Chusshan Rishathaim* at that time commanded. But after they had felt the smart of Gods displeasure against them eight yeeres, it pleased him to haue compassion on his people, and to raise vp *Othoniel* to be their Iudge and Leader: who by Gods assistance, deliuered his brethren from oppression: and enforced the *Aramites* to returne into their owne Deserts, and into *Mesopotamia* adioyning; after which the *Israelites* had peace fourtie yeeres, during all the time of *Othoniels* government. This *Othoniel* is thought by *Tostatus* to haue bene the yonger brother of *Caleb*, for as much as in the booke of *Judges* hee is twice called *Othoniel* the Sonne of *Cenaz*, *Calebs* yonger brother. Others doe rather interpret those words (*Calebs* yonger brother) as if they signified the meanest of his kinned. Indeed it is not likely, that *Calebs* Daughter should marrie with her owne Vnkle; yet it followes not therefore that *Othoniel* should haue bene the meanest of the kinned. Wherefore wee may better thinke that hee was the Nephew of *Caleb*, (as some learned men expound it) and as the very words of Scripture seeme to enforce. For *Caleb* was the sonne of *Iephunneth*, and *Othoniel* the sonne of *Cenaz*, *Calebs* yonger brother; that is, he was not brother to *Caleb*, but his yonger brothers sonne; to whom it was not onely lawfull, but commendable to marrie with his Cousin German *Calebs* daughter.

How long it was from the death of *Iosuah* to the government of *Othoniel*, it cannot be found: but it seemes to haue bene no short time. For many Warres were made in that space against the people of the Land. *Laisb* was then taken (as is thought) by the *Danites*; and the best Writers are of opinion, that betwene the times of *Iosua* and *Othoniel* that ciuill Warre brake out betwene the *Beniamites* and the rest of *Israel*, for the forcing to death of the *Leuites* Wife. For it is written, that in those dayes there was no King in *Israel*, but euery man did that which was good in his owne eyes. And as *Juda* ledde the people against the *Canaanites* during the *Inter-regnum*, so was hee commanded to doe against *Beniamin*, euen by the Lord God, whose direction they craued, as wanting a Iudge to appoint what should be done, which sheweth it to haue bene when *Iosua* was dead, & before the government of *Othoniel*, especially considering, that all other

other times wherein they wanted Gouvernors, were spent vnder such oppression of strangers, as would haue giuen them no leaue to haue attempted such a ciuill Warre, if their power had beene as great, as it was in the managing of this action, wherein they so weakened the body of their estate, by effusion of blood, that in many ages they could not bring into the field such numbers as formerly they had mulstered against their bordering enemies.

§. II.

Of the memorable things of this Age in other Nations : and of the difficultie in the computation of times.

Here liued in this Age of *Othomiel*, *Pandon* or *Pandareus*, according to *Homer*, the first King of *Athens* : who began to rule in the twentieth yeere of *Othomiel*, and gouerned fortie yeeres. Hee was Father to *Erichtheus* : his Daughters were *Progne* and *Philomela*, so greatly mentioned in fables.

Cadmus also about this time obtained *Thebes* : of whose Daughter *Semele* was borne *Dionysius*, or *Liber Pater* : vnder whom *Linus* the *Musician* liued. In his time also the Cities of *Melus*, *Paphus*, and *Tharsus*, were built.

Ida and *Dactylus* flourished in this age, who are said to haue found out the vse of iron :

but *Genesis* hath taught vs the contrary, and that *Tubalcain* long before wrought cunning, lie both in iron & brasse. Not long after this time, *Amphion* and *Zethus* gouerned *Thebes* : whom diuers *Chronologers* finde in *Ehuds* time. But *S. Augustine* making a repetition of those fables, which were deuised among the *Gracians* and other Nations, during the gouernment of the Iudges, begins with *Triptolemus*, of whose parentage there is as little agreement. *Viues* vpon the thirteenth Chapter of *S. Augustine* de *Ciuitate Dei*, and the eighteenth booke, hath gathered all the opinions of this mans progenie, where hee that desires his pedigree may finde it. *Lactantius* and *Eusebius* make him native of *Attica* : and the sonne of *Eleusus* King of *Eleusina* : which *Eleusus* by careful industrie had fed the people of that Territorie in the time of a great famine. This, when vpon the like occasion *Triptolemus* could not performe, fearing the furie of the people, he fled thence by Sea in a kinde of Galley or long Boat, which carried in her Prowe a grauen or carued Serpent : who because hee made exceeding great speed to returne and to relieue his people with Corne, from some neighbour Nation : it was fained by the Poets, that his Coach was carried by Serpents through the ayre.

Whether the times of these Kings which liued together with *Othomiel*, and after him with the rest of the Iudges and Kings of *Israel* and *Juda*, be precisely set downe, I cannot auow ; for the *Chronologers*, both of the former and latter times, differ in many particulars, to examine all which would require the whole time of a long life : and therefore I desire to be excused, if in these comparisons I erre with others of better iudgement. For whether *Eusebius* and all that follow him, or his opposites (who make themselves so conuerfant with these ancient Kings, and with the very yeere when they began to rule) haue hit the marke of time, of all other the farthest off and most defaced, I cannot but greatly doubt. First, because the Authors themselves, from whom the ancientest *Chronologers* haue borrowed light, had nothing for the warrant of their owne works, but conjecture. Secondly, because their owne disagreement and contention in those elder dayes, with that of our owne age among the labourers in times, is such, as no man among them hath yet so edified any mans vnderstanding, saue his owne, but that he is greatly distracted, after what patterne to erect his buildings.

This disagreement is found not onely in the reignes of Heathen Kings & Princes, but euen in the computation of those times which the indisputable authoritie of holy Scripture hath summed vp, as in that of *Abrahams* birth, and after in the times of the Iudges and the oppressions of *Israel*, in the times from the egression to the building of *Salomons* Temple, in the *Persian* Empire, the seuentie Weekes, and in what not. Wherefore the account of times may suffer examination, the arguments are opposit, & contentions are such, as for ought that I see, men haue sought by so many wayes to vncouer the Sunne, that the dayes thereby are made more darke, and the clouds more condensed than before : I can therefore giue no other warrant, than other men haue done in these computations : and therefore that such and such Kings and Kingdomes tooke beginning in this or

or that yeere, I auow it no otherwise than as a borrowed knowledge, or at least as a private opinion : which I submit to better iudgements. *Nam in priscis rebus veritas non ad coniecturam querenda ; In ancient things wee are not to require an exact narration of the truth, sayes Diadore.*

§. III.

Of *Ehuds* time, and of *Proserpina*, *Orithya*, *Tercus*, *Tantalus*, *Tiryus*, *Admetus*, and others that liued about those times.

After the death of *Othomiel*, when *Israel* fell backe to their former Idolatrie, God encouraged *Moab* to inuade and suppress them : to performe which he ioynd the forces of *Ammon*, and *Amalec* vnto his owne, and so (as all kinde of miserie readilie findeth out those whom God hath abandoned, or for a time with-drawne his helpe from, thereby to make them feeble the difference betwene his grace and his displeasure) these Heathen neighbouring Nations had an easie conquest ouer *Israel* : whom God himselfe exposed to those perils : within which they were so speedilie folded vp. In this miserable estate they continued full eigheteen yeeres vnder *Eglen* King of the *Moabites*, and his confederates. Yet, as the mercies of God are infinite, hee turned not his eares from their crying repentance : but raised vp *Ehud* the sonne of *Gerat* to deliuer them : by which weak man, though maimed in his right hand, yet confident in the iustnesse of his quarrell, and fearing that the *Israelites* were too few in numbers to contend with the Head of those valiant Nations, he resolved to attempt vpon the person of *Eglen*, whom if he could but extinguish, hee assured himselfe of the following victory : especially giuing his Nation no time to reestablish their gouernment, or to choise a King to command and direct them in the Warres. According to which resolution, *Ehud* went on as an Embassadour to *Eglen*, loaden with presents from the *Israelites*, as to appeale him, and obtaining private access vpon the pretence of some secret to be revealed, he pierst his body with a Poniard, made of purpose with a double edge : and thrusting the doores of his closet vpon him, escaped.

It may seeme that being confident of his good successe, hee had prepared the strength of *Israel* in readinesse. For suddenly after his returne, hee did repaile *Jordan*, and inuading the Territorie of *Moab*, ouerthrew their Armie consisting of 10000. able and strong men : whereof not any one escaped. After which victorie, and that *Sangar* his Successour had miraculously slaine 600. *Philistims* with an Oxe goade : the Land and People of *Israel* liued in peace vnto the end of fourecore yeeres from the death of *Othomiel*, which terme expired in the Worlds yeere 2691.

In the dayes of *Ehud*, *Naomi* with *Elimelech* her husband, and with her two sonnes, trauielled into *Moab*, and so the storie of *Ruth* is to bee referred to this time. About the beginning of the fourecore yeeres which are giuen to *Ehud*, it was that *Orcus* King of the *Molossians*, otherwise *Pluto*, stole *Proserpina*, as shee walked to gather flowers in the fields of *Hipponum* in *Sicilia* : or (according to *Pausanias*) by the Riuer *Cephissus*, which elsewhere hee calleth *Chemer*, it hee meant not two distinct Riuers. This stealth being made knowne to *Pyrrhus*, with whom *Hercules* and *Theseus* ioynd themselves, they agreed together to recouer her : but *Pluto* or *Orcus* (whom others call *Aidonius*) had (as they say) a very huge Dogge, which fastened on *Pyrrhus*, and tate him in pieces, and had also worried *Theseus*, but that *Hercules* speedily rescued him : and by strength tooke and mastered the Dogge *Cerberus* : whereof grew the fable of *Hercules* his deliuering *Theseus* out of Hells. But *Zexes*, as I take it, hath writtten his storie somewhat more according to the truth. For *Theseus* and *Pyrrhus*, saith hee, attempted to steale *Proserpina* Daughter to *Aidonius*, King of the *Molossians*, who had *Ceres* to Wife, the mother of *Proserpina* : *Proserpina* being a generall name also for all faire women. This purpose of theirs being knowne to *Aidonius*, *Theseus* and *Pyrrhus* were both taken : and because *Pyrrhus* was the principall in this conspiracie, and *Theseus* drawne on by a kinde of affection or inforcement, the one was giuen for foode to *Aidonius* his great Dogge *Cerberus*, the other held prisoner, till *Hercules* by the instigation of *Euristheus* deliuered him by strong hand. The *Molossians* which *Stephanus* writes with a single (S) were a people of *Epirus* inhabiting aecre the Mountaines of *Pindus* : of which Mountaines

Oeta is one of the most famous, where *Hercules* burnt himselfe. The Riuer of *Acheron* (which the Poets describe to bee in Hell) riseth out of the same Hills. There is another Nation of the *Melosi* in *Theffali*: but these are neighbours to the *Cassiopei*, saith *Plutarch* in his *Greek* questions.

The rape of *Orithya* the Daughter of *Erichon*, King of *Athen*, taken away by *Boreas* of *Thrace*, is referred to the time of *Ehud*. The Poets ascribe this rape to the Northwinde, because *Thrace* is situate North from *Athen*. In his time also *Tereus* rauished *Philomela*, of which the fable was deuiled of her conuersion into a Nightingale. For *Tereus* hauing married her sister *Progne*, conducting *Philomela* from *Athen* to see her sister, forced her in her passage, and withall cut out her tongue, that shee might not come to plaine; perfwading *Progne* his Wife, that *Philomela* died in the mid-way: all which her brother in law's mercilesse behauiour towards her, *Philomela* exprest by her needle vpon cloth, and sent it to *Progne*. In reuenge whercof *Progne* caused her onely sonne *Irys*, to bee cut in pieces, and set before *Tereus* her husband, so drest as it appeared to be some other ordinary foodde: of which when hee had eaten his fill, shee caused his head, hands, and feete, to bee presented vnto him: and then fled away with such speed towards *Athen* where her Father *Pandion* yet liued, as the Poets faigned, that there was turned into a Swallow. The place where it was performed, *Strabo* findes to be *Daulis* in *Phocis*: and the Tombe of *Tereus*, *Pausanias* hath built nere the Rockes *Mery*, in the Territorie of *Athen*. By which, as also by the name *Daulis*, where these things so are supposed to haue beene done (whence also *Philomela* is called *Daulias alei*) it appears that it is true, which *Thucydides* notes by way of digression in his *Peloponnesian* Warre, That this *Tereus* was not King in that which is now called *Thracia*, or in *Odryssa*, (as the Poets call him *Odryssius*) but that *Phocis* a Countie in Greece not farr from *Attica*, a Citie whercof is called *Daulia*, was in *Pandion*'s time inhabited by *Thracians*: of which this *Tereus* was King: whence *Pandion*, to haue amitie with his neighbours, made him his sonne in law: as it is good to beleue, saith *Thucydides*, that *Pandion* King of *Athen* made that alliance with a neighbour King, from whom he might haue succour, rather than with any *Tereus*, that should haue held the Kingdome of *Odryssa*, which was greatly distant from thence. The occasion that the Poets chose a Swallow for *Progne* to be turned into, may seeme to haue beene partly because, as *Pausanias* sayes, *Daulide nec nidificans, nec habitans in tota circum regione Hirundines*: As if a Swallow, remembering the wrong that was there done to her, and her sister, did for euer after haue that place.

Nere this time *Melampus* (who is said to haue vnderstood the voyces of Birds and Beasts) flourished, being also esteemed for an excellent Physician. Hee restored to their former health the Daughters of *Pratus* King of the *Argines*, who (as the Poets please) were made mad by *Tuno*: and thinking themselves to be Kine, fled into the Woods, fearing to bee constrained to the Plough: for in those Countries where the ground was light, they did vse often to plough with Kine.

In the seven and fortieth year of *Ehud*, *Tros* began to raigne in *Dardania*, and gaue it his owne name: about which time *Phemone* the chiefe Priest of *Apollo* in *Delpos*, deuiled the *Heroicall* Verse.

Of the same date was *Tantalus*, King of *Lydia*: whom *Eusebius* makes King of *Phrygia*: and also of that part of which the people were anciently *Meones*. Of *Tantalus* was deuiled the fable that some Poets haue applied to the passion of loue: and to some to the covetous that dare not inioy his riches. *Eusebius* calls this *Tantalus* the sonne of *Iupiter*, by the Nymph *Pleta*: *Dionysius* and *Didymus* in *Zeus*, gae him another Mother. He was said to be the son of *Iupiter*: as some will haue it; because he had that Planet in his ascendent, betokening wisdom and riches. It is said that when he made a feast to the Gods, hauing nothing more precious: he caused his owne Sonne to be slaine and drest to the banquet: of whom *Ceres* are part of one of the shoulders: whereby was signified that those men which seek after Diuine knowledge, preferre nothing on earth before it: no not the care of their owne children, of all else the most dearest. And where it was deuiled, that he had alwaies Water and Fruit offered to his lips, and yet suffered the torment of hunger and thirst, it was meant thereby, that though he abounded (by reason of his riches) in all delicacie of the world, yet his minde being otherwise and to higher desires transported, he enioyed no pleasure at all by the rest. Of whom *Ouid*:

Quis

Quærit aquas in aquis, & poma sugacia captat
Tantalus, hoc illi garrula lingua dedit.

Here *Tantalus* in water seeks for water, and doth misse
The fleeing fruit he catcheth at: His long tongue brought him this.

This punishment, they say, was inflicted vpon him, for that he discouered the secrets of the gods: that is, because he taught wisdom and vertue to mortall men: which *Silene Cornelius Gallus* hath elegantly exprest in Verse. Others expound this fable otherwise and say, That *Tantalus*, though hee excelled in riches, yet being thirstie of more abundance, was neuer satisfied. Of whom *Horace* against couetousnesse:

Tantalus à labijs sitiens fugientia captat
Flumina, quid rides? mutato nomine de te
Fabula narratur.

The thirsting *Tantalus* doth catch at streames that from him flee.
Why laughest thou? the name but chang'd, the tale is told of thee.

Others conceiue where it is faigned of *Tantalus*, that he gaue the *Nectar* and *Ambrosia* of the gods to vaine and vnworthy men, that he was therefore by them in that sort punished. Of which *Natalis* our of *Pindarus*:

Immortalitatem quod furatus,
Coctans conuiuiis
Nectar Ambrosiamque dedit.

Because that stealing immortalitye,
He did both *Nectar* and *Ambrosia* giue
To guests of his owne age, to make them liue.

Whereby it was meant, that the secrets of Diuinitie ought not to be imparted to the vnpure Vulgar. For as the cleaneest meates in a foule stomacke, are therein corrupted, so the most high and reuerend mysteries are often perueried by an vnclane and defiled minde.

Tertius is giuen (saith *Christ* in *Marke*) to know the mysterie of the Kingdome of God, but vnto them that are without, all things be done in parables. So is it said of him that hee expanded all things to his Disciples apart. And therefore doth *Gregorie Nazianzene* inferre vpon a place of *S. Paul*: *Quod si Paulo licuisset offiri ea, quorum ipsi cognitionem calum tritum & vsq. ad illud profectio suppeditauit, fortasse de Deo, nobis aliquid amplius de rebus ratione constaret; si Paul* might haue vntered the things, the knowledge whercof the third heauen, and his going thither did bring vnto him; per aduenture we might know somewhat more of God.

Pythagoras, saith *Reucelin*, thought it not the part of a wise man, *Asino* *lyram* expone-re, aut *myseria*, quæ ita reciperet, ut *Sus* *tubam*, & *fidem* *graculus*, & *unguenta* *Scarabeus*: quare *silentium* *indixit* *discipulis*, ne *vulgo* *diuinorum* *arcana* *patescerent*, quæ *meditando* *scilicet*, quàm loquendo *apprehenduntur*: To sit an *Asse* to a harpe, or to learne *myseries*: which he would handle as a Swine doth a trumpet, or a *Lye* a viall, or *Scarabies* and *vnclane* *flies* *puerigne* ointment. Wherefore he commanded silence to his disciples, that they should not discloſe diuine *myseries* to the common sort, which are easier learn'd by meditation than by babbling. And therefore did the *Egyptians* communicate their *myseries* among their Priests in certaine *Hieroglyphick* letters, to the end that their secrets might be hidden from the Vulgar: and that they might bestow the more time in the contemplation of so other couered meanings.

But to proceede with the contemporaries of *Aod*, or *Ehud*, with him it is also said, that *Titys* liued whom *Apollo* slew, because he fought to force his Mother *Latona*. *Euphorios* hath it thus, that *Titys* was the Sonne of *Elara*, the Daughter of *Orchomenus*, which *Elara* being beloued of *Iupiter*, to auoid *Tuno*'s reuenge, he hid *Elara* in the earth, where she was deliuered of *Titys*: whose Mother dying, and himselfe therein nourish'd, he was therefore called the sonne of the earth. *Pausanias* speaking of the graue of this *Gyant*, affirmes that his body occupied the third part of a furlong. But *Tibullus* hath a louder lie of his stature out of *Homer*:

L 1 4

Pro.

L. P.
Pau. in Att.

Thuc. L. 2.

Paus. L. 1.
Homer. Odysſſ.
11.

Paus.

Euseb. præp. E.
uand. 2. Zetes
hij. 20. Chri. 5.

Marie 4. 11.

Marie 4. 34.

Greg. in Orat.
diss. de Deo.
2 Cor. 12.

Hom. Od. 11.

*Porrectuque nouem Tityus per iugera terra,
Assiduus atro viscere passit aues.*

Nine furlongs stretch lies *Tityus*, who for his wicked deeds,
The hungry birds with his renewing liuer daily feeds.

This *Strabo* doth thus expound; that *Apollo* killing this cruell and wicked Tyrant of *Panopea*, a Citie in *Phocia*, it was fained by the Poets to the terrour of others, that he was still eaten in Hell by birds, and yet still liued, and had his flesh renewed.

Admetus King of *Thebes* liued also in this Age, whom it is said that *Apollo* first serued to as a Herd-man, and afterward for his excellent wit was by him advanced; but hauing slaine *Hyacinthus*, he crost the *Hellepont*, and fled into *Phrygia*; wheretogether with *Neptune*, he was entertained by *Laomedon*, and got his bread by working in bricke, for building of the wals of *Troy*, not by making the bricke leape into their places by playing on his Harpe: according to him in *Ouid*, which saith:

*Ilion apicis, firmataque turribus altis
Mœnia, Apollineæ fructa canore byra.*

Strong *Ilion* thou shalt see with wals and towers high,
Built with the harpe of wife *Apollo's* Harmonie.

Thus the Poets: but others, that he laboured with his hands, as hired in this worke. And that he also laboured at the building of the *Labyrinth* in *Greece*, all the *Megarians* witness, saith *Pausanias*.

Pausan. Att.

Triton a little
of *Africa*,
which *Phœne*
callest *Pellæ-*
tiar. *Didym*,
in *perreg* *Hist*.

In these daies also of *Ehud*, or (as some finde it) in the dayes of *Deborah*, liued *Perseus*, the sonne of *Iupiter* and *Danae*, by whose Souldiers (as they failed out of *Peloponnesus*, to seeke their aduenture on *Africa*) *Medusa*, the Daughter and Successor of *Phœnus*, being weakly accompanied as she hunted, neere the Lake *Triton*, was surprisid and slaine: whose beauty, when *Perseus* beheld, he caused her head to be imbalmed, and carried into *Greece*: the beauty whereof was such and so much admired, and the beholders so astonished, which beheld it, as thereof grew the fiction, that all that looked on *Medusa's* head, were turned into stones.

Euseb. in Chron.

Cecrops, the second of that name, and 7. King of *Athens*, and *Acrisius* the 13. or after *Eusebius*, the 14. King of the *Argives*, began also their reignes, as it is said, in the time of this Iudge: of which the first ruled 40. yeares, and the second 31. yeares. Also *Bellerophon* liued in this age, being the sonne of *Glaucus*, the sonne of *Sisiphus*: who incited by *Antea* or *Sthenobia*, the wife of *Prius* of the *Argives*, to accompanie her, but refusing it, she accused him to her husband that he offered to force her: whereupon *Prius* sent *Bellerophon* into *Lycia*, about some affaires of weight, betweene him and his sonne in law *Iobates*: giuing secret order to *Iobates* to dispatch him: but *Iobates* thinking it dishonourable to lay violent hands on him, employed him against *Chimera*, a Monster, yomiting or breathing fire. Now the gods (as the report is) pitying his innocencie, sent him the winged Horle *Pegasus*, sprung vp of the blood of *Medusa*, formerly slaine by the souldiers of *Perseus* in *Africa*, to transport him, a horse that none other could master or bide, but *Minerva*: vpon which beast *Bellerophon* ouer-came *Chimera*: and performed the other seruices giuen him in charge: which done, as hee returned toward *Lycia*, the *Lycians* lay in ambush to haue slaine him: but being victorious also ouer all those, he arrived to *Iobates* in safetie: whom *Iobates* for his eminent vertues honoured, first with one of his Daughters: and afterward with his Kingdome: after which hee grew so insolent, as hee attempted to flye vp to heauen vpon his *Pegasus*: whose pride *Iupiter* disdaining, caused one of his flaming fyes so to vex *Pegasus*, as he cast off *Bellerophon* from his backe, into the Valley of *Cilicia*, where he died blinde; of which burthen *Pegasus* being discharged (as the fable goeth) flew backe to heauen: and being fed in *Iupiter's* owne stable, *Aurora* beg'd him of *Iupiter* to ride on before the *Same*. This tale is diuersly expounded, as first by some, That it pleaseth God to relieue men in their innocencie and vnderferued aduersitie, and to cast downe those which are too high minded: according to that which is said of *Bellerophon*: that when he was exposed to extreame hazard, or rather certaine death, hee found both deliuerance and honour: but waxing over-

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proud and presumptuous in his glorious fortunes, hee was againe throwne downe into the extremitie of sorrow, and euer during miserie. Secondly by others, That vnder the name of *Chimera*, was meant a cruell Pyrate of the *Lycians*, whose ship had in her prow, a Lyon, a Goate in the mid-ship, and a Dragon in the stearne, of which three beafts this Monster *Chimera* was said to be compounded, whom *Bellerophon* purified with a kinde of Galley, of such swiftnesse, that it was called the flying Horle: to whom the inuention of sails (the wings of a ship) are also attributed. Many other expositions are made of this tale by other Authors: but it is not vnlkely, that *Chimera* was the name of a ship, for to *Virgil* calleth one of the greatest ships of *Æneas*.

Plutarch in *clero*
mulier.

L. J. Æneid.

10 *Iou* also, from whom the *Athenians* (being ignorant of the antiquitie of their parent *Iou*) deriue their name of *Iones*, is said to haue bene about *Ehuds* time: *Homer* calls them *Iones*, which hath a neere resemblance to the word *Iauan*. Perhaps it might be so that *Iou* himselfe tooke name from *Iauan*: it being a custome observable in the Histories of all times, to reuiue the ancient name of a fore-father, in some the principall of his issue.

Homer in *Iliad*,
and *Apoll.*
Iliad 1. 6. 12. de
generat. 1. 6. 12. de

The inuasion of *India* by *Liber Pater*, is by some reported as done in this age: but *S. Augustine* makes him farre more ancient: placing him betweene the coming out of *Egypt*, and the death of *Iofa*.

About the end of the 80. yeares, ascribed to *Ehud*, and *Samgar*, *Pelops*, flourished: who gaue name to *Peloponnesus* in *Greece*, now called *Morea*.

§. IIII.

Of *Deborah* and her Contemporaries.

10 *After Israel* had liued in peace and plenty to the end of these 80. yeares, they againe began to forget the giuer of all goodnesse, and many of those being wome out, which were witnesses of the former miserie, and of Gods deliuerance by *Ehud*; and after him by *Samgar*, the rest began to returne to their former neglect of Gods commandements. For as Plentie and Peace are the parents of idle security, so is security a fruitfull in begetting and bringing forth both danger and subuersion: of which all estates in the world haue tasted by interchange of times. Therefore when their finnes were againe ripe for punishment, *Iabin* King of *Hazor*, after the death of *Ehud*, invaded the Territorie of *Israel*, and hauing in his seruice 900. yron Chariots, besides the rest of his forces, he held them in subiection twentie yeares, till it pleased God to raise vp *Deborah*, the Prophetesse, who incouraged *Barac* to leue a force out of *Nephtalim*, and *Zabulon*, to encounter the *Canaanites*. That the men of *Nephtalim* were more forward than the rest in this action, it may seeme to haue proceeded partly from the authoritie that *Barac* had among them, being of the same Tribe; and partly from their feeling of the common grievance, which in them was more sensible, than in others, because *Hazor* and *Harasab* the chiefe holds of *Iabin*, were in *Nephtalim*. So in the dayes of *Iephtha* the *Gileadites* tooke the greatest care, because the *Ammonites* with whom the Warre was, pressed most vpon them, as being their borderers. Now as it pleased God by the left hand of *Ehud* to deliuer *Israel* from the *Moabites*: and by the counsaile and courage of a woman, to free them from the yoke of *Canaan*, and to kill the valiant *Sisera* by *Iael* the *Kenites* wife: so was it his will at other times, to worke the like great things by the weakest meane. For the mighty *Assyrian Nabuchodonosor*, who was a King of Kings, and resistlesse, hee overthrew by his owne imaginations, the causers of his brutish melancholy: and changed his marchlesse pride into the base humility of a Beast. And to approue that he is the Lord of all power, he sometime punisheth by inuisible strength, as when he slaughtered the Armie of *Senacherib* by his Angell, or as hee did the *Egyptians* in *Mosys* time: sometime by dead bodies, as when he drowned *Pharao* by the waues of the Sea: and the *Canaanites* by haile-stones in the time of *Iofa*: sometimes by the ministrie of men, as when hee overthrew the foure Kings of the East, *Chedorlosomer*, and his companions, by the household seruants of *Abraham*. He caused the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* to set vpon their owne confederate the Armie of the *Edomites*; and hauing slaine them to kill one another in the sight of *Iehoshaphat*: and of the like to these a volume of examples may be gathered. And to this effect did *Deborah* the Prophetesse speake vnto *Barac* in these words: But this iourney that thou takest, shall not be for thine honour, for Iud. 4. 9. the

the Lord shall sell Sisera into the hands of a Woman. In which victorie all the strength of the Canaanite Iabin fell to the ground, euent to the last man: in the end of which Warre it seemeth that Iabin himselfe also perished, as appeareth by the last Verse of the fourth of Judges.

After all which Deborah giueth thanks to God, and after the acknowledgement of all his powerfullnesse, and great mercies, she sheweth the weak estate wherinto Israel was brought for their Idolatry by the Canaanites, and other bordering Nations, in these words: *Was there a shield or spear scene among fortie thousand of Israel?* She also sheweth how the Israelites were feuered and amased, some of them confined ouer Jordan, and durst not ioyne themselves to the rest; as those of Reuben in Gilead: that the Ishobites kept the Sea-coast, and forooke their habitations towards the Land; and the children of Dan who neighboured the Sea, crept into their ships for safety, shewing thereby that all were disperfed, and all in effect lost. Shee then curseth the inhabitants of Menus, who dwelling neere the place of the battaile (belike fearing the successe) came not out to assist Israel, and then blesteth Iael the wife of Heber the Kenite, who nailed Sisera in her Tent: shewing the ancient affection of that race to the Israelites. For though the Familie of Heber were enforced in that miserable time of subiection, to hold correspondencie with Iabin the Canaanite, yet when occasion offered them means, they witnessed their loue and faith to their ancient friends. Lastly, shee deniceth the Mother of Sisera who promised her sonne the victorie in her owne hopes: and fancied to her selfe, and described the spoiles both of Garments and Maidens by him gotten. For conclusion, shee directeth her praise and thanks to God onely victorious.

From the beginning of Iabins oppression to the end of that peace, which Deborah and Barac purchased vnto Israel, there passed 40. yeares. In which time the Kingdome of Argos which had continued 544. yeares, was translated to Mycena: The translation of this Kingdome Viues out of Pausanias writeth to this effect: After Danaus, Lynceus succeeded in Argos, after whom the children of Abas the sonne of Lynceus diuided the Kingdome: of which Acrisius being eldest, held Argos in selfe: Praxus his brother posselt Ephyras or Corinth, and Tirynchos, and other Cities with all the Termitone towards the Sea, there being many monuments in Tirynchos, which witness Praxus possession, saith Pausanias.

Now Acrisius was foretold by an Oracle, that hee should be slaine by the sonne of his Daughter Danae: whereupon he caused her to be inclosed in a Tower, to the end that no man might accompanie her. But the Lady being exceeding faire, it is fained that Iupiter turned himselfe into a golden shower: which falling into her lap, begat her with childe: the meaning whereof was, that some Kings sonne, or other Worthy man, corrupted her keepers with gold: and enioyed her, of whom Perseus was borne; who when hee grew to mans estate, either by chance (saith Ctesias) or in shewing his grand-father the inuention of the discus, or leaden ball, slew him vnwillingly. After this Perseus, to auoide the infamie of Patricide in Argos, changed Kingdomes with his Vncle Praxus: and built Mycena. This imprisonment of Danae, Sapphodes reporteth otherwise: and that shee was inclosed in a brazen vault, vnder the Kings Hall with her Nurse and Keepers. Vpon this close custodie Horace hath this witty obseruation:

*Inclusam Danaen, turris aenea,
Robustaq; fores, & vigilum canum
Tristes excubia, munerant satis
Nocturnis ab adulteris:*

*Si non Acrisium Virginis abdita
Custodem pauidum, Iupiter & Venus
Rississent, fore enim intumescer & patens,
Conuerso in pretium Deo.*

*Anno per medios ire satellites,
Exterumpere amat saxa, potius
Ictum fulminco.*

The brazen Tower with dores close bard,
And watchfull bandogs frightfull guard,
Kept safe the maidenhead
Of Danae from secret loue:
Till smiling Venus, and wise Ioue
Beguild her Fathers dread.
For chang'd into a golden shower,
The god into her lap did powre
Himselfe; and tooke his pleasure.
Through gardes, and stonie wals to breake,
The thunder-bolt is farre more weaké,
Then is a golden treasure.

The first Kings of the Argiues were these.

Inachus the first King, who began to reigne in the first yeare of Iacob, and the 61. of Isaac: from which time to the end of Sthenelus, Castor misreckoneth 400. yeares. This Kingdome before the translation, Eusebius accounteth to haue stood 544. yeares, others but at 417. so was the Daughter of this Inachus: whom the Egyptians called Isis.

Phoroneus,
Apis,
Argus,
Piraeus,
Phorbas,
Triopas,
Crotopus,
Sthenelus,
Danaus,
Lynceus,
Abas,
Acrisius,
Pelops.

After the translation to Mycena, Mar. Scotus findes these Kings:

Perseus,
Sthenelus,
Eurystheus,

Atreus and Thyestes } The sonnes of Pelops by Hippodamia: Atreus by Europe had Agamemnon and Menelaus.

Agamemnon,
Egisthus,
Orestes,
Tisamenus,
Pentibilus and
Cometes.

Of these Kings Mercator and Bunting leaue out the two first, and the last: beginning with Eurystheus: and ending with Pentibilus. In Tisamenus time the Heraclide returned into Peloponnesus: of which hereafter.

The Contemporaries of Barac and Debora, were Midas who reigned in Phrygia: and Ilus who built Ilium: with others mentioned in our Chronological table, as contemporaries with Debora.

§. V.

Of Gideon, and of Dædalus, Sphinx, Minos, and others that lived in this Age.

Debora and Barac being dead: the Midianites assisted by the Amalekites infested Israel. For when vnder a Iudge who had held them in the feare of the Lord, they had enioyed any quiet or prosperity: the Iudge was no sooner dead, than they turned to their former impious idolatry. Therefore now the neighbouring Nations did

Ind. 5.

did so master them in a short time (the hand of God being with-held from their defence) as to saue themselves, they crept into caues of the mountains, and other the like places of hardest access: their enemies possessing all the plaines and fruitfull vallies: and in haruest time by themselves, and the multitude of their cattle, destroying all that grew vp: couering the fields as thicke as grasse-hoppers: which sterility lasted many years.

Ind. 6. 7. 9.

Ind. 5. 6. 8. 7.

Then the Lord by his Angell stirred vp *Gideon* the sonne of *Toab*, afterward called *Ierubbaal*: whose feare and unwillingnesse, and how it pleased God to hearken him in his enterprize, it is both largely and precisely set downe in the holy Scriptures: as also how it pleased God by a few select persons, namely 300. out of 32000. men, to make them know that he onely was the Lord of Hosts: Each of these 300. by *Gideon*'s appointment carried a trumpet, and light in a pitcher, instruments of more terror than force, with which he gaue the great Armie of their enemies an alarm: who hearing so loud a noyse, and seeing (at the cracke of so many pitchers broken) so many lights about them, esteeming the Armie of *Israel* to be infinite, and stricken with a sodaine feare, they all fled without a stroke stricken: and were slaughtered in great numbers: two of their Princes being made prisoners and slaine. In his returne the *Ephraimites* began to quarrell with *Gideon*, because he made warre without their assistance, being then greedy of glory, the victorie being gotten: who (if *Gideon* had failed and fallen in the enterprize) would no doubt haue held themselves happy by being neglected. But *Gideon* appeasing them with a milde answer, followed after the enemy, in which pursuit being tyred with traualle, and weary euen with the slaughtering of his enemies, he desired reliefe from the inhabitants of *Succoth*, to the end, that (his men being refreshed) he might ouer-take the other two Kings of the *Midianites*: which had faued themselves by flight. For they were foure Princes of the Nations, which had invaded and wasted *Israel*: to wit, *Oreb* and *Seeb*, which were taken already, and *Zebah* and *Salmunna* which fled.

Gideon being denied by them of *Succoth*, sought the like reliefe from the inhabitants of *Penuel*, who in like sort refused to succour him. To both of these places he threatened therefore the reuenge, which in his returne from the prosecution of the other two Princes, he performed: to wit, that he would teare the flesh of those of *Succoth* with *Thornes* and *Briers*, and destroy the Inhabitants and Citie of *Penuel*: Now why the people of these two Cities should refuse reliefe to their brethren the *Israelites*, especially after so great a victorie: if I may presume to make coniecture, it seemes likely, first that those Cities set ouer *Jordan*, & in the way of all invasions, to be made by the *Moabites*, *Ammonites* and *Midianites*, into *Israel*, had either made their own peace with those Nations, & were not spoiled by them: or else they knowing that *Zebah* and *Salmunna* were escaped with a great part of their army, might feare their reuenge in the future. Secondly, it may be laid to the condition and dispositions of these men: as it is not rare to finde of the like humour in all ages. For there are multitudes of men, especially of those which follow in the warre, that both enuie and maligne others, if they performe any praise-worthy actions, for the honour and safety of their owne Countrey, though themselves may be assured to beare a part of the smart of contrary successe. And such malicious heartscanner be contented that their Prince and Countrey should suffer hazzard and want, than that such men as they mislike, should be the authors or actors of any glory or good to either.

A place in *Esse*, as it is thought.
Ind. 8. 10.

Now *Gideon*, how or wherefoener it were that he refreshed himselfe and his weary and hungry Souldiers, yet he followed the opportunity, and pursued his former victory to the vtremost: and finding *Zebah* and *Salmunna* in *Karkor* (suspecting no farther attempt vpon them) he againe surpris'd them, and slaughtered those 15000. remaining: so hauing put to the sword in the former attempt 120000. and withall he rooke *Zebah* and *Salmunna* prisoners: whom because themselves had executed *Gideon*'s brethren before at *Tabor*, he caused them both to be slaine: or (as it is written) at their owne request slew them with his owne hands: his Sonne whom he first commanded to doe it, refusing it; and in his returne from the consummation of this merueilous victory, he rooke reuenge of the Elders of *Succoth*, and of the Citizens of *Penuel*: forgiuing no offence committed against him: either by strangers or by his brethren the *Israelites*. But such mercy as he shewed to others, his owne children found soone after his death, according to

to that which hath beene said before. The debts of cruelty and mercy are neuer left vn-satisfied: for as he slew the 70. Elders of *Succoth*, with great and vnusall torments, so were his owne 70. sonnes all, but one, murdered by his owne bastard *Aimelec*. The like *Analegie* is obserued by the *Rabbines*, in the greatest of the plagues which God brought vpon the *Egyptians*, who hauing caused the male children of the *Hebrewes* to be slaine, others of them to be cast into the riuer and drowned: God rewarded them euen with the like measure, destroying their own first borne by his Angell, and drowning *Pharaoh* and his armie in the red sea. And hereof a world of examples might be giuen, both out of the Scriptures and other Histories.

Intend so much did the people reuerence *Gideon* in the present for this victorie, and their owne deliuerance, as they offered him the Soueraignty ouer them, and to establish him in the Government; which he refused, answering; *I will not reigne ouer you, neither shall my childre reigne ouer you, but the Lord shall, &c.* But he desired the people that they would bestow on him the golden eare-rings, which euery man had gotten. For the *Israelites*, neighbours, and mixt with the *Midianites*, vied to wear them: the weight of all which was a thousand and seuen hundred Shekles of gold, which makes of ours 2380. l. if we follow the account of the Shekle vulgar. And because he conuerted that gold into an *Ephod*, a garment of gold, blew silke, purple, scarlet, and fine linnen, belonging to the High Priest onely, and set vp the same in his owne Citie of *Shiloh*, which drew *Israel* to Idolatry, the same was the destruction of *Gideon* and his house.

There was another kinde of *Ephod* besides this of the High Priests, which the *Leuites* vied, and so did *David* when he danced before the *Arke*: and *Samuel*, while he was yet yong, which was made of linnen onely.

Now if any man demand how it was possible for *Gideon* with 300. men to destroy 120000. of their enemies, and afterward 15000. which remained; we may remember that although *Gideon* with 300. gaue the first alarme, and put the *Midianites* in rout and disorder: yet all the rest of the armie came into the slaughter, and pursuit, for it is written; *That the men of Israel being gathered together out of Nephtalie, and out of Asher, and out of Manasse, pursued after the Midianites: for this armie Gideon left in tents behinde him, when he went downe to view the armie of his enemies, who with the noyse of his 300. trumpets came after him to the execution.*

There liued with *Gideon*, *Egeus*, the sonne of *Pandion*, who reigned in *Athens*: *Euristheus* King of *Mycene*: *Atreus* and *Thyestes* the sonnes of *Pelops*, who bare dominion ouer a great part of *Peloponnesus*, and after the death of *Euristheus*, the Kingdome of *Mycene* fell into the hand of *Atreus*. This is that *Atreus*, who holding his brother in ielousie, as an attempter, both of his wife and Crowne, slew the children of *Thyestes*, and causing their flesh to be drest, did therewith feast their father. But this cruelty was not vnreuenged. For both *Atreus* and his sonne *Agamemnon* were slaine by a base sonne of *Thyestes*, yea the grand-children, and all the lineage of *Atreus* died by the same sword.

In *Gideon*'s time also those things were supposed to haue beene done, which are written of *Dadalus* and *Icarus*. *Dadalus*, they say, hauing slaine his Nephew *Atalys*, fled to *Minos*, King of *Crete*, for succour; where for his excellent workmanship he was greatly esteemed, hauing made for *Minos* a *Labyrinth*, like vnto that of *Egypt*. Afterward he was said to haue framed an artificiall Cowe for *Pasiphae* the *Queene*, that she, being in loue with a faire Bull, might by putting herselfe into the Cowe, satisfie her lust, a thing no lesse vnusall than incredible, had not that shamelesse Emperour *Domitian* exhibited the like beastly spectacle, openly before the people of *Rome*, in his *Amphitheater*; so of purpose, as may seeme, to verifie the old fable. For so it appeares by those verses of *Mariall*, wherein the flattering Poet magnifieth the abominable shew, as a goodly Pageant, in those vicious times.

*Iunctani Pasiphaen Dicto credite Tauro
Vidimus, accepit fabula prisca fidem.
Nec semiratur Caesar, longæua vetustas
Quicquid fama canit, donat arena tibi.*

But concerning that which is reported of *Pasiphae*, *S. viii.* makes a lesse vn-honest

construction of it, thinking that *Dadalus* was of her counsaile, and her *Pandar* for the enricing of a *Secretarie of Minos* called *Taurus*, which signifieth a Bull, who begather with childe, and that the being deliuered of two sonnes, the one resembling *Taurus*, the other her husband *Minos*, it was fained that she was deliuered of the *Monster Minotaur*, halfe Man and halfe a Bull. But this practise being discouered, and *Dadalus* appointed to be slaine, he fled out of *Crete* to *Cocalus* King of *Sicily*: in which passage he made such expedition, as it was fained that he fashioned wings for himselfe and his sonne to transport them. For whereas *Minos* pursued him with boats which had oares onely, *Dadalus* framed sailes both for his owne boate, and for his sonnes, by which he outwent those that had him in chase. Vpon which new inuention, *Icarus* bearing himselfe ouerbold, was to ouerborne and drowned.

It is also written of *Dadalus*, that he made *Images* that could moue themselves, and goe, because he carued them with legs, armes and hands; whereas those that preceded him, could onely present the body and head of those men, whom they cared to counterfeit, and yet the workmanship was esteemed very rare. But *Plutarke*, who had seene some of those that were called the *Images of Dadalus*, found them exceeding rude.

With *Gideon* also flourished *Linus* the *Theban*, the sonne of *Apollo*, and *Terpsichore*, who instructed *Thamaris*, *Orpheus*, and *Hercules*. He wrote of the Creation, of the *Sunne* and *Moones* course, and of the generation of liuing Creatures, but in the end he was slaine by *Hercules* his scholler with his owne harpe.

Againe, in this age those things spoken of *Sphinx* and *Oedipus*, are thought to haue bene performed. This *Sphinx* being a great robber by sea and land, was by the *Cirinthians* Armie, led by *Oedipus*, overcome. But that which was written of her propounding of riddles, to those whom she mastered, was meant by the rockie and vnaccosable mountaine neere *Thebes*, which she defended; and by *Oedipus* dissoluing her probleme, his victorie ouer her. She was painted with wings, because exceeding swift, and with the body of a Lyon for her cruelty. But that which *Palephatus* reports of *Sphinx*, were more probable, did not the time disprove it, for he calls her an *Amazonite*, and the wife of *Cadmus*: who when by her helpe he had cast *Draco* out of *Thebes* (neglecting her) he married the sister of *Draco*, which *Sphinx* taking in despightfull part, with her owne troupe she held the mountaine by *Thebes*, from whence she continued a sharpe warre vpon the *Thebans*, till by *Oedipus* ouerthrowne. About this time did *Minos* thrust his brother out of *Crete*, and held sharpe warre with the *Megarians*, and *Athenians*, because his sonne *Androgeus* was slaine by them. He posselt himselfe of *Megara*, by the treason of *Scylla*, daughter of *Nisus* the King. He was long Master of the sea, and brought the *Athenians* to the tribute of deliuering him euery yeere seuen of their sonnes: which tribute *Theseus* releas'd, as shall be shewed, when I come to the time of the next Iudge *Thola*. In the end he was slaine at *Camerinus* or *Camicus* in *Sicilia*, by *Cocalus* the King, while he pursued *Dadalus*: and was esteemed by some to be the first law-giuer to those Ilands.

To this time are referred many deeds of *Hercules*, as the killing of *Anteus* the Gyant, who was said to haue 60. and odde cubites of length, which though *Plutarke* doth confirm, reporting that there was such a body found by *Sertorius* the Roman, in *Libya*, where *Hercules* slew *Anteus*: yet for my selfe I thinke it but a lowd lye. That *Anteus* was of great strength, and a cunning wrestler, *Eusebius* affirmeth: and because he cast so many men to the ground, he was fained to be the sonne of the Earth. *Plinie* saith, that he inhabited neere the gardens *Hesperides* in *Mauritania*. *S. Augustine* affirms that this *Hercules* was not of Greece, but of *Libya*: and the *Hydra* also which he ouercame, *Plato* expounding to be a suble Sophister.

§. V I. Of the expedition of the Argonautes.

About the eleuenth yeere of *Gideon*, was the famous expedition of the *Argonautes*: of which many fabulous discourses haue bene written, the summe of which is this.

Pelias the sonne of *Neptune*, brother by the mothers side to *Jason*, who was *Jason's* father, reigning in *Iolcus* a town of *Thessalie*, was warned by the Oracle of *Apollo* to take heed

of him that wore but one shoe. This *Pelias* afterward sacrificing to *Neptune*, inuited *Jason* to him, who coming hastily, lost one shoe in passing ouer a brooke: whereupon *Pelias* demanded of him what course he would take (supposing hee were able) against one of whom an Oracle should aduise him to take heede: to which question when *Jason* had briefly answered, that he would send him to *Colchos*, to fetch the golden fleece, *Pelias* immediately commanded him to vndertake that seruice. Therefore *Jason* prepared for the voyage, hauing a ship built by *Argus*, the sonne of *Phryxus*, by the counsell of *Pallas*: wherein he procured all the brauest men of Greece to saile with him: as *Tiphis* the Master of the ship, *Orpheus* the famous Poet, *Castor* and *Pollux* the sonnes of *Tyndarus*, *Telamon* and *Peleus*, sonnes of *Aacus*, and fathers of *Aiax* and *Achilles*, *Hercules*, *Theseus*, *Zetes* and *Calais* the two winged sonnes of *Boreas*, *Amphiarus* the great Soothsayer, *Meleager* of *Calidon* that slew the great wilde boare: *Ascalaphus* and *Talmenus* or *Almenus* the sonnes of *Mars*, who were afterwards at the last warre of *Troy*, *Laertes* the father of *Ulysses*, *Atalanta* a warlike virgin, *Idas* and *Lyncus* the sonnes of *Aphareus*, who afterwards in fight with *Castor* and *Pollux* slew *Castor*, and wounded *Pollux*, but were slaine themselves: *Lyncus* by *Pollux*, *Idas* by *Iupiter* with lightning.

These and many other went with *Jason* in the ship *Argo*: in whose prow was a table of the beech of *Dodona*, which could speake. They arriued first at *Lenmus*; the women of which Iland, hauing slaine all the males, purposing to leade an *Amazonian* life, were neuertheless contented to take their pleasure of the *Argonauts*. Hence they came to the Country about *Cyzicus*: where dwelt a people called *Doliones*: ouer whom then reigned one *Cyzicus*: who entertained them friendly: but it so fell out, that loosing thence by night they were driuen by contrary windes backe into his port, neither knowing that it was the same Hauen, nor being knowne by the *Doliones*, to be the same men: but rather taken for some of their bordering enemies: by which means they fell to blowes, inasmuch that the *Argonautes* slew the most part of the *Doliones* together with their King *Cyzicus*: which when by day-light they perceiued, with many teares they tollemized his funerall. Then departed they againe and arriued shortly in *Mysia*, where they left *Hercules* and *Polyphemus* the sonne of *Elates*, who went to seek *Hylas* the darling of *Hercules*, that was rauished by the *Nymphes*.

Polyphemus built a towne in *Mysia*, called *Cius*, wherein he reigned. *Hercules* returned to *Argos*. From *Mysia* the *Argonautes* sailed into *Bythinia*, which then was peopled by the *Bebyrces*, the ancient inhabitants of the Countrey, ouer whom *Amycus* the sonne of *Neptune* was then King. He being a strong man, compelled all strangers to fight with him, at wholebats, in which kinde of fight he had slaine many, and was now himselfe slaine by *Pollux*. The *Bebyrces* in reuenge of his death slew all vpon *Pollux*, but his companions rescued him, with great slaughter of the people. They sailed from hence to *Salmis*, a towne in *Thrace* (somewhat out of their way) wherein *Phineus* a Soothsayer dwelt, who was blinde and vexed with the *Hurpyes*. The *Hurpyes* were said to be a kinde of birds, which had the faces of women and foule long clawes, very filthy creatures, which when the table was furnished for *Phineus*, came flying in, and deuouring or carrying away the greater part of the victuals, did so defile the rest, that they could not be endured. When therefore the *Argonautes* craued his aduise, and direction for their voyage: you shall doe well (quoth he) first of all to deliuer me from the *Hurpyes*, and then afterwards to aske my counsaile. Whereupon they caused the table to be cottered, and meat set on, which was no sooner set downe, then that presently in came the *Hurpyes*, and played their accustomed pranks: when *Zetes* and *Calais* the winged yong men saw this, they drew their swords, & pursued them through the ayre; some say that both the *Hurpyes* and the yong men died of wearinesse in the fight, & pursuit. But *Apollonius* saith that the *Hurpyes* did couenant with the youths, to doe no more harme to *Phineus*, and were thereupon dismissed. For this good turn *Phineus* gave them informations of the way, and aduertised them withall of the dangerous rocks, called *Symplegades*, which by force of winds running together, did shut vp the passage: wherefore he willed them to put a pigeon before them in the passage: & if that passed safe, then to aduenture after her: if not, then by no means to hazard themselves in vain. They did so; & perceiving that the pigeon had onely lost a piece of her tale, they obserued the next opening of the rocks, and then rowing with all their might, passed through safe, onely the end of the poepe was bruised.

From thence forward, (as the tale goeth) the *Symplegades* haue stood still: for the gods, say they, had decreed that after the passage of a ship, they should be fixed. Thence the *Argonautes* came to the *Mariandyni*, a people inhabiting about the mouth of the riuer *Parthenius*, where *Lycus* the King entertained them courteously. Here *Idmon* a Sooth-sayer of their company was slain by a wilde boare; also here *Typhis* died: and *Ancus* vndertook to steare the ship. So they passed by the riuer *Thermodon*, and mount *Caucasus*, and came to the riuer *Phasis*, which runs through the land of *Colchos*. When they were entred the haue, *Iason* went to *Aetes* the King of *Colchos*, and told him the Commandement of *Pelias*, and cause of his comming, desiring him to deliuer the golden Fleece, which *Aetes*, as the Fable goeth, promised to doe, if hee alone would yooke together two brazen hooft buls, and plowing the ground with them, sowe dragons teeth, which *Minerva* had giuen to him, being part of those which *Cadmus* did sowe at *Thebes*. These buls were great and fierce, and breathed out fire: *Vulcan* had giuen them to *Aetes*.

Whilest *Iason* was in a great perplexity about this taske, *Medea* the daughter of *Aetes*, fell into a most vehement loue of him, so farre forth, that being excellent in *Magique*, she came priuile to him, promising her helpe, if he would assure her of his marriage. To this *Iason* agreed, and confirmed his promise by oath. Then gaue she to him a medicine wherewith the bad him to annoint both his body and his armour, which would preserue him from their violence: further she told him, that armed men would rise out of the ground, from the teeth which he should sowe, and set vpon him. To remedy which inconuenience, she bad him throw stones amongst them as soone as they came vp thicke, wherupon they would fall together to blowes, in such wise that hee might easily slay them. *Iason* followed her counsaile; whereto when the euent had answered, he againe demanded the Fleece. But *Aetes* was so farre from approuing such his desire, that he deuided how to destroy the *Argonautes*, and burne their ship; which *Medea* perceiving, went to *Iason*, and brought him by night to the Fleece, which hung on an Oak in the groue of *Mars*, where they say it was kept by a Dragon, that neuer slept. This Dragon was by the *Magique* of *Medea* cast into a sleepe: so taking away the golden Fleece, she went with *Iason* into the ship *Argo*; hauing with her, her brother *Abysrus*.

Aetes vnderstanding the practises of *Medea*, provided to pursue the ship, whom when *Medea* perceiued to be at hand, she slew her brother, and cutting him in pieces, she scattered his limbs in diuers places, of which *Aetes* finding some, was faine to seeke out the rest, and suffer his daughter to passe: the parts of his son he buried in a place, which thereupon he called *Tomi*; the Greeke word signifieth *Diuision*. Afterwards he sent many of his subiects to seeke the ship *Argo*, threatening that if they brought not backe *Medea*, they should suffer in her stead. In the meane while the *Argonautes* were driuen about the Seas, and were come to the Riuer *Eridanus*, which is *Po* in *Italic*.

Iupiter, offended with the slaughter of *Abysrus*, vexed them with a great tempest, and carried them they knew not whither; when they came to the Ilands *Abysrides*, there the ship *Argo* (that there might want no incredible thing in this Fable) spake to them, and said, that the anger of *Iupiter* should not cease, till they came to *Abysonia*, and were clesed by *Circe*, from the murder of *Abysrus*. Now they thereupon sayling betwene the coasts of *Lybia* and *Gallia*, and passing through the sea of *Sardinia* and along the coast of *Hetruria*, came to the Ile of *Aea*, wherein *Circe* dwells, who clesed them. Thence they sayled by the coast of the *Syrens*, who sang to allure them into danger: but *Orpheus* on the other side sang so well that he stayed them. Once *Butes* swamme out vnto them, whom *Venus* rauished, and carried to *Zylisum* in *Sicilie* to dwell.

Hauing past the *Syrens*, they came betwene *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, and the stragling rocks which seemed to cast out great store of flames and smoake. But *Theseus* and the *Nereides*, conuayed them safe through at the appointment of *Iuno*. So they coasted *Sicilie*, where the beues of the Sunne were, and touched at *Corcyra*, the Iland of the *Phaeac*, where King *Alcinous* reigned. Meane while, the men of *Colchos*, that had bene sent by *Aetes* in quest of the ship of *Argo*, hearing no newes of it, and fearing his anger, if they fulfilled not his will, betooke themselves to new habitations: some of them dwelt in the mountains of *Coreyra*, others in the Ilands *Abysrides*, and some comming

to the *Phaeaces*, there found the ship *Argo*, and demanded *Medea* of *Alcinous*: whereto *Alcinous* made answere, that if she were not *Iasons* wife, they should haue her; but if she were already married, he would not take her from her husband. *Arete*, the wife of *Alcinous*, hearing this, married them: wherfore they of *Colchos* not daring to returne home, stayed with the *Phaeaces*; so the *Argonautes* departed thence, and after a while came to *Crete*. In this Iland, *Minos* reigned, who had a man of brasie giuen to him (as some of the Fables say) by *Vulcan*. This man had one veine in his body reaching from the necke to the heele, the end whereof was clofed vp with a brazen naile, his name was *Talus*: his custome wasto runne thrice a day about the Iland for the defence of it. When he saw the ship *Argo* passe by, he threw stones at it, but *Medea* with her *Magique* destroyed him. Some say that she slew him by potions, which made him mad; others, that promising to make him immortall; she drew out the naile that stoped his veine, by which meanes all his blood ranne out, and he died; others there are that say he was slaine by *Palaen*, who wounded him with an arrow in the heele. From hence the *Argonautes* sailed to *Sigina*, where they were faine to fight for fresh water. And lastly, from *Sigina* they sailed by *Euboea* and *Locris* home to *Iolcos*, where they arriued, hauing spent foure whole moneths in the expedition.

Some there are that by this journey of *Iason* vnderstand the myserie of the Philosophers story, called the golden Fleece, to which also, other super-fine *Chymists* draw the twelue labours of *Hercules*. *Suidas* thinks that by the golden Fleece was meant a golden booke of Parchment, which is of sheepe-skin, and therefore called golden, because it was taught therein how other metals might be transmured. Others would signifie by *Iason*, wildome, and moderation, which ouer-commeth all perils: but that which is most probable is the opinion of *Dercilus*, that the story of such a passage was true, and that *Iason* with the rest went indeede to rob *Colchos*, to which they might arriue by boate. For not farre from *Caucasus* there are certaine steepe falling torrents which wash downe many graines of gold, as in many other parts of the world, and the people there inhabiting vie to set many fleeces of wooll in those descents of waters, in which the graines of gold remaine, and the water passeth through, which *Strabo* witnesseth to be true. The many rocks, straits, sands, and Currents, in the passage betwene *Greece* and the bottom of *Pontus*, are Poetically conuerted into those fiery buls, the armed men rising out of the ground, the Dragon cast asleepe, and the like. The man of brasie, the *Syrens*, *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, were other hazards and adventures which they fell into in the *Mediterran* sea, disguised, as the rest, by *Orpheus*, vnder poeticall morals: all which *Hom*er afterward vied (the man of brasie excepted) in the description of *Vheser* his trauailes, on the same Inland-seas.

§. VII.

Of *Abimelech*, *Tholan*, and *Iair*, and of the *Lapythae*, and of *Theseus*, *Hyppolytus*, &c.

After the death of *Gideon*, *Abimelech* his base sonne begotten on a Concubine of the *Sechemites*, remembering what offers had bene made to his father by the people, who desired to make him and his heir perpetuall Princes, and as it seemeth, supposing (notwithstanding his fathers religious modesty) that some of his brethren might take on them the Soueraignie, practised with the inhabitants of *Sechem* (of which his mother was native) to make election of himselfe; who being easily moued with the glory, to haue a King of their owne, readily condescended: and the better to enable *Abimelech*, they borrowed 70. pieces of siluer of their idoll *Baalberith*, with which treasure he hyred a company of loofe and desperate vagabounds, to assist his first detestable enterprise, to wit, the slaughter of his 70. brethren, the sonnes of *Gideon*, begotten on his wiues, of which he had many; of all which none escaped but *Iotham* the youngest, who hid himselfe from his present furie: all which he executed on one stone, a cruelty exceeding all that hath bene written of in any age. Such is humane ambition: a monster that neither feareth God (though all-powerfull, and whose reuenges are without date and for eueralasting) neither hath it respect to nature, which labourerth the preferment of euery being: but it rageth also against her, though garnished with beautie which neuer dieth; and with loue that hath no end. All other

passions and affections, by which the soules of men are tormented, are by their contraries oftentimes resisted or qualified. But ambition, which begetteth euery vice, and is it selfe the childe and darling of *Satan*, looketh onely towards the ends by it selfe set downe, forgetting nothing (how fearefull and inhumane so euer) which may serue it: remembering nothing, whatsoeuer iustice, pietie, right or religion can offer and alleadge on the contrary. It ascribeth the lamentable effects of like attempts, to the error or weaknesse of the vnderakers, and rather praiseth the aduenture than feareth the like successe. It was the first sinne that the world had, and began in *Angels*: for which they were cast into hell, without hope of redemption. It was more ancient then man, and therefore no part of his naturall corruption. The punishment also preceded to his creation, yet hath the Diuell which felt the smart thereof, taught him to forget the one as out of date, and to practise the other, as besittng euery age, and mans condition.

Iotham, the yongest of *Gideons* sonnes, hauing escaped the present perill, fought by his best perswasions to alienate the *Sechemites*, from the assisting of this mercilesse tyrant, letting them know, that those which were vertuous, and whom reason and religion had taught the safe and happy estate of moderate subiection, had refused to receiue as vnlawfull, what others had no power to giue, without direction from the King of Kings: who from the beginning (as to his owne peculiar people) had appointed them by whom and how to be gouerned. This hee taught them by the Oliue, which contented it selfe with its farnesse, the Figgetree with sweetnesse, and the Vine with the good iuyce it had: the Bramble onely, who was most base, cut downe all the rest, and accepted the Soueraignie. He also foretold them by a Prophetical spirit, what should befall them in the end, and how a fire should come out of the Bramble, and consume the Cedars of *Libanon*.

Now (as it is an easie matter to call those men backe whom rage without righted on) *Gaal* the sonne of *Ebed* withdrew the Citizens of *Sechem*, from the seruice of *Abimelech*: who therefore after some assaults entered the place, and mastered it; and in conclusion fired the towne, wherein their Idoll *Baalberith* was worshipped, and put all the people of all sorts to the slaughter. Lastly, in the assault of the Castle or Tower of *Teber*, himselfe was wounded in the head with a stone throwne ouer the wall by a woman, and finding himselfe mortally brused, he commanded his owne page to pierce his body, thereby to auoid the dishonour of being slaine by so feeble a hand.

While *Abimelech* vsurped the Government, the *Lapithæ* and *Centaures* made war against the *Thebanes*. These Nations were descended of *Apollo*, and were the first in those parts that deuided to mannage horses, to bridle and to fit them: in somuch as when they first came downe from the mountaines of *Pindus*, into the plaines, those which had neuer seene horsemen before, thought them creatures compounded of men and horses; so did the *Mexicans* when *Ferdinando Cortes* the Spaniard first inuaded that Empire.

After the death of *Abimelech*, *Thola* of *Issachar* gouerned *Israel* 23. yeeres, and after him *Lair* the *Gileadite* 22. yeeres, who seemes to be descended of *Lair* the sonne of *Munasse*, who in *Moses* time conquered a great part of *Gilead*, and called the same after his owne name, *Hanoth Lair*. For to this *Lair* there remained thirtie of those Cities, which his ancestor had recovered from the *Amorites*. Of these Iudges, because there is nothing else written, it is an argument that during all their times, *Israel* liued without disturbance and in peace.

When *Lair* iudged *Israel*, *Priamus* began to reigne in *Troy*, who at such time as *Hercules* sacked *Ilium*, was carried away captiue with his sister *Hesione* into *Greece*, and being afterward redeemed for ransom, he rebuilt and greatly strengthened, and adorned *Troy*; and so farre enlarged his Dominions, as he became the supreme Lord in effect of all *Asia* the lesse. He married *Hecuba* the daughter of *Cissus* King of *Thrace*, and had in all (saith *Cicero*) fiftie sonnes, whereof seauenteene by *Hecuba*, of whom *Paris* was one; who attempting to recouer his aunt *Hesione*, tooke *Helen* the wife of *Menelaus*, the cause of the warre which followed.

Theseus the tenth King of *Athens* began likewise to reigne in the beginning of *Lair*: some writers call him the sonne of *Neptune* and *Ethra*: but *Plutark* in the storie of his life finds him begotten by *Ageus*, of whom the *Græcian* sea betwene it and *Asia* the lesse tooke name. For when *Minos* had mastered the *Athenians*, so far as he forst them to pay him

him seuen of their sonnes euery yeere for tribute, whom he inclosed within a *Labyrinth*, to be deuoured by the monster *Minotaur*: because belike the sonnes of *Taurus*, which he began on *Pasiphæ* the Queene, had the charge of them: among these seuen *Theseus* thrust himselfe, not doubting by his valour to deliuer the rest, and to free his Countrie of that flauerie occasioned for the death of *Androgeus*, *Minos* his sonne.

And hauing posselt himselfe of *Ariadnes* affection, who was *Minos* daughter, he receiued from her a bortome of thred, by which he conducted himselfe through all the crooked and inextricable turnings of the *Labyrinth*, made in all like that of the Citie of *Crocodiles* in *Egypt*; by meane whereof hauing slaine *Minotaur*, he found a ready way to returne. But whereas his father *Ageus* had giuen order, that if hee came backe with victorie and in safetie, he should vie a white saile in signe thereof, and not that mournfull blacke saile, vnder which they left the port of *Athens*: This instruction being either forgotten or neglected, *Ageus* descrying the Shippe of *Theseus* with a blacke saile; did cast himselfe ouer the rockes downe into the Sea, afterward called of his name *Ægeum*.

One of the first famous acts of *Theseus*, was the killing of *Sciron*, who kept a passage betwene *Mezara* and the *Peloponnejian* *Sitimos*, and threw all whom hee mastered into the Sea, from the high rockes. Afterward he did the like to *Cercyon*, by wrestling, who vied by that Art to kill others. Hee also ridde the Country of *Procrustes*, who vied to bend downe the strong limbes of two trees, and fastened by cordes such as hee tooke, part of them to one and part to the other bough, and by the springing vp tare them asunder. So did hee root out *Periphetes* and other mischieuous theues and murderers. Hee overthrow the armie of the *Amazons*, who after many victories and vassations, entered the Territorie of *Athens*. *Theseus* hauing taken their Queene *Hippolita* prisoner, began on her *Hippolytus*; with whom afterward his mother in law *Phædra*, falling in loue, and hee refusing to abuse his fathers bed, *Phædra* perswaded *Theseus* that his sonne offered to force her: after which it is fained, that *Theseus* besought *Neptune* to reuenge this wrong of his sonnes, by some violent death. *Neptune* taking a time of aduantage, sent out his Sea-Calues, as *Hippolytus* passed by the sea shore, and so affrighted his horses, as casting the Coach ouer, hee was (by being intangled therein) torne in pieces. Which miserable and vnderdetermined destinie, when *Phædra* had heard of, she strangled her selfe. After which it is fained, that *Diana* entreated *Asculapius* to set *Hippolytus* his pieces together, and to restore him to life: which done, because he was chaste, she led him with her into *Italie*, to accompanie her in her hunting, and field sports.

It is probable that *Hippolytus*, when his Father sought his life, thinking to escape by Sea, was affronted therat, and did receiue many wounds in forcing his passage and escape; which wounds *Asculapius*, to wit, some skilfull Physician, or Chirurgion healed againe; after which he passed into *Italy*, where he liued with *Diana*, that is, the life of a hunter, in which hee most delighted. But of those ancient prophane Stories, *Plutarch* saith well, that as *Cosmographers* in their descriptions of the world, where they finde many vaste places whereof they know nothing, fill the same with strange beasts, birds, and fishes, and with *Mathematicall* lines; so doe the *Græcian* Historians and Poets imbroder and intermixe the tales of ancient times, with a world of fictions and fabulous discourses. True it is, that *Theseus* did many great things in imitation of *Hercules*, whom hee made his patterne, and was the first that gathered the *Athenians*, from being disperfed in thinnne and ragged villages: in recompence whereof, and for deuising them lawes to liue vnder, and in order, hee was by the begerly, mutable, and vngratefull multitude, in the end banished. Some say per *Ostracismum*, by the Law of Lottes, or names written on shelles, which was a deuice so of his owne.

Hee stole *Helen* (as they say) when she was fiftie yeers old, from *Aphidia*, which Citie *Castor* and *Pollux* ouerturned, when they followed after *Theseus* to recouer their sister. *Eratistratus* and *Paulanias* write that *Theseus* begot her with childe at *Argos*, where the erected Temple to *Lucina*: but her age makes that tale vnlikely to bee true, and so doth *Ouid*, Non tamen ex factu fructum tulit ille petitum, &c. The rape *Eusebius* findes in the first of *Lair*, who gouerned *Israel* 22. yeeres, to whom succceeded *Iephth* or *Iephte* fixe yeeres, to whom *Isaiah* who ruled seuen yeeres, and then *Habdon* eight yeeres: in whose time was the fall of *Troy*. So as, if *Theseus* had a childe by her in the first of *Lair*, (at which

Palæphatus, l. 1. de incredul.

Deut. 3. 14. *Nom.* 12. 41.

Ysa. 50. 8. 9. 11.

En Tuf.

Strab. lib. 9. *Paul.* in Con. *In Egypt.* *Isid.* *Iud.* 10. 3.

Swor. Chron.
Euph. Chron.
Hid. l. 1.

Aug. de Civ.
Dei. l. 18. c. 19.

which time wee must count her no lesse than fifteene yceres old, for the women did not commonly begin so young as they doe now) she was then at least two and fifty yceres old at the destruction of *Troy*: and when shee was stollen by *Paris* eight and thirtie: but herein the *Chronologers* doe not agree. Yet *Eusebius* and *Bunting* with *Halicarnassus* doe in effect consent, that the Citie was entred, and burnt in the first yere of *Demophon* King of *Athens*, the successor of *Mnestheus*, the successor of *Theseus*, seuentene dayes before the *Summer Tropique*; and that about the eleuenth of *September* following, the *Troians* cruiged the *Hellepont* into *Tirace*, and wintered there, and in the next spring that they navigated into *Sicilia*, where wintering the second yere, the next summer they arrived at *Laurentum*, and builded *Lavinium*. But *Saint Augustine* hath otherwise, that when *10* *Polyphides* gouerned *Sicyon*, *Mnestheus* *Athens*, *Tautanes* *Assyria*, *Haddon* *Israel*, then *Aeneas* arrived in *Italie*, transporting with him in twentie shippes the remainder of the *Troians*: but the difference is not great: and heereof more at large in the storie of *Troy* at hand.

In *Sicyonia Phaeus* the two and twentieth King, reigned eight yceres, beginning by the common account in the time of *Thola*. His successors, *Adrastrus*, who reigned foure yceres, and *Polyphides* who reigned thirteene, are accounted to the time of *Iai*, so is also *Mnestheus* King of *Athens*, and *Atræus*, who held a great part of *Peloponnesus*. In *Assyria*, during the gouernment of these two peaceable Iudges, *Mitrus* and after him *Tautanes* reigned. In *Egypt* *Amenophis*, the sonne of *Ramses*, and afterwards *20* *Annemenes*.

§. VII.

Of the warre of *Thebes* which was in this age.

IN this age was the warre of *Thebes*, the most ancient that euer *Greek* Poet or Historian wrote of: Wherefore the *Roman* Poet *Lucretius*, affirming (as the *Epicures* in this point held truelie against the *Peripateticks*) that the world had a beginning, vrgeth them with this obiectiō.

*Sic nulla fuit gemalis origo
Rerum, & mundi, semperque aeterna fuere,
Cur supra bellum Thebanum, & funera Troia,
Non alias alij quoque rescemere potes?*

If all this world had no original,
But things haue euer bene as now they are:
Before the siege of *Thebes* or *Troyes* last fall,
Why did no Poet sing some elder warre?

It is true that in these times *Greece* was very saluage, the inhabitants being often chased up from place to place, by the captaines of greater Tribes: and no man thinking the ground whereon hee dwelt his owne longer than hee could hold it by strong hand. Wherefore merchandize and other intercoure they vsed little, neither did they plant many trees, or sow more come than was necessary for their sustentance. Money they had little or none, for it is thought that the name of money was not heard in *Greece*, when *Homer* did write, who measures the valew of gold and brasse by the worth in cattell; saying that the golden armor of *Glaucus* was worth an hundred Beeces, and the copper armour of *Dimites* worth nine.

Robberies by land and sea were common and without shame, and to steale horses or kine was the vniuersall exercise of their great men. Their townes were not many, whereof those that were walled were very few, and not great. For *Mycena* the principall Citie in *Peloponnesus* was a very little thing, and it may well be thought that the rest were proportionable: briefly, *Greece* was then in her infancy, and though in some small townes of that halfe Ile of *Peloponnesus*, the inhabitants might haue enioyed quietness within their narrow bounds; as likewise did the *Athenians* because their Country was so barren, that none did care to take it from them: yet that the land in generall was very rude, it will easly appeare to such as consider, what *Thucydides* the greatest of their Historians hath writen to this effect, in the praeface to his Historie. Wherefore, as in these latter times

times, idle *Chroniclers* vie when they want good matter, to fill whole books with reports of great frosts, or dry summers, and other such things which no man cares to read: so did they who spake of *Greece* in her beginnings, remember only the great floods which were in the times of *Ogyges*, and *Deucalion*: or else rehearse fables of men changed into birds, of strange monsters, of adulterie committed by their gods, and the mighty men which they begat, without writing ought that fauoured of humanitie before the time of the warre of *Thebes*: the brieue whereof is this.

Oedipus the sonne of *Laius* King of *Thebes*, hauing bene cast forth when he was an infant, because an Oracle foretold what euill should come to passe by him, did afterwards in a narrow passage contending for the way, slay his owne father, not knowing either then or long after, who he was. Afterward hee became King of *Thebes*, by marriage of the Queene *Iocasta*, called by *Homer* *Epicaste*: on whom, not knowing her to be his mother, he begat two sonnes, *Eteocles* and *Polynices*. But when in proceesse of time, finding out by good circumstances, who were his parents, hee vnderstood the grievous murder and incest hee had committed, hee tore out his owne eyes for griefe, and left the Citie. His wife and mother did hang her selfe. Some say that *Oedipus* hauing his eyes pulled out, was expelled *Thebes*, bitterly cursing his sonnes because they suffered their father to bee cast out of the Towne, and ayded him not. Howsoeuer it were, his two Sonnes made this agreement, that the one of them should reigne 10 one yere, and the other another yere; and so by course rule interchangeably. But this appointment was ill obserued. For when *Polynices* had after a yeres gouernment resigned the Kingdome to his brother: or (according to others) when *Eteocles* had reigned the first yere, hee refused to giue ouer the rule to *Polynices*. Heereupon *Polynices* fledde vnto *Argos*, where *Adrastrus* the sonne of *Talaas* then reigned, vnto whose palace coming by night, he was driuen to seeke lodging in an out-houle, on the backside.

Then he met with *Tydeus* the sonne of *Oeneus*, who was fledde from *Calydon*: with whom situing about their lodging, hee fell to blowes. *Adrastrus* hearing the noyse, came forth and tooke vp the quarrell. At which time perceiving in the shield of *Tydeus* a Bore, in that of *Polynices* a Lyon, hee remembered an olde Oracle, by which he was aduised to giue his two daughters in marriage, to a Lyon and a Bore: and accordingly hee did bestow his daughter *Argia* vpon *Tydeus*, and *Deiippe* vpon *Polynices*, promising to restore them both to their Countries. To this purpose leuying an armie, and assembling as many valiant Captaines as he could draw to follow him, he was defirous among others to carrie *Amphiaras* the sonne of *Oicleus* a great Soothsayer, and a valiant man, along with him. But *Amphiaras*, who is saide to haue foreseene all things, knowing well that none of the Captaines should escape, saue onely *Adrastrus*, did both vterly refuse to be one in that expedition, and perswaded others to stay at home. *Polynices* therefore dealt with *Eriphyle* the Wife of *Amphiaras*, offering vnto 40 her a very faire bracelet, vpon condition that shee should cause her husband to assist him. The Soothsayer knowing what should worke his destinie, forbad his wife to take any gift of *Polynices*. But the bracelet was in her eye so precious a iewel, that she could not refuse it. Therefore whereas a great controuersie, betwene *Amphiaras* and *Adrastrus*, was by way of compromise put vnto the decision of *Eriphyle*, cyther of them being bound by solemne oath to stand to her appointment: shee ordered the matter so, as a Woman should that did loue a bracelet better than her husband. Hee now finding that it was farre more easie to force than auoide destinie, sought for such comfort as reuenge might afford him, giuing in charge vnto his sonnes, that when they came to fullage, they should kill their mother, and make strong warre vpon the 50 *Thebans*.

Now had *Adrastrus* assembled all his forces, of which, the seuen chiefe leaders were, himselfe, *Amphiaras*, *Capaneus*, and *Hippomedon* (in stead of whom some name *Mecistius*) all *Argiues*, with *Polynices* the *Theban*, *Tydeus* the *Aetolian*, and *Parthenopeus* the *Aradian* sonne of *Meleager* and *Atalanta*. When the Armie came to the *Nemæan* Wood, they met a woman whom they desired to helpe them to some water; she hauing a child in her armes, laid it downe, and led the *Argiues* to a spring: but ere shee returned, a Serpent had slaine the childe. This woman was *Eriphyle* the daughter of *Thous* the *Lemnian*, whom shee would haue saued when the women of the Ile slew all the

the males by conspiracie, intending to leade an *Amazonian* life. For such her piecie, the *Lemnian* wines did sell her to *Pyrrates*, and the *Pyrrates* to *Lycurgus* Lord of the Country about *Nemea*, whose young sonne *Opheltes* or *Archemorus*, she did nurse, and lost, as is shewed before. When vpon the childes death shee hid her selfe for feare of her master, *Amphiarus* told her sonnes where they should finde her: and the *Argiues* did both kill the Serpent which had slaine the childe, and in memorie of the chance, did institute solemne funerall games called *Nemean*, wherein *Adrastus* wanne the prize with his swift horse *Arion*, *Tydeus* with wholebrats, *Amphiarus* at running and quoiting, *Polynices* at wrestling, *Parthenopaus* at shooting, and one *Laodocus* in darting. This was the first institution of the *Nemean* games, which continued after famous in *Greece* for very many ages. 10 There are, who thinke that they were ordained in honour of one *Opheltes*, a *Lacedaemonian*. Some say by *Hercules*, when he had slaine the *Nemean* Lyon: but the common opinion agrees with that which is heere set downe.

From *Nemea* the *Argiues* marching onwards, arrived at *Citheron*, whence *Tydeus* was by them sent Embassadour to *Thebes*, to require of *Eteocles* the performance of Conventions betwene him and *Polynices*. This message was nothing agreeable to *Eteocles*, who was thoroughly resolu'd to hold what he had, as long as he could: which *Tydeus* perceiving, and intending partly to get honour, partly to trie what mettle was in the *Theban*, he made many challenges, and obtained victorie in all of them, not without much enuy and malice of the people, who laid spite men in ambush to intercept him at his returne to the armie, of which fiftie he slew all but one, whom he sent back to the Citie as a reporter and witnesse of his valour. When the *Argiues* vnderstood how resolu'd *Eteocles* was, they presented themselves before the Citie, and incamped round about it. *Thebes* is said to haue had at that time seuen gates, which belike stood not far asunder, seeing that the *Argiues* (who afterward when they were very farre stronger, could scarce muster vp more than a thousand then *Thebes* had gates) did compass the towne. *Adrastus* quartered before the gate *Homoloides*, *Capaneus* before the *Ogygian*, *Tydeus* before *Crenis*, *Amphiarus* at *Proctis*, *Hippomedon* at *Anchasis*, *Parthenopaus* at *Eleictis*, and *Polynices* at *Hypsisia*. In the meane season, *Eteocles* having armed his men, and appointed Commanders vnto them, tooke aduise of *Teseus* the Soothsayer, who promised victorie to the *Thebans*, 30 if *Menaeus* the sonne of *Creon* a principall man of the Citie, would vow himselfe to be slaine in honour of *Mars* the god of warre. So full of malice and pride is the Dinell, and so enuious at his Creatours glory, that hee not onely challengeth honour due to God alone, as oblations and sacrifice with all Diuine worship, but commandeth vs to offer our selues, and our childer vnto him, when he hath sufficiently clouded mens vnderstanding, and bewitched their wils with ignorance and blinde deuotion. And such abominable sacrifice of men, maidens, and children hath he exacted of the *Syrians*, *Carthaginians*, *Gallies*, *Germanes*, *Cyprians*, *Egyptians*, and of many other, if not of all Nations, when through ignorance or feare they were most filled with superstition. But as they grew more wise, so did he waxe lesse impudent in cunning, though not lesse malicious in dealing the continuance of such barbarous inhumanitie. For King *Diphilus* in *Cyprus* without aduise of any Oracle, made the Idoll of that Country rest contented with an Oxe in stead of a man. *Tiberius* forbade humane sacrifices in *Africk*, and crucified the Priests in the groues where they had practised them. *Hercules* taught the *Italians* to drowne men of hay in stead of the liuing: yet among the saluages in the West *Indies* these cruell offerings haue bene practised of late ages: which as it is a sufficient argument that Satans malice is onely couered and hidden by this subtiltie among ciuill people: so may it serue as a probable Coniecture of the barbarities then reigning in *Greece*. For *Menaeus*, as soone as he vnderstood that his death might purchase victorie to his people, bestowed himselfe (as he thought) vpon *Mars*, killing himselfe before the gates of the Citie. Then 40 was a battaile fought, wherein the *Argiues* preuailed so farre at the first, that *Capaneus* aduancing ladders to the walls, got vp vpon the rampart: whence, when he fell or was cast downe, or (as Writers haue it) was stricken down by *Iupiter* with a thunder-bolt, the *Argiues* fled. Many on each part were slaine in this battell, which caused both sides to desire that *Eteocles* and *Polynices* might trie out the quarrell in single fight: whereto the two brethren according, flew each other.

Another battell was fought after their death, wherein the sonnes of *Atracus* behaved themselves very valiantly: *Ismarus* one of the sonnes slew *Hippomedon*, which was one of

of the seuen Princes: *Parthenopaus* being another of the seuen (who was said to haue beene so faire that none would hurt him when his face was bare) was slaine by *Amphidicus*, or as some say, by *Periclymenus* the sonne of *Neptune*: and the valiant *Tydeus* by *Menalippus*: yet ere *Tydeus* died, the head of *Menalippus* was brought vnto him by *Amphiarus*, which he cruellly tore open, and swallowed vp the braines. Vpon which fact, it is said, that *Pallas*, who had brought from *Iupiter* such remedie for his wounds, as should haue made him immortall, refused to bestow it vpon him: whereby perhaps was meant that his honour which might haue continued immortall, did perish through the beastly rage that he shewed at his death.

10 The host of the *Argiues* being wholly discomfited, *Adrastus* and *Amphiarus* fledde: of whom *Amphiarus* is said to haue bene swallowed quicke into the earth, neere to the river *Ismenus*, together with his Chariot, and so lost out of mens sight, being peraduenture ouerwhelmed with dead carkasses, or drowned in the river: and his body neuer found, nor greatly sought for. *Adrastus* escaped on his good horse *Arion*, and came to *Athens*, where sitting at an Altar called the Altar of Mercie, hee made supplication for their aide to recouer their bodies. For *Creon* hauing obtained the Government of *Thebes* after the death of *Eteocles*, would not suffer the bodies of the *Argiues* to bee buried: but caused *Antigone*, the onely daughter then liuing of *Oedipus*, to bee buried quicke, because shee had sought out and buried the body of her brother *Polynices*, contrary to *Creon*s Edict. The *Athenians* condescending to the request of *Adrastus*, did send forth an Armie vnder the Conduct of *Teseus*, which tooke *Thebes*, and restored the bodies of the *Argiues* to Sepulture: at which time *Enadne* the wife of *Capaneus*, threw herselfe into the funerall fire, and was burnt willingly with her husband. But it little contented the sonnes of those Capitaines which were slaine at *Thebes*; that any less reuenge should bee taken of their fathers death, then the ruine of the Citie: wherefore 20 tenn yeere after hauing leui'd forces, *Agileus* the sonne of *Adrastus*, *Diomedes* of *Tydeus*, *Promachus* of *Parthenopaus*, *Sibonellus* of *Capaneus*, *Thersander* of *Polynices*, and *Eurypius* of *Menalippus*, marched thither vnder the conduct of *Alcmeon* the sonne of *Amphiarus*: with whom also went his brother *Amphilochus*. *Apollo* promised victory if *Alcmeon* 30 were their Capitaine, whom afterward by another Oracle hee commanded to kill his owne mother.

When they came to the Citie, they were incourted by *Laodamas* the son of *Eteocles* then King of the *Thebans*, (for *Creon* was onely Tutor to *Laodamas*) who though he did valiantly in the battaile, and slue *Agileus*, yet was he put to the worst, and driuen to flee, or according to *Apollodorus* slain by *Alcmeon*. After this disaster the citizens began to desire composition; but in the meane time they conuayed themselves with their wiues & childer away from thence by night, and so began to wander vp and downe, til at length they built the Towne called *Ectipia*. The *Argiues*, when they perceived that their enemies had quitted the Towne, entering into it, sacked it, threw downe the walls, and layd it waste; 40 howbeit it is reported by some, that the Towne was saued by *Thersander*, the sonne of *Polynices*, who causing the Citizens to returne, did there reigne ouer them. That he saued the Citie from vtter destruction, it is very likely, for he reigned there, and led the *Thebans* to the Warre of *Troy*, which very shortly after ensued.

§. VIII.

Of *Iephtha*, and how the three hundred yeeres which he speaketh of, *Iud. i. v. 28.* are to be reconciled with the places, *Act. i. 3. 20. 1. Reg. 6. 1.* together with some other things touching Chronologie about these times.

50 **A**fter the death of *Jair* (neere about whose times these things hapned in *Greece*, & during whose government, & that of *Thola*, *Israel* liued in peace & in order) they were euolted again from the law & seruice of God, and became more wicked & idolatrous than euer. For whereas in the former times they worshipped *Baal* & *Asteroth*, they now became followers of all the Heathen nations adioyning, and imbraced the idolls of the *Aramities*, of the *Zidonians*, *Moabites* & *Ammonites*: with those of the *Philistines*. And as before it pleased God to correct them by the *Aramities*, by the *Amalekites*, and *Midianites*: so now he scourged them by the *Ammonites*, and afterward by the *Philistines*. Now among the *Israelites*, those of *Gilead* being most oppressed, because they bordered 100 vpon

Iud. 19.
The persecution of the Ammonites lasted 18 yeeres, and ended in the yeere of the World 3800. in which yeere *Iephtha* began, *Iud. 11.*

vpon the *Ammonites*, they were inforced to seeke *Iephtha*, whom they had formerly defiled and cast from them, because he was bafe borne; but he (notwithstanding those former injuries) participating more of godly compassion, than of diuifish hatred and reuenge, was content to leade the *Gileadites* to the Warre, vpon condition that they should establish him their Gouernour after victory. And when hee had disputed with *Ammon* for the Land, disproued *Ammons* right, and fortified the title of *Israel* by many arguments, the same preuailing nothing, he began the warre; and being strengthened by God, overthrew them: and did not only beate them out of the plaines, but forst them ouer the mountaines of *Arabia*, euen to *Minnith*, and *Abel* of the vineyards, Cities exprest heretofore in the description of the holy Land. After which victory it is said, that he performed the vaine vow which he made, to sacrifice the first liuing creature hee encountered, comming out of his house to meet him; which happened to be his owne daughter, and onely childe, who with all patience submitted her selfe, and onely desired two moneths time to bewaile her Virginitie on the mountaines of *Gilead*; because in her the issues of her Father ended: but the other opinion that shee was not offered, is more probable, which *Bortheus* and others proue sufficiently.

After these things the children of *Israel*, of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, either enuious of *Iephtha's* victorie, or otherwise making way to their future ciuilitie, and to the most ignominious slavery that euer *Israel* suffered, quarrelled with *Iephtha*, that they were not called to the Warre, as before time they had contested with *Gideon*. *Iephtha* hereupon enforced to defend himselfe against their fury, in the encounter slew of them two and forty thousand, which so weakened the bodie of the Land, as the *Philistines* had an easie conquest of them all not long after: *Iephtha*, after he had iudged *Israel* fixe yeeres, died: to whom succeeded *Ibzan*, who ruled seuen yeeres: after him *Emon* was their Iudge tenne yeeres: in all which time *Israel* had peace. *Eusebius* findes not *Emon*, whom hee calleth *Adon*, for in the *Septuagint*, approved in his time, this Iudge was omitted.

Now before I goe on with the rest, it shall be necessary vpon the occasion of *Iephtha's* account of the times *Iud. 11. 28.* (where he sayes that *Israel* had then posselt the East side of *Jordan* 300. yeeres) to speake somewhat of the times of the Iudges, and of the differing opinions among the Diuines & Chronologers: there being found three places of Scriptures touching this point seeming repugnant, or disagreeing: the first is in this dispute betweene *Iephtha* and *Ammon*, for the right and possession of *Gilead*: the second is that of *S. Paul*, *Act. 13.* the third is that which is in the first of *Kings*. *Iephtha* heere challengeth the possession of *Gilead* for 300. yeeres: Saint *Paul* giueth to the *Judges*, as it seemes, from the end of *Iosua*, to the last of *Hei*, 450. yeeres. In the first of *Kings* it is taught, that from the departing of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, to the foundation of *Salomons* Temple, there were consumed 480. yeeres. To the first *Beroaldus* findeth *Iephtha's* 300. yeeres to be but 266. yeeres, to wit, 18. of *Iosua*, 40. of *Othniel*, 80. of *Aod* and *Samgar*, 40. of *Debm*, 40. of *Gideon*, 3. of *Abimelech*, 23. of *Thola*, and 22. of *Iair*: But *Iephtha* (saith *Beroaldus*) putteth or propoeth a certaine number, for a vncertaine: *Sic ut dicat annum agi prope trecentessimum, ex quo nullus liem ea de re mouerit Israel; So hee speaketh* (saith he) *as meaning, that then it was about or wel-nigh the three hundred yeere, since Israel possessed those Countries, no man making question of their right.* *Codoman* on the contrary findes more yeeres than *Iephtha* naming by 65. to wit, 365. whereof 71. were spent in *Israels* captivity, at severall times, of which (as *Codoman* thinketh) *Iephtha* forbare to reapeate the whole summe or any great part, lest the *Ammonite* should haue iustly objected, that 71. of those yeeres, the *Israelites* were in captiuitie and vassals to their neighbour Princes, and therefore knowing that to name three hundred yeeres, it was enough for prescription, hee committed the rest.

To iustifie this account of 365. yeeres, besides the 71. yeeres of captiuitie or affliction, to be added to *Beroaldus* his 266. hee addeth also 28. yeeres more, and someth vp the summe of 365. These 28. yeeres hee findeth out thus: twenty yeeres hee giues to the *Seniors* betweene *Iosua* and *Othniel*: and where *Beroaldus* alloweth eightene yeeres to *Iosua* his gouernment, *Codoman* accounts that his rule lasted 26. according to *Iosephus*; whereas Saint *Augustine* and *Eusebius* giue him 27. *Melancthon* 22. The truth is, that this addition of 28. yeeres is farre more doubtfull than the other of 71. But though wee admit not of this addition, yet by accounting of some part of the yeeres of affliction (to wit, 34. yeeres of the 71.) if wee adde them to the 266. yeeres of

of *Beroaldus*, which reckoneth none of these, wee haue the iust number of 300. yeeres. Neither is it strange that *Iephtha* should leaue out more then halfe of these yeeres of affliction: seeing as it is already said, the *Ammonites* might except against these 71. yeeres, and say, that during these yeeres, or at least a good part of them, the *Israelites* had no quiet possession of the Countries in question. *Martin Luther* is the Author of a third opinion, making those 300. yeeres remembered by *Iephtha*, to be 306. which odd yeeres, saith hee, *Iephtha* omitteeth. But because the yeeres of euery Iudge as they reigned, cannot make vp this number of 306: but doe onely compound 266. therefore doth *Luther* adde to this number, the whole time which *Moses* spent in the *Deserts of Arabia Petraea*, to which fortie yeeres of *Moses* added to the number which *Beroaldus* findeth, of 266. make indeede 306.

But I see nothing in the Text to warrant *Luthers* iudgement herein: for in the dispute betweene *Iephtha* and *Ammon* for the Land of *Gilead*, it is written in the person of *Ammon* in these words: *Because Israel took my Land, when they came up from Egypt, from Arnon vnto Iabok, &c. now therefore restore those Lands quietly or in peace.* So by this place it is plaine that the time is not to be accounted from *Moses* departure out of *Egypt*: but from the time that the Land was posselt. For it is said, *Quia cepit Israel terram meam; Because Israel took my Land: and therefore the beginning of this account is to be referred to the time of the taking: which Iephtha* answereth also confirmeth in these words: *When Israel dwelt in Heshbon, and in her Townes, and in Arer & in her Townes, and in all the Cities that are by the coast of Arnon 300. yeeres: why did ye not then recover them in that space?* for this place speaks it directly, that *Israel* had inhabited and dwelt in the Cities of *Gilead* 300. yeeres: and therefore to account the times from the hopes or intents, that *Israel* had to posselt it, it seemeth somewhat strained to me; for we doe not vie to reckon the time of our conquests in *France*, from our Princes intents or purposes, but from their victories and possessions.

Lutius neuertheless likes the opinion of *Luther*, and sayes, that this time of 300. yeeres hath reference, and is to take beginning from the first of *Iephtha's* narration: when hee makes a brieue repetition of *Moses* whole journey: to wit, at the sixteenth Verse of the eleventh Chapter of *Judges*, in our translation in these words: *But when Israel came up from Egypt, &c.* and therefore *Moses* his 40. yeeres (as he thinkes) are to be accounted, which make the number of 305. yeeres: and not onely the time in which *Israel* posselt *Gilead*, according to the Text and *Iephtha's* owne words: of which I leaue the iudgement to others; to whom also I leaue to iudge, whether we may not beginne the 480. yeeres, from the deliuerance out of *Egypt* to the Temple, euen from the first departure out of *Egypt*, and yet finde a more probable reconciliation of Saint *Pauls* and *Iephthas* account with this reckoning, than any of those that as yet haue beene signified. For first, touching *Iephtha's* three hundred yeeres of possession of the East side of *Jordan*, it is to be remembered, that for a good while before the *Israelites* posselt it, *Sehon* and *Og* had dispossest *Moab* and *Ammon* thereof: so that when the *Israelites* had conquered *Sehon* and *Og*, the right of possession which they had, passed to *Israel*; and so *Iephtha* might say that they had posselt those Countries 300. yeeres, reckoning 266. yeeres of their owne possession, and the rest of the possession of the two Kings *Sehon* and *Og*, whose right the *Israelites* had by the law of conquest.

The second place disputed in this of *S. Paul*, *Act. 13.* that from the end of *Iosua* to the beginning of *Samuel*, there past 450. yeeres. And this place *Luther* vnderstandeth also besides the letter (as I finde his opinion cited by *Erasmus Krentzheimius*, and *Beza*) for *Luther* haunot read his Commentaries. For he accounteth from the death of *Moses*, to the last yeeres of *Hei*, but 357. yeeres: and this he doth the better to approue the times from the progression out of *Egypt* to the building of the Temple, which in the first *King. 6.* is said to be 480. yeeres.

Now forasmuch as *S. Paul* (as it seemes) findes 450. yeeres from the death of *Iosua*, to the last of *Hei*, and leaues but thirty yeeres for *Saul* and *Samuel*, who gouerned 40. for *David* who ruled 40. and for *Salomon* who wore the Crowne three whole yeeres ere the foundation of the Temple was laid; therefore *Luther* takes it, that there was error in the Scribe, who wrote out this piece of Scripture of *S. Paul*: to wit, *Then afterward hee came vnto them Iudges about 450. yeeres, vnto the time of Samuel the Prophet: the words then afterward*, being cleerely referred to the death or after the death

of *Iofua*, as (shall bee hereafter proued. But where Saint *Luke* rehearsing the words of Saint *Paul*, wrote 350. yeeres (saith *Luther*) the Scribe in the transcription being deceived by the affinity of those two *Greek* words, whereof the one signifieth 300. and the other 400. wrote *Tetracosoi*, for *Tricacosoi*; 400. yeeres, for 300. yeeres; and 450. for 350. This he seeketh to strengthen by many arguments: to which opinion *Beza* in his great annotations adhereth. A contrary iudgement to this hath *Codoman*: where *Luther* and *Beza* begin at *Moses* death, hee takes his account from the death of *Iofua*, and from thence to the beginning of *Samuel* he makes 430. yeeres: to wit: of the *Iudges* (not reckoning *Sampsons* yeeres) 319. and of yeeres of seruitude and affliction vnder strangers, 111. Thereason why he doth not reckon *Sampsons* twenty yeeres, is because hee thinks that they were part of the 40. yeeres, in which the *Philistims* are said to haue oppressed *Israel*. For it is plaine, that during all *Sampsons* time they were Lords ouer *Israel*. So then of the *Iudges*, besides the 111. yeeres of seruitude, *Codoman* reckoneth (as I haue said) 319. yeeres, which two summes put together make 430. yeeres, and whereas Saint *Paul* nameth 450. yeeres, hee findes 20. yeeres to make vp Saint *Pauls* number, to haue bene spent after the death of *Iofua* by the *Seniors*, before the Captiuitie of *Casban*, or the election of *Othniel*: which 20. yeeres added to 430. make 450. according to Saint *Paul*. To approue this time of the Elders, he citeth two places of Scriptures, namely the 24. of *Iofua*, and the second of *Iudges*, in each of which places it is written, that *Israel* serued the Lord all the daies of *Iofua*, and all the daies of the Elders that ouer-lued *Iofua*: so as to these times of the Elders, *Codoman* giueth 20. yeeres, which makes before 450. according to Saint *Paul*. Neither would it breed any great difficultie in this opinion, if heere also the 20. yeeres of the *Seniors*, betwene *Iofua* and *Othniel*, should be denied. For they which denie these yeeres, and make *Othniels* 40. to beginne presently vpon the death of *Iofua*, as in the beginning of this reckoning they haue 20. yeeres lesse than *Codoman*, so toward the end of it (whenthey reckon the yeeres of affliction apart from the yeeres of the *Iudges*) in the number of *Sampsons* yeeres, and of the 40. yeeres of the *Philistims* oppressing the *Israelites*, they haue 20. yeeres more than *Codoman*. For they reckon these 40. yeeres of oppressionall of them a-part from *Sampsons* 20. but *Codoman*, as is said, makes *Sampsons* 20. to bee the one halfe of the 40. of the *Philistims* oppressions; so that if the 20. yeeres of the *Seniors*, be not allowed to *Codoman*, then he may reckon (as the letter of the Text seems to inforce) that the *Philistims* in any *Inter-regnum*, before *Sampson* iudged *Israel*, viced the *Israelites* 40. yeeres, besides the 20. while *Sampson* was their *Iudge*; and so the reckoning will come to 450. yeeres betwene the end of *Iofua*, and the beginning of *Samuel*, though we admit not of an *Inter-regnum* of the *Seniors*, betwene *Iofua* and *Othniel*. For, if the times of their affliction be summed, they make 111. yeeres, to which if we adde the yeeres of the *Iudges*, which are 339. wee haue the iust summe of 450. And this computation either one way or other, may seeme to bee much more probable, than theirs that correct the Text, although we should admit of their correction thereof, and reade with them 350. for 450. For whereas they conceiue that this time of 350. yeeres, is to beginne immediately, or soone after the death of *Moses*: certainly the place of Saint *Paul* doth evidently teach the contrary, though it bee received fortune that there was *vitium scriptoris* in the rest. For these be Saint *Pauls* words: And about the time of fortie yeeres, God suffered their manners in the wilderness: And hee destroyed seven Nations in the Land of Canaan, and diuided their Land to them by lot. Then afterward hee gaue vnto them *Iudges* about 450. yeeres, vnto the time of *Samuel* the Prophet. So as first in the eighteenth verse hee speaketh of *Moses* and of his yeeres spent in the wilderness, then in the nineteenth verse hee commeth vnto the acts of *Iofua*; which were, that hee destroyed seven Nations in the land of Canaan, and diuided their Land to them by lot. In the twentieth verse it followeth: Then afterward hee gaue them *Iudges* about 450. yeeres, &c. and therefore to reckon from the death of *Moses*, is wide of Saint *Pauls* meaning, so far as my weake vnderstanding can pierce it. The only inconvenience of any waight in opinion of *Codoman* touching this place in the *Acts*, is that it seemes irreconcilable with the account, 1. Reg. 6. 11. For if indeede there were spent 450. yeeres betwene the end of *Iofua* and the beginning of *Samuel*, certainly there must needs be much more than 480. yeeres betwene the beginning of the *Israelites* journeying from *Egypt*, and the foundation of the Temple by *Salomon*. To this difficultie

Codoman

Codoman answereth, that these 480. yeeres, 1. Reg. 6. 1. must begin to be reckoned, not in the beginning, but in the ending of their journeying from *Egypt*, which he makes to be 25. yeeres after the beginning of *Othniels* gouernment; from whence if wee cast the yeeres of the *Iudges*, with the yeeres of seruitude (which summes according to his account, of which we haue already spoken, make 397. yeeres) and to these yeeres adde the 40. of *Samuel*, and *Saul*, and the 40. of *Dauid*, and the 3. of *Salomon*, wee shall haue the iust summe of 480. yeeres. Neither is it hard (saith hee) that the annus *egressions*, 1. Reg. 6. 1. should be vnderstood *egressio non incipientis sed finis*, the yeere of their coming out of *Egypt* (for so it is in the originall) or the yeere after they came out of *Egypt*, may well be vnderstood for the yeere after they were come out thence, that is, after they had ended their wandering from thence. For so wee finde that things which were done 40. yeeres after they had set foot out of *Egypt*, are said to haue beene done in their going out of *Egypt*, as *Psal.* 114. When *Israel* came out of *Egypt*, *Jordan* was digged backe, and *Deut.* 4. 45. These are the testimonies which *Moses* spake when they came out of *Egypt*. And thus farre it seemes wee may very well agree with *Codoman*, for the interpretation of the *ab exitu*, to be as much as *quum exiissent*, or *ab exitu finito*: for if *Ennius*, *Deut.* 4. 45. doe well reade *quum exiissent*, for *in exitu*, as it seemes that heerein he doth well, why may not we also, to auoid contradiction in the Scripture, expound *ab exitu* to be, *postquam exiissent*?

20 The next point to be cleared, is how their journeying should be said notto haue had end vntill the 25. yeere after the victory of *Othniel*. To this *Codoman* answereth, that then it had no end till when all the Tribes had obtained their portions, which happened not vntill this time: at which time the *Danites* at length seated themselves, as it is declared *Iud.* 18. For doubtlesse to this time the expedition may most conveniently be referred. And thus without any great inconuenience to him appearing doth *Codoman* reconcile the account of *Iephia*, and S. *Paul*, with that in the first of *Kings*, c. 6. Now whereas it is said that the expedition of the *Danites* was when there was no King in *Israel*: to *Iud. 18.* this *Codoman* answereth, that it is not necessary that wee should suppose that *Othniel* liued all those 40. yeeres of rest, of which *Iud.* 3. 11. so that by the 25. yeere after his victory, either he might haue bene dead, or at least, as *Gideon* did, hee might haue refused all souerainety, and so either way it might truly be said that at this time (to wit, the 25. yeere after *Othniels* victorie) there was no King in *Israel*. This opinion of *Codoman*, if it were as consonant to other *Chronologers* grounding their opinions on the plaine Text, where it is indisputable, as it is in itselfe round enough and coherent, might perhaps be received as good: especially considering, that the speeches of S. *Paul* haue not otherwife found any interpretation, maintaining them as absolutely true, in such manner as they found, and are set down. But seeing that he wanteth all helpe of authority, we may iustly suspect the supposition whereupon his opinion is grounded; it being such as the consent of many Authors would hardly suffice to make very probable. For who hath told *Codoman*, that the conquest of *Lais*, by the Tribe of *Dan*, was performed in the five and twentieth yeere of *Othniel*? Or what other probability hath hee than his owne coniecture, to shew that *Othniel* did so renounce the office of a Iudge after five and twenty yeeres, that it might then be truly said there was no King in *Israel*, but every man did that which was good in his owne eyes?

Now concerning the rehearsal of the Law by *Moses*, and the stopping of *Jordan*, they might indeed be properly said to haue bene, when *Israel* came out of *Egypt*; likewise say that King *Edward* the first was crowned when hee came out of the holie Land, for so all iournies with their accidents commonly take name from the place eyther whence or whither they tend. But I thinke that hee can finde no such phrase of speech in Scripture as limiteth a journey by an accident, or faith by conuening the proposition; when *Jordan* was turning backe, *Israel* came out of *Egypt*. Indeede most vnproper it were to giue date vnto actions commenced long after, from an expedition finished long before, namely to say, that King *Edward* at his arriual out of *Palestina*, did winne *Scotland*, and died at *Carlisle*. How may wee then beleue that enterprize performed so many yeeres after the diuision of the Land, (which followed the conquest at the iournies end) should be said to haue been at the time of the departure out of *Egypt*? Or who will not thinke it most strange, that the most notable account of time, seruing as the onely guide for certaine ages in sacred *Chronologie*, should not take name and beginning from

from that illustrious deliuerance out of *Egypt*, rehearsed often by God himselfe among the principall of his benefits to *Israel*, wherof the very day and moneth are recorded in Scripture (as likewise are the yeere and moneth wherein it expired) and the forme of the yeere vpon that occasion changed, but should haue reference to the surprizing of a Town by sixe hundred men, that robbed a Chappell by the way, and stole from thence Idols to be their guides, as not going to worke in Gods name? For this accident whereupon *Codman* buildeth, hath either no time giuen to it, or a time farre different from that which he supposeth, and is indeed rather by him placed in such a yeere, because it best stood with his interpretation so to haue it, than for any certainty or likelihood of the thing it selfe.

Wherefore we may best agree with such as affirme that the Apostle Saint *Paul* did not herein labour to set downe the course of time exactly (a thing no way concerning his purpose) but onely to shew that God, who had chosen *Israel* to be his people, deliuered them out of bondage, and ruled them by *Judges* and *Prophets*, vnto the time of *Saul*, did raise vp our Lord *Iesus Christ* out of the seede of *Dauid* the King, in whose succession the Crowne was established, and promise made of a Kingdome that should haue no end. Now in rehearsing briefly thus much which tended as a Preface to the declaration following (wherein hee sheweth Christ to haue bene the true *Messias*) the Apostle was so farre from labouring to make an exact calculation of times (the History being so well knowne and beleued of the *Iewes* to whom he preached) that he spake as it were at large of the 40. yeeres consumed in the wilderness, wherof no man doubted, saying that God suffered their manners in the wilderness about 40. yeeres. In like manner he proceeded, saying, that from the diuision of the Land vnto the dayes of *Samuel* the Prophet, in whose time they required to haue a King, there passed about 450. yeeres. Neither did he stand to tell them, that an hundred and eleuen yeeres of bondage mentioned in this middle while, were by exact computation to be included within the 339. yeeres of the *Judges*: for this had bene an impertinent digression from the argument which hee had in hand. Wherefore it is not a worke so needfull as laborious, to search out of this place that which the Apostle did not here intend to teach, when the summe of 480. yeeres is so expressly and purposely set downe.

Now that the words of *S. Paul* (if there be no fault in the Copie through error of some Scribe) are not so curiously to be examined in matter of *Chronologie*, but mistaken, as hauing reference to the memorie and apprehension of the vulgar, it is evidently his ascribing in the same place 40. yeeres to the reigne of *Saul*: whereas it is manifest that those yeeres were diuided betwene *Saul* and *Samuel*; yea, that farre the greater part of them were spent vnder the government of the Prophet, how soeuer they are here included in the reigne of the King. As for those that with so much cunning forsake the general opinion, when it fauoureth not such exposition as they bring out of a good minde, to helpe where the need is not ouer great; I had rather commend their diligence, than follow their example: The words of *S. Paul* were sufficiently iustified by *Beroaldus*, as hauing reference to a common opinion among the Scribes in those dayes, that the 111. yeeres of seruitude were to be reckoned apart from the 339. yeeres ascribed to the *Judges*; which account the Apostle would not in this place stand to contradict, but rather chose to speake as the vulgar, qualifying it with a *quasi*, where he saith, *quasi quadringentis & quinquaginta annis*; As it were foure hundred and fifty yeeres. But *Codman* being not thus contented, would needs haue it be so indeed, and therefore disioynes the members to make the account euert. In so doing he dalsteth himselfe against a notable Text, whereupon all Authors haue builded (as well they might and ought) that purposely and precisely doth cast vp the yeeres from the departure out of *Egypt*, vnto the building of *Solomons* Temple, not omitting the very Moneth it selfe.

Now (as commonly the first apprehensions are strongest) hauing already giuen faith to his owne interpretation of Saint *Paul*, he thinketh it more needfull to finde some new exposition for that which is of it selfe most plaine, and to examine his owne coniecture vpon a place that is full of controuersie. Thus by expounding, after a strange method, that which is manifest by that which is obscure, he loseth himselfe in those waies wherein before him neuer man walked. Surely if one should vrge him to giue reason of these new opinions, he must needs answere, That *Othomiel* could not gouerne about 25. yeeres, because then was the taking of *Laiſa*, at which time there was no King in *Israel*; That the

Danites must needs haue taken *Laiſa* at that time, because else we could not reckon backwards from the foundation of the Temple to any action that might bee termed the coming of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, without excluding the yeeres of seruitude; And that the yeeres of seruitude must needs be included, for that otherwise hee himselfe should haue spent his time vainly, in seeking to pleasure *S. Paul* with an exposition. Whether this ground be strong enough to vphold a Paradoxe, I leaue it to the decision of the iudicious Reader.

And now to proceed in our storie. To the time of *Iephia* are referred the death of *Hercules*, the rape of *Helen* by *Paris*, and the prouisions which her husband *Menelaus*, reigning then in *Sparta*, and his brother *Agamemnon* King of *Mycena*, made for her recovery. Others refer this rape of *Helen* to the fourth yeere of *Iscan*: from which time, if the Warre of *Troy* (as they suppose) did not begin till the third of *Ailon* or *Elon*, yet the *Greekes* had fixt yeeres to prepare themselves: the rule holding not true in this War, *longa paratio belli celerem offert victoriam*; That a long preparation begets a speedy victory: for the *Greekes* consumed tenne yeeres in the attempt; and *Troy*, as it seemes, was entered, sacke and burnt in the third yeere of *Habdon*.

Three yeeres after *Troy* taken, which was in the sixt yeere of *Habdon*, *Aeneas* arriued in *Italy*. *Habdon* in the eighth yeere of his rule, died, after hee had bene the Father of 40. sonnes and 30. grand-children. And whereas it is supposed, that the 40. yeeres of *Israels* oppression by the *Philistims* (of which *Iud.* 13. v. 1.)ooke beginning from the ninth yeere of *Lair*, and ended with the last of *Habdon*: I see no reason for that opinion. For *Ephraim* had had little cause of quarrell against *Iephia*, for not calling them to War ouer *Jordan*; if the *Philistims* had held them in seruitude in their owne Territories: and if *Ephraim* could haue brought 42000. armed men into the field, it is not likely that they were then oppressed: and had it bene true that they were, who will doubt but that they would rather haue fought against the *Philistims* with so powerfull an Armie for their owne deliuerance, than against their owne brethren the *Israelites*? But *Ammon* being ouertrowne, it seemed at that time, that they feared no other enemy. And therefore these 40. yeeres must either be supplied elsewhere, as in the time of *Sampson*, and afterward; or else they must be referred to the inter-regnum betwene the death of *Habdon*, and the deliuerance of *Israel* by *Sampson*, such as it was.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Warre of Troy.

§. I.

Of the Genealogie of the Kings of Troy, with a note touching the ancient Poets how they haue observed Historical truth.



THE Warre at *Troy* with other stories hereupon depending (because the ruine of this Citie, by most *Chronologers* is found in the time of *Habdon*, Iudge of *Israel*, whom in the last place I haue mentioned) I rather chosse here to intreat of in one entire narration, beginning with the lineall descent of their Princes, than to breake the story into pieces by rehearsing a-part in diuers yeeres, the diuersitie of occurrences.

The Historie of the ancient Kings of *Troy* is vncertaine, in regard both of their originall, and of their continuance. It is commonly held that *Teucer* and *Dardanius* were the two founders of that Kingdome. This is the opinion of *Virgil*: which if he (as *Reinercius* thinks)ooke from *Berosus*, it is the more probable: if *Amnius* borrowed it of him, then it rests vpon the authority of *Virgil*, who saith thus:

*Creta Iouis magni medio iacet insula Ponto:
Mons Idaus ubi, & gentis cunabula nostrae.*

N 3

Arctid.

Centum

*Centum Vrbes habitant magnas, uberrima regna:
Maximus vnde Pater (sic ite audita recorder)
Teucus Rheaeus primum est aduectus ad oras:
Optantique locum regno. Nondum illum ex arces
Pergamee steterant: habitabant vallis imis.
Hinc Mater cultrix Cybele, Corybantiæq; ara,
Idæumq; nemus.*

In the maine Sea the Ile of Creete doth lie:
Where *Ioue* was borne, thence is our prognie.
There is mount *Ida*: there in fruitfull Land
An hundredth great and goodly Cities stand.
Thence (if I follow not mistaken fame)
Teucer the eldest of our grand-fires came
To the Rhecean shores: and reigned there
Ere yet faire *Ilium* was built, and ere
The Towers of *Troy*: their dwelling place they sought
In lowest vales. Hence *Cybele* rites were bought:
Hence *Corybantian Cymbales* did remoue:
And hence the name of our *Idæan* groue.

Thus it seemeth by *Virgil*, who followed surely good authoritie, that *Teucer* first gave name to that Countrie, wherein he reigned ere *Troy* was built by *Dardanus*: of which *Dardanus* in the same booke he speaks thus:

*Est locus, Hesperiam Graui cognomine dicunt:
Terra antiqua, potens armis atq; ubere glebae,
Oenotrii coluere viros: nunc fama minores
Italiam dixisse, ducis de nomine gentem.
Hæ nobis propria sedes: hinc Dardanus ortus:
Iasusq; Pater, genus à quo Principe nostrum.*

Hesperia the *Gracians* call the place:
An ancient fruitfull Land, a warlike race,
Oenotrians held it; now the later progenie
Giues it their Captaines name, and calls it *Italie*;
This seate belongs to vs, hence *Dardanus*,
Hence came the Author of our stocke, *Iasius*.

Also *Aenid.*
l. 7.

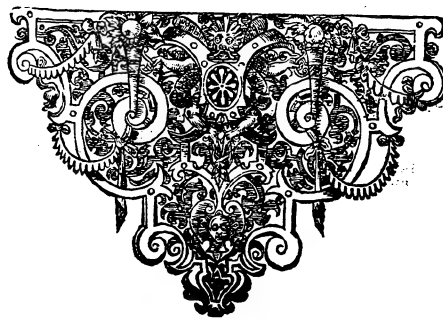
*Atq; equidem memini (fama est obscurior annis)
Auruncos ita ferre senes, hic ortus ut agria
Dardanus Idæas Phrygia penetravit ad vrbes,
Threiciamq; Samum, qua nunc Samothrace fertur.
Hinc illum Coryii Thyrrhena ab sede profectum,
Aures nunc solio stellantis regia cæli
Accipit, &c.*

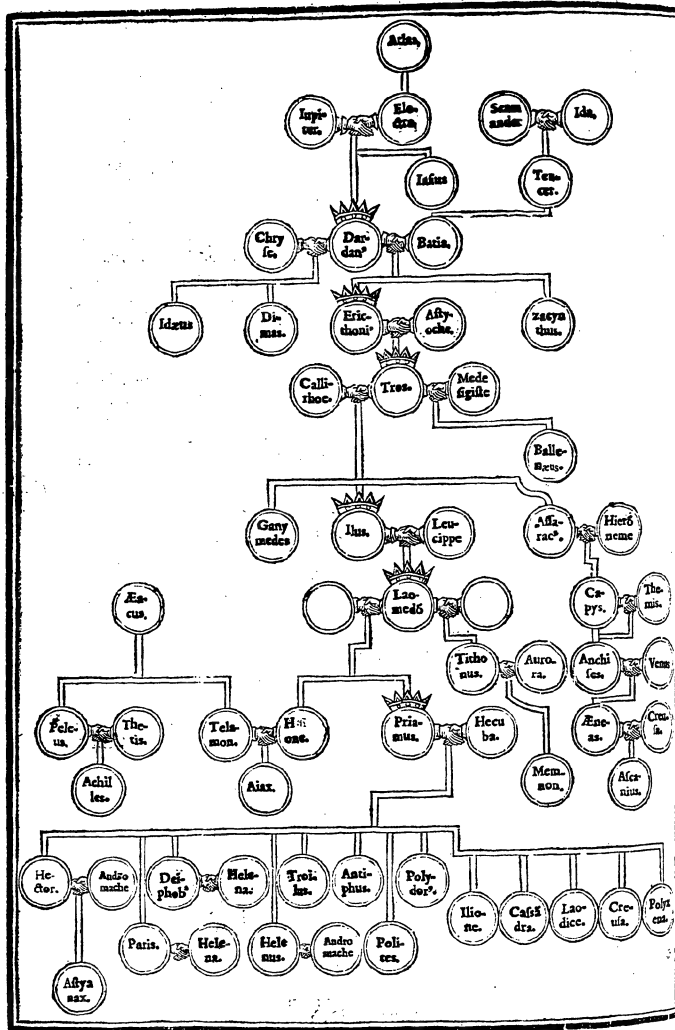
Some old *Aruncans*, I remember well,
(Though time haue made the same obscure) would tell
Of *Dardanus*, how borne in *Italie*:
From hence he into *Phrygia* did flie.
And leauing *Tuscaine* (where he earst had place)
With *Corytus* did faile to *Samothrace*;
But now intronized he sits on high,
In golden Palace of the starrie skie.

But contrarie to this, and to so many Authors, approving and confirming it, *Reineccius* thinks that these names *Troes*, *Teucus*, and *Thracæ*, are derived from *Tiras* or *Thiras* the son of *Laphet*: and that the *Dardanians*, *Mysians*, &c. *Ascanians*, mixt with the *Troians*, were

were *Germane* Nations, descended from *Askenaz*, the sonne of *Gomer*: of whom the Countrie, Lake, and Riuer of *Ascania* in *Asia* tooke name. That *Askenaz* gave name to those places and people, it is not unlikely: neither is it unlikely, that the *Ascani*, *Dardani*, and many others, did in after-times passe into *Europe*: that the name of *Teucer* came of *Tiras*, the coniecture is somewhat hard. Concerning *Teucer*, whereas *Halicarnassæus* makes him an *Athenian*, I finde none that follow him in the same opinion. *Virgil* (as is before shewd) reporteth him to be of *Crete*, whose authority is the more to be regarded, because he had good meanes to finde the truth, which it is probable that he carefully sought, and in this did follow, seeing it no way concerned *Augustus* (whom other-whiles he did flatter) whether *Teucer* were of *Crete* or no. *Reineccius* doth rather embrace the opinion of *Diodorus*, and others that thinke him a *Phrygian*, by which report he was the Sonne of *Scamander* and *Ida*, Lord of the Countrie, not founder of the Citie; and his Daughter or Neece *Batia* was the second wife of *Dardanus*, founder of *Troy*. *Reineccius* further thinks that *Atlas* reigned in *Samothracia*, and gaue his Daughter *Electra* to *Corytus*, or *Coritus*: and that these were Parents to *Chryse*, first wife to *Dardanus*. *Virgil* holds otherwise, and the common Tradition of Poets makes *Dardanus* the sonne of *Electra* by *Jupiter*, which *Electra* was the Daughter of *Atlas*, and wife to *Coritus* King of *Hetruria*, to whom the bare *Iasius*. *Annus* out of his *Perofus* finds the name of *Camboblascon*, to whom he giues the addition of *Coritus*, as a Title of dignitie, making him Father of *Dardanus* and *Iasius*; and further telling vs very particularly of the faction betweene these Brethren, which grew to such heate, that finally *Dardanus* killed his Brother, and thereupon fled into *Samothrace*. The obscuritie of the historie giues leaue to *Annus* of saying what he list. I that loue not to vse such libertie, will forbear to determine any thing herein. But if *Dardanus* were the Sonne of *Jupiter*, it must haue bene of some elder *Jupiter* than the Father of those that liued about the Warre of *Troy*. So it is likewise probable that *Atlas* the Father of *Electra* was rather an *Italian* than an *African*, which also is the opinion of *Boccace*. For (as hath often bene said) there were many *Jupiters*, and many of almost every name of the Gods; but it was the custome to ascribe to some one the acts of the rest, with all belonging to them. Therefore I will not greatly trouble my selfe with making any narrow search into these fabulous antiquities, but set downe the Pedegree according to the generall fame; allowing to *Teucer* such Parents as *Diodorus* giues, because others giue him none, and carrying the line of *Dardanus* in manner following.

Atlas





Concerning the beginning and continuance, the *Trojan* Kingdome, with the length of every Kings reigne, I have chosen good Authors to be my guides, that in a Historie, whereon depends the most ancient computation of times among the *Greekes*, I might not follow incertainties, ill cohering with the consent of Writers, and generall passage of things elsewhere done. And first for the destruction of *Troy*, which was of greater note than any accident befalling that Citie while it stood, it is reckoned by *Diadorus* *Diad. l. 4.* to be 780. yeeres more ancient than the beginning of the ninthie fourth *Olympiad*, where as therefore 372. did passe betweene the beginning of the *Olympiads*, and the first yeere of the 94. it is manifest that the remainder of 780. yeeres, that is, 408. yeeres went betweene the destruction of *Troy*, and the first institution of those games by *Iphitus*, if the authoritie of *Diadorus* be good proofe, who elsewhere tels vs, that the returne of the *Heracleide*, which was 80. yeeres after the fall of *Troy*, was 328. yeeres before the first *Olympiad*.

Hereunto agrees the authoritie of *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, who placing the foundation of *Rome* in the first of the seventh *Olympiad*, that is, four and twentie yeeres after the beginning of those games, accounts it 432. later than the fall of *Troy*. *Solinus* in express words, makes the institution of the *Olympiads* by *Iphitus*, whom he calleth *Iphiclus*, 480. yeeres later then the destruction of *Troy*. The summe is easily collected by neede, in inference out of diuers other places in the same booke. Hereunto doth *Eusebius* reckoning exclusively agree: and *Eratothenes*, (as he is cited by *Clement* *Alexandrinus*) makes vp out of many particulars, the same totall summe, wanting but one yeere, as reckoning likewise exclusively.

The other collections of diuers Writers that are cited by *Clement* in the same place, doe neither cohere any way, nor depend vpon any collateral Historie, by which they may be verified.

The destruction of *Troy* being in the yeere before the *Olympiads* foure hundred and eight: we must seeke the continuance of that from the beginning to the end, out of *Eusebius*, who leads vs from *Dardanus* on-wards through the reignes of foure Kings, by the space of two hundred and fife and twenty yeeres, and after of *Priamus*, with whom 30 also at length it ended. As for the time which passed vnder *Laomedon*, we are faine to doe, as others haue done before vs, and take it vpon trust from *Annius* his Authors, believing *Manetho* so much the rather, for that in his account of the former Kings reignes, and of *Priamus*, he is found to agree with *Eusebius*, which may giue vs leaue to thinke that *Annius* hath not herein corrupted him. But in this point we neede not to be very scrupulous: for seeing that no Historie or account of time depends vpon the reignes of the former Kings, but onely vpon the ruine of the Citie vnder *Priamus*, it may suffice that we are carefull to place that memorable accident in the due yeere.

True it is, that some obiections appearing waightie, may be alleged in maintenance of different computations, which with the answers I purposely omit, as not willing to 40 dispute of those yeeres, wherein the *Greekes* knew no good forme of a yeere, but rather to make narration of the actions which were memorable, and acknowledged by all Writers, whereof this destruction of *Troy* was one of the most renowned.

The first enterprize that was vnder-taken by generall consent of all *Greeces*, was the last warre of *Troy*, which hath bene famous euento this day, for the numbers of Princes, and valiant Commanders there assembled: the great battailes fought with variable success: the long indurance of the siege; the destruction of that great Citie; and the many Colonies planted in sundry Countreies, as well by the remainder of the *Trojans*, as by the victorious *Greekes* after their vnsfortunate returne. All which things with innumerable circumstances of especiall note, haue bene deliuered vnto posteritie, by the excellent wits of many writers, especially by the *Poemes* of that great *Homere*, whose verses haue giuen immortallitie to the action, which might else perhaps haue bene buried in oblivion, among other worthy deedes, done both before and since that time. For it is true which *Horace* saith;

Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
Multi, sed omnes illachrymabiles
Videntur, ignota, longa
Nocte: carent quia vate sacro.

Many

Many by valour haue deferu'd renowne
 Ere *Agamemnon*: yet lye all opprest
 Vnder long night, vnwept for, and vnknowne:
 For with no sacred Poet were they blest.

Yet so it is, that whilest these writers haue with strange fables, or (to speake the best of them) with *Allegories* farre strained, gone about to enlarge the commendations of those noble vnderakers: they haue both drawne into suspicion that great vertue which they sought to adorne, and filled after-ages with almost as much ignorance of the Historie, as admiration of the persons. Wherefore it is expedient that wee seeke for the knowledge of such actions, in Histories; learning their qualities who did manage them, of Poets, in whose workes are both profitand delight: yet small profit to those which are delighted otherwise; but such as can interpret their fables, or separate them from the naked truth, shall finde matter in *Poems*, not vnworthy to be regarded of Historians. For those things excepted which are gathered out of *Homer*, there is very little, and not without much disagreement of Authors, written of this great warre. All writers consent with *Homer*, that the rape of *Helen* by *Paris* the son of *Priamus*, was the cause of taking armes: but how he was herunto emboldened it is doubtfull.

§. II.

Of the Rape of *Helen*: and strength of both sides for the warre.

Herodotus fetcheth the cause of this rape from very farre; saying, That whereas the *Phenicians* had rauished *Io*, and carried her into *Egypt*, the *Greekes* to be reuenged on the *Barbarians*, did first rauish *Europa*, whom they brought out of *Phenicia* into *Creta*, and afterward *Medea*, whom they fetcht from *Colchos*, denying to restore her to her father, till such time as they might be satisfied for the rape of *Io*. By these deedes of the *Greekes*, *Paris* (as the same *Herodotus* affirmes) was emboldened to doe the like, not fearing such reuenge as ensued. But all this narration seemes frivolous. For what had the King of *Colchos* to doe with the iniurie of the *Phenicians*? Or how could the *Greekes*, as in reuenge of *Io*, pleade any quarrell against him, that neuer had heard the name of *Phenicians*? *Thucydides* a writer of vnquestionable sinceritie, maketh it plaine, that the name of *Barbarians* was not vied at all in *Homers* time, which was long after the warre of *Troy*; and that the *Greekes* themselves were not then called all by one name, *Hellenes*, as afterwards. So that it were vnreasonable to thinke, that they should haue fought reuenge vpon all Nations, as barbarous, for the iniurie received by one: or that all people else should haue esteemed of the *Greekes*, as of a people opposed to all the world; and that euen then when as the *Greekes* had not yet one common name among themselves. Others with more probability say, that the rape of *Helen* was to procure the redeliuery of *Hesione*, King *Priamus* his sister, taken formerly by *Hercules*, and giuen to *Telamon*. This may haue beene true. For *Telamon* (as it seemes) was a cruel man, seeing his owne sonne *Tenear* durst not come in his sight, after the warre of *Troy*, but fled into *Cyprus*, onely because his brother *Ajax* (which *Tenear* could not remedie) had slaine himselfe. Yet, were it so, that *Hesione* was ill intreated by *Telamon*, it was not therefore likely, that *Priamus* her brother would seeke to take her from her husband, with whom she had liued about thirtie yeeres, and to whom she had borne children which were to succede in his Dominion. Whereupon I thinke that *Paris* had no regard either to the rape of *Europa*, *Medea*, or *Hesione*: but was merely incited by *Venus*, that is, by his lust, to doe that which in those dayes was very common. For not onely *Greekes* from *Barbarians*; and *Barbarians* from *Greekes*, as *Herodotus* discoureteth, but all people were accustomed to steale women and cattell, if they could by strong hand or power get them; and hauing stolen them, either to sell them away in some farre Countrey, or keepe them to their owne vse. So did *Theseus*, and *Pirithous* attempt *Proserpina*; and so did *Theseus* (long before *Paris*) rauish *Helen*. And these practices, as it appears in *Thucydides*, were so common, that none durst inhabit neere vnto the Sea, for feare of piracy, which was accounted a trade of life no lesse lawfull then merchandise: wherefore *Tyndareus* the father of *Helen*, considering the beauty of his daughter, and the rape which *Theseus* had made, caused all her wooers, who were most of the principall men

in *Greece*, to binde themselves by solemne oath, that if shee were taken from her husband, they should with all their might helpe to recouer her. This done, he gaue free choyse of a husband to his daughter, who chose *Menelaus*, brother to *Agamemnon*. So the cause which drew the *Greekes* vnto *Troy* in reuenge of *Helen*'s rape, was partly the oath which so many Princes had made vnto her father *Tyndareus*. Hereunto the great power of *Agamemnon* was not a little helping; for *Agamemnon*, besides his great Dominions in *Peloponnesus*, was Lord of many Ilands: he was also rich in mony, and therefore the *Arcadians* were well contented to follow his pay, whom he embarked for *Troy* in his owne ships, which were more then any other of the *Greece* Princes brought to that expedition.

This did all *Greece*, either as bound by oath, or led by the reputation and power of the two brethren, *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus*; or desirous to partake of the profit and honour in that great enterprise; take armes against the *Troians*. The *Greekes* Fleet was (by *Homer*'s account) 1200. sayle, or thereabouts: but the vessels were not great: for it was not then the manner to build ships with decks, onely they vied as *Thucydides* saith (small ships, meete for robbing on the Sea; the least of which carried fiftie men, the greatest 120. euery man (except the Captaines) being both a Mariner and a Souldier. By this proportion it appears that the *Grecian* army consisted of 100000. men, or thereabout. This was the greatest armie that euer was raised out of *Greece*: and the greatnesse did stand out against such forces: yet were the *Troians* which inhabited the Citie, not the tenth part of this number, as *Agamemnon* said in the second of *Homers* *Iliads*; but their followers and aydes were very many and strong. For all *Phrygia*, *Lycia*, *Misia*, and the greatest part of *Asia* the lesse, tooke part with the *Troians*. The *Amazones* also brought their succour. And *Rhesus* out of *Thrace*, and *Memnon* out of *Assyria* (though some thinke, out of *Ethiopia*) came to their defence.

§. III.

Of the *Gracians* iourney, and Embassage to *Troy*, and of *Helenes* being detained in *Egypt*; and of the Sacrificing of *Iphigenia*.

Herefore the *Greekes* vnwilling to come to triall of armes, if things might be compounded by treatie, sent *Menelaus* and *Vlysses* Embassadors to *Troy*; who demanded *Helen* and the goods were taken with her out of *Menelaus* his house. What answer the *Troians* made herunto it is vncertaine. *Herodotus* from the report of the *Egyptian* Priests, makes it very probable, that *Helen* was taken from *Paris* before his returne to *Troy*. The summe of his discourse is this.

Paris in his returne with *Helen*, being driuen by foule weather vnto the coast of *Egypt*, was accused for the rape of *Helen* by some bondmen of his, that had taken Sanctuary. *Proteus* then King of *Egypt*, finding the accusation true by examination, detained *Helen*, and the goods taken with her, till her husband should require them: dismissing *Paris* without further punishment, because he was a stranger. When therefore the *Greekes* demanding *Helen* had answered, that she was in *Egypt*, they thought themselves deluded, and thereupon made the warre, which ended with the ruine of *Troy*. But when after the Citie taken, they perceiued indeede she had not bene there, they returned home, sending *Menelaus* to aske his wife of *Proteus*. *Homer* and the whole Nation of Poets (except *Euripides*) vary from this Historie, thinking it a matter more magnificent and more gracefull to their *Poems*, for the retaining of a faire Lady, than that they endured all by force, because it lay not in their power to redeliuer her. Yet in the fourth of his *Odysses*, *Homer* speaks of *Menelaus* his being in *Egypt*, before hee returned home to *Sparta*; which voyage it were not easily beleueed, that he made for pleasure: and if he were driuen thither by contrary windes, much more may we thinke that *Paris* was likely to haue bene driuen thither by foule weather. For *Paris* immediately vpon the rape committed, was enforced to flye, taking such windes as he could get, and rather enduring any storme, than to commit himselfe to any Haven in the *Greek* Seas: whereas *Menelaus* might haue put into any port in *Greece*, and there haue remained with good entertainment, vntill such time as the winde had come about, and serued for his navigation.

One great argument *Herodotus* brings to confirme the faying of the *Egyptian* Priests; which is, that if *Helen* had bene at *Troy*, it had bene vicer madnesse for *Priamus* to see so many miseries befall him, during the warre, and so many of his sonnes slaine for the pleasure of one, who neither was heire to the Kingdome (for *Hector* was elder) nor equall in vertue to many of the rest. Besides, it may seeme that *Lucian* spake not more pleasantly than truly, when he said that *Helen*, at the warre of *Troy*, was almost as old as *Queene Hecuba*, considering that she had bene rauished by *Thesus*, the companion of *Hercules*, who tooke *Troy* when *Priamus* was very young; and considering further, that she was sister to *Castor* and *Pollux* (she and *Pollux* being said by some to haue bene twins) who sailed with the *Argonauts*, hauing *Telamon* the father of *A-10 iax* in their companie before the time that *Helen* was taken; on whom *Telamon* begat *Aiax*, that was a principall Commander in the *Troian* warre. But whether it were so that the *Troians* could not, or would not restore *Helen*, so it was that the Embassadors returned ill contented, and not very well intreated; for there wanted not some that aduised to haue them slaine. The *Greekes* hereupon incensed, made all haste towards *Troy*: at which time *Calchas* (whom some say to haue bene a runnagate *Troian*, though no such thing be found in *Homer*) filled the Captaines and all the Hoste with many troublesome answers and diuinations. For he would haue *Agamemnon*s daughter sacrificed to appease *Diana*, whose anger he said withstood their passage. Whether the yong Lady were sacrificed, or whether (as some write) the goddess was contented with a Hinde, it is not needefull here to be disputed of. Sure it is, that the malice of the diuell, which awais for all opportunities, is neuer more importunate, than where mens ignorance is most. *Calchas* also told the *Greekes*, that the taking of *Troy* was impossible, till some fatal impediments were remoued: and that till ten yeeres were past, the towne should hold out against them. All which notwithstanding, the *Greekes* proceeded in their enterprise, vnder the command of *Agamemnon*, who was accompanied with his brother *Menelaus*; *Achilles* the most valiant of all the *Greekes*, his friend *Patroclus*, and his Tutor *Phenix*; *Aiax* and *Teucer*, the sonnes of *Telamon*; *Idomeneus*, and his companion *Meriones*; *Nestor*, and his sonnes *Antilocheus*, and *Thrasymedes*; *Vlysses*, *Meneleus* the sonne of *Petrou*, Captaine of the *Athenians*; *Diomedes* the sonne of *Tydeus*, a man of singular courage; the wife and learned *Palamedes*, *Ascalaphus*, and *Ialmennus*, the sonnes of *Mars*, who had sailed with the *Argonauts*; *Philoctetes* also the sonne of *Peas*, who had the arrowes of *Hercules*, without which *Calchas* said, that the Citie could not be taken; *Aiax* the sonne of *Oileus*, *Penelcus*, *Thas*, *Eumelus*, *Tyandrus*, *Euripilus*, *Athamas*, *Sthenelus*, *Tlepolemus* the sonne of *Hercules*; *Podalyrius*, and *Machaon*, the sonnes of *Ascalapius*; *Epeus*, who is said to haue made the wooden horse, by which the towne was taken; and *Protesilaus*, who first leapt on shore, neglecting the Oracle that threatened death to him that landed first.

§. IIII.

Of the Acts of the Grecians at the siege.

Here, and many other of lesse note, arriuing at *Troy*, found such sharpe entertainment, as might easily perswade them to thinke that the war would be more than one yeeres worke. For in the first encounter, they lost *Pyrotesilaus*, whom *Hector* slew, and many other, without any great harme done to the *Troians*: saue only that by their numbers of men, they won ground enough to incampe themselves in, as appeareth in *Thucydides*. The principall impediment which the *Greekes* found, was want of victuals, which grew vpon them by reason of their multitude, and the finalnesse of their vessels, wherein they could not carry necessaries for such an armie. Hereupon they were compelled to send some part of their men, to labour the ground in *Cherroneffe*: otherto rob vpon the Sea for the reliefe of the Campe. Thus was the war protracted nine whole yeeres, and either nothing done, or if any skirmishes were, yet could the towne receive little losse by them, hauing equall numbers to maintaine the field against such *Greekes* as continued the siege, and a more safe retreat if the enemy got the better.

Wherefore *Ouid* saith, that from the first yeere, till the tenth, there was no fighting at all: and *Heraclides* commendes as very credible, the report of *Herodotus*; That the *Greekes* did not ly before *Troy* the first nine yeeres: but only did beate vp and downe the lesse,

exerc.

exercising their men, and enriching themselves, and so by waisting the enemies Country, did blocke vp the towne, vnto which they returned not, vntill the fatal time drew neere when it should be subuerted.

This is confirmed by the enquire which *Priamus* made, when the *Greeke* Princes came into the field, the tenth yeere, for he knew none of them; and therefore sitting vpon an high tower (as *Homer* tels) he learned their names of *Helen*: which though it is like to be a fiction, yet could it not at all haue bene supposed that he should be ignorant of them, if they had shewed themselves before the towne so many yeeres together. Betwene these relations of *Thucydides* and *Herodotus*, the difference is not much, the one saying that a few of the *Greekes* remained in the Campe before *Troy*, whilst the rest made purveyance by land and by sea: the other, that the whole armie did spend the time in waisting the sea-coasts. Neither doe the Poets greatly disagree from these authors: for they make report of many townes and llands waisted, and the people carried into Captiuitie; in which actions *Achilles* was imployed, whom the armie could not well, nor would haue spared, if any seruice of importance had bene to be performed before the Citie. Howsoeuer it was, this is agreed by generall consenr, that in the beginning of that Summer, in which *Troy* was taken, great booties were brought into the Campe, and a great pestilence arose among the *Greekes*: which *Homer* saith that *Apollo* sent in reuenge of his Priests daughter, whom *Agamemnon* had refused to let goe, for any ranfome: but *Strabellus* interpreting the place, saith that by *Apollo* was meant the Sunne: who raised pestilent fogs, by which the armie was infected, being lodged in a moorish peece of ground. And it might well be that the campe was ouer-pestered with those, who had bene abroad, and now were lodged all close together: hauing also grounded their ships within the fortifications.

About the same time arose much contention betwene *Agamemnon* and *Achilles* about the bootie, whereof *Agamemnon*, as *Genorall*, hauing first chosen for his part a captiue woman, and *Achilles* in the second place chosen for himselfe another, then *Aiax*, *Vlysses*, and so the rest of the chiefe Captaines in order: When the Soothsayer *Calchas* had willed that *Agamemnons* woman should be restored to her father *Apollis* Priest, that so the Pestilence might cease, then did *Agamemnon* greatly rage and say, that hee alone would not lose his part of the spoyle, but would either take that which had bene giuen to *Achilles*, or that which had fallen to *Aiax*, or to *Vlysses*. Hereupon *Achilles* defied him, but was faine to suffer all patiently, as not able to hold his Concubine by strong hand, nor to reuenge her losse otherwile than by refusing to fight, or to send forth his Captaines. But the *Greekes* encouraged by their Captaines, presented themselves before the Citie without him and his troups.

The *Troians* were now relieued with great succours, all the neighbour Countries hauing sent them aide: partly drawne to that warre by their Commanders, who assisted *Priamus* for money, wherewith he abounded when the warre began (as appeares by his words in *Homer*;) or for loue of himselfe and his sonnes, or hope of marriage with some of his many and faire daughters; partly also (as we may well guesse) incited by the wrongs received of the *Greekes*, when they waisted the Countries adioyning vnto *Troy*. So that when *Hector* issued out of the towne, he was little inferior to his enemies in numbers of men, or qualitie of their Leaders. The principall Captaines in the *Troian* armie, were *Hector*, *Paris*, *Deiphobus*, *Helonus*, and the other sonnes of *Priamus*: *Aneas*, *Antenor*, and his sonnes, *Polydamas*, *Sarpedon*, *Glauces*, *Asius*, and the sonnes of *Pantheus*, besides *Rhesus*, who was slaine the first night of his arriuall; *Menon*, *Queene Penthesilea*, and others who came towards the end of the warre. Between these and the *Greekes* were many battels fought: the greatest of which were, that at the tombe of King *Ilus* vpon the plaine: and another at the very trenches of the Campe, wherein *Hector* brake through the fortifications of the *Greekes*, and began to fire their ships; at which time *Aiax*, the sonne of *Telamon* with his brother *Teucer*, were in a manner the onely men of note that remaining vnwounded, made head against *Hector*, when the state of the *Greekes* was almost desperate.

Another battell (for so antiquitie calls it) or rather the same renewed, was fought by *Patroclus*, who hauing obtained leaue, drew forth *Achilles* troups, relieuing the wearie *Greekes* with a fresh supply. *Agamemnon*, *Diomedes*, *Vlysses*, and the rest of the Princes, though sore wounded, yet were driuen to put on armour, and with helpe of *Patroclus*, repelled

repelled the *Troians* very hardly. For in that fight *Patroclus* was lost, and his body, with much contention recovered by his friends, was brought backe into the Campe: the armour of *Achilles* which he had put on, being torne from him by *Hector*. It was the manner of those warres, hauing slaine a man, to strip him and hale away his body, not restoring it without rancome, if he were one of marke. Of the vulgar little reckoning was made: for they fought all on foot, slightly armed, and commonly followed the successe of their Captaines; who rode not vpon horses, but in Chariots, drawne by two or three horses, which were guided by some trustie followers of theirs, which draue vp and downe the field, as they were directed by the Captaines, who by the swiftnesse of their horses presenting themselves where neede required, threw first their Iauelins, and then alighting fought on foot, with swords and batrel-axes, retiring into the ranks of footmen, or else returning to their Chariots when they found cause, and so began againe with a new dart as they could get it, if their old were lost, or broken. Their armes defensiue were helmets, breast-plates, bootes of brasse or other metall, and shields commonly of leather plated over. The offensiue were swords and batrel-axes at hand, and stones, arrowes or darts when they fought at any distance. The vse of their Chariots (besides the swiftnesse) was to keepe them from wearinesse, whereto the leaders were much subiect, because of their armour, which the strongest and stoutest were heauiest: also that from them they might throw their Iauelins downewards, with the more violence. Of which weapon I finde not that any carried more than one or two into the field: wherefore they were often driuen to returne to their Tents for a new one when the old was gone. Likewise of armours they had little change or none; euery man (speaking of the chiefe) carried his owne compleat, of which if any piece were lost or broken, he was driuen to repaire it with the like, if he had any fitting, taken from some Captaine whom he had slaine, and stripped: or else to borrow of them that had by such meanes gotten some to spare. Whereas therefore *Achilles* had lost his armour which *Hector* (as is said before) had taken from the body of *Patroclus*, he was faine to await the making of new, ere he could enter the fight: whereof he became very desirous, that he might reuenge the death of *Patroclus* his deare friend.

At this time *Agamemnon* reconciled himselfe vnto *Achilles*, not onely restoring his concubine *Briseis*, but giuing him very great gifts, and excusing former matters as well as he might. In the next batrell *Achilles* did so behaue himselfe, that he did not onely put the *Troians* to the worst, but also slew the valiant *Hector*, whom (if *Homer* may herein be beleeued) he chased three times about the wals of *Troy*. But great question may be made of *Homers* truth in this narration. For it is not likely that *Hector* would stay alone without the Citie (as *Homer* doth report of him) when all the *Troians* were fled into it: nor that he could leape ouer the riuers of *Xanthus* and *Simois*, as he must haue done in that flight: nor that the *Troians*, perceiuing *Hector* in such an extremity, would haue forborne to open some of their gates and let him in. But this is reported onely to grace *Achilles*, who hauing (by what meanes soeuer) slaine the noble *Hector*, did not onely carry away his dead body, as the custome then was, but boring holes in his feet, and thrusting leatherne thongs into them, tyed him to his Chariot, and dragging him shamefully about the field, selling the dead body to his father *Priamus* for a very great rancome. But his cruelty and couetousnesse were not long vnreueged; for he was shortly after slaine with an arrow by *Paris*, as *Homer* sayes, in the *Scæan* gate, or as others in the Temple of *Apollo*, whither he came to haue married *Polixena* the daughter of *Priamus*, with whom he was too farre in loue, hauing slaine so many of her brethren; and his body was rancommed (as *Lycophron* saith) at the selfe-same rate that *Hector* was by him sold for. Not long after this, *Penthesilea* Queene of the *Amazons* arrived at *Troy*, who after some proofe-giuen of her valour, was slaine by *Pyrhus* the sonne of *Achilles*.

§. V.

Of the taking of *Troy*, the wooden Horse, the Booke of *Dares* and *Dyctis*, the Columns of the reliques of *Troy*.

Finally, after the death of many worthy persons, on each side, the Citie was taken by night, as all writers agree: but whether by the treason of *Astus* and *Antenor*; or by a wooden Horse, as the Poets, and common fame

(which

(which followed the Poets) haue deliuered, it is vncertaine. Some write that vpon one of the gates of *Troy* called *Scæa*, was the image of a horse, and that the *Greekes* entring by that gate, gaue occasion to the report, that the Citie was taken by an artificiall horse. It may well be that with some woooden engine, which they called an Horse, they eiesied did batter the wals, as the *Romanes* in after-times vsed to doe with the Ramme: or scaled the wals vpon the sudden, and so tooke the Citie. As for the hiding of men in the hollow body of a woooden horse, it had bene a desperate aduenture, and seruing to no purpose. For either the *Troians* might haue perceiued the decceit, and slaine all those *Princes of Greece*, that were inclosed in it (which also by such as maintaine this report they are said to haue thought vpon: or they might haue left it a few dayes without the Citie (for it was vnlkely, that they should the very first day both conclude vpon the bringing it into the towne, and breake downe their wals vpon the sudden to doe it:) by which means they who were shut into it, must haue perished for hunger, if they had not by sitting forth vnseasonably discovered the inuention. Whereas further it is said, that this horse was so high and great, that it could not be brought into the towne through any of the gates, and that therefore the *Troians* were faine to pull downe a part of their wall to make way for it, through which breach the *Greekes* did afterwards enter: it is hereby manifest that the inclosing of so many principall men was altogether needelesse, considering that without their helpe there was way sufficient for the armie, so that the surprising of any gate by them was now to no purpose.

Iohn Baptista Gramay in his History of *Asia*, discouering of this warre, saith that the *Greekes* did both batter the wals with a woooden engine, and were also let into the Citie by *Antenor*, at the *Scæan* gate: the towne then sleeping and drinking without feare or care, because the fleet of the *Græcians* had hoisted saile, and was gone the day before to the Ile of *Tenedos*, thereby to bring the *Troians* into securitie. That the Citie was betrayed, the books of *Dares* and *Dyctis* must proue, which whether we now haue the same that were by them writtē, it may be suspected; for surely they who haue made mention of these writers in ancient times, would not, as they did, haue followed the reports of *Homer* and others quite contradictorie in most points to these two authors, without once taking notice of the opposition, which they hauing serued in that warre made against the common report; had it not bene that either those bookes were euē in those times thought triuolous; or else contained no such repugnancie to the other authors as now is found in them.

Also concerning the number of men slaine in this warre, which *Dares* and *Dyctis* say to haue bene about 600000. on the *Troian* side, and more than 800000. of the *Greekes*, it is a report merely fabulous; for as much as the whole fleet of the *Greekes* was reckoned by *Homer*, who extolled their armie and deedes as much as he could, to be somewhat lesse than 1200. saile, and the armie therein transported ouer the *Greeke* seas, not much about 100000. men, according to the rate formerly mentioned. But it is the common fashion of men to extoll the deedes of their Ancients: for which cause both *Homer* magnified the Captaines of the *Greekes* that serued in the warre, and *Virgil* with others were as diligent in commending and extolling the *Troians* and their Citie, from which the *Romans* descended. Yea the *Athenians* long after in the warre which *Xerxes* the *Persian* King made against all *Greece*, did not forbear to vaunt of the great cunning which *Mnefseus* the sonne of *Petens* had shewed, in marshalling the *Græcians* army before *Troy*: whereupon, as if it had bene a matter of much consequence, they were so proud, that they refused to yeeld vnto *Gelon* King of almost all *Sicily*, the Admirall of their Seas, notwithstanding that he promised to bring 200. good fighting ships, and 30000. men for their defence.

The like vanitie possessed many other Cities of *Greece*, and many Nations in these parts of the world, which haue striven to bring their descent from some of the *Princes*, that warred at *Troy*: all difficulties or vnlikelihoods in such their Pedigree notwithstanding. But those Nations which indeede, or in most probability came of the *Troians*, were the *Albanes* in *Italy*; and from them the *Romans*, brought into that Countrey by *Aneas*: the *Venetians* first seated in *Padua*, and the Countrey adioyning by *Antenor*: the *Chaonians* planted in *Epirus* by *Helenus*, the sonne of King *Priamus*. To which *Hellenicus* addeth, that the posteritie of *Hector* did resemble such of the *Troians* as were left, and reigned ouer them about *Troy*.

§. V. I.

Of the distresses and dispersions of the Greekes returning from Troy.

Oncerning the Greekes, they tasted as much misery as they had brought vpon the Troians. For *Thucydides* notes, that by reason of their long abode at the siege, they found many alterations when they returned: so that many were driven by their borderers from their ancient seats: many were expelled their Countries by faction: some were slaine anon after their arrivall: others were debarred from the So- ueraignty among the people, by such as had stayed at home. The cause of all which may seeme to haue beene the dispersion of the armie, which weakened much by the calamities of that long warre, was of little force to repell iniuries, being diuided into so many pieces vnder severall Commanders, not very well agreeing. For besides other quarrels arising vpon the diuision of the bootie, and the like occasions at the time when they should haue set saile, *Agamemnon* and his brother fell out, the one being desirous to depart immediately, the other to stay and performe some sacrifices to *Minerva*. Hereupon they fell to hot words, halfe the fleet remaining with *Agamemnon*, the rest of them sailed to the Ile of *Tenedos*; where when they arrived, they could not agree among themselves, but some returned backe to *Agamemnon*; others were dispersed, each holding his owne course. But the whole fleet was sore vexed with tempests: for *Pallas* (as *Homer* saith) would not be perswaded in haste.

They who returned safe were *Nestor* and *Pyrhus*, whom *Orestes* afterwards slew: also *Idomeneus*, and *Philoctetes*, who neuertheless, as *Virgil* tels, were driven soone after to seek new seats: *Idomeneus* among the *Salentines*, and *Philoctetes* at *Petilia* in *Italie*. *Agamemnon* likewise returned home, but was forthwith slaine by his wife and by the adulterer *Agyllus*, who for a while after vsurped his Kingdome. *Menelaus* wandering long vpon the Seas, came into *Agypt*, either with *Helen*, or (as may rather seeme) to fetch her. *Phyllis*, after ten yeeres, having lost all his company, got home in poore estate, with much adoe recouering the mastership of his own house. All the rest either perished by the way, or were driven into exile, and faine to seek new habitations.

Aias the sonne of *Oileus* was drowned; *Tenues* fled into *Cyprus*; *Diomedes* to King *Damius*, who was Lord of the *Lapyges* in *Apulia*; some of the *Locrians* were driven into *Affricke*, others into *Italie*, all the East part whereof was called *Magna Gracia*, by reason of so many townes which the Greekes were driven to erect vpon that coast. Finally, it appears in *Homer*, that the *Gracian* Ladies, whose husbands had bene at the ware of *Troy*, were wont to call it; The place where the Greekes suffered miserie, and the vnluckie Citie not to be mentioned. And thus much for *Troy* and those that warred there: the overthrow of which Citie, as hath bene said, happened in the time of *Habdon* Iudge of *Israel*, whom *Samson* after a variance or *Interregnum* for certaine yeeres succeeded.

CHAP. XV.

Of Samson, Eli, and Samuel.

§. I.

Of Samson.

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THE birth and acts of *Samson* are written at large in the 13. 14. 15. and 16. of *Judges*; and therefore I shall not neede to make a repetition thereof. But these things I gather out of that storie. First, that the *Angell* of *God* forbade the wife of *Manah* the mother of *Samson*, to drinke wine or strong drinke, or to eat any vncleane meate, after shee was conceived with childe; because those strong liquors hinder the strength, and as it were wither and shrinke the childe in the mothers wombe. Though this were even the counsell of *God* himselfe, and deliuered by his *Angell*, yet it seemeth that many women of this age haue not read,

or at least will not beleue this precept: the most part forbearing nor drinke, nor meate, how strong or vncleane soeuer, filling themselves with all sorts of wines, and with artificiall drinke farre more forcible: by reason whereof, so many wretched feeble bodies are borne into the world, and the races of the able and strong men in effect decayed.

Secondly, it is to be noted, that the *Angell* of *God* refused the sacrifice which *Manah* would haue offered him, commanding him to present it vnto the Lord: and therefore those that professe diuination by the helpe of *Angels*, to whom also they sacrifice, may assuredly know that they are *Diuels* who accept thereof, and not good *Angels*, who receive no worship that is proper to *God*.

Thirdly, this *Samson* was twice betrayed by his wifes, to wit, by their importunity and deceitfull teares: by the first he lost but a part of his goods: by the second his life. *Quem nulla vis superare potuit, voluptas evertit; Whom no force could overmaster, Voluptas posse evertit.*

Fourthly, we may note, that he did not in all deliuer *Israel* from the oppression of the *Philistims*; though in some sort he reuenged, and defended them: for notwithstanding that he had slaine 30. of them in his first attempt, burnt their Corne in harvest time, and giuen them a great overthrow instantly vpon it: yet so much did *Israel* feare the *Philistims*, as they assembled 3000. men out of *Iuda*, to besiege *Samson* in the rocke or mountaine of *Etam*, vying these words: *Knowest not thou that the Philistims are Rulers over 20. yrs.* After which they bound him, and deliuered him vnto the *Philistims*, for feare of their reuenge; though he was no sooner loosened, but he gaue them an other overthrow, and slew 1000. with the iawbone of an *Assle*.

Lastly, being made blinde, and a prisoner by the treason of his wife, he was content to end his owne life, to be auenged of his enemies, when he pulled downe the pillars of the house at the feast whereto they sent for *Samson*, to deride him, till which time he bare his affliction with patience: but it was truly said of *Seneca*, *Patientia saepe laesa vertitur in furor.* Patience often wounded is converted into furie: neither is it at any time so much wounded by paine and losse, as by derision and contumelie.

§. II.

Of Eli, and of the Arke taken; and of Dagon's fall, and the sending back of the Arke.

THE storie of *Eli* the Priest, who succeeded *Samson*, is written in the beginning of *Samuel*; who foretold him of the destruction of his house, for the wickednesse of his sonnes, which he suppressed not, neither did he punish them according to their deserts: whose sinnes were horrible, both in abusing the Sacrifice, and profaning and polluting the holy places: though *Leui Ben Gerson*, to extenuate this filthy offence of forcing the women by the sonnes of *Eli*, hath a contrary opinion. In this time therefore it pleased *God* to cast the *Israelites* vnder the swords of the *Philistims*; 40 of whom there perished in the first encounter 4000. and in the second battell 30000. footmen; among whom the sonnes of *Eli* being slaine, their father (hearing the lamentable successe) by falling from his chaire, brake his necke. He was the first that obtained the High-Priesthood of the stocke of *Ithamar* the sonne of *Aaron*, before whose time it continued successiually in the race of *Eleazar* the eldest brother of *Ithamar*: for *Aaron* was the first, *Eleazar* the second, *Phinees* the sonne of *Eleazar* the third, *Abisue* the sonne of *Phinees* the fourth, his sonne *Bocci* the fifth, *Ozi* the sonne of *Bocci* the sixth, and then *Eli*, as *Iosephus* and *Lyranus* out of diuers *Hebrew* authors haue conceined. In the race of *Ithamar* the Priesthood continued after *Eli* to the time of *Salomon* who cast out *Abiathar*, and established *Sadock* and *Achimias* and their successors. The Arke 50 of *God* which *Israel* brought into the field, was in this battell taken by the *Philistims*. For as *David* witnesseth, *God greatly abhorred Israel, so that he forsooke the habitation of Shilo: even the Tabernacle where he dwelt among men, and deliuered his power into captiuitie, &c.*

Now as it pleased *God* at this time, that the *Arke* whereby himselfe was represented, should fall into the hands of the Heathen, for the offences of the Priests and people: so did he permit the *Chaldeans* to destroy the Temple built by *Salomon*, the *Romans* to overthrow the second Temple; and the *Turkes* to overthrow the *Christian Churches* in *Asia* and *Europe*. And had not the *Israelites* put more confidence in the sacrament,

sacrament, or representation which was the *Arke*, then in God himselfe, they would have observed his Lawes, and ferued him onely: which whensoever they did, they were then victorious. For after the captiuitie they had no *Arke* at all, nor in the times of the *Macchabees*: and yet for their picie it pleased God to make that familie as victorious as any that garded themselves by the signe in stead of the substance. And that the *Arke* was not made to the end to be carried into the field as an ensigne; *Dauid* witnessed when he fled from *Absalon*. For when the Priests would haue carried the *Arke* with him; he forbade it, and caused it to be turned into the Citie, vjing these words: *If I shall finde fauour in the eyes of the Lord, he will bring me againe: if not, let him doe to me as seemeth good in his eyes.*

The *Troians* beleued that while their *Palladium* or the image of *Minerua* was kept in *Troy*, the Citie should neuer be ouerturned: so did the *Christians* in the last fatal battell against *Saladine* carry into the field, as they were made beleue, the very Crosse whereon *Christ* died; and yet they lost the battell, their bodies and the wood. But *Chrysostome* vpon *Saint Matthew* (if that be his worke) giueth a good iudgement, speaking of those that wore a part of *Saint Johns* Gospell about their neckes, for an amulet or preseruatiue: *Si tibi ca non profuit in auribus, quomodo proderunt in Colla? If those words doe not profit men in their eares, (to wit, the hearing of the Gospell preached) how should it profit them by hanging it about their neckes?* For it was neither the wood of the *Arke*, nor the wood of the Crosse, but the reuerence of the Father, that gaue the one for a memorie of his Couenant: and the Faith in his Sonne, which shed his blood on the 20 other for redemption, that could or can profit them and vs, either in this life or after it.

The *Philistims* returning with the greatest victorie and glory which euer they obtained, carried the *Arke of God* with them to *Azotus*, and set it vp in the house of *Dagon* their Idoll: but that night the Idoll fell out of his place, from aboute to the ground, and lay vnder the *Arke*. The morning following they tooke it vp, and set it vp, and set it againe in his place. And it fell the second time, and the head brake from the body, and the hands from the armes, shewing that it had nor power, nor vnderstanding in the presence of God; for the head fell off, which is the seat of reason and knowledge, and the hands (by which we execute strength) were sundred from the armes. For God and the diuell inhabit not in one house, nor in one heart. And if this Idoll could not endure 30 the representation of the true God, it is not to be marauiled, that at such time as it pleased him to couer his onely Begotten with flesh, and sent him into the world, that all the *Oracles*, wherein the Diuell derided and betrayed mortall men, lost power, speech, and operation at the instant. For when that true light which had never beginning of brightness, brake through the clouds of a Virgins body, shining vpon the earth which had bin long obscured by Idolatry, all those foule and stinking vapours vanished. *Plutarch* rehearseth a memorable accident in that age concerning the death of the great god *Pan*, as he stileth him; where (as ignorant of the true cause) he starcheth his braines for many reasons of so great an alteration: yet finds he none out but frivulous. For not onely this old Diuell did then die as he supposed, but all the rest, as *Apollo*, *Iupiter*, *Diana*, and the whole 40 rabble became speechlesse.

Now while the *Philistims* triumphed after this victory, God strooke them with the grievous disease of the *Hamorrhoides* of which they perished in great numbers. For it is written that *the Lord destroyed them*. It was therefore by generall consent ordered, that the *Arke* should be removed from *Azotus* to *Gath* or *Gez* another of the five great Cities of the *Philistims*; to proue, as it seemeth, whether this disease were fallen on them by accident, or by the hand of God immediatly: but when it was brought to *Gath* and received by them, the plague was yet more grievous and mortall. For the hand of the Lord was against this Citie with a very great destruction, and he smote the men of the Citie both small and great, &c. And being not yet satisfied, they of *Gath* sent the *Arke* to *Ekron* 50 or *Accaron*, a third Citie of the *Philistims*: but they also felt the same smart, and cryed out that themselves and their people should be flaine thereby: For there was a destruction and death throughout all the Citie. In the end, by the aduice of their Priests, the Princes of the *Philistims* did not onely resolute to returne the *Arke*, but to offer gifts vnto the God of *Israel*, remembering the plague which had fallen on the *Egyptians*, when their hearts were hardened to hold the people of God from their inheritance, and from his seruice by strong hand. Wherefore confessing the power of the God of *Israel* to be almighty, &c. that their owne Idols were subiect thereunto, they agreed to offer a sinne offering,

vjing these words; *So ye shall giue glorie to the God of Israel, that hee may take his hand from you, and from your gods, and from your land.* And what can be a more excellent witnessing, than where an enemy doth approue our cause? according to *Aristotle*: *Pulchrum est testimonium, quo nostra probantur ab hostibus.* So did *Pharao* confesse the liuing God, when he was plagued in *Egypt*: and *Nabuchodonosor*, and *Darius*; when they had seene his miracles by *Daniel*.

This counsell therefore of the Priests being embraced, and the golden *Hamorrhoides*, and the golden Mice prepared, they caused two milch kine to be chosen, such as had not bene yoked, and a new Cart or carriage to be framed: but they durst not driue or direct it to any place certaine, thereby to make triall whether it were indeed the hand of God that had stricken them. For if the *Arke of God* were carried towards *Bethshemesh* and into the territorie of *Israel*: then they should resolute that from God only came their late destruction. For the *Philistims* knew that the milch Kine which drew the *Arke*, could not be forced from their Calues, but that they would haue followed them wheresoeuer, much lesse when they were left to themselves would they trauell a contrary way. For in the darkest night in the world if Calues be removed from their dammes, the kine will follow them through woods, and desarts by the foote, till they finde them. But the kine travelled directly towards *Bethshemesh*: and when they came into the fields thereof, to wit, of one *Ismael* of the same Citie, they stood still there; which when the Princes of the *Philistims* perceived, they returned to *Ekron*. After which, God spared not his owne people the *Bethshemites*, in that they presumed to looke into the *Arke*. And because they knew God and his commandements, and had bene taught accordingly: he strook them more grievously then he did the Heathen, for there perished of them fiftie thousand and fourtie. From hence the *Arke* was carried to *Kiriath-iearim* and placed in the house of *Abinadab*; where it is written that it remained twentie yeers in the charge of *Eliab* his sonne, vntill *Dauid* brought it to *Hierusalem*.

Now whereas it is said, that in the meane while the *Arke* was in *Nob*, *Mispah*, and *Gad-gala*, it was the Tabernacle, which was at this time ferued from the *Arke*: or at least it was for the present occasion brought to these places, and anon returned to *Kiriath-iearim*.

§. III.

Of Samuel, and of his Government.

These Tragedies ouerpast and ended, *Samuel*, to whom God appeared while hee was yet a childe, became now Iudge and Gouernour of *Israel*. He was descended of the familie of *Chore* or *Korach*. For *Leui* had three sonnes; *Gerson*, *Cheth*, and *Merari*: *Cheth* had *Amram*, and *Leazar*; of *Amram* came *Moses* and *Aaron*; of *Leazar*, *Chore*: and of the familie of *Chore*, *Samuel*. His father *Eliab* was a *Leuite*, was called an *Ephraimite*, not that the *Leuites* had any proper inheritance, but because he was of Mount *Ephraim*, like as *Iesse*, *Dauids* father was called an *Ephraimite*, because borne at *Ephrata*, or *Bethleem*. *Hannah* his mother being long fruitlesse, obtained him of God by prayers and teares: it being an exceeding shame to the Iewish women, to be called barren in respect of the blessing of God both to *Abraham* that his seed should multiply as the Starres of Heauen, and the sands of the Sea; as in the beginning to *Adam*, *Increase and multiply*, &c. and in *Deuteronomie* the fourth; *There shall bee neither male nor female barren among you.*

Samuel was no sooner borne, but that his mother, according to her former vow, dedicated him to God, and his seruice, to which the deliuered him euen from the dugges. For as the first borne of all that were called *Nazarites*, might be redeemed till they were five yeeres old for five sheekles, and betwene five yeeres add twentie for twentie sheekles: so it was not required by the Law that any of the race of the *Leuites* should bee called to seruice about the Tabernacle, till they were five and twenty yeeres.

Saint Peter reckons in the Acts the Prophets from *Samuel*, who was the first of the writers of holy Scriptures, to whom usually this name of a Prophet was giuen, and yet did *Moses* account himselfe such a one; as in the 18. of *Deuteronomie*, *The Lord thy God will raise vp unto thee a Prophet like vnto mee*, &c. But hee is distinguished from those that preceded him, who were called *Seers*; as *Beforetime* in *Israel*, when a man went to seeke an answer

Which region was called *Ephrata*, as Josephus saith, *Indica*, Gen. 35. 19. From the region of *Ephrata*, which is in Mount *Ephraim*, whence *Ephraim* is put for *Sib*, which was in the Tribe of *Ephraim*.

1. Sam. 9.

answer of God, thus he spake : Come and let us goe to the Seer : for he that is now called a Prophet, was in old time called a Seer. And although it pleased God to appear by his Angels to Moses, as before to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob ; yet in the time of Eli, there was no manifest vision ; not that God had altogether with-drawn his grace from Israel : but as the *Childean Paraphrast* hath it, those reuelations before Samuels time, were more clouded and obscure. The places wherein Samuel iudged were *Maispa* or *Mispa*, seated on a hill in Benjamin neere Iuda : also *Gilgal*, and *Bethel*, of which wee haue spoken elsewhere.

The Philistims taking knowledge of the assembly and preparation for Warre at *Mispa* in the beginning of Samuels government, gathered their Armie and marched towards the Citie : at whose approach the Israelites stricken with feare, and with the memorie of their former slaughters and seruitude, besought Samuel to pray to God for them ; who was then performing his sacrifice when the Philistims were in view. But God being moued with Samuels prayers (as he was by those of Moses, when Israel fought against the Amalekites at their first entrance into Arabia.) It pleased him with thunder and tempest to disperse and beate downe the Armie of the Philistims, according to the prophesie of Hanna, Samuels Mother, *The Lords aduersaries shall be destroyed, and out of heauen shall be thunder upon them, &c.* Iosephus affirms, that a part of the Philistims were swallowed with an earth-quake : and that Samuel himselfe led the Israelites in the prosecution of their victory. After which Samuel erected a Monument in memorie of this happy success, obtained by the miraculous hand of God ; which Iosephus called, *Lapidem iurum* : Samuel, Ebenezer, or the stone of assistance : and then following the opportunitie and advantage of the victory, the Israelites recouered diuers Cities of their owne formerly lost, and held long in possession of the Philistims, who for a long time after did not offer any insuasion or reuenge. And the better to attend their purposes, and to withstand any of their attempts, the Israelites made peace with the Amorites, or Canaanites, which lay on their backes, and to the North of them, that they might not be assailed from diuers parts at once ; hauing the Philistims towards the West and Sea-coast, the Canaanite toward the North and East, and the Idumite on the South. The estate being thus settled, Samuel for the ease of the people gaue audience and iudgement in diuers places by turns, as hath bene elsewhere said.

CHAP. XVI.

OF SAUL.

§. I.

Of the deliberation to change the government into a Kingdome.



VT when age now began to ouer-take Samuel, and that he was not able to vnder-goe the burthen of so careful a government, he put off from himselfe the waight of the affaires on his sonnes, Ioel and Abijah, who iudged the people at *Beerseba*, a Citie the very vtmost towards the South of Iudea. And as the place was inconuenient and farre away, so were themselves no lesse removed from the iustice and vertue of their Father : For the thirst of couetousnesse, the more it swalloweth, the more it drieth, and desireth, finding taste in nothing but gaine, to recouer which, they set the Law at a price, and sold Iustice and Iudgement to the best Chapman. Which so when the Elders of Israel obserued, and saw that Samuel as a naturall man (though a Prophet) could not so well discern the errors of his owne, they prayed him to consent to their change of government, and to make them a King, by whom they might be iudged as other Nations were ; who might also leade them to the Warre and defend them against their enemies. For after the ill and lamentable successe which followed the rule of Eli his sonnes, when those of Samuel by their first blossomes promised to yeelde fruit no lesse bitter, they saw no way to put the government from out his race, whom they so much reuerenced, but by the choice of a King.

In a caule of so great consequence and alteration, Samuel sought counsaile from God : which Iudely he did not for the establishing of his owne Sonnes ; who being as they were, God would not haue approoued his election. Now as it appears by the Text, this speech or motion displeasing him, heeued his best arguments to dehort them : which when he perceived to be ouer-faible, he deliuered vnto them from Gods reuelation, the inconueniences and miseries which should befall them. And yet, all which hee fore-shewed was not intolerable, but such as hath bene borne, and is to still by free consent of the Subjects towards their Princes. For first hee makes them know, that the King will vnder his sonnes in his owne seruice to make them his Horse-men, Chariotters, and Foot-men ; which is not only not grievous, but by the Vassals of all Kings according to their birth and condition, desired : it being very agreeable to subiects of the best qualitie to command for the King in his Warres, and to till the ground no lesse proper and appertaining to those that are thereto breed and brought vp : so are likewise the offices of women seruants to dresse meate, to bake bread, and the like. But whereas immediately it is threatened, *Hee will take your Fields, and your Vineyards, and your best Olive trees, and giue them to his seruants* ; with other oppressions ; this hath giuen, and giues daily occasion to such as would be ruled by their owne discretion, to affirme that Samuel describeth here vnto them the power of a King, gouerned by his owne affections, and not a King that feareth God. But others vpon further examination confuteth this Text faire otherwise, as teaching vs what Subiects ought with patience to beare at their Soueraigns hand.

The former opinion is grounded first vpon that place of *Deuteronomie*, where God fore-sheweth this change of government from Iudges to Kings ; and after hee had forbidden many things vnto the Kings, as many wiues, couetousnesse, and the like : hee commandeth that the Kings which were to reigne ouer Israel, should write the Law of *Deuteronomie*, or cause it to be written : and to shew how greatly the King should honour the Law, he addeth, *It shall be with him, and he shall reade therein all the dayes of his life : that he may learn to feare the Lord his God, and to keepe all the words of this Law, and these ordinances for to doe them : that hee may prolong his daies in his Kingdome, hee and his Sonnes.* But to take away any other mans field, say they, is contrary to the Lawes of God, in the same

booke written. For it is said, *That which is just and right shall thou follow, that thou mayest* *Deut. 16.*

Now if it be not permitted to carrie away grapes more than thou canst eat out of another mans vineyard, but forbidden by God : it is much lesse lawfull to take the vineyard itselfe from the owner, and giue it to another. Neither are the words of the Text (say they) such as doe warrant the Kings of Israel, or make it proper vnto them, to take at will any thing from their vassalls. For it is not said that it shall be lawfull for the King, or the King may doe this or that : but it is written, that the King will take your sonnes : and againe, *This shall be the manner of the King that shall reigne ouer you. God thereby fore-shewing what power seuered from pietie, (because it is accountable to God onely) will doe in the future.* And hereof we finde the first example in *Achab*, who tooke from *Naboth* both his Vineyard and his life, contrary to the trust which God had put in him, of gouerning well his people. For God commanded, *That his people should be iudged with righteous iudgement.* Wherefore, though the King had offered vnto *Naboth* composition, as a Vineyard of better value, or the worth in money which he refused : yet because hee was falsly accused, and vniuistly condemned (though by colour of law,) how grievously *Achab* was punished by God, the Scriptures tell vs. Neither was it a plea sufficient for *Achab* against the all-righteous God, to say that it was done without his consent, and by the Elders of Israel. For God had not then left his people to the Elders, but to the King, who is called a liuing Law, euen as *Dauid* testifieth of himselfe : *Posuisti me in caput gentium* : For this of *S. Augustine* is very true : *Simulata innocentia, non est innocentia : simulata aquitas non est aquitas : sed duplicatur peccatum in quo est iniquitas, & simulatio.* Fained innocence, and fained equitie, are neither the one nor the other : but the fault or offence is there doubled, in which there is both iniquitie and dissimulation. Such in effect is their disposition, who thinke this place to containe the description of a Tyrant. But the arguments on the contrary side, as they are many and forcible, so are they well knowne to all, being excellently handled in that Princely discourse of *The true Law of free Monarchies*, which Treasurie may not presume to abridge, much lesse here to inferre. Onely thus much I will say, that if practice doe shew the greameste of authoritie, euen the best Kings of Iuda and Israel were not tied by any lawes, but that they did whatsoeuer they pleased in the

1 Sam. 12.
See in this
booke, 12. §.

* Plutarcho reports of Numa the second King of Rome, that when as hee was sacrificing it was told him that the enemies approached, he nothing dismayed, answered, Ego autem sacrifico. 1 Sam. 12. 10.

10 §.

Deut. 17. 16

Deut. 16.

the greatest things, and commanded some of their owne Princes, and of their owne brethren to be slaine without any triall of law, being sometime by Prophets reprehended, sometime not. For though *David* confessed his offence for the death of *Nriah*, yet *Salomon* killing his elder brother and others, the same was not imputed vnto him as any offence.

That the state of *Israel* should receiue this change of government, it was not onely fore-told by *Moses* in *Deuteronomie*, but perceived by *Jacob* in this Scripture: *The Scepter shall not depart from Iuda, &c.* It was also promised by God to *Abraham* for a blessing: For it was not only assured that his issues should in number equall the Starres in heaven, but that Kings should proceed of him: Which state seeing it is framed from the pattern of his sole rule, who is Lord of the Vniuersall; and the excellencie thereof in respect of all other governments, hath bene by many iudicious men handled and proued, I shall not need to ouer-paint that which is garnished with better colouts already, than I can lay on.

In the time of the Iudges every man hath obserued what ciuill Warre *Israel* had: what outrageous slaughters they committed vpon each other: in what miserable seruitude they liued for many yeeres: and when it fared best with them, they did but defend their owne Territories, or recouer some parts thereof formerly lost. The *Canaanites* dwelt in the best vallies of the Countrey. The *Ammonites* held much of *Gilead* ouer *Jordan*; the *Philistines* the Sea-coasts; and the *Iebusites* *Ierusalem* it selfe, till *Dauids* time: all which that King did not onely conquer and establish, but hee mastered and subiected all the neighbour Nations, and Kings, and made them his tributaries and vassals. But whether it were that the *Israelites* were moued by those reasons, which allure the most of all Nations to liue vnder a Monarch, or whether by this means they sought to be deered from the finnes of *Samuel*, they became deafe to all the perswasions and threats which *Samuel* vsed; insinuating vpon this point, that they would haue a King, both to iudge them and defend them: whereunto when *Samuel* had warrant from God to consent, hee sent euery man to his owne Citie and abiding.

§. II. Of the election of Saul.

After that *Samuel* had dismissed the assembly at *Mizpah*, hee forbore the election of a King, till such time as he was therein directed by God: who fore-told him the day before, that he would present vnto him a man of the Land of *Beniamin*, whom he commanded *Samuel* to anoint. So *Samuel* went vnto *Ramath Sephim*, to make a feast for the entertainment of *Saul* (whom yet he knew not, but knew the truth of Gods promises) and *Saul* also hauing wandered diuers daies to seeke his fathers asses, at length by the aduice of his seruant travelled towards *Ramath*, to finde a *Seer* or *Prophet*, hoping from him to be told what way to take, to finde his beasts. In which journey it pleased God (who doth many times order the greatest things by the simplest passages, and persons) to elect *Saul*, who fought an Assie, and not a Kingdome: like as formerly it had pleased him to call *Moses*, while he fed the sheepe of *Zethro*; and after to make choise of *Dauid* the yongest of eight finnes, and by the *Scriptures* called a little one, who was then keeping of beasts; and changed his sheep-hooke into a Scepter, making him of all other the most victorious King of *Iuda* and *Israel*. So *Iohn* and *Jacob* were taken from casting their nets, to become fishers of men, and honoured with the titles of *Apostles*, a dignitie that died not in the graue, as all worldly Honours doe: but permanent and euerslasting in Gods euerslasting Kingdome.

When *Samuel* was entred into *Ramath*, he prepared a banquet for the King, whom hee expected, and stayed his arrival at the gate. Not long after came *Saul*, whom God shewed to *Samuel*, and made him know that it was the same whom hee had fore-told him of, that hee should rule the people of God. *Saul* finding *Samuel* in the gate, but knowing him not, though a Prophet and Iudge of *Israel*, much lesse knowing the Honour which attended him, asked *Samuel* in what part of the Citie the *Seer* dwelt. *Samuel* answered, that himselfe was the man hee sought, and prayed *Saul* to goe before him to the high place, where *Samuel* sitting him according to his degree, about all that were invited, conferred with him afterwards of the affaires of the Kingdome, and of Gods

Gods graces to bee bestowed on him, and the morning following annointed him King of *Israel*.

After this he told him all that should happen him in the way homeward, that two men should incounter him by *Rahels* Sepulcher, who should tell him that his Asses were found, and that his Fathers cares were changed from the feare of losing his beasts, to doubt the losse of his Sonne: that he should then meet three other men in the plaine of *Tabor*; then a company of Prophets: and that hee should be partaker of Gods spirit, and prophetic with them: and that thereby his condition and disposition should be changed from the vulgar, into that which became a King elected and fauoured by God.

But the Prophets here spoken of, men inuited with spirituall gifts, were not of the first and most reuerenced number, who by diuine reuelation fore-told things to come, reprehended without feare the errors of their Kings, and wrought miracles; of which number were *Moses*, *Iosua*, *Samuel*, & after them *Gad*, *Nathan*, *Ahiah*, *Elias*, *Elisha*, *Isay*, *Ieremie*, and theret; for these Prophets, saith *S. Chrysostome*, *Omnia tempora percurrunt, praeterita, praesentia, & futura*: but they were of those of whom *S. Paul* speaketh of *1. Cor. 14. 14.* who inuined with spirituall gifts, expounded the *Scriptures* and the Law.

At *Mizpah* *Samuel* assembled the people, that he might present *Saul* to them, who as yet knew nothing of his election: neither did *Saul* acquaint his owne Vncle therewith, when he asked him what had past betwene him and *Samuel*: for either hee thought his estate not yet assured, or else that it might be dangerous for him to reueale it, till he were confirmed by generall consent. When the Tribes were assembled at *Mizpah*, the generall opinion is, that he was chosen by lot. *Chimbit* thinks by the answer of ** Vrim* and ** Thumim*: that is, by the answer of the Priest, wearing that myserie vpon his brest, when he asked counsaile of the Lord. But the casting of lots was not onely much vsed among the *Iewes*, but by many others, if not by all nations. The Land of promise was diuided by lot: God commanded lots to be cast on the two Goates, which should be sacrificed, and which turned off: a figure of Christs suffering, and our deliuerance, for whose garments the *Iewes* also cast lots. *Cicero*, *Plinius*, *Pausanias*, and others haue remembered diuers sorts of lots, vsed by the *Romanes*, *Graecians*, and other Nations: as in the diuision of grounds or honours; and in things to bee vnder-taken: the two first kinds were called diuiniurie; the third, diuinatory; and vnto one of these three all may be reduced: all which kinds howeouer they may seeme chancefull, are yet ordered and directed by God: as in the *Proverbs*: *The lot is cast into the lap, But the whole disposition is of the Lord.* And in like sort: fell the Kingdome of *Israel* on *Saul*, not by chance, but by Gods ordinance, who gaue *Samuel* former knowledge of his election: from which election *Saul* with-drew himselfe in modestie, as both *Iosephus* confers it, and as it may be gathered by his former answers to *Samuel*, when hee acknowledged himselfe the least of the least Tribe. But *Samuel* enlightened by God, found where *Saul* was hidden, and brought him among the people, and hee was taller then all the rest by the shoulders. And *Samuel* made them know that hee was the chosen King of *Israel*, whereupon all the multitude saluted him King, and prayed for him; yet some there were that enuied his glorie (as in all estates there are such) who did not acknowledge him by offering him presents, as the manner was: of whom *Saul*, to auoide sedition, tooke no notice.

§. III. Of the establishing of Saul by his first victorie.

Sooner was *Saul* placed in the Kingdome, but that hee receiued knowledge that *Nahash* King of the *Ammonites* prepared to besiege *Iabes Gilead*: which Nation since the great ouerthrow giuen them by *Iephtha*, neuer durst attempt anie thing vpon the *Israelites*, till the beginning of *Saul* his rule. And although the *Ammonites* did alwaies attend vpon the aduantage of time, to recouer those Territories which first the *Amorites*, and then *Israel* dispossessed them of; which they made the ground of their intiation in *Iephtha's* time; yet they neuer perswaded themselves of more aduantage than at this present. For first they knew that there were many of the *Israelites* that did not willingly submit themselves to this new King: secondly, they were remembered that the *Philistines* had not long before slaine 34000. of their men of Warre: and besides had

used great care and policie that they should haue no Smithies to make them swords or speares: neither was it long before, that of the *Bethshemites* and places adioyning, there perished by the hand of God more then 50000. and therefore in these respects, euē occasion it selfe inuited them to enlarge their Dominions vpon their borderers: *Iabes Gilead* being one of the neerest. Besides, it may further be coniectured, that the *Ammonites* were imboldened against *Iabes Gilead*, in respect of their weaknesse: since the *Israelites* destroyed a great part of them, for not ioyning with them against the *Beniamites*: at which time they did not onely slaughter the men and male-children, but took from them their yong women, and gaue them to the *Beniamites*: and therefore they were not likelie to haue beene increased to any great numbers: and if they had recouered themselves of this great calamitie, yet the *Ammonite* might flatter himselfe with the opinion, that *Israel* hauing for long time bene disarmed by the *Philistims*, was not apt to succour those whom they had so deeply wounded and destroyed. But contrariwise, when the tidings came to *Saul* of their danger, and that the *Ammonites* would giue them no other condition to ransom themselves, but by pulling out their right eyes, by which they should beverly disabled for the Warre, as elsewhere hath bene spoken: *Saul*, both to value himselfe in his first yeeres reigne, and because perchance hee was defended of one of those 400. Maides taken from the *Gileadites*, and giuen to the *Beniamites*, gaue order to assemble the forces of *Israel*, heuing a yoke of Oxen into pieces, and sending them by messengers ouer all the coasts, protelling thus: *That whosoever came not forth after Saul and after Samuel, so should his Oxen be serued*: threatening the people by their goods, and not by their liues at the first. Seven dayes had *Saul* to assemble an Armie, by reason that the *Gileadites* had obtained the respite of these seven daies to giue *Nabab* the *Ammonite* an answer: who, could they haue obtained any reasonable condition, were contented to haue leuied themselves from *Israel*, and to become Vassals and Tributaries to the Heathen. In the meane while *Saul* assembled the forces which repaired vnto him at *Bezer*, neere *Jordan*, that he might readily passe the Riuer; which done, he might in one day with a speedie march arrive at *Iabes*, vnder the Hills of *Gilead*.

The Armie by *Saul* led, consisting of three hundred and thirty thousand, hee returned an answer to those of *Iabes*, that they should assure themselves of succour by the next day at noone. For, as it seemeth, *Saul* marched away in the latter part of the day, and went on all night; for in the morning watch hee surprized the Armie of *Nabab* the *Ammonite*. And to the end that hee might set on them on all sides, hee diuided his forces into three parts, putting them to the sword vntill the heat of the day, and the wearinesse of *Sauls* troupe enforced them to giue ouer the pursuit. Now the *Ammonites* were become the more carelesse and secure, in that those of *Iabes* promised the next morning to render themselves and their Citie to their mercie. After this happie successe the people were so farre in loue with their new King, that they would haue slaine all those *Israelites* that murmured against his election, had not himselfe forbidden and resited their resolutions. Such is the condition of worldly men, as they are violent louers of the prosperous, and base Vassals of the time that flourisheth: and as despightfull and cruell without cause against those, whom any misadventure, or other worldly accident hath throwne downe.

After the Armie removed, *Samuel* summoned the people to meet at *Gilgal*, where *Saul* was now a third time acknowledged, and as some Commenters affirme, anointed King: and here *Samuel* vied an exhortation to all the Assembly, containing precepts, and a re-hearfall of his owne Iustice, during the beginning of his gouernment to that day. After *Saul* had now reigned one yeere before he was established in *Gilgal*, or *Galgala*, hee threatened himselfe with a good guard of 3000. chosen men, of which he assigned 1000. to attend on *Jonathan* his sonne at *Gibeah*, the Citie of his natiuitie: the rest hee kept about his owne person in *Micmas*, and in the Hill of *Bethel*.

§. IIII.

Of *Sauls* disobedience in his proceedings in the Warres with the *Philistims* and *Amalekites*, which caused his final reiection.

In *Jonathan* with his small Armie or Regiment that attended him, taking a time of advantage, surprized a Garrison of *Philistims*: the same, as some thinke, which *Saul* past by, when he came from *Rama*, where hee was first anointed by *Samuel*, which

which they thinke to haue bene *Cariatih-icaron*: because a place where the *Philistims* had a Garrison, 1. Sam. 10. is called the Hill of God, which they vnderstand of *Cariatih-icaron*: but *Jonathan* vnderstands this Garrison to haue bene at *Gibeah* in *Beniamin* neere *Gibea*, where *Jonathan* abode with his thousand followers: Howsoever, by this it appeareth that the *Philistims* held some strong places, both in the times of *Samuel*, and of *Saul*, within the Territorie of *Israel*: and now being greatly enraged by this surprize, they assembled thirty thousand armed Chariots, and fixe thousand Horse, wherewith they invaded *Judea*, and incamped at *Machmas* or *Michmas*, a Citie of *Beniamin*, in the direct way from *Samaria* to *Hierusalem*, and in the midst of the Land betwene the Sea and *Jordan*. With this sudden inuasion the *Israelites* were stricken in so great a feare, as some of them hid themselves in the caues of the mountaines; others fledde ouer *Jordan* into *Gad* and *Gilead*: *Saul* himselfe with some 2000. men of ordinarie, and many other people, hid at *Galgala* in *Beniamin*, not farre from the passage of *israa* when he led *Israel* ouer *Jordan*. Heere *Saul*, by *Samuels* appointment was to attend the coming of *Samuel* seven daies: but when the last day was in part spent, and that *Saul* perceiued his forces to diminish greatly, he presumed (as some expound the place 1. Sam. 13. 9.) to exercise the office which appertained not vnto him; and to offer a burnt offering and a peace offering vnto God, contrary to the Ecclesiasticall lawes of the *Hebrewes*, and Gods Commandements: others expound the word *gibulitis*, in this place; by *gibulitis per Sacerdotem*, as to make the sinne of *Saul* not to haue bene any intrusion into the Priests office, but first a disobedience to Gods Commandement, in not staying according to the appointment, 1. Sam. 10. 8. secondly a diffidence or mistrust in Gods helpe, and too great relying vpon the strength of the people, whose departing from him hee could not beare patiently; and lastly a Contempt of the holy Prophet *Samuel*, and of the helpe which the prayers of so godly a man might procure him. But whatsoever was his sinne, notwithstanding his excuses, hee was by *Samuel* reprehended most sharply, in termes vnsuited his estate, had not extraordinary warrant bene giuen to *Samuel* so to doe, from God himselfe: at which time also *Samuel* feared not to let him know, that the Kingdome should be conferred to another (a man after Gods owne heart) both from *Saul* and his posteritie.

After this *Samuel* and *Saul* returned to *Gibeah*, where *Saul*, when hee had taken view of his armie, found it to consist of 600. men: for the most were fled from him and scattered, yea and among those that staid, there was not any that had either sword or speare, but *Saul* and his sonne *Jonathan* onely. For the *Philistims* had not left them any *Smyles* in all *Israel*, that made weapons; besides, they that came to *Saul* came hastily, and left such weapons and armor as they had, behind them in their garrisons: for if they had had none at all, it might be much doubted how *Saul* should be able the yeere before, or in some part of this very yeere, to succour *Iabes Gilead* with 300. and thirty thousand men, if there had not now bene any iron weapon to defend themselves withall, save onely in the hand of *Saul* and *Jonathan* his sonne. But howsoever, all the rest of the people were formerly disarmed by the *Philistims*, and all those craftsmen carried out of the land that made weapons: there being left vnto the *Israelites* onely files to sharpen and amend such as were serued for the Plough, and for nought else; yet that they had some kind of armes is manifest, or else they durst not haue attempted vpon the *Philistims* as they did. And it is not laid in the Text that there was not any sword in all *Israel*; but onely that there was not any found among those 600. souldiers which stayed with *Saul* after *Samuels* departure: and it seemeth that when *Samuel* had sharply reprehended *Saul*, that his owne guards forooke him, hauing but 600. remaining of his 3000. ordinarie souldiers, and of all the rest that repaired vnto him, of which many were fledde from him before *Samuel* arrived.

With this small troupe he held himselfe to his owne Citie of *Gibeah*, as a place of more strength, and better assured vnto him, than *Gilgal* was. Neither is it obscure how it should come to passe that the *Philistims* should thus disarm the most part of the *Israelites*, howsoever in the time of *Samuel* much had bene done against them. For the victories of *Samuel* were not got by sword or speare, but by thunder from heauen: and when these craftsmen were once rooted out of the Cities of *Israel*, no maruell if they could not in a short space vnder *Samuel* be replanted againe. For this tyrannie of the *Philistims* was to bee vnderstood, rather of the precedent times, than vnder *Samuel*: and yet vnder

him it is to be thought that by their crafts they proceeded in the policie, not suffering their artificers to teach the *Israelites*, and so euen to the times of *Saul* kept them from having any store of armour. The same policie did *Nabuchodonosor* vsē after his Conquest in *Indaa*: *Dionysius* in *Sicilie*; and many other Princes else-where in all ages. But these lost weapons in part the *Israelites* might repaire in *Gilead*, for ouer *Jordan* the *Philistims* had not invaded. The rest of their defences were such as antiquitie vsed, and their present necessity ministred vnto them; to wit, clubs, bowes, and slings. For the *Beniamites* excelled in casting stones in slings: and that these were the naturall weapons, and the first of all nations, it is manifest; and so in the first of *Chronicles* the 12. Chapter, it is written of those that came to succour *Dauid* against *Saul*, while he lurked at *Siklag*. That they were to weaponed with bowes, and could use the right and the left hand with stones; and with a sling it was that *Dauid* himselfe slew the Gyant *Goliath*.

While the State of *Israel* stood in these hard termes, the *Philistims* hauing parted their armie into three troupes, that they might spoile and destroy many parts at once; *Ionathan* strengthened by *God*, and followed with his Esquire onely, scaled a mountaine, whereon a company of *Philistims* were lodged: the rest of their armie (as may bee gathered by the successe) being incamped in the plaine adioyning. And though he was discouered before he came to the hill top, and in a kinde of denision called vpon by his enemies: yet he so behaued himselfe, as with the assistance of *God* he slew 20. of the first *Philistims* that he encountered. Whereupon the next companies taking the alarme, and being ignorant of the cause, fled away amazed altogether. In which confusion, feare, and iealetie, they slaughtered one another in stead of enemies: whereupon those *Hebrewes* which became of their partie, because they feared to be spoyled by them, tooke the aduantage of their destruction, and slew of them in great numbers. And lastly, *Saul* himselfe taking knowledge of the rout and disorder, together with those *Israelites* that shrouded themselves in mount *Ephraim*, set vpon them and obtained (contrary to all hope and expectation) a most happie and glorious victory ouer them. Heere was that prophetic in *Dentonomie* fulfilled by *Ionathan*. That one of those which feared *God*, should kill a thousand, and smite them ten thousand.

This done, the small armie of *Israel* made retreat from the pursuit. And although *Saul* had bound the people by an oath not to take food till the eueniing, yet his sonne *Ionathan* being infeebled with extreme labour and emptinesse, tasted a drop of honey in his passage: for which *Saul* his father would haue put him to death, had not the people deliuered him from his crueltie.

The late miraculous victorie of *Saul* and *Ionathan*, seemed to haue reduced vnto the *Philistims* remembrance their former ouerthrow likewise miraculous in the daies of *Samuel*; so that for some space of time they held themselves quiet. In the meane while *Saul* being now greatly encouraged, vnderooke by turnes all his bordering enemies; namely, the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Edomites*, and the *Arabians* of *Zobab*, against all which he preuailed. He then assembled all the forces he could make to wit, 210000. men, and receiving the commandement of *God* by *Samuel*, he invaded *Amalec*, waisting and destroying all that part of *Arabia Petraea*, and the Desert belonging to the *Amalekites*, from *Haurilab* towards *Tigris* vnto *Shur*, which bordereth *Aegypt*; in which waile he tooke *Agag* their King prisoner. But whereas he was instructed by *Samuel* to follow this Nation without compassion, because they first of all attempted *Israel*, when they left *Aegypt* in *Moses* time: hee notwithstanding did not onely spare the life of *Agag*, but refused the best of the beasts and spoyle of the Countrey, with pretence to offer them in sacrifice to the liuing *God*. Therefore did *Samuel* now a second time make him know that *God* would cast him from his royall estate to which he was raised, when he was of base condition, and as the Text hath it, little in his owne eyes. And though the offence was great in *Saul* for not obeying the voyce of *God* by *Samuel*, had there beene no former precept to that effect: yet seeing *Saul* could not bee ignorant how severely it pleased *God* to inioyne the *Israelites* to reuenge themselves vpon that Nation, he was in all more excusable. For *God* had commanded that the *Israelites* should put out the remembrance of *Amalec* from vnder heauen. For the cruelty which the predecessors of this *Agag* vsed against the *Israelites*, especially on those which were ouer-wearyed, faint, sick, and aged people, was now to be reuenged on him, and his Nation about 400. yeeres afterward; and now hee was to pay the debt of blood, which his forefathers borrowed from the

the innocent: himselfe hauing also sinned in the same kinde, as these words of *Samuel* witness: As thy sword hath made other women childlesse, so shall thy mother be childlesse among other women; at which time *Samuel* himselfe (after he had beene by many bootlesse inuents perswaded to stay a while with *Saul*) did cut *Agag* in pieces before the Lord in *Gilead*, and soone after he departed to *Ramath*, and came no more to see *Saul*, untill the day of his death.

§. V.

Of the occurrences betweene the reuelion of *Saul* and his death.

Now while *Samuel* mourned for *Saul*, *God* commanded him to chooe a King for *Israel*, among the Ionnes of *Israh*: which *Samuel* (doubting the violent hand of *Saul*) feared in a sort to performe, till it pleased *God* to direct him, how hee might auoid both the suspition, and the danger. And if *Samuel* knew that it was no way derogating from the prouidence of *God*, that by his cautious care and wisedome, hee sought to auoid the inconuenience or dangers of this life; then doe these men mistake the nature of his diuine ordinance, who neglecting the reason that *God* hath giuen them, doe no otherwise auoid the perills and dangers thereof, than as men stupified in the opinion of fate or destinie, neglecting either to beg counsaile at *Gods* hands by prayer, or to exercise that wisedome or foresight, where-with *God* hath enriched the mind of man, for his preservation. Neither did the all-powerfull *God* (who inade and could destroy the world in an instant) disdain here to instruct *Samuel*, to auoid the furie of *Saul*, by the accustomed cautious waies of the world.

Of the Ionnes of *Israh*, *Samuel* by *God* directed, made choice of *Dauid*, the yongest, hauing refused *Eliab*, the first borne: who though he were a man of a comely person and great strength; yet vnto such outward appearance, the Lord had no respect. For as it is written *God seeth not as man seeth, &c. but the Lord beholdeth the heart*. He also refusing the other five brethren, made choice of one whom his Father had altogether neglected, and left in the field to attend his flocke, for of him the Lord said to *Samuel*, Arise and anoyne him, for this is he: which done, *Samuel* departed and went to *Ramath*. Neyther was it long after this that *Saul* began to seeke the life of *Dauid*: in which bloody minde he continued till he died, overcome in battell by the *Philistims*.

The *Philistims* hauing well considered (as it seemes) the increase of *Saul* his power through many victories by him obtained, whilest they had sitten still & forborne to giue impediment to his prosperous courses, thought it good to make new triall of their fortune, as iustly fearing that the wrongs which they had done to *Israel*, might be repayed with aduantage, if euer opportunity should serue their often inured neighbours against them, as lately it had done against *Moab*, *Ammon*, and the rest of their ancient enemies. Now for the qualitie of their Souldiers, and all warlike provisions, the *Philistims* had reason to thinke themselves equal, if not superiours to *Israel*. The successe of their former war, had for the most part bene agreeable to their own wishes; as for late disasters, they might, according to humane wisedome, impute them to second causes, as to a tempest happening by chance, and to a mistaken alarme, whereby their Armie possessed with a needlesse feare had fallen to rout. Hauing therefore mustered their forces, and taken the field, encamping so neere to the Armie which King *Saul* drew forth against them; that they could not easily depart without the triall of a battell, each part kept their ground of aduantage for a while, not ioyning in grosse, but maintaining some skirmishes, as refusing both of them to passe the Valley that lay betwene their Camps. Iust causes of feare they had on both sides; especially the *Philistims*, whose late attempts had beene soundly by the angrie hand of *God*. Vpon this occasion perhaps it was, that they sought to decide the matter by single combat, as willing to try in one mans person, whether any stroke from heauen were to bee feared. *Goliath* of *Gath* a strong Giant, fearing neither *God* nor Man, vnderooke to defie the whole hoste of *Israel*, prouoking them with despightfull words, to appoint a Champion that might fight with him hand to hand; offering condition, that the partie vanquished in Champion, should hold it selfe as overcome in grosse, and become vassall to the other. This gaue occasion to young *Dauid*, whom *Samuel* by *Gods* appointment had anointed, to make a famous entrance into publike notice of the people. For no man durst expose himselfe

to encounter the great strength of *Goliath*, vntill *David* (sent by his father of an errand to the campe) accepted the combat, and obtained the victorie, without other armes offensive or defensive than a sling, wherewith he ouerthrew that haughtie Gyant, and after with his owne sword strooke off his head. Heereupon the *Philistims*, who should haue yielded themselves as subiects to the Conquerour, according to the couenant on their owne side propounded fild without stay, and were pursued and slaughtered euen to their owne gates. By this victorie the *Philistims* were not broken, that cyther any of their townes were lost, or their people discouraged from infesting the Territories of *Israel*. But *David*, by whom God had wrought this victorie, fell into the greivous indignation of his Master *Saul*, through the honour purchased by his well-deseruing. For after such time as the spirit of God departed from *Saul* and came vpon *David*, hee then became a cruell Tyrant, faithlesse, and irreligious. Because the high Priest *Ahimelch* fedde *David* in his necessitie with hallowed bread, and armed him with a sword of his owne conquest taken from *Goliath*, *Saul* not onely by his wicked *Edomite* *Dag* murdered this *Ahimelch* and 85. Priests of *Nob*, but also hee destroyed the Citie, and made with the edge of the sword both man and woman, both childe and suckling, both Ox and Ass, and Sheepe. And hee that had compassion on *Agag* the *Amalekite*, who was an enemy to God and his people, and also spared and preserved the best of his Cattel, contrarie to the Commandment and ordinance of God, both by *Moses* and *Samuel*, had not now any mercie in store, for the innocent, for the Lords seruants the Priests of *Israel*. Yea hee would haue slaine his owne sonne *Ionathan*, for pitying and pleading *Dauids* innocencie, as also once before for tasting the hony, when his fainting for hunger made him forget his fathers vnreasonable commination. The companions of crueltie are breach of faith towards men, and impietie towards God. The former he shewed in denying *David* his daughter, whom he had promised him: and againe in taking her away from him, to whom he had giuen her; also in that when *David* had twice spared his life in the Territorie of *Ziph*, and *Saul* twice sworne to do him no hurt, and confessed his errors, yet hee sought still to destroy him, by all the means he could. His impietie towards God he shewed, in that he sought counsell of the witch of *Endor*, which was the last preparatiue for his destruction. For whereas when he sought counsell from God he had bin alwaies victorious: from the Oracle of the Deuill this successe followed, that both himselfe, and his three sons, with his neereft and faithful seruants, were all slaughtered by the *Philistims*: his bodie with the bodies of his sons (as a spectacle of shame and dishonour) were hung ouer the walls of *Bethsan*: and there had remained till they had found buriall in the bowels of rauenous birds, had not the gratefull *Giftedites* of *Iabes* stolne their carcases thence, and interred them. This was the end of *Saul*, after he had gouerned *Israel*, together with *Samuel* 40. yeres, and by himselfe after *Samuel* 20. yeres, according to *Cedrenus*, *Theophilus*, and *Iosephus*. But yet it seemeth to me, that after the death of *Samuel*, *Saul* did not rule very long. For in the beginning of the 25. chapter, it is written that *Samuel* died: and in the rest of the same chapter the passages are written of *David*, *Nabal*, and *Abigail*, after which the death of *Saul* quickly ensued.

An exceeding valiant man he was, and gaue a faire entrance to all those victories which *David* afterward obtained, for hee had beaten the *Ammonites* with their neighbouring Nations; crusht the *Syrians*, and their adherents; broken the strength of the *Amalekites*, and greatly wasted the power and pride of the *Philistims*.

§. VI.

Of such as liued with *Samuel* and *Saul*, of *Hellen* and *Hercules*, and of their issues: upon occasion of the *Dores*, with the *Heracidae*, entering *Peloponnesus* about this time.

IN the second yeere of *Samuel*, according to *Eusebius*, was *David* borne: after *Codemann* later, and in the ninth yeere: after *Banring* in the tenth. For *David*, faith hee, was thirty yeres old when hee began to reigne: whence it followeth, that hee was borne in the tenth of the fortie yeres, which are giuen to *Samuel* and *Saul*. About the 11. yeere of *Samuel*, *Veneas* *Silvius* the sonne of *Posthumus* began his reigne ouer the *Latines* in *Alba*, who gouerned that State one and thirty yeres. There are who place before him *Latinus Sylvius*, as brother to *Posthumus*, calling him the fifth from

from *Veneas*, and fourth King of *Alba*, wherof I will not stand to dispute. In the eleuenth of *Samuel*, *Dercilus* late in the Throne of *Assyria*, being the one and thirtieth King, he ruled that Empire fortie yeres. In this age of *Samuel* the *Dores* obtained *Peloponnesus*, and at once with the *Heracidae*, who then led and commanded the Nation, possed a great part thereof 328. yeres before the first *Olympiads*, according to *Diodorus* and *Eratosthenes*. For all *Greece* was anciently possessed by three Tribes or Kindreds, *viz.* the *Ionians*, *Dorians*, and *Aeolians*: at length it was called *Hellen*, and the people *Hellenes* of *Hellen*, the sonne of *Deucalion*, Lord of the Countrie of *Ethiopia* in *Thessalie*. But before the time of this *Hellen*, yea and long after, *Greece* had no name common to all the inhabitants, neither were the people called *Hellenes*, till such time as partly by trading in all parts of the Land, partly by the plantation of many Colonies, and sundrie great victories obtained, the issues of *Hellen* had reduced much of the Countrie vnder their obedience, calling themselves generally by one name, and yet euerie seuerall Nation after some one of the posteritie of *Hellen*, who had reigned ouer it. And because this is the firstest antiquitie of *Greece*, it will not be amisse to recount the Pedigree of her first planters.

Iapetus (as the Poets fable) was the sonne of *Heauen* and *Earth*, so accounted, cyther because the names of his Parents; had in the *Greece* tongue such signification: or perhaps for his knowledge in *Astronomie* and *Philosophie*.

Iapetus begat *Prometheus*, and *Epimetheus*: of whom all men haue read that haue read Poets. *Prometheus* begat *Deucalion*: and *Epimetheus*, *Pyrrrha*. *Deucalion* & his wife *Pyrrrha* reigned in *Thessalie*, which was then called *Pyrrrha* (as *Cretensis Rhianus* affirmeth) of *Pyrrrha* the *Regene*. In *Deucalions* time was that great flood, of which we haue spoken elsewhere. *Deucalion* begat *Hellen*: whose sonnes were *Xuthus*, *Dorus*, and *Aeolus*: of *Dorus* and *Aeolus*, the *Dores* and *Aeolians* had name. The *Aeoles* inhabited *Boeotia*. The *Dores* hauing first inhabited sundrie parts of *Thessalie*, did afterward seate themselves about *Paralus*, and finally became Lords of the Countries about *Lacedaemon*: *Xuthus* the eldest sonne of *Hellen*, being banished by his brethren, for hauing diuerced from them to his owne vic some part of their Fathers goods, came to *Aethiops*: where marrying the Daughter of King *Erichtheus*, hee begat on her two sonnes, *Achaeus* and *Ion*. Of these two, *Achaeus*, for a slaughter by him committed, fledde into *Peloponnesus*: and seating himselfe in *Laconia*, gaue name to that region: from whence (as some write) hee afterwards departed, and leuying an Armie, recouered the Kingdome of his Grand-father in *Thessalie*.

Ion being General for the *Athenians*, when *Eumolpus* the *Thracian* invaded *Attica*, did obtaine a great victorie, and thereby such loue and honour of the people, that they committed the ordering of their State into his hands. Hee diuided the Citizens into Tribes, appointing euery one to some occupation, or good course of life. When the people multiplied, hee planted Colonies in *Sycionia*, then called *Aegialos*, or *Aegialia*: In which Countrie *Solimus* then reigning, thought it safer to giue his Daughter *Helice* in marriage to *Ion*, and make him his Heire, than to contend with him. So *Ion* married *Helice*, and built a Towne called by his Wives name in *Aegialia*, where he and his posterity reigned long, and (though not obliterating the old name) gaue to that Land denomination. But once-coming the *Dores* assisting the Nephewes of *Hercules*, invaded *Peloponnesus*, and ouer-coming the *Acheans*, possessed *Laconia*, and all those parts which the *Achai* had formerly occupied. Heereupon the *Achai* driuen to seeke a new seate, came vnto the *Ionians* desiring to inhabit *Aegialia* with them, and alleading in vaine, that *Ion* and *Achaeus* had bene brethren. When this request could not be obtained, they fought by force to expell the *Ionians*, which they performed; but they lost their King *Tisamenus*, the sonne of *Oricles* in that Warre.

This were the *Ionians* driuen out of *Peloponnesus*, and compelled to remooue into *Attica*, from whence after a while they sailed into *Asia*, and peopled the Westerne coast thereof, on which they built twelue Cities, inhabited by them, euen to this day, at the least without any vniuersall or memorable transmigration. This expedition of the *Ionians* into *Asia* hath bene mentioned of all which haue written of that Age, and is commonly placed 140. yeres after the warre of *Troy*, and 60. yeres after the descent of the *Heracidae* into *Peloponnesus*. These *Heracidae* were they of whom the Kings of *Sparta* issued; which race held that Kingdome about 700. yeres. Of their Father

Hercules many strange things are deliuered vnto vs by the Poets, of which some are like to haue beene true, others perhaps must be allegorically vnderstood. But the most approved Writers thinke that there were many called *Hercules*, all whose exploits were by the *Greekes* ascribed to the sonne of *Alcmena*, who is said to haue performed these great labours.

First, he slew the *Nemean* Lyon: secondly, he slew the Serpent *Hydra*, which had nine heads, whereof one being cut off, two grew in the place: The third was the ouer-taking a very swift Hare: The fourth was the taking of a wilde Bore alive, which haunted mount *Erymanthus* in *Arcadie*: The fifth was the cleansing of *Augias* his Oxen-stall in one day, which he performed by turning the River *Alpheus* into it: The sixth was the chasing away of the Birds from the Lake *Symphalis*: The seventh was the fetching a Bull from *Crete*: The eighth was the taking of the Mares which *Diomedes* King of *Thrace* fed with humane flesh: The ninth was to fetch a Girdle of the *Queen* of the *Amazons*: The threelast was, to fetch *Gerion* Beecus from *Gades*; the golden Apples of the *Hesperides*; and *Cerberus* from hell. The *Mythologicall* interpretation of these I purposely omit, as both ouer-long to be here set downe, and no lesse perplexed than the labours themselves. For some by *Hercules* vnderstand Fortitude, Prudence, and Constancie, interpreting the Monsters, Vices. Others make *Hercules* the *Summe*, and his traualles to bee the twelue signes of the *Zodiac*. There are others who apply his workes historically to their owne conceits; as well assured, that the exposition cannot haue more vnlikelihood, than the fables: That hee tooke *Elis*, *Pylus*, *Oechalia*, and other Townes, being assisted by such as cyther admired his vertues, or were beholding vnto him. Also that hee slew many Theeues, and Tyrants, I take to be truly written, without addition of Poeticall vanitie. His traualles through most parts of the world are, or may seeme, borrowed from *Hercules* *Libycus*. But sure it is that many Cities of *Greece* were greatly bound to him: for that hee (bending all his indeuours to the common good) deliuered the Land from much oppression. But after his death no Citie of *Greece* (*Athens* excepted) requited the vertue and deserts of *Hercules*, with constant protection of his children, persecuted by the King *Eurythius*. This *Eurythius* was sonne of *Stenelus*, and grand-child of *Perseus*; hee reigned in *Mycene*, the mightiest Citie then in *Greece*. He it was that imposed those hard tasks vpon *Hercules*, who was bound to obey him (as Poets report) for expiation of that Murder, which in his madnes he had committed vpon his owne children; but as others say, because he was his Subiect and Seruant: wherefore there are who commend *Eurythius* for employing the strength of *Hercules* to so good a purpose. But it is generally agreed by the best writers, that *Hercules* was also of the stocke of *Perseus*, and holden in great ialousie by *Eurythius* because of his vertue, which appeared more and more in the dangerous seruices, wherein he was employed, so that he grew great in reputation and power through all *Greece*; and had by many wiuues and Concubines about threescore children. These children *Eurythius* would faine haue got into his power, when *Hercules* was dead: but they fled vnto *Cepheus* King of *Thracina*, and from him (for he durst not withstand *Eurythius*) to *Athens*. The *Athenians* not onely gaue them entertainment, but lent them ayde, wherewith they encountered *Eurythius* *Iolus* the brothers son of *Hercules*, who had assisted him in many of his trauels, was captaine of the *Heraclidae*. It is said of him, that being dead, he obtained leaue of *Plato* to liue againe till hee might reuenge the iniuries done by *Eurythius*: whom when he had slaine in battell, hee died againe. It seemes to mee, that whereas he had ledde *Colomes* into *Scitie*, and abode there a long time forgotten: hee came againe into *Greece* to assist his cousins, and afterwards returned backe. When the *Peloponnesians* vnderstood that *Eurythius* was slaine, they tooke *Areus* the sonne of *Pelops* to their King: for hee was rich, mighty, and fauoured of the people. Against him the *Heraclidae* marched vnder *Hyllus* the sonne of *Hercules*. But to auoid effusion of blood, it was agreed, that *Hyllus* should fight with *Echenus* King of the *Tegeates* a people of *Arcadie*; who assisted *Areus*, with condition, that if *Hyllus* were victor, he should peaceably enioy what he challenged as his right: otherwise the *Heraclidae* should not enter *Peloponnesus* in an hundred yeeres. In that combat *Hyllus* was slaine, and the *Heraclidae* compelled to forbeare their Country, till the third generation: at which time they returned vnder *Aristodemus* (as the best authoritie doth shew, though some haue liued, that they came vnder the conduct of his children) and brought with them the *Dores*, whom

whom they planted in that country, as is before shewed, hauing expelled the *Achaes*, ouer whom the issue of *Pelops* had reigned after the death of *Eurythius* foure generations.

§. VII.

Of Homer and Hesiod, and many changes in the world, that happened about this age.

About this time that excellent learned Poet *Homer* liued, as many of the best *Chronologers* affirme. He was by race of the *Macons*, descended (as *Functius* imagineth) of *Berosus* his *Anameon*, who gaue name to that people. But this *Functius* imagineth *Homer* the Poet to haue beene long after these times, rashly framing his *Ara* according to *Archilochus* in the tract, or rather fragment *de temporibus*; and makes seauen more of this name to haue flourished in diuers Cities in *Greece*. Whence, perhaps, spring the diuersitie of opinions, both of the time and of the nature Citie of *Homer*. According to this *Archilochus*, *Functius* finds *Homer* about the time of *Manasse* King of *Israel*, and *Numa* of *Rome*. He was called *Meligenes* from the place of his birth, and at length *Homer*, because blinde men follow a guide, which signification among others, is in the verbe *homo*: for this *Homer* in his latter time was blinde. *Clemens Alexandrinus* receives many different opinions touching the question of the time when *Homer* liued. So also *Anulus Gellius*, and *Tatianus Assyrius* in his Oracion ad gentes. *Paterculus* reckons that *Homer* flourished 950. yeeres before the Consulship of *Marcus Vinius*: which *Morator* catcheth vp in the worlds yeere 3046. and after *Troy* taken, about 260 yeeres, and about 250. yeeres before the building of *Rome*; making him to haue flourished about the time of *Ithobaphat* King of *Iuda*. But *Clemens Alexandrinus* and *Tatianus* about named, mention authors that make him much antienter. The difference of which authors in this point is not vnworthy the readers consideration, that by this one instance he may guesse of the difficultie, and so pardon the errors in the computations of antient time: seeing in such diuersitie of opinions a man may hardly find out what to follow. For *Crates the Grammarian* (as *Clemens Alexandrinus* reports) gaue being to *Homer* about 80. yeeres after *Troy* taken, neere the time that the *Heraclidae* returned into *Peloponnesus*: and *Eratosthenes* after *Troy* 100. yeeres. *Theopompus* 500. yeeres after the amie of *Greece* sailed into *Phrygia* for the warre of *Troy*. *Euphorion* makes him contemporarie with *Cyges*, who began to reigne in the 18. *Olympiad* (which was 45. yeeres after *Rome* was built) and *Sofibus* saith, that he was 90. yeeres before the first *Olympiad*: which hee seeks to proue by the times of *Charillus* and his sonne *Nicander*; *Philochorus* placeth him 180. after *Troy*: *Aristarchus* 140. in the time of the seating of the *Colomes* in *Ionia*. *Apollodorus* affirms that he liued while *Agefilus* gouerned *Lacedaemon*; and that *Lycurgus* in his young yeeres, about 100. yeeres after the *Ionian* plantations, came to visit him, neere 240. yeeres after *Troy* taken. *Herodotus* findes *Homer* flourishing 622. yeeres before *Xerxes* enterprise against the *Gracians*: which *Bernaldus* accounteth at 168. yeeres after the *Troian* warre. *Eusebius* seemes to make him to haue beene about the time of the King of *India*, 124. yeeres before *Rome* built: though elsewhere in his *Chronologie* he notes, that some place him in the time of *Samuel*, and others in the end of *David*, and others in other ages. In his *Euangelicall* Preparation, where out of *Tatianus Assyrius* he citeth sundry opinions touching the time when *Homer* liued, he reckoneth many other *Gruke* writers more antient than *Homer*: as *Linus*, *Philammon*, *Epimenides*, *Phemius*, *Aristeus*, *Orpheus*, *Museus*, *Thamyris*, *Amphion*, and others.

Now whether *Homer* or *Hesiodus* were the elder, it is also much disputed. *Anulus Gellius* reports that *Philochorus* and *Xenophanes* affirme, that *Homer* preceded *Hesiod*: and on the contrary, that *Luc. Accius* the Poet, and *Ephorus the Historian*, make *Hesiod* of an elder time than *Homer*. *Varro* leaues it vn certaine which of these learned fablers was first borne: but he findes that they liued together some certaine yeeres, where- in he confirms himselfe by an Epigram, written vpon a Treuit, and left by *Hesiod* in *Helicon*.

Cornelius Nepos reports that they both liued 160. yeeres before *Rome* built: while the *Siling* reigned in *Alba*, about 140. yeeres after the fall of *Troy*. *Euthymus* findes them both 200. yeeres after *Troy* taken, in the time of *Acisius* the sonne of *Pelias*, King of *Thessaly*.

As both Cle. Alex. and Tatian. affir. reportus opinion verum Phil. Ros. in diff. temporum. Phil. in comm. in Archilog. Heri in vita Hes.

Varro de ling. Li. vi. in Chron. Call. in anal. A This number Moritur cyp. 240. fort. b Euthymus Chr apud Clem. A. c lex. Strom. 1.

of *Theſſaly*. For my ſelfe, I am not much troubled when his Poet liued; neither would I offend the Reader with theſe opinions, but onely to ſhew the vncertainty and diſagreement of Hiſtorians, as well in this particular, as in all other questions and diſpute of time. For the curioſitie of this mans age is no leſſe ridiculous, than the inquisition why he began his *Iliades* with the word *Menin*, as perhaps containing ſome great myſterie. In diſſon whereof *Lucian* ſaining himſelfe to haue beene in hell, and to haue ſpoken with *Homer*, there asked him the cauſe why he began his booke with that word: who answered, That he began in that ſort, becauſe it came in his head ſo to doe.

It ſeemeth that *Senyes*, or after *Macrobius*, *Senemires*, ruled *Ægypt* at this time: for *Tanphers* ſon, who preceded *Paphres*, ſatther in law to *Salomon*.

Enſup Caſſ. in Chron.

About the end of *Sauls* government, or in the beginning of *Dauids* time according to *Cassiodorus*, the *Amazones* with the *Cymmerians* invaded *Aſia*, *Eatinus Syluius* then ruling in *Italia*. And beſides the overthrow of that famous State of *Troy* (which fell 103 years before *Dauids* time) there were many other changes in the middle part of the world, not onely by reaſon of thoſe Northerne Nations: but there ſprung vp ſomewhat neerer together, ſix Kingdomes into greatneſſe not before erected. In *Italia*, that of the *Latins* in the South part of *Greece*, thoſe of *Lacedæmon*, *Corinth*, and the *Achai*. In *Arabia*, *Syria*, *St. ba*, and *Damaſcus*, the *Adams* made themſelves Princes, of which there were ten Kings, which began and ended with the Kings of *Iſrael* in effect: and ſomewhat before theſe, the State of the *Iſraelites* hauing now altered the forme of Government, began to flouriſh vnder Kings, of which *Dauid*, in a few years, became maſter of all thoſe neighbouring Nations who by interchange of times had ſubiected the *Iudeans*, corrupted their religion, and held them vnder in a moſt abiect and grievous ſlaueerie; to wit, the *Edumæans*, *Mobabites*, *Ammonites*, *Midianites*, *Iſturæans*, and the reſt of the *Arabians*, with the *Philiftims*, *Iebusites*, *Getherites*, *Machabites*, all which acknowledged *Dauid* for their Soueraigne Lord, and paid him tribute.

CHAP. XVII.

Of Dauid.

§. I.

Of *Dauids* eſtate in the time of *Saul*.



THE hazards which *Dauid* ran into while he was yet onely deſigned King, and liuing as a priuate man, expected the Empire, were very many. The firſt perſonall act of fame, was his killing of *Goliath* in the view of both armies, whereby he became knowne to *Saul*, and ſo highly affected *Jonathan* the ſonne of *Saul*, that he loved him as his owne ſoule: In ſomuch as when *Saul* ſought to perſwade his ſon, that *Dauid* would aſſuredly be the ruine of his houſe, and eſtate, and offered him violence when he pleaded his cauſe, *Jonathan* could neuer be perſwaded, neuer forſake, nor euer wearied from the care of *Dauids* life, & well doing. It was not long after this ſignall act of *Dauid*, but that *Saul* became exceeding iealous of him, though he became as his houſhold ſervant, and his Elquire, or armor-bearer. *Saul* being vexed with an euill ſpirit, was adduiced to procure ſome cunning Muſician to play before him vpon the Harpe; whereby it was thought that he might finde eaſe, which came to paſſe accordingly. He entertained *Dauid* for this purpoſe, and began to fauour him, giuing him a place of Command among the men of warre. But the iealous tyrant ſoone waxed wearie of his good affection, and fought to kill *Dauid*, being thereunto moued onely through enuie of his vertue. This paſſion firſt brake forth in the middeſt of his raving fit, at which time he threw aſpeare at *Dauid* that was then playing on his Harpe to doe him eaſe.

Conſonius rememb. 1. 2. 1. 2.

Conſonius remembreth one *Aclepius* a *Physician*, who practiſed the curing of the Frenzie, by the like Muſicke: and tempered thereby thoſe diſeaſes which grew from paſſion. That *Pythagoras* did alſo the like by ſuch a kinde of harmonie, *Seneca* in his third booke of anger witneſſeth. But the madneſſe of *Saul* came from the cauſe of cauſes, and

and was thereby incurable, howſoeuer it ſometimes left him, and yeelded vnto that Muſicke, which God had ordained to be a meane of more good to the Muſician than to the King.

Saul hauing failed in ſuch open attempts, gaue vnto *Dauid* the Command ouer 1000. ſouldiers, to confront the *Philiftims* withall. For hee durſt not truſt him as before, about his perſon, fearing his reuenge. Now the better to couer his hatred towards him, he promiſed him his daughter *Merab* to wife: but hauing married her to *Adriel*, he gaue to *Dauid* his yonger daughter *Michol*, but with a condition, to preſent him with an hundred foreskins of the *Philiftims*: hoping rather (in reſpect of the valour of that Nation,) that the *Philiftims* would take *Dauids* head, than he their foreskins. This hope failing, when as now *Dauids* victories begat new feares and iealouſies in *Saul*, he practiſed with *Jonathan*, and afterwards with his owne hands attempted his life, but his purpoſes were ſtill frustrated. After all this he fought to murder him in his owne houſe, but *Michol* his wife deliuered him. So *Dauid* fought *Samuel* at *Ramah*, and being purſued by *Saul*, fled thence vnto *Nob* in *Beniamin*, to *Abimelech*, then to *Achi* the *Philiftim*, Prince of *Geth*: where to obſcure himſelfe, he was ſet to counterfeit both ſimplicie and diſtraction. But being ill aſſured among the *Philiftims*, he couered himſelfe in the Cave of *Adullam*: and after conuincing ſuch of his kinſfolks as were not fit to follow him, into *Moab*, he hid himſelfe in the deſerts of *Ziph*, *Maon* and the hils of *Engaddi*, where he cut off the lap of *Sauls* garment, and ſpared his life: as he did a ſecond time in the deſert of *Ziph*, after his paſſage with *Nabal* and *Abigail*. After which he repaired to *Achi* of *Geth* the ſecond time, and was kindly entertained in regard of the hatred, with which his maſter *Saul* was knowne to proſecure him.

tanſon in ſol.

Of *Achi* *Dauid* obtained * *Siklag* in *Simeon*, pretending to invade *Iudea*: but he bent his forces another way and ſtrooke the *Amalekites*, with other enemies of *Iſrael*, letting none liue to complaine vpon him. *Achi* ſuppoſing that *Dauid* had drawne blood of his owne Nation, thought himſelfe aſſured of him: and therefore preparing to invade *Iſrael*, ſummoneth *Dauid* to aſſiſt him, who diſſembling his intent, ſeemeth very willing thereto. But the reſt of the *Philiftim* Princes knowing his valour, and doubting his diſpoſition, liked not his company, and therefore he withdrew himſelfe to *Siklag*. At his returne he found the towne burnt, his two wiues with the wiues and children of his people taken by the *Amalekites*: Hereupon his fellowes mutined, but God gaue him comfort, and aſſurance to recover all againe: which he did.

This arme of the *Philiftims* commanded by *Achi*, encountered *Saul* at *Gilboa*, in which he and his three ſonnes were ſlaine. The newes with *Sauls* Crowne and bracelets were brought to *Dauid* at *Siklag*, in his returne from being victorious ouer *Amalech*, by a man of the ſame Nation, who auowed (though falſly) that himſelfe at *Sauls* request had ſlaine him. *Dauid*, becauſe he had accuſed himſelfe, made no ſcruple to cauſe him to be ſlaine at the inſtant: and the ſooner, becauſe the probabilities gaue ſtrong evidence withall. Otherwiſe it followeth not that euery man ought to be beleued of himſelfe to his owne prejudice. For it is held in the law; *Confefſio reorum non habenda eſt pro explorato crimine, niſi approbatio alia inſtruit religionem cognoscentis*. The priſoners confeſſion muſt not be taken for an evidence of the crime, vnleſſe ſome other proofe informeth the conſcience of the Iudge. For a man may confeſſe thoſe things of himſelfe, that the Iudge by examination may know to be impoſſible. But becauſe it is otherwiſe determined in the title de *cuſtodia reorum* l. ſi confeſſus, & in cap. de penis l. qui ſententiam, therefore doth the Gloſſe reconcile theſe two places in this ſort: *Si quis in iudicio poſt de ſeipſo confeſſus, & poſtea maneat in confeſſione, id eſt ſatis*. If any man in iudgement doe confeſſe of himſelfe, of his owne accord, and after doth perſeuer in his confeſſion, it is enough. That *Dauid* greatly bewailed *Saul* it is not improbable, for death cutteth aſunder all competition: and the lamentable end that beſell him, being a King, with whom in effect the ſtrength of *Iſrael* alſo fell, could not but ſtirre vp ſorrow, and moue compaſſion in the heart of *Dauid*.

The victories which the *Philiftims* had gotten was ſo great, that ſome townes of the *Iſraelites*, euen beyond the river of *Jordan*, were abandoned by the inhabitants, and left vnto the enemies, who tooke poſſeſſion of them without any reſiſtance made. Wherefore it may ſeeme ſtrange, that a Nation ſo warlike and ambitious as were the *Philiftims*, did not follow their fortune with all diligence, and ſeek to make the Conqueſt entire.

Moſt

Most like it seemes, that the Ciuill warre immediatly breaking out betweene *Dauid* and the house of *Saul*, wherein *Iuda* was diuided from the rest of *Israel*, gaue them hope of an easie victorie ouer both : and thereby caused them to attempt nothing at the present, left by so doing they should inforce their disagreeing enemies to a necessarie reconciliation ; but rather to permit that the one part should consume the other, by which means, both the victors, and the vanquished, would become a prey to the violence of such as had beaten them, when their forces were vnited.

§. II.

Of the beginning of *Dauids* reigne, and the warre made by *Abner* for *Isboseth*.

After the death of *Saul*, *Abner*, who commanded for *Saul* in the warre, sought to aduance *Isboseth* (or *Isbosus*, according to *Iosephus*) though he had no right to the Kingdome of *Israel*: for *Stephobeth* the first son of *Ionathan* liued. Against this *Abner*, and *Isboseth*, *Dauid* made a defensive warre, till *Abner* past *Jordan*, and crossed the border of *Iuda*; at which time he sent *Joab* with such forces as he had, to resist *Abner*: *Isboseth* remaining in *Gilead*, and *Dauid* in *Hebron*. The armies encountered each other neere *Gibeon*, where it seemeth, that *Abner* made the offer to trie the quarrell by the hands of a few ; like to that Combat betweene the *Lacedamonians*, and the *Argives*, remembered by *Herodotus*, 300. being chosen of each Nation, of which number three persons were only left vnslaine. The like triall in a farre lesse number was performed by the *Horatij* and *Curiatij* for the *Romanes* and *Latines*. The same challenge *Goliath* the *Philistin* made, whom *Dauid* slew : a custome very ancient. *Edward* the third offered the like triall in his own person to the French King ; and *Francis* the French King to *Charles* the Emperour. There were twelue chosen of each part, in this warre of *Dauid* with the house of *Saul*, to wit, so many of *Beniamin*, and as many of *Iuda* : whose force and valor was so equall, as there followed not any one to challenge the victory. But the quarrell staid not here : for the army of *Iuda* prest *Abner* in grosse, and brake him. Three hundred and sixtie men of *Abners* companions were slaine, and but twenty of *Iuda*: whereof *Asabel* the brother of *Joab* was one : who when he would needes pursue *Abner*, and by *Abners* perswasions could not be moued to quit him, he was forced to turne vpon him, wounded him to death, with the stroke of his speare. For though *Asabel* were an excellent footman, and as it is written in the Text, as light as a wilde doe, and as *Iosephus* reporteth, contended not onely with men, but with horses ; and hoped to haue gotten great fame, if he could haue mastered *Abner* (who, as *Asabel* perswaded himselfe, had by being ouerthrowne and flying away lost his courage) yet here it fell out true, that the race is not to the swift.

That this ciuill warre lasted two yeeres, we finde it written in the second of *Samuel* the second Chapter ; though in the beginning of the third it is againe made probable, that this contention dured longer ; and therefore the matter resteth still in dispute, and some of the *Rabbines* conceiue that *Isboseth* had then reigned two yeeres, when this was written, the warre as yet continuing a longer time. For *Abner* held for the partie of *Isboseth* after this, and till such time as there grew iualousie betweene him and *Isboseth* for *Sauls* concubine : neither did the death of *Isboseth* instantly follow ; but how long after the murder of *Abner* it happened, the same doth not certainly appeare.

§. III.

Of the death of *Abner* slaine by *Joab*, and of *Isboseth* by *Rechab* and *Baanah*.

After, reconciled to *Dauid*, was anon by *Joab* murdered ; for *Joab* could not endure a companion in *Dauids* fauour, and in the commandement of his forces, by which he was growne so powerfull, as *Dauid* forbore to call him to account ; for thus much he confideth of himselfe : *I am this day weak, and these men of the house of Zeruah be too hard for me*. In this sort *Dauid* complained after *Abners* death ; and to make it cleare that he hated this fact of *Joab*, he followed him with this publicke imprecation ; *Let the blood fall on the head of Joab, and on all his fathers house : and let them*

be subject to ulcers, to the leprosie, to lamenesse, to the sword, and to pueritie, &c. For could any thing haue withstood the ordinance of God, this murder committed by *Joab* might greatly haue endangered *Dauids* estate, *Abner* being the mouth and trust of all the rest of the Tribes, not yet reconciled. This mischance therefore *Dauid* openly bewailed, so that all *Israel* perceiued him to be innocent of that fact. The place which *Abner* held, being General of the men of warre, was of such importance, that the Kings themselves were faine to giue them great respect, as hath beene already shewed more at large. This office *Joab* held in the armie of *Iuda*, and thought himselfe worthy to hold the place entire, if once his Lord might obtaine the whole Kingdome. For he was neere to *Dauid* in kindred, and had bene partaker of all his aduersitie ; wherefore he did not thinke it meete, that an old enemy should in reward of new benefits, be made his partner. Indee he was by nature so ialous of his dignitie and place, that he afterward slew *Amasa* his owne kinsman and the Kings ; vpon the same quarrell, taking it in high disdain to see him joyned with himselfe as captain of the hoste of *Iuda* : much lesse could hee brooke a superior, and such a one as had slaine his brother, and bene beaten himselfe in battell. But howsoeuer *Joab* did hate or despise *Abner*, *Dauid* esteemed highly of him as of a Prince, and a great man in *Israel*, excusing the oversight by which he might seeme to haue perished, by affirming that he died not like a foole, nor a man vanquished, But as a man fallen before wicked men, so (said he) diddest thou fall. And certainly it is no error of wit, nor want of valour and vertue in him whom a stronger hand destroyed vnawares, or whom subtiltie in free trust bringeth to confusion. For all vnder the Sunne are subject to worldly miseries and misaduentures. Howsoeuer *Isboseth* meant to haue dealt with *Abner*, yet when he heard of his death, he despaired greatly of his estate, and with him all *Israel* were possit with great feare : inasmuch as two of *Isboseths* owne Captaines, *Rechab* and *Baanah*, murdered *Isboseth*, and presenting his head to *Dauid*, receiued the same reward that the *Amalekites* lately did, for pretending to haue slaine *Saul*. *Isboseth* being dead, all the Elders of *Israel* repaired to *Dauid* at *Hebron*, where he was the third and last time annointed by generall consent.

§. IIII.

Of the flourishing time of *Dauids* Kingdome, the taking of *Ierusalem*, which was ouerthrowne giuen to the *Philistines*, and the conduction of the *Arke* to the Citie of *Dauid*.

When *Dauid* was now established in the Kingdome, his first enterprise was vpon the *Iebusites*, who in derision of his force, and confident in the strength of the place (as is thought) manned their wals with the blinde and lame of their Citie ; which *Dauid* soone after entered : all their other forces notwithstanding. For having mastered the fort of *Zion* (which was afterward the Citie of *Dauid*) he became Lord of *Ierusalem*, without any great danger, expelling thence the *Iebusites*, who had held it from the foundation, to the times of *Moses* and *Iosua*, and after them almost 400. yeeres. There are who expound this place otherwise : *Braxatibnis* take away the blinde and the lame, thou shalt not come in hither. For some thinke that it was meant by the *Iebusites* : others, that it had reference to the Couenant made long before with *Isaac*, and *Iacob* : the one blinde by nature and age, the other made lame by wrestling with the Angell, and that therefore till those (that is, till that Couenant) be broken, *Dauid* ought not to molest them. But for my selfe I take it with *Iosephus*, that they armed their wals with certaine impotent people at first, in scorn of *Dauids* attempt. For they that had held their Citie about 400. yeeres against all the children of *Israel*, *Iosua*, the *Judges*, and *Saul*, did not doubt but to defend it also against *Dauid*.

When he had now possit himselfe of the very heart and Center of the Kingdome, and receiued congratulatory Embassadors and presents from *Hiram* King of *Tyre* : he entertained diuers other concubines and married more wiues, by whom he had ten sons in *Ierusalem*, and by his former wiues he had sixe in *Hebron* where he reigned 7. yeeres.

The *Philistines* hearing that *Dauid* was now annointed King, as well of *Iuda* as of *Israel*, they thought to try him in the beginning, before he was fully warme in his seat. And being encountered by *Dauid* at two severall times in the Valley of *Kezaim*, or of the *Giantes*, they were at both times ouerthrowne. After which he called the place *Baalperazim*.

Then *Dauid* assembled 30000. choice *Israelites* to conduct the *Arke* of God from the house

house of *Abinadab* in *Gibea*, to the Citie of *David*, which businesse was interrupted by the death of *Uzzab* the sonne of *Abinadab*, whom the Lord slew for presuming to touch the *Arke*, though it were wih intent to stay it from taking harme, when it was shaken. But after three yeeres it was with great solemnity brought into the Citie with sacrifices, musike, dances, and all signes of ioyfullnesse, in which *David* himselfe gladly bare a part. Hereupon *Mitchel* derided him for dancing before the *Arke*, and afterward told him in scorne, *That he was uncovered as a fool in the eyes of the maidens his seruants*; namely that he forgot his regall dignity both in apparell and behauiour; and mixed himselfe among the base multitude, dancing as fooles doe in the wayes and streetes: not that he disliked *Dauids* behauiour (as I take it) though he made it the colour of her derision, but rather the aboundant griefe, which this spectacle stirred vp, beholding the glory of her husband to whom she was deliuered lastly by force, and remembering the miserable end of her father and brethren, our of whose ruines he conceived that the sonne of *Israhel* had built this his greatnesse: together with the many new wiues and concubines imbraced since his possession of *Ierusalem*, made her breake out in those despitefull teares, for which she remained barren to her death.

8 Chron. c. v. 3.

This done, *David* consulted with the Prophet *Nathan* for the building of the Temple or house of *God*: but was forbidden it, because he was a man of warre, and had shed blood. So greatly doth the Lord and King of all detest homicide; having threatened, not in vaine, that he would require the blood of man, at the hand of man and beast. The wars which *David* had made were iust, and the blood therein shed was of the enemies of *God*, and his Church: yet for this cause it was not permitted that his hands should lay the foundation of that holy Temple. Hereby it appeares how greatly those Princes deceive themselves, who thinke by bloodshed and terror of their warres, to make themselves ingreatesse like to the *Almightie*, which is a damnable pride; not caring to imitate his mercie and goodnesse, or seeke the blessednesse promised by our *Sauour* vnto the peacemakers.

Now although it was not pleasing to the Lord to accept a Temple of *Dauids* founding, yet was his religious intent so well accepted, that hereupon he receiued both a confirmation of the Kingdome to him and his heires, and that happie promise of the everlasting throne, that should be established in his seede.

§. V.

The ouerthrow of the *Philistims* and *Moabites*.

2 Sam. 8. v. 1.

SOON after this *David* ouerthrew the *Philistims*, which made them altogether powerlesse, and vnable to make any inuasion vpon *Israhel* in haste. For it is thus written, *Acceptis fructum Amgaris de manu Philisthorum*; which place our English *Genea* conuers in these words, And *David* tooke the bridle of bondage out of the hand of the *Philistims*. The Latine of *Iunius* giueth another and a better sense, for by that of the bridle of *Amgar* was meant the strong Citie of *Gath*, or *Geth*, and so the *Genea* hath it in the marginall note. This Citie of *Gath* was the same which was afterward *Dica-Carus*, set on the frontier of *Palestina* at the entrance into *Iudas* and *Ephraim*. From thence they made their incursions, and therainto their retreat in all their inuasions; which being taken by *David* and demolished, there was left no such frontier towne of equal strength to the *Philistims* on that part. The hill whereon *Geth* or *Gath* stood, the Hebrews call *Amme*, whereof and of the word *Gath* is made *Amgar*, of which *Plinie* in his first booke, and Chap. 13. This exposition is made plaine and confirmed in the first of *Chro*. the 18.

Hinc in 8. v. of the second of Sam.

There was no nation bordering the *Iewes* that so greatly afflicted them as the *Philistims* did, who before the time of *Saul*, (to the end they might not sharpen any weapon against them) did not leaue one Smith in all their Cities and villages of that kinde, but inforced them to come downe into their territories, for all iron worke whatsoever they needed; so as the *Israhelites* till this time of *David* were seldom free from paying tribute to the *Philistims*.

8 Sam. 13.

After this he gaue them foure other ouerthrowes: but the war of the *Moabites* and *Arahians* came betwene. In the first of which he was indangered by *Ishbi-benob*, the head of whose speare weighed 300. sheeles of brasse, which make nine pound three quarters of four poizes: at which time *Abishai* succoured *David* and slew the *Philistim*, whereupon the

the Countessors and Captaines of *David* (lest the light of *Israhel* might by his losse be quenched) vowed that he should not thenceforth hazard himselfe in any battaile. The second and third incounter and ouerthrow of the *Philistims* was at *Gob* a place neere *Gath*, and the last at *Gath* or *Geth*. And being now better assured of the *Philistims* by the taking of *Geth*, he invaded *Moab*, from whom notwithstanding in his aduersitie he sought succour and left his parents with him in trust. But whether it were the same King or no it is not knowne.

The *Rabbins* saie that *Moab* slew those kinsfolkes of *David*, which liued vnder his protection in *Sauls* time; but questionlesse *David* well knew how that Nation had bin alwayes enemies to *Israhel*, and tooke all the occasions to vex them that were offered. And he also rememberd that in the 23. of *Deut*. *God* commanded *Israhel* not to seeke the peace or prosperity of the *Moabites*, which *David* well obserued, for he destroyed two parts of the people, leauing a third to till the ground. This victory obtained, he led his army by the border of *Ammon* towards *Syria* *Zobah*, the region of *Adadazer* the sonne of *Rehob* King thereof. The place is set downe in the description of the holy Land: to which I referre the Reader.

§. VI.

The warre which *David* made vpon the *Syrians*.

IT is written in the Text: *David smote also Hadadazer, &c. as he went to recover his border at the river Euphrates*. Now whether the words (as he went to recover his border) be referred to *David* or *Hadadazer*, it is not agreed vpon. *Iunius* thinks that the article (hee) hath relation to *David*, who finding *Tobu* oppressed by *Hadadazer*, ouerthrew the one, and succoured the other. But the ancient and most receiued opinion, that this recovery hath reference to the *Syrian*, is more probable. For if *David* had intended any such enterprise towards *Euphrates*, he was in so farre better case to haue proceeded after his victory than before: seeing that (*Adadazer* being taken) he had now left no enemy on his backe, either to pursue him, to take victuals and supplies from him, or to stop the passages of the mountaines vpon him at his returne.

Again, seeing *David* was either to passe through a part of *Arabia* the desert, or by the plains of *Palmyrena*, his army consisting of footmen, for the most, if not all: He had now both horse and chariots good store to carry his prouisions through those vncultivated places, by which he was to haue marched before he could haue reached *Euphrates* or any part thereof. But we finde that *David* returned to *Ierusalem*, after he had twice ouerthrowne the *Syrian* army, not bending his course towards the river *Euphrates*, but seeking to establish his purchases already made. Whereby it may appeare, that it was the *Syrian*, and not King *David*, that was going to enlarge his border, as before is said.

The king of *Syria* *Damasena*, and of *Damascus*, whereof that region is so called, hearing that *Adadazer* was ouerthrowne by the *Israhelites*, fearing his owne estate, and the losse of his owne country which adioyned to *Syria* *Zoba* of *Hadadazer*, sent for an army of *Aramites* or *Syrians* to his succour: but these, as it appeareth, came too late for *Adadazer*, and too soone for themselves: for there perished of those supplies 22000. This king of *Damascus*, *Iosephus* (our of *Nicholaus* an ancient Historian) calleth *Adad*, who was also of the same name and family as all those other *Adads* were: which now began to grow vp in greatnesse, and so continued for ten descents, till they were extinguished by the *Assyrians*, as is shewed heretofore. *David* hauing now reduced *Damascus* vnder his obedience, left a garrison therein, as he did in *Edom*: hauing also sacked the adioyning cities of *Beiah* and *Berath*, belonging to *Adadazer*, of which Cities *Ptolomie* calleth *Betah*, *Taubat*, and *Berath* he nameth *Barathena*. *Tobu* or *Thoi* whose country of *Hamath* ioyned to *Adadazer* is in the description of the Holy Land the reader may perceiue; for his sonne *Ioram* to congratulate this successe of *David*: partly because he had ware with *Adadazer*, and partly because he feared *David* now victorious. He also presented *David* with vessels of gold, silver, and brasse; all which together with the golden shields of the *Aramites*, and

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the best of all the spoiles of other Nations, *David* dedicated vnto God at his returne. *Iunius* translated the words: *elypeos aureos* by *ambones*, as if all the parts of the targets were not of gold but the bosses only. The *Sepuagint* call them bracelets: *Aquila*, golden chains. But because *Roboam* made shields of brasie in place of these of *Adadazer*, at such times as *Shicab* the *Egyptian* sackt the Temple of *Hierusalem*, it may be gathered thereby that those of *Adadazer* were golden shields.

2 Sam. 1.

This done, *David* sent Embassadors to *Hanum* King of the *Ammonites* to congratulate his establishment in his fathers Kingdome: for *David* in the time of his affliction vnder *Saul*, had bene relieved by *Nabab*, the father of *Hanum*. But this *Ammonite* being ill aduised, and ouer-icalous of his estate, vied *Dauids* messengers to so barbarously, and contemptuously (by curtailing their beardes, and their garments) as hee thereby drew a warre vpon himselfe, which neither his owne strength, nor all the aydes purchased could put off, or sustaine. For notwithstanding that hee had waged three and thirtie thousand Souldiers of the *Amalekites*, and their confederates; to wit, of the vassalles of *Adadazer* twentie thousand, and of *Maachab* the North part of *Transpar* (re-embred in *Deut. 3. 14.*) *Israhel* or *Tab* a country neere *God* vnder the rocks of *Armon*. 2 Sam. 10.

Maachab the North part of *Transpar* re-embred in *Deut. 3. 14.* *Israhel* or *Tab* a country neere *God* vnder the rocks of *Armon*. 2 Sam. 10.

Helam or *Chelam* which from *lonny* calleth *Armon* neere the founts of *Euphrates*. 2 Sam. 10.

1 Sam. 18. 5. 2.

Adadazer hearing that *Israhel* had dismissed his armie, assembled his forces againe, and sent all the companies that he could leue out of *Mesopotamia*, who vnder the command of *Shobach* passed *Euphrates*, and incamped at *Helam*, on the South side thereof. *David* hearing of this new preparation, assembled all the ablest men of *Israhel*, and marched towards the *Syrian* armie in *Palmyrena*, not yet entered into *Arach*, to wit, at *Helam*, a place no lesse distant from *Damascus*, towards the North-east, than *Hierusalem* was towards the South-west. Now *David* (speaking humbly) might with the more confidence goe on towards *Euphrates* (which was the farthest off iourney that euer hee had) because hee was now Lord of *Damascus*, which lay in the midway. Hee also posselt himselfe of *Thadmor* or *Palmyrena*, which *Salomon* afterward strongly fortified, and this Citie was but one dayes iourney from *Helam*, and the riuer *Euphrates*. So had he two safe retreats, the one to *Thadmor*, and the next from thence to *Damascus*. In this encounter betweene *David* and the *Syrians*, they lost 40000. horsemen, and 700. chariots, together with *Shobach* General of their armie. The *Chronicles* call these 40000. Souldiers footmen, and so *Iunius* conuerts it, and so is it very probable. For the armie of *Israhel* consisting of fooremen, could hardly haue slaughtered 40000. horsemen, except they quitted their horse and fought on foote. So are the chariots taken in this battell, numbered at 7000. in the first of *Chronicles* the ninth; in which number, as I conceiue, all the Souldiers that serued in them with the conductors are included: so as there dyed of the *Syrians* in this warre against *David*, before hee forced them to tribute, 100000. foremen, besides all their horsemen and waggons, and besides all those that *Israhel* slew, when they fled at the first encounter, together with the *Ammonites* before *Rabbah*. Notwithstanding all which, the *Adads* in following ages gathered strength againe, and afflicted the Kings of *Juda* often: but the Kings of *Israhel* they impouertished euen to the last end of that State.

David hauing now beaten the *Arabians* and *Mesopotamians*, from the partie and confederacie of *Ammon*: He sent out *Israhel* the Lieutenant of his armie to forrage and destroy their territorie, and to besiege *Rabbah*, afterward *Philadelpia*, which after a while the *Israhelites* mastered and posselt. The Kings crowne which weighed a talent of gold, garnished with precious stones, *David* set on his owne head, and carried away with him the rest of the riches and spoile of the Citie. And though *David* stayed at *Hierusalem*, following the warre of *Uriah* his wife, till such time as the Citie was brought to extremitie, and ready to be entered: yet *Israhel* in honour of *David* forbore the last assault, and entrance thereof, till his matters arriual. To the people he vied extreame rigour (if we may so call it being exercised against heathen Idolaters,) for some of them he tare with har-

rowes,

rowes, some he sawed afunder, others he cast into burning kilns, in which he baked tile and bricks.

S. VII.

Of *Dauids* troubles in his reigne; and of his forces.

David was victory begetteth security, and our present worldly felicity a forgetfulness of our former miseries, and many times of God himselfe the giuer of all goodnesse: so did these changes, in the fortune and state of this good King, change also the zealous care which formerly he had to please God in the precise obseruation of his Lawes and Commandements. For hauing now no dangerous apparant enemy (against whom he was wont to aske counsaile from the Lord) he began to be aduised by his owne humane affections and vaine desires. For hee was not onely satisfied to take *Uriah* from him, and to vse her by stealth: but he imbrodered his adultery with *Uriah* slaughter, giuing order to his trustie *Israhel* to smash him in the front or point of those *Israhelites*, which gaue an assault vpon the suburbs of *Rabbah*, when there was not as yet any possibility of preuailling. And, that which could no lesse displease God than the rest, hee was content that many others of his best seruants and Souldiers should perishe together with *Uriah*, hoping thereby to couer his particular ill intenc against him. After which he began by degrees to fall from the height of happinesse, and his dayes then to come were filled with ioyes and woes interchangeable, his trodden-downe sorrowes began againe to spring; and those perils which he had pulled vp by the rootes (as hee hoped) gaue him an after-haruest of many cares and discontentments. And if it had pleased God to take the witness of *Dauids* owne mouth against him, as *David* himselfe did against the *Amalekites*, which pretended to haue slaine *Saul*, he had then appeared as worthy of reprehension as the other was of the death he suffered: For when *Nathan* the Prophet propounded vnto him his owne error, in the person of another, to wit, of him thatooke the poore mans sheepe that had none else, the breacher being Lord of many: Hee then vowed it to the liuing Lord, that such a one should die the death. And hereof, although it pleased God to pardon *David*, for his life, which remission the Prophet *Nathan* pronounced: yet he deliuered him Gods iustice together with his mercy in the tenour following: Now therefore the sword shall neuer depart from thy house, &c. Because thou hast taken his wife to be thy wife, and hast slaine *Uriah* with the sword of the children of *Ammon*. Soone after this *David* lost the childre of adultery which he begot on *Bersheba*. Secondly, his owne sonne *Amnon* being in loue with his halfe sister *Tamar*, by the aduise of his *Goulin*-german, the sonne of *Shimeon*, *Dauids* brother, posselt her by force: which when he had performed, he thrust her from him in a careless and despiightfull manner: Two yeares after which foule and incestuous act, *Abshalom* caused his brother to be murdered, at the feast of his sheepe-shearing; not perchance in reuenge of *Tamars* rauishment alone: but hauing it in his heart to vnturne the Kingdome, in which, because he could not in any sort be assured of *Ammon*, he thought his affaire greatly aduanced by his destruction. So the one brother hauing rauished his owne sister, and then despoiled her, the other after a long dissimbled malice, first made his owne brother drunken, and then slaundered him; which done he fled away, and liued vnder the sauegard of *Talmai* King of *Gether*, neere *Damascus*, who was his grandfather by the mother, but a heathen King. Thirdly, when *Abshalom* by the inuention of *Israhel* (but chiefly because of the great affection of *David* towards his sonne) was brought againe: first to the Kings fauour, and then to his presence: Hee began instantly to practise against *David*, his father, seeking by the pretence of common iustice, and by lowly and familiar manner to all men, and by detracting from his fathers equitie, to win vnto himselfe a popular reputation. Here began the great affliction, threatened by the Lord as a punishment of *Dauids* time.

The company which *Abshalom* gathered at the first were but 200. men: which he carried with him from *Hierusalem* to *Hebron*, intending, though haupfully, the performance

of a vow to God. There when *Achitophel* repaired vnto him, and many troopes of people from all places, he proclaimed himselfe King, and was by the people (whose hearts God had turned from their lawfull Prince) accepted so readily, that *Dauid* doubting to be set vpon on the suddaine, durst not trust himselfe in his owne Citie of *Hierusalem*, nor in any other walled towne for feare of surpris: but incamped in the fields and deserts with some 600. of his gards, and few else. The priests he left in *Hierusalem* with the Arke of God, from whom he desired to be aduertised of those things that chanced, to whom he directed *Hushai* his trustie friend, and seruant, praying him to make himselfe in all his outward actions and counsels of *Abisalom*s party and confederacy, thereby the better to discouer vnto him the purposes of *Achitophel*, a reuolting Counsaile, whose practices he greedily doubted. And now when treason was in fashion, *Ziba* also sought to betray his master *Meophibosheth* the sonne of *Jonathan*: And *Shimei* of the house of *Saul* (the fire of whose hatred *Dauid*s prosperity had smothered, but his aduersity lightened) holding himselfe vpon the aduantage of a mountaine side, cast stones at *Dauid*, and most despitefully curled him to his face: but *Dauid* attending no priuate reuenges, forbade *Abishai* to pursue him for the present, yet left him among others in the rolle of his reuenge, to his sonne *Salomon*. *Abisalom* being now possessor of *Hierusalem*, was aduertised by *Achitophel* to vse his fathers concubines in some such publique place, as all *Israel* might assure themselves, that he was irreconcilable to his father: whereof being perswaded, they would then resolutely adhere to *Abisalom* and his cause, without feare of being giuen vp vpon a reconciliation betwene them. This saluage and impious (though crafty counsaile) *Achitophel* incedde vrge for his owne respect, as fearing that this rebellion might take end in his destruction; who most of all other inflamed *Abisalom* against his father. And now was it fulfilled that *Nathan* had directly foretold *Dauid*: *Dauid* will rise vp euill against thee out of thine owne house, and will take thy wiues before thine eyes, and giue them vnto thy neighbour, and he shall slay wit h thy wiues in the sight of the Sonne: for thou diddest it secretly, but I will doe this thing before all *Israel*, and before the Sonne. He also gaue aduice to *Abisalom*, that himselfe with an armie of 12000. men might be employed at the instant for the surprizing of *Dauid*; which had willingly beene embraced by *Abisalom*, had not *Hushai* *Dauid*s faithfull seruant giuen counter-advice, and swayed it: perswading *Abisalom*, that it was fitter and more safe for him with all the strength of *Israel*, to pursue his father, than by such a troope, which *Dauid*s valour and those of his attendants might either indanger or resist. This delay in *Abisalom*, and aduantage of time gained by *Dauid*; was indeede, after God, the losse of the one, and deliury of the other. Whereupon *Achitophel* rightly fearing (by the occasion fore-shewed) the successe which followed, disposed of his owne estate, and then forsooke both the party and the care of *Abisalom*, and of his owne life.

Dauid being aduertised of this enterprize against him, marched away all night, and past *Jordan*, possessing himselfe of *Mahanaim* in the tribe of *Gad*: the same wherein *Abisalom* himselfe in the warre against *Dauid* after *Saul*s death seared himselfe. To which place there repaired vnto him *Shobi*, the sonne of *Nabash* the *Ammonite*, whom *Dauid* loved, the same which *Iosephus* calleth *Shipbar*. And though it be greatly disputed, what this *Shobi* was, yet the most generall and probable opinion makes him a second brother to *Hannun*, whom *Dauid* for his fathers sake established in the Kingdome, after *Hannun*s ouerthrow. In thankfullnesse whereof he relieved *Dauid* in this his extremity. There came also to *Dauid*s assistance *Machir* of *Lodabar*, Guardian in former times to *Meophibosheth*, and among others *Barzillai* the *Gileadite*, who willingly fed *Dauid* and all his companie.

In the meane time both the King and *Abisalom* prepared to fight, *Abisalom* made *Amasa* Commander of the armie of *Israel*, the same place which *Isab* held with *Dauid*; an office next the King himselfe, like vnto that of the Maiors of the Palace anciently in France. *Dauid*, perswaded by his companie, stayed in *Mahanaim*, and disposed the forces he had to *Isab*, *Abisbai*, and *Itai*, giuing them charge in the hearing of all that issued out of the port of *Mahanaim*, that they should spare the life of *Abisalom*. But *Isab*, besides that he was very cruell by nature, remembered that *Abisalom* had lately disposed of his gouernment to *Amasa*, and therefore the victory being obtained, and newes brought him that *Abisalom* hung by the haire of his head on a tree, when he could not perswade him messenger to returne and kill him, he himselfe with his owne seruants dispatched him.

It appeared also by the sequell that *Isab* affected *Adonijah* whom he afterward acknowledged, *Dauid* yet liuing; and fearing the disposition of *Abisalom*, he embraced the present aduantage offered.

Hereof, together with newes of the victorie, when knowledge was brought to *Dauid*, he mourned and sorrowed, not onely as a man that had lost a sonne, but as one that had outlived all his worldly ioyes, and scene euery delight of life interred. For he so hid himselfe from his people, as those which hoped for honour and reward after so great a victory, couered themselves also in the Citie, as if they had committed the greatest offences, and had rather deserved death than recompence. Whereupon *Isab* presenting himselfe before *Dauid*, perswaded him to dissemble his sorrow for the present, and to shew himselfe to the Armie. For first, he told him that he had discountenanced his faithfull seruants, who had that day preferred his life; inferring that nothing could be more dangerous to a King, than not onely not to acknowledge so great a loue and constancie in his people, who being but few in number, did yet resolutely expose themselves to great perils for his sake: but on the contrary, grieue and lament at their good successe. For no doubt, they might all haue bought their peace of *Abisalom* at an easie rate. Secondly, he vrge that it was generally beleueed, that he loued his enemies and hated his friends, and that he winced by this his mourning, that he had not any respect of his Princes, and others his faithfull seruants, but would more haue joyed if they had all perished, and *Abisalom* liued, than in the victory by their faithfullnesse and approved valour gotten.

Lastly, he vied this preualent argument, that if the King came not out and shewed himselfe publickly to his men of warre, that they would all that very night abandon him, and returne: concluding with this fearefull threatening: *And that will be worse vnto thee, than all the euill that fell on thee from thy youth hitherto*. By these ouer-bold and arrogant speeches (though perchance vrered with a good intent) *Isab* railed *Dauid* from his bed of sorrow, and brought him to the gates of the Citie among the people, whom he assured of his loue and affection, especially *Amasa*; who commanded the Armie of *Abisalom*, to whom he promised the office of Lieutenantship; the same which *Abisalom* had giuen him, and which *Isab* now enjoyed. For *Dauid* doubted, that if *Amasa* were not assisted, he might draw from him a great part of the strength of *Israel*, now vnder his commandment.

This done, the King marched towards *Jordan* homeward, where in his passage he pardoned *Shimei*, who had lately reuiled him to his face; but this remission was but exteri-
all, as appeared afterward. He also accepted of *Meophibosheth* his excuse, whom *Ziba* had formerly falsely accused and betrayed.

He also increased *Barzillai* the *Gileadite*, his late liberrall Oast, to follow him to *Ierusal*.
lem, that he might reward his seruice done him; who excusing himselfe by his age, appointed his sonne *Chimham* to attend the King.

At *Gezil* on this side *Jordan*, all the Tribes assembled, and after some contention which of them ought to haue most interest in *Dauid*, the Armie brake, and *Dauid* returned to *Ierusal*. But *Sheba* the sonne of *Bichri*, a *Beniamite*, of the faction of the house of *Saul*, finding some discontent among the *Israelites*, withdrew them from *Dauid*, as from a stranger in whom they had no interest, and it seemed that many of the people of the out Tribes, and in effect of all but *Juda*, bare still a good affection to the issues of their first King. *Dauid* employed his reconciled Captaine *Amasa*, to giue him contentment, and to winnesse his trust, as also because he conceived that *Amasa* had interest in those reuolts of *Israel* more than *Isab* had. He receiued commandment from *Dauid* to assemble the Armie within three dayes, which he foreflew: but being on-gone on his way, *Abisbai*, *Isab*s brother, was sent after him, with *Dauid*s guard and best Souldiers, whom also *Isab* accompanied: and ouertaking *Amasa* neere *Gibeon*, pretending to imbrace him, gaue him a wound, whereof he fell dead, being no lesse zealous of *Amasa* than he was of *Abner*, whom he murdered in the same manner, and out of the same impatient ambition. This done, he pursued *Sheba*, and finding him inclosed in *Abel*, assaulted the Citie with that furie, that the Citizens by the persuasions of a wife woman there inhabiting, cut off *Sheba*s head, and flung it to *Isab* ouer the walles: which done, he retrained his Armie to *Ierusal*, and commanded, as before, all the hostes of *Israel*.

The next act of *Dauid*, was the deliuerie of *Sauls* sons or kinsmen to the *Gibeonites*, whom those Citizens hung vp in reuenge of their fathers cruelty. *Dauid* had knowledge from the Oracle of *God*, that a famine which had continued on the land three yeeres, came by reason of *Saul* and his house; to wit, for the slaughter of the *Gibeonites*: and therefore he willingly yielded to give them this satisfaction, both because he had wanted from *God* himselfe, as also if we may iudge humanely, to rid himselfe of *Sauls* line, by whom he and his might, as well in the present as in the future, be greatly molested and indangered; onely he spared *Mephibosheth* the sonne of *Jonathan*, both for the loue he bare to his father, as for his oath and vow to *God*.

Now where it is written in the Text; *The King tooke the two sonnes of Rishpai, whom he bare vnto Saul, and the five sonnes of Michol the daughter of Saul, whom she bare to Adriel, and deliuered them to the Gibeonites*:

Iunius calls this *Michol* the sister of her that was *Dauids* wife, she whom *Saul* married to *Phaltiel*; but *Michol* here named had *Adriel* to her husband: the same which is named *Merab* in the first of *Samuel* the eighteenth, who was first promised to *Dauid*, when he slew *Goliath* in the valley of *Raphaim*: and because it is written that *Michol* loved *Dauid*, which perchance *Merab* did not, whether *Dauid* had any humane respect in the deliuerie of her children, it is onely knowne to *God*.

Now whereas the *Geneua* nameth *Michol* for *Merab* the wife of *Adriel*: the better translation were out of the *Hebrew* word here vsed, hauing an eclipsis or defect, and fig. 10 nifith, as I am informed, one of the same kinred, as in the 19. verse of the same 21. Chapter it is said of *Goliath* whose speare was weightie as a weauers beame, wheras by the same Eclipsis it must be vnderstood by the brother of *Goliath*: *Goliath* himselfe being formerly slain.

As by the death of *Sauls* children *God* secured the house of *Dauid*, leauing no head vnto rebellion; so did he strengthen both the King and Nation against forreine enemies, by the valour of many braue Commanders, the like of whom, for number and quality, that people of *Israel* is not knowne to haue had at any time before or after. Thise Capitaines of thousands there were, all men of marke, and great reputation in warre. Ouer these were six Coronels, whose valour was so extraordinary, that it might be well held as miraculous. These Coronels had some difference of place and honour, which seemeth to haue beene giuen upon meere consideration of their vertue. For *Abisai* the brother of *Ioab*, who in the warre against the *Ammonites* and *Aramites* was Lieutenant, and commanded halfe the army, could not attaine to the honour of the first ranke, but was faine to rest contented with being principall of the three Coronels of the second order, notwithstanding his neerenesse of blood vnto the King, the flourishing estate of his owne house, and his well approued seruices. All these Coronels and Capitaines, with the Companies belonging to them, may seeme to haue beene such as were continually retained, or at the least kept in readinesse for any occasion, considering that the numbers which were mustered and drawne out, if neede required, into the field, very farre exceeded thirty thousand, yea, or thirty times as many. They were most of them such as had followed the King in *Sauls* time, and beene hardened with his aduersities. Others there were very many, and principall men in their severall Tribes, that repaired vnto him after the death of *Saul*; but these Capitaines and Coronels, (who with *Ioab*, that was General of all the Kings forces, make vp the number of 37.) were the especial men of warre, and reckoned as *Dauids* Worthies. The long reigne of *Dauid*, as it is knowne to haue consumed many of these excellent men of warre, so may it probably be guessed to haue wasted the most of those whose deaths we find nowhere mentioned. For the sonnes of *Zerua*, who had beene too hard for *Dauid*, were worne away, and onely *Ioab* left in the beginning of *Salomon*, who wanted his brother *Abisai* to stand by his side in his last extremities.

By the actions forepassed in the time of *Dauid*, it is gathered that he had reigned now 33. yeeres, or thereabout; when the posterity of *Saul* was rooted out, so that he enjoyed about seauen yeeres of entire quiet and security, wherein it pleased *God* to remove all impediments that might haue troubled the succession of *Salomon* in his Fathers throne. In this time also *Dauid* hauing established all things in *Juda* and *Israel*, and the borders thereof, he againe displeased *God* by numbring the people, as in ostentation of his power: in which he employed *Ioab*, with other Capitaines of his armie, who after

nine moneths and twentie dayes trauell, returned with the account and register of all the people, able and fit to beare Armes, and they amounted to the number of threene hundred thousand, besides *Leui* and *Beniamin*, whereof in *Juda* and the Cities thereof fue hundred thousand, and in *Israel* eight hundred thousand.

For this, when by the Prophet *God* he was offered from *God* the choice of three punishments, whereof he might submit himselfe to which he pleased; to wit, seauen yeeres famine; three moneths warre, wherein hee should be vnprosperous in all attempts, and be chased by his enemies; or a generall pestilence to last three dayes: *Dauid* made choice to bow himselfe vnder the hand of *God* onely, and left himselfe subiect to that cruell discipline, which hath no compassion or respect of persons, of which there perished 70. thousand. And heereby hee hath taught all that live, that it is better to fall into the hands of *God* than of men; whereof he giueth vs this diuine reason; For his mercies are great.

§. VIII.

Of the last acts of *Dauid*; *Adonias* fallion; the reuenge vpon *Ioab* and *Shimei*.

Asfly, when he grew weake and feeble, and past the acts and knowledge of women, hee was yet aduised to lie in the armes of a young and well complexioned Maiden, to keepe him warme. In this his weake estate of bodie, when hee was in a manner bed-ridden, *Adonijah* his eldest sonne (*Amnon* and *Abshalom* being now dead) hauing drawne vnto his partie that inuincible, renowned and feared *Ioab*, with *Abiathar* the Priest, began manifestly to prepare for his establishment in the Kingdome after his father. For being the eldest now liuing of *Dauids* sonnes, and a man of goodly personage, *Salomon* yet young, and borne of a mother formerly attained with adultery, for which her name was omitted by *S. Matthew* (as *Beda*, *Hugo*, *Thomas* and others suppose) he presumed to carry the matter without resistance. Hereof when *Dauid* had knowledge by *Besibe* the mother of *Salomon*, who did put him in minde of his faithfull promise, that *Salomon* her sonne should reigne after him; *Nathan* the Prophet affirming the same thing vnto the King, and seconding her report of *Adonijahs* presumption, the King calling vnto him *Zadob* the Priest, *Nathan* the Prophet, and *Benaiah* the Capitaine of his guard, gaue charge and commission to annoint *Salomon*, and to set him on the Mule wherupon himselfe vsed to ride in his greatest state; which done, *Salomon* attended, and strongly guarded by the ordinarie and choyce men of warre, the *Cherethites* and *Pelishites*, shewed himselfe to the people. Those tidings being reported to *Adonijah*, hee presently abandoned his assistants, and for the safety of his life he held by the homes of the Altar, whom for the present *Salomon* pardoned. After this, *Dauid* had remaining two especiall cares, whereof he was desirous to discharge his thoughts; the one concerning the peace of the land, which might be disturbed by some rebellion against *Salomon*, the other concerning the building of the Temple, which he sought by all meanes to aduance, and make the business publique. To bring these intentions to good effect, hee summoned a Parliament, consisting of all the Princes of *Israel* and Princes of the severall Tribes, all the Capitaines and Officers, with all the mighty; and men of power; who did repaire vnto *Ierusalem*.

In this assembly the King stood vp, and signified his purpose of building the Temple, shewing how the Lord had approoved the motion. Herein he tooke occasion to lay open his owne title to the Crowne, shewing that the Kingdome was by *Gods* ordinance due to the Tribe of *Juda* (as *Isaiah* in his blessing prophetically bequeathed it) and that *God* himselfe was pleased to make choyce of him among all his Fathers sonnes. In like manner hee said that *God* himselfe had appointed *Salomon* by name to be his successor: whereupon he earnestly charged both the people and his sonne, to conforme themselves vnto all that *God* had commanded, and particularly to goe forward in this worke of the Lords house, which *Salomon* was choicely to build. Then produced he the patterne of the worke according to the forme which *God* himselfe had appointed; and so laying open his owne preparations, hee exhorted all others to a voluntary contribution.

The Kings proposition was so well approoved by the Princes and people, that whereas hee himselfe had giuen three thousand talents of gold, and seuen thousand of silver, they added vnto it seuen thousand of gold, and ten thousand of silver, besides brasse, iron, and

and iewels, heartily reioicing in the aduancement of so religious a worke. This businesse being so well dispatched, a solempne feast with great sacrifice was made, at which time *Salomon* was againe annointed King, and receiued fealtie of all the Princes and people of the Land, and of all the Princes his brethren, the sonnes of King *Dauid*. *Salomon* being thus established King, his Father *Dauid* finding himselfe euē in the hands of death, first exhorted his sonne to exercise the same courage and strength of minde, which himselfe had done in all his attempts: and to the end that a happy end might follow the beginning of all his enterprizes, he vttered these mighty words: *Take heede to the charge of the Lord thy God, to walke in his wayes, and keepe his statutes and his commandements, and his iudgements, and his testimonies, as it is written in the Law of Moyses, &c.* to the performance of to which, GOD fastened the succession, and prosperitie of his issues. For this done (saith GOD himselfe) *Thou shalt not want one of thy posteritie to sit vpon the Throne of Israel.*

Secondly, he aduised him concerning *Ioshab*, who out of doubt had serued *Dauid* from the first assault of *Ierusalem* to the last of his warres, with incomparable valour and fidelitie, sauing that he fastened himselfe to *Adonijah* (his master yet liuing) and thereby vexed him in his feebleness. But as God hath neuer left cruelly vntempered, so was it his will that *Ioshab* should drinke of the same cup, whereof he had enforced other men to take and suffer the same violence which himselfe had vniuſſly strooken others withall. *Quis gladius percussit, gladius peribit*: for he had bereaued *Abner* and *Amasa* of their liues, hauing against to the one the pretence onely of his brothers slaughter, whom *Abner* had slaine in the time of warre, and could not auoyd him: against the other but a meere iecalousie of his growing great in the fauour of *Dauid*. And though *Ioshab* assured himselfe that *Abner* & *Amasa* being dead, there was none left either to equall him or supplant him, yet God (deriding the policies of wicked men) raised vp *Benhadad* the sonne of *Rehoiada*, to pull him from the Sanctuary, and to cut him in peeces. For *Dauid* giueth this cause to *Salomon* against *Ioshab*, that he fluer the Captaines of the hoste of *Israel*, and shed blood of battell in peace, and to this apparant and iust cause, it is not improbable but that *Dauid* remembered the ill affection of *Ioshab* towards *Salomon*, which *Ioshab* made manifest by the vntimely letting vp of *Adonijah*, *Dauid* yet liuing. Some other offence *Ioshab* had committed against *Dauid*, of which in these words he put his sonne *Salomon* in minde: *Thou knowest also what Ioshab the sonne of Seruiah did to me, &c.* Now whether this were meant by the killing of *Abshalom*, contrary to the Kings desire, or by the proud words vsed to him when hee mourned in *Mahaneim* for *Abshalom*; or whether it were the publishing of *Dauid*'s letter vnto him for the killing of *Uriah*, thereby to disgrace *Salomon* as descended of such a mother, the Scriptures are silent. True it is, that those great men of warre doe oftentimes beaue themselves exceeding insolently towards their Princes, both in respect of their seruice done, as also, because they flatter themselves with an opinion, that either their matters cannot misse them, or that they dare not offend them. But this kinde of pride hath ouerthrowne many a worthy man otherwise deserving great honour and respect.

He also gaue order to *Salomon*, to ridde himselfe of *Shimei*, who not long before had cast stones at *Dauid*, and cursed him to his face. And albeit by reason of his oath and promise *Dauid* spared *Shimei* all the time himselfe liued, yet being dust and in the graue, hee flue him by the hand of *Salomon* his Sonne. Hence it seemeth that King *Henry* the seventh of England had his patterne, when hee gaue order to *Henrie* the eighth to execute *Pool* as for as himselfe was buried, hauing made promise to the King of *Spain* when he deliuered *Pool* vnto him, that while he liued he would neuer put him to death, nor suffer violent hands to be laid vpon him.

And yet did not the execution of *Ioshab* yeeld vnto *Salomon* any such great profit or assurance as he hoped for. For he found a yong *Adad* of *Idumea*, and *Resin* of *Damascus* to vex him: who, as the Scriptures witness, were emboldened to enterprize vpon *Salomon*, hearing that *Dauid* slept with his fathers, and that *Ioshab* the Captaine of the host was dead. Now when *Dauid* had reigned in all those yeeres, to wit, in *Helion* 7. yeeres, and in *Ierusalem* three and thirtie, he died.

For his person, he was of small stature, but exceeding strong. For his internal gifts and graces hee so farre exceeded all other men, as putting his humane frailtie apart, he was said by God himselfe to be a man according to his owne heart. The *Psalmes* which hee wrote witness his pietie, and his excellent learning: of whom *Herome* to

Paulinus:

Paulinus: *Dauid Simonides noster, Pindarus & Alcaeus, Flaccus, quoque Catullus, & Serenus, Christum ita personat, & in decachordo Psalterio ab inferis sacrauit resurgentem*; *Dauid* (saith he) our Simonides, Pindarus, Alcaeus, Horace, Catullus and Serenus, hee playeth Christ on his harpe, and on a ten stringed psalter he raiseth him up rising from the dead. And being both a King and a Prophet, he foretelleth Christ more lightsomely and liuely than all the rest.

The booke of the *Psalmes*, saith *Glycas*, was diuided, ordered and distinguished by *Ezekias*: but whether all the *Psalmes* were written by *Dauid*, it is diuersly dispured. For *Clebanus*, *Cyprian*, *Lyranus*, and others conceiue diuers Authors answering the titles of the seuerall *Psalmes*, as *Moses*, *Salomon*, and the rest hereafter named, and that onely 73. *Psalmes* were composed by *Dauid* himselfe, namely, those which are intitled *ipsius Dauid*. For the 50. and the 72. with the ten that follow, are bestowed on *Asaph* the son of *Barachia*, eleuen other on the sonnes of *Korath*; and eleuen are ascribed to *Moses*, to wit, the 89. and the ten following, and so they are reintituled in the olde Hebrew Copies, though the vulgar and *Septuaginta* (three excepted) stile them otherwise. The supposed nine Authors of these *Psalmes* which *Dauid* wrote not, *Sextus* *Senensis* nameth as followeth: *Salomon*, *Moses*, (whom *Aben Ezra*, contrary to *Herome*, maketh one of *Dauid*'s singers) *Asaph*, *Ethan*, *Ezaiachi*, *Eman*, *Ezaiara*, *Idithum*, and the three sonnes of *Chore*. But *S. Chrysostome* makes *Dauid* the sole Author of all the *Psalmes*, and to doth *S. Augustine*, reasoning in this manner: Although (saith he) somewhere are that ascribe those *Psalmes* onely to *Dauid*, which are ouer-written *ipsius Dauid*, and the rest intitled *ipsi Dauid*, to others, this opinion (saith he) *Vox Evangelica Saluatoris ipsius refutatur, ubi ait quod ipse Dauid in spiritu Christum dixerit esse finem Dominum, quoniam Psalmus 109. sic incipit, Dixit Dominus Domino meo, Sede a dextris meis, &c.* The voyce of the Gospell refutes this opinion, where it saith, that *Dauid* himselfe in the spirit called Christ his Lord, because the 109. *Psalm* begins thus: *The Lord said vnto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand, &c.* Lastly, his testimonies are vsed both by Christ and the Apostles, and hee was as a pattern to all the Kings and Princes that succeeded him.

His storie and all his particular actions, were written by the Prophets, *Samuel*, *Nathan*, and *Gad*, as it is in the first of *Chron.* 29. vers. 18. 9. For the seuerall parts of the books of *Samuel* which increase chiefly of *Dauid*, were as it seemes written by these three holy men.

Constantine Manasse hath an opinion; that the *Troians* during the time of the siege, fought for succour from *Dauid*, and that hee stayed neuer in that warre. But it seemeth that *Manasse* did miscast the time twixt *Dauid* and the *Troian* warre. For it is generally of Greeke into Latin by *Joanne Leunclauio*, received that *Troy* fell betwene the times of *Abdon* and *Samsen* Iudges of *Israel*, about the world's yeere 2848. and *Dauid* died in the yeere 2991.

§. IX. Of the treasures of *Dauid* and *Salomon*.

His treasures were exceeding great. For it is written in the 22. of the first of *Chro. vers.* 14. *Dauid*, that he left *Salomon* for the building of the Temple a hundred thousand talents of Gold, and a thousand thousand talents of silver, and of brasse and yron passing all weight, which is more than any King of the world posselt besides himselfe, and his sonne to whom he left it. For it amounteth to three thousand three hundred thirty & three cartload, and a third of a cartload of silver, allowing two thousand weight of silver or fixethousand pound sterling to euery cartload, besides threecore and seuenteen millions of French Crownes, or of our money twenty three millions and a thousand pound: a matter, but for the testimony of the Scriptures, exceeding all beleefe. For that any riches were left him doth not appeare, seeing that the Iudges had not any treasure, nor any soueraigne powerto make leuies: but when they went to the warres, they were followed by such voluntaries as the seuerall tribes by turnes gaue them: seeing also that *Dauid* who was of a meane Parentage, and perpetually vexed and invaded by the *Philistines*, could not in all likelihood gather great riches (if any at all) his Territories being exceeding narrow, and thereof the better part posselt by his enemies.

Therefore it were not amiss to consider how *Dauid* within the space of not very many yeeres, might amasse vp such mighty treasures. For though parsimonie be it selfe a great

great revenue, yet needs there must haue bene some other great means. It seemes that he made the uttermost profit of all that he had, that was profitable. *Eusebius* in his ninth booke and last Chapter de *preparatione Euangelica*, citeth the words of *Eupolemus*, who reporteth that *Dauid*, among other preparations for the Temple, built a naue in *Melania* (or as *Vallapandus* corrects it, *Achania*) a Citie of *Arabia*, and from thence sent men to digge for gold in the lland *Yrpha*, which *Ortelius* thinks, was *Ophir*, though *Eupolemus* in this place of *Eusebius* (erring perhaps in this circumstance) saith that this lland is in the red Sea; from whence, saith this *Eupolemus*, they brought gold into *Tury*. *Pineda*, lib. 4. de rebus *Salomonis*, c. 1. thinks that *Dauid* did this way also enrich himselfe, and citeth this testimony of *Eupolemus*: and yet certainly *Dauid* had many other waies to gather riches. Much land doubtlesse he gained by conquest, from the *Canaanites* and *Philistines*, besides those fruitful valleys neere *Jordan* in *Trachonitis* and *Basan*, and the best of *Syria*, and other Countries bordering the *Israelites*. These demaines belike he kept in his owne hands, and with his infinite number of captiues, which hee tooke in his warres, which were not able to redeeme themselves, husbanded those grounds for his greatest advantage. For it is written, 1. *Chron.* 17. that *Iehonathan* was ouer his treasures in the field, in the villages, in the Cities, in the towne; that *Ezer* was ouer the labourers that tilled his ground, *Simeon* ouer the vineyards, and *Sado* ouer the store of the wine, *Baal Hanan* ouer the Oliue trees, and *Iusha* ouer the store of the oyle: also that hee had herd-men that had charge ouer this cattell, both in the high Lands, and in the plaines, ouer his 20 Sheepe, Camels, and Asses. And this custome of enriching themselves by husbandrie and Cattell, the ancient Kings euer where held, both before and after *Dauid*'s time. For wee reade of *Pharao*, that he spake to *Ioseph* to appoint some of his brethren or of their seruants, to bee Rulers ouer his cattell. Wee reade of *Vezia*, that hee loued husbandrie, had much cattell, and plough-men, and dressers of vines: likewise we reade it in all *Greek* Poets, that the wealth of the ancient Kings did specially consist in their Herds and flocks, whereof it were needlesse to cite *Angas* and *Admetus* or any other for examples, the rule holding true in all. Now concerning *Dauid* it is not unlikely, but that those captiues which were not employed in husbandrie, were many of them vied by him in all sorts of gainefull professions, as the ancient *Romans* in like manner vied their slaves.

To these profits (besides the tributes and impositions which doubtlesse were great, and besides the innumerable presents which yeerly were brought him, or extraordinary sent him, by *Toby* and others) wee may adde the great spoyle which hee found in the Cities and Countries which hee conquered: also the head money which was gathered *per legem capitacionis*, by the law of capitacion or head money, every man rich or poore paying halfe a sicke of the Sanctuary, which is about as much as foure pence, and so in all it amounted to a yonderous summe in that Kingdome: wherein one thousand thousand five hundred and seuen hundred fighting men were numbered by *Iosh*. Now although this Law of capitacion bee thought by some very learned not to haue bene perpetual (which opinion of theirs neuertheless they confesse is against the Hebrew expositions) yet *Dauid* vpon this occasion is not unlikely to haue put it in practice. And by these means might he be able to leaue those huge treasures to *Salomon*. Yet it may seeme that this great masse of gold and siluer left by *Dauid*, the last part was his owne in priuate, and so will it appeare the lesse wonderfull that hee left so much. Of his owne liberalitie we finde, that hee gaue to the building of the Temple three thousand talents of gold, and seuen thousand talents of siluer, a great summe: but holding a very small proportion to the other. Wherefore wee are to consider, that the treasures of the Sanctuary itselfe were exceeding great, as needs they must haue bene hauing receiued continual encrease, without any losse or diminution euer since the time of *Moses* and *Ioshua*. The revenues of the Sanctuary (besides all manner of tithes and oblations, which defraied the daily expences, and maintained the Priests and Levites) were partly raised out of the head money before mentioned, partly out of the spoyle gotten in warre. For all the bootie was diuided into two parts, whereof the Souldiers had one, and the people which remained at home, had the other halfe, whereby all the Countrey receiued benefit of the victorie, yet so, that the Souldiers had a farre greater proportion than the rest, as being fewer, and therefore receiuing more for euery single share.

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Out of this purchase was deducted the Lords tribute, which was one in fiftie, of that which the people receiued, and one in fye hundred, of that which was giuen to the Souldiers, namely one hundred and one thousand part off the whole bootie. So in the spoyle of *Israhim*, thirty two thousand women being taken, the armie had sixteene thousand of them for slaves, and the Congregation had other fixteene thousand; but out of the fixteene thousand giuen to the Armie, were exempted two & thirrie for the Lords tribute. Out of the peoples number were taken three hundred and twenty. By this means, the lesse that the Armie was which had exposed it selfe to danger, the greater profit had every Souldier, but when it consisted of many hands, they who remaining at home were faine to vndergoe more than ordinarie trauaile in domesticall affaires, did receiue by so much the greater portion. But the Lords tribute was alwaies certaine, yea many times it was increased, either by some especiall commandement, as when all the gold, and siluer, and other mettalls found in *Iericho*, were consecrated vnto God, or by thankfulnessse of the Rulers and People, as when after the victorie obtained against the *Midianites* without the losse of one man, all Iewells, Bracelets, Eare-rings, and the like, were offered vp, as voluntarie presents.

Now howeouer the *Israelites* were many times oppressed, and troden down by other Nations, yet were not chiefe treasures robbed or spoiled; for the enemies neuer got possession of the Tabernacle that was in *Shilo*. Wherefore it cannot otherwise be, than that the wealth of the Sanctuary must haue bene exceeding great; as containing about one hundred part of all the money and other goods found by the *Israelites* in the whole Land of *Canaan*; and of all that was purchased by so many victories, as they obtained against the bordering Nations. For that this treasure was not defrauded of the due portion, it is euident; seeing that before the time of *Dauid* and his Lieutenant *Iosh*, it is recorded that *Saul* and *Abner*, and before them *Samuel*, had vied to dedicate of the spoyle obtained in warre, to maintaine the house of the Lord: the like whereof may be well presumed of the former Iudges and Captaines of other Ages. Certaine it is, that the Conquest of *Dauid* brought into the Land farre greater abundance of riches, than any former victories had purchased, those of *Iosh* perhaps excepted: but these vast summes of an hundred thousand Talents of siluer, may seeme rather to haue bene made vp, by the addition of his winnings and liberalitie, to the treasures laid vp in many former Ages, than to haue bene the meere fruits of his owne industrie.

Now concerning the riches of *Salomon*, it is more manifest how he gathered them; for hee receiued yeerly revenues with his tributes 666. Talents of gold, besides the Customs of Spices. He had also fixe rich Returnes from the East *India*, which greatly increased his store. For his ships performed that voyage euery three yeeres, and he began that made in the two and twentieth yeere of his reigne, and ruled fortie yeeres. Besides this, all *Iudea* and *Israel* were now mastered to his hands; all the *Arabians* his borderers, the *Syrians* of *Zobah*, of *Damascus*, of *Palmyrena*, of *Iturea*; all of *Idumea*, *Moab*, and *Ammon*, paid him tribute; as likewise did the *Hittites*, who with the *Perizzites*, *Hevites*, *Iebusites*, and other races of the *Canaanites*, were not as yet dextinguished, though subiect.

Into this flourishing estate was the Kingdom of *Israel* reduced by *Dauid*, who after 40 yeeres reigne, and 70. yeeres of life, dyed in a good age, full of dayes, riches, and honour, and was buried in the Citie of *Dauid*. It is written by *Iosephus* that there was hid in *Dauid*'s Tombe a maruallous quantitie of treasures, in somuch as *Hyracanth* (who first of the *Chismana*, or race of *Maccabees*, called himselfe King) one thousand and three hundred yeeres after, drew thence three thousand Talents, to rid himselfe of *Antiochus* then besieging *Ierusalem*; and afterward *Herod* opening another Cell, had also an exceeding masse of gold and siluer therein. And it was an ancient custome to burie treasure with the dead. So the *Peruvians* and other *Americans* did the like, which being discovered by the *Spaniards*, they enriched themselves by nothing so much in their first Conquest. That *Salomon* did burie so much treasure in his fathers graue, it would hardly be beleueed, in regard of the great exactions with which hee was faine to burthen the people, notwithstanding all the riches which hee got otherwise, or which were left vnto him: were it not withall considered that his want of monie grew from such magnificent employments. Particularly of the Sepulcher of *Dauid* the Scriptures haue no mention, but only the Sepulchers of the Kings of *Inda*, as of an honourable place of buriall. Yet the Monuments

*Perseus.
Hierogl. D. N.
Ch. Recl. 1.
p. 12.*

Monuments of those Kings, as (by relation of the Duke of *Vlika*) they remained with in these thirty yeeres, and are like to remaine still, are able to make report credible of the cost bestowed vpon them.

§. X.

Of the *Philistims*, whom *Dauid* absolutely mastered: and of sundry other contemporaries with *Dauid*.

F the *Philistims*, whose pride *Dauid* was the first that absolutely mastered, in this conclusion of *Dauid*'s time somewhat here may be spoken.

*Isid. l. 9. 19.
Is. l. 1. ant. 17.*

1 Sam. 6.

They defended of *Castellum*, who, according to *Isidor* and *Iosephus*, was one of the sonnes of *Misraim*, and was surnamed *Philistim*, as *Esaui* was surnamed *Edom*, and *Isaac* of *Israel*. There were of them five Cities of petite principalities; namely, *Asotus*, or *Asdod*, *Gaza*, or *Azzaph*, *Ascalon*, *Gethor* *Gath*, and *Accaron*. It seemeth that *Castellum* was the first founder of this nation, because of his kindred on either hand, the *Canaanites* and the *Aegyptians*.

Gen. 29.

The first King of these *Philistims*, which the Scriptures haue named, was that *Abimelech* which loued *Sara*, *Abrahams* wife.

Gen. 25.

The second *Abimelech* liued at once with *Isaac*, to whom *Isaac* repaired in the time of famine, *Abimelech* then residing at *Gerar* in the border of *Idumaea*, which *Abimelech* had cied *Isaac* his wife: as his father had done *Sara*.

*Isid. l. 6. 8. Sam.
18. 29.
1 Sam. 21. 11.
1. King. 2.*

After *Abimelech* the second, the *Philistims* Kings are not remembred in the Scriptures, till *Dauid*'s time: perhaps the government was turned into *Aristocraticall*. For they are afterwards named Princes of the *Philistims*, howfoeuer *Achis* be named king of *Gath*, the same to whom *Dauid* fled, and who againe gaue him *Siklag* to inhabit in *Saul*'s time.

After him we reade of another *Achis* who liued with *Salomon*, to whom *Semei* travelled to fetch backe his fugitive seruant, what time the seeking of his seruant was the losse of his life. *Ieremie* the Prophet speaketh of the Kings of *Palestin* or *Philistim*. *Amos* nameth the King of *Ascalon*: *Zacharias*, a King of *Gaza*. The rest of the warres of the *Philistims* are remembred in the Catalogue of the Iudges, of *Saul* and *Dauid*, and therefore I shall not need to collect the particulars in this place.

There liued at once with *Dauid*, the third of the *Silunij* King of *Alba*, called *Laius Silunus*, who is said to haue ruled that part of *Italie* fiftie yeeres. And about his fourteenth yeere *Codrus* the last King of the *Athenians* died, to whom succeeded the first Prince of those, who being called after *Medon*, *Medontida*, without regall name governed *Athen* during their life.

The reasons which moued the *Athenians* to change their government, were not drawn from any inconuenience found in the rule of Soueraignty, but in honour of *Codrus* onely. For when the *Grecians* of *Doris*, a region betwene *Phocis* and the mountain of *Oeta*, sought counsaile from the Oracle, for their successe in the warres against the *Athenians*, it was answered, that then vndoubtedly they should preuaile and become Lords of that State, when they could obtaine any victorie against the Nation, and yet preserve the *Athenian* King liuing. *Codrus* by some intelligence being informed of this answer, withdrew himselfe from his owne forces, and putting on the habit of a common soldier, entered the Campe of the *Dorians*, and killing the first hee encountered, was himselfe forth with cut in pieces.

Eupales the 31. King of *Assyria*, which others account but the 30. began to rule that Empire, about the 13. yeere of *Dauid*, and held it 38. yeeres.

Neereth the same time began *Istion* the second King of the *Heraclidae*, the sonne of *Eurythenes* in *Corinth*; and *Agis* the second of the *Heraclidae* in *Lacedaemon*: in honour of which *Agis*, his successeours were called *Agidae*, for many yeeres after. Hee restored the *Lacedaemonians* to their former libertie: hee ouercame the Citizens of *Helos* in *Laconia*, who had refused to pay him tribute: hee condemned them and theirs to perpetuall slavery; whereof it came, that all the *Messenians*, whom at length they brought into the like bondage, were after called *Helotes*.

In like sort from the *Slau* came the word *Slawe*. For when that Nation issuing out of *Sarmatia*, now called *Russia*, had seized vpon the country of *Thyria* & made it their owne by conquest, their victorie pleased them so highlie, that thereupon they called themselves by

by a new name, *Slauos*, which is in their language *glorious*. But in after times (that warmer Climate hauing thawed their northerne hardines, and not ripened their wits) when they were rotten downe, and made seruants with their neighbours; the *Italians* which kept many of them in bondage, began to call all their bondmen *Slaves*, vsing the word as a name of reproach: in which sense it is now current through many countries.

Other Chronologers make this *Agis*, the third King of *Sparta*, and somewhat later, about the 23. yeere of *Dauid*, and say, that *Acheistratus* was the fourth King of this race, the same whom *Eusebius* calls *Labotes*, and sets him in the thirteenth yeere of *Salomon*.

Euseb. in Chron.

In the tenth yeere of *Acheistratus*, *Androclus* the third sonne of *Codrus* assisted by the *Iones*, built *Ephesus* in *Caria*, who after the adioyning of the Ile of *Samos* to his territorie, was slaine by the *Carians* whose countrie he vsurped. He was buried (saith *Pausanias*) in one of the gates of *Ephesus* called *Magnetis*, his named *Statua* being set ouer him. *Strabo* reports that after *Androclus* had subdued the *Ionians* (the next prouince to *Ephesus* on the seacoast of *Asia* the lesse) he enlarged his Dominions vpon the *Aeolis*, which ioyneth to *Ionis*: and that his posteritie gouerned the Cities of *Ephesus* and *Erythraea* by the name of *Basidae* in *Strabo* his owne time. Of the expedition of the *Iones* how they came higher out of *Peloponnesus*, I haue * spoken already vpon occasion of the returne of the *Heraclidae* into *Peloponnesus*, wherein with the *Dorers*, they expelled the *Aeolians*, and inhabited their places in that land: though this of the *Iones* succeeded that of the *Heraclidae* 100. yeeres.

The Citie of *Ephesus* became exceeding famous: first, for the temple of *Diana* there: built: which had in length 425. foote, and 220. in breadth, sustained with 127. pillars of marble, of 70. foote high: whereof 27. were most curiously grauen, & all the rest of choyce marble polish't, the worke being first set out by *Ctesiphon* of *Gnosus*. Secondly, it became renowned by being one of the first that receiued the Christian faith, of which *Timothe* was Bishop: to whom, and to the *Ephesians*, *Saint Paul* wrote his Epistles so intitled. The other Citie posses't by *Androclus* in *Aeolis* was also vniuersally spoken of by reason of *Siphylus*, surnamed *Erythraea*: who liued 740. yeeres before Christ was borne. *Saint Augustine* auoweth that a *Romane Proconsul* shewed him in an ancient Greek coppie certaine verses of this Prophetesse: which began (as *Saint Augustine* changed them into Latine) in these words: *Iesus Christus Deus filius saluator. Iesus Christ filius of GOD, the Sauer.*

About the time that *Isaiah* besieged *Rabba* in *Moab*, *Vaphres* began to gouerne in *Egypt*, the same that was father in Law to *Salomon*, whose Epistles to *Salomon*, and his to *Vaphres*, are remembred by *Eusebius* out of *Polemon*. In the 21. of *Dauid*, was the Citie of *Magnesia* in *Asia* the lesse founded, the same which is seated vpon the riuer *Maander*, whence *Scipio* gaue the great ouerthrow to *Antiochus*. In this territorie are the best Horses of the lesser *Asia* bred, whereof *Lican*:

Et Magnetis equis, Minye gens cognitareris.

About the same time *Cuma* in *Campania* was built by the inhabitants of *Chalcis* in *Euboea*, according to *Seruius*, with whom *Strabo* ioyneth the *Cumaeans* of *Aeolis*, laying that to the one of these people the government was giuen, with condition that the other should giue name to the City. Of this *Cuma* was *Ephorus* the famous scholler of *Isocrates*. *Eusebius* and *Cassiodorus* finde the building of *Carthage* at this time, to wit, in the 31. yeere of *Dauid*, but much mistaken. For the father of *Dido* was *Metimus* the sonne of *Balear*, brother to *Iezabel*, who married *Achab* King of *Israel*; and betwene the death of *Dauid*, and the first of *Achab*, there were wasted about 95. yeeres.

In this time also *Acacius* liued, the second of the *Athenian* Princes after *Codrus*, of which there were thirteene in descent before the State changed into a *Magistracie* of ten yeeres. Some writers make it probable that the *Aetolians* led by *Graus*, the grand nephew of *Orestes*, posses't the Citie and Island of *Thebes* about this time. In the 32. yeere of *Dauid*, *Hiram* began to reigne in *Tyre*, according to *Iosephus*, who saith that in his twelfth yeere *Salomon* began the worke of the Temple. But it is a familiar errour in *Iosephus*, to misseken times, which in this point he doth so strangely, as if hee knew not how at all to cast any account. For it is manifest that *Hiram* sent messengers, and *Cedars* vnto *Dauid*, soone after his taking of *Ierusalem*, which was in the very beginning of *Dauid*'s reigne ouer *Israel*, when as yet hee had reigned onely seauen yeeres in *Hebron*, ouer the house of *Iuda*. Wherefore it must needs bee that *Hiram* had reigned about

30. yeeres before *Salomon*; vnlesse more credit should be giuen to those *Tyrian* records which are cited by *Iosephus*, than to the plaine words of Scripture contradicting them. For that it was the same *Hiram* which liued both with *Dauid* and with *Salomon*, the Scriptures make it plainly manifest.

CHAP. XVIII.

OF SALOMON.

§. I.

Of the establishing of *Salomon*: of birthright, and the cause of *Adonijahs* death, and of *Salomons* wisdom.



SALOMON, who was brought vp vnder the Prophet *Nathan*, began to reigne ouer *Iuda* and *Israel*, in the yeere of the World 2991. He was called *Salomon* by the appointment of God: he was also called *Iedidias*, or *Theophilus*, by *Nathan*, because the Lord loued him.

Hiram King of *Tyre*, after *Salomons* anointing, dispatched Embassadors toward him, congratulating his establishment: a custome betweene Princes very ancient. Whence wee reade that

Dauid did in like sort salute *Hannu* King of the *Ammonites*, after his obtaining the Kingdom.

The beginning of *Salomon* was in bloud, though his reigne were peaceable. For soone after *Dauids* death, hee caused his brother *Adonijah* to be slaine by *Benaiah* the sonne of *Iehoiada*, taking occasion from *Adonijahs* desiring by *Beertheba*, that the young maide *Abihag* (which lay in *Dauids* bosome in his latter dayes, to keepe him warme) might be giuen to him. Whatsoeuer hee pretended, it was enough that *Adonijah* was his elder brother, and fought the kingdom contrary to the will of *Dauid*, whom God inclined towards *Salomon*. And yet it is said that a word is enough to the wife, and hee that sees but the claw, may know whether it be a Lyon or no: so it may seeme that to the quick-sighted wisdom of *Salomon*, this motion of *Adonijahs*, was a demonstration of a new treason. For they which had bene concubines to a King, might not after be touched but by a

King: whence *Achitophel* wished *Abshalon* to take his Fathers Concubines as a part of the Royaltie. And *Dauid* after that wrong, determining to touch them no more, did not giue them to any other, but shut them vp, and they remained widowed vntill their death.

And this it seemes was the depth of *Ishobabets* quarrell against *Abner*, for hauing his Fathers Concubine. And some signification of this custome may seeme too in the words of God by *Nathan* to *Dauid*; *I haue giuen thee thy masters house, and thy masters wives*.

And in the words of *Saul* vpbraiding *Jonathan*, that he had chosen *Dauid* to the flame of the nakednesse of his Mother. Hereunto perhaps was some reference to this purpose of *Adonijah*, to marrie with her that was alwaies present with *Dauid* in his latter daies, and who belike knew all that was past, for the conueying of the Kingdom to *Salomon*. There might be diuers further occasions, as either that hee would learne such things by her as might be to the advantage of his ambition, or that hee would perswade her to forge some strange tale about *Dauids* last Testament, or any thing else that might preiudice the title of *Salomon*.

As for the right of an elder brother which *Adonijah* pretended, though generally it agreed both with the law of Nations, & with the customes of the *Iewes*: yet the Kings of the *Iewes* were so absolute, as they did therein, and in all else what they pleased. Some examples also they had (though not of Kings) which taught them to vie this paternall authority in transferring the birthright to a younger sonne: namely, of *Iacobs* disheriting *Reuben*, and giuing the birthright (which was twice as much as any portion of the other brethren) to *Ioseph*: of whom hee made two tribes. And that it was generally acknowledged that this power was in *Dauid*, it appeareth by the words of *Beertheba* and *Nathan* to *Dauid*, and of *Jonathan* to *Adonijah*. For as for popular election, that was necessarie to confirme, or that the refusal of the people had authoritierto frustrate the

elder

elder brothers right to the Kingdom, it now here appears in the stories of the *Iewes*. It is said indeed that the people made *Saul* King at *Gilegal*: that is, they acknowledged and established him. For that he was King long before, no man can doubt. In like manner elsewhere the phrase of chusing or making their King, is to be expounded: as where in the prohibition, that they should not make themselves a King, it is said, *Thou shalt make him King whom the Lord shall chuse*.

But to proceed with the acts of *Salomon*: at the same time that hee put *Adonijah* to death, hee rid himselfe also of *Joab*, and three yeeres after of *Shimei*, as *Dauid* had aduised him: hee displaced also the Priest *Abiathar*, who tooke part with *Adonijah* against him: but in respect of his office, and that he followed *Dauid* in all his afflictions, and because hee had borne the Arke of God before his Father, hee spared his life. And thus being established in his Kingdome, hee tooke the daughter of *Phaphres* King of *Egypt* to Wife: for so *Eusebius* out of *Eupolemus* calls him. He offered a thousand Sacrifices at *Gibeon*, where God appearing vnto him in a dreame, bade him aske what he would at his hands; *Salomon* choseth wisdom, which pleased God. And God said vnto him, *Because thou hast asked this thing, and hast not asked for thy selfe long life, neither hast thou asked riches for thy selfe, nor hast asked the life of thine enemies, behold, I haue done according to thy words*: by which wee may informe our selues what desires are most pleasing to God, and what not. For the conueying after long life in respect of our selues, cannot but proceed of selfe-loue, which is the roote of all impietie: the desire of priuate riches is an affection of couetousnesse which God abhorreth; to affect reuenge, is as much as to take the sword out of Gods hand, and to distrust his Iustice. And in that it pleased God to make *Salomon* know that it liked him, that he had not asked the life of his enemies, it could not but put him in minde of his brothers slaughter, for which he had not any warrant eyther from *Dauid*, or from the Law of God. But because *Salomon* desired wisdom onely, which taught him both to obey God, and to rule men, it pleased God to giue him withall that which he desired not. And I haue also giuen thee (saith God) that which thou hast not asked, both riches and honour. This gift of wisdom our Commentators stretch to almost all kinds of learning: but that it comprehended the knowledge of the nature of plants and liuing creatures the Scripture testifieth, though no doubt the chiefe excellencie of *Salomons* wisdom, was in the knowledge of gouerning his kingdome: whence, as it were for an example of his wisdom, the Scripture telleth how soone hee iudged the controuersie betweene the two harlots.

§. II.

Of *Salomons* building and glorie.

HE then entred into league with *Hiram* King of *Tyre*, from whom hee had much of his materials, for the Kings Palace and the Temple of God: for the building whereof hee had receiued a double charge, one from his father *Dauid*, and another from God. For like as it is writtun of *Dauid*, that *Hee called Salomon his sonne, and charged him to build a house for the Lord God of Israel*: so doth *Joshua* giue the force of a diuine precept to these words, *Behold, a sonne is borne vnto thee, &c. Hee shall build an house for my Name*.

He began the worke of the Temple, in the beginning of the fourth yeere of his reigne, at which time also hee prepared his fleet at *Esiongaber* to trade for gold in the East Indies, that nothing might be wanting to supply the charge of so great a worke. For that the Temple was in building, while his fleets were passing to and fro it is manifest. For the pillars of the Temple were made of the *Almaggim* trees brought from *Ophir*. Of this most glorious building, of all the particulars (whereof the forme and example was giuen by God himselfe) many learned men haue writtun, as *Salmeron*, *Montanus*, *Ribera*, *Barradas*, *Azarius*, *Vallapandus*, *Pineda*, and others, to whom I referre the Reader.

For the cutting and squaring of the Cedars which serued that building, *Salomon* employed 30. thousand Carpenters, 10. thousand euery month by course: hee also vsed 80. thousand Mafons in the mountaine, and 70. thousand labourers that bare burdens, which it is conceiued, hee selected out of the *Profelites*, besides three thousand three hundred matters of his worke; so as hee paid and employed in all one hundred eighty three thousand and three hundred men, in which number the *Sidonians* which were farre more

skillfull in hewing timber than the *Israelites*, may (as I thinke) bee included. For *Hiram* caused his servants to bring downe the Cedars and Firres from *Libanus* to the sea, and thence sent them in rafter to *Ioppe*, or the next port to *Hierusalem*. For in the second of *Chronicles* the second Chapter, it is plaine, that all but the thirtie thousand Carpenters, and the ouer-seers, were strangers, and as it seemeth, the vassals of *Hiram*, and of *Ephraim* King of *Egypt*. In recompence of all this timber and stone, *Salomon* gaue *Hiram* twentie thousand measures of wheate, and twentie measures of pure oyle yeerely. *Eusebius* out of *Eupolemus* in the ninth booke of his preparation, the last Chapter, hath left vs a Copie of *Salomons* Letter to *Suron* (which was the same as *Hiram* and *Hiram*) King of *Tyre* in these words:

Rex Salomon Suroni, Tyri, Sydonis, atque Phœnicie regi, Amico paterno salutem. Scias me à D. Domago David patris mei regnum accepisse, cumq; mihi pater precepit templum Deo, qui terram creauit, condere, ut etiam ad te scriberem precepit: Scribo igitur, & peto à ut artifices atque fabros ad edificandum Templum Dei mittere velis.

King Salomon to King Suron, of Tyre, Sydon, and Phœnicia King, and my fathers friend, sendeth greeting; Thou may understand that I haue receiued of the great God of my father Dauid, the Kingdom: and when my father commanded mee to build a Temple to God which created heauen and earth, hee commanded also that I should write to you. I write therefore to you, and beseech you, that you would be pleased to send me Artificers and Carpenters to build the Temple of God.

To which the King *Suron* made this answer.

Suron, Tyri, Sydonis, & Phœnicie rex, Salomoni regi salutem. Letis literis gratias agi Deo, qui tibi regnum patris tradidit: & quoniam scribis fabros meos, ad condendum Templum esse tibi mittendos, nisi ad te milia hominum octoginta, & Architectum Tyrium hominem ex matre Iudea, virum in rebus architectura mirabilem. Curabis igitur ut necessarii non egant, & Templo Dei condito ad nos redeant.

Suron of Tyre, Siden and Phœnicia King, to King Salomon greeting: when I read your letters, I gaue God thanks, who hath inhaled you in your fathers Kingdom. And because you writte, that Carpenters and Workemen may be sent to build Gods Temple, I haue sent you fourescore thousand men, and a Master-builder a Tyrian, borne of a Iewish woman, a man admirable in building. You will be careful that all necessities be provided for them, and when the Temple of God is built, that they come home to vs.

The Copies of these letters were extant in *Iosephus* time, as himselfe affirmeth, and to be seene, saith he, *Tam in nostris quam in Tyriorum annalibus*, as well in our owne, as in the *Tyrian annals*. But he deliuereth them somewhat in different tearmes, as the Reader may finde in his Antiquities. But werethis intercourse betweene *Salomon* and *Hiram* cyther by message or by writing, it is somewhat otherwise deliuered in the Scriptures, than cyther *Eupolemus* or *Iosephus* set it downe, but so, that in substance there is little difference betweene the one and the other.

The like letter in effect *Salomon* is said to haue written to *Ephraim* King of *Egypt*, and was answered as from *Hiram*.

But whereas some Commenters vpon *Salomon* finde that *Hiram* King of Tyre, and *Ephraim* King of *Egypt*, gaue *Salomon* the title of *Rex magnus*, and cite *Eupolemus* in *Eusebius*, I doe not finde any such addition of *magnus* in *Eusebius* in the last chapter of that ninth booke; neither is it in *Iosephus* in the eighth booke and second chapter of the *Iewes Antiquities*: it beinge auaintitlede by some of the *Assyrian* and *Persian* Kings, and yet so likewise by the *Parthians*, and many other after them, in so much as in latter times it grew common, and was vsurped by meane persons in respect of the great *Hermes* the first, which was honoured by that name for his noble qualities, as much or more than for his mightnesse.

After the finishing and dedication of the Temple and house of the Lord, *Salomon* fortified *Ierusalem* with a treble wall, and repaired *Hazor* which had bene the ancient Metropolis of the *Canaanites*, before *Iosabab* time: so did he *Gaza* of the *Philistines*: hee built *Bethon*, *Gerar*, and the *Nullo* or munition of *Ierusalem*. For *Pharaoh* (as it seemeth

in sauer of *Salomon*, came vp into the edge of *Ephraim*, and took *Gerar*, which place the *Canaanites* yet held, and put them to the sword, and burnt their Citie. The place and territorie hee gaue *Salomons* wife for a dowrie. And it is probable it became *Salomon* was then busied in his magnificent buildings, and could not attend the warre, that he entreated his father in law to rid him of these neighbours, which *Pharaoh* performed. But hee thereby taught the *Egyptians* to visit those parts againe before they were sent for; and in his sonne *Rehoboams* time *Shebuck* this mans successor did sicke *Ierusalem* itselfe.

Salomon also built *Megiddo* in *Manasse*, on this side *Jordan*, and *Balah* in *Dan*: also *Thadmor*, which may be either *Ptolomies Thamaron* in the desert of *Juda*, or (as *Iosephus* thinks) *Palmyra* in the desert of *Syria*, which *Palmyra* because it stood on the utmost border of *Salomons* dominion to the north east of *Libanus*, and was of *Dauids* conquest when hee won *Damascus*; it may seeme that *Salomon* therefore bestowed thereon the most cost, and fortified with the best Art that that age had. *Iosephus* calls this place *Thadamora*, by which name (saith hee) giuen by *Salomon*, the *Syrians* as yet call it. *Hierom* in his booke of *Hebrew* places, calls it *Thermeth*. In after times, when it was rebuilt by *Adrian* the Emperour, it was honoured with his name, and called *Adrianapolis*. In respect of this great charge of building *Salomon* raised tribute through all his Dominions, besides an hundred and twentie talents of gold receiued from *Hirams* seruants; *Salomon* offered *Hiram* twenty towines in or neere the vpper *Galilee*, but because they stood in an vnfruitfull and marish ground, *Hiram* refused them, and therefore was the territorie called *Chabul*.

These towines, as it is supposed, lay in *Galilee* of the *Gentiles*, *Non quod gentes ibi habitarent: sed quia sub ditone regis gentilis erat*, Not that it was possit by the *Gentiles* (saith *Naderus*) but because it was vnder the rule of a King that was a *Gentile*. Howleuer it were, it is true that *Salomon* in the 21. yeere fortified those places, which *Hiram* refused. Further, hee made a iourney into *Syria* *Zobah*, and established his tributes; the first and last warre (if in that expedition hee were driuen to fight) that he made in person in all his life. He then visited the border of all his Dominions, passing from *Thadmor* to the North of *Palmira*, and so to the Desarts of *Idumea*, from whence he visited *Eziongeber* and *Elath*, the utmost place of the South of all his territories, bordering to the red sea: which *Critius* hath described in the Storice of *Moses*.

§. III.

Of *Salomons* sending to *Ophir*, and of some seeming contradictions about *Salomons* riches, and of *Pinedas* conceit of two strange passages about *Africke*.

Here *Salomon* prepared his Fleet of Ships for *India*, with whom *Hiram* ioyned in that voyage, and furnished him with Mariners and Pilots, the *Tyrians* being of all other the most expert sea-men. From this part of *Arabia*, which at this time belonged to *Edom*, and was conquered by *Dauid*, did the Fleet passe to the East *India*, which was not farre off, namely to *Ophir*, one of the Islands of the *Moluccas*, a place exceeding rich in gold: witness the *Spaniards*, who notwithstanding all the abundance which they gather in *Pera*, doe yet plant in those Islands of the East *Manilla*, and recouer a great quantitie from thence, and with lesse labour than they doe in any one part of *Pera*, or new *Spaine*.

The returne which was made by these Ships amounted to foure hundred and twentie talents: but in the second of *Chronicles* the eight, it is written 450. talents: whereof 30. talents went in expence for the charge of the fleet, and wages of men, and 420. talents, which makes five and twenty hundred and twenty thousand Crownes, came cleere. And thus must those two places bee reconciled. As for the place 1. Reg. 10. 14. which speaketh of fixe hundred sixty and fixe talcns of gold, that summe, as I take it, is of other recoups of *Salomons* which were yeerely, and which came to him besides these profits from *Ophir*.

My opinion of the land of *Ophir*, that it is not *Pera* in *America* (as diuers haue thought) but a Country in the East *Indies*; with some reason why at those times they could not make more speedie returne to *Ierusalem* from the East *Indies* then in three years; and that *Tharvis* in Scripture is diuers times taken for the Ocean, hath bene already declared in the first booke.

C.S. §. 9. 10. 11.
Lib. 4. de rebus
Salomonis c. 6.
67. 15.

Onely it remaineth that I should speake somewhat of *Pineda* his strange conceits, who being a *Spaniard* of *Batca*, would faine haue *Gades* or *Calis-malis*, in olde times called *Tartessus*, which is the Southwest corner of that Prouince, to be the *Tharxis* from whence *Salomon* trecth his gold; for no other reason, as it seemes, but for loue of his owne countre, and because of some affinitye found betwene *Tharxis* and *Tartessus*. For whereas it may seeme strange that it should be three yeres ere they that tooke ship in the red sea, should returne from the East *Indies* to *Ierusalem*, this hath bene in part answered alreadye. And further, the intelligent may conceiue of sundry lets, in the digging and refining of the metall, and in their other trafficke, and in their land-carriages betwene *Ierusalem* and the red sea, and perhaps also elsewhere: so that wee haue no need to make to *Salomons* mento goe many thousand miles out of their way to *Gades*, round about all *Africa*, that so they might be long a coming home.

For the direct way to *Gades* (which if *Salomon* and the *Israelites* knew not, the *Tyrinus* which went with them, could not haue bene ignorant of) was along the *Mediterranean*, and so (besides many wonderful inconueniences, and terrible nauigation in rounding *Africa*) they should haue escaped the troublesome land-carriage betwene *Ierusalem* and the red sea through drie, desert, and theeuish Countries: and within 30. mile of *Ierusalem* at *Loppe*, or some other haue in *Salomons* owne Countre, haue laden and laden their ships.

But this direct course they could not hold (saith *Pineda*) because the huge Island of *Atlantis* in largenesse greater than all *Africa* and *Asia*, being swallowed vp in the *Atlantic Ocean* hindered *Salomons* ships from passing through the fraits of *Gibraltar*: for this he alleadgeth *Plato* in *Timeo*. But that this calamitie happened about *Salomons* time, or that thereby the Straights of *Gades* were filled with mud and made vnpassable, that there could be no coming to *Gades* by the *Mediterranean sea*: or that this indraught where the sea runneth most violently, and most easly scowreth his channell, should be filled with mud, and not also the great Ocean in like manner, where this huge Island is supposed to haue stood: or that *Salomons* ships being in the red sea, should neglect the golden mines of the East *Indies* (which were infinitely better and neerer to the red sea, than any in *Spain*) to seeke gold at *Cadyz* by the way of compassing *Africa*, it is most ridiculous to imagine. For the *Spaniard* himselfe that hath also the rich *Peru* in the West, fortifieth in the East *Indies*, and inhabites some part thereof, as in *Manila*, finding in those parts no lesse quantitie of gold (the small territorie which hee there possessest considered) than in *Peru*.

The same *Pineda* hath another strange passage round about all *Africa*, which elsewhere he dreames of: supposing whereas *Jonas* sailing to *Tharxis* the Citie of *Cilicia*, was cast out in the *Mediterranean sea*, and taken vp there by a Whale, that this Whale in three dayes swimming about twelue thousand English miles, along the *Mediterranean seas*, and so through the freights of *Gades*, and along all the huge seas round about *Africa*, cast vp *Jonas* vpon the shore of the red sea, that so hee might haue perhaps some fixe miles the shorter (though much the worse) way to *Ninimie*. This conceit he grounds onely vpon the ambiguitye of the word *suph*, which oftentimes is an Epitheton of the red sea (as if we should call it *mare algosum*, the sea full of weeds) for the red sea. But in *Jonas* 2. 5. is generally taken in the proper signification for weeds, and not as *Pineda* would haue it, who in this place against his owne rule (which elsewhere he giueth vs) supposeth strange miracles without any need. For this long voyage of the Whale finished in three dayes, is a greater miracle, than the very preseruation of *Jonas* in the bellie of the Whale: and therefore seeing there is no necessitie of this miracle, we send it backe vnto him, keeping his owne rule which in this place he forgets; *Miracula non sunt multiplicanda*. And againe; *Non sunt miracula gratis danda, nec pro arbitrio noua fingenda*. Miracles are not to be multiplied without necessitie, nor deliuered without cause, nor fained at pleasure. Therefore we leaue this man in his dreames, which (were he not otherwise very learned and iudicious) might bee thought vnworthy the mentioning. But to proceed with our storie of *Salomon*.

The Queene of *Sabaes* coming from furre to *Salomon*, (as it seemes, from *Arabis felix*, and not, as some thinke, from *Aethiopia*) and her rich presents, and *Salomons* reciprocal magnificence, and his resolving of her difficult questions, those are set downe at large in the text. But herein *Iosephus* is greatly mistaken, who calls this Queene of *Saba*

Deuotus Sal. l. 4. c. 12. 11.
As it appears
he tooke a ship
at *Lepso* or
Loppe c. 1. v. 3.

Urg. F.

Nicales, the succedour (saith he out of *Herodotus*) of those thirty and eight *Egyptian* Kings which succceeded *Mineus* the founder of *Memphis*; adding that after this *Egyptian*, and the father in Law of *Salomon*, the name of *Pharaoh* was left off in *Egypt*. For as it is elsewhere proued that the Queene was of *Arabia*, not of *Egypt* and *Aethiopia*, so were there other *Pharaohs* after the father in Law of *Salomon*. Yea, about three hundred yeres after *Salomon*, *Pharo Necho* slew *Iosias* King of *Iuda*.

It is also written of *Salomon*, that he kept in garrisons foureteen thousand Chariots, and twelue thousand horsemen; that he spent in Courtery day thirrie measures of fine flower, threescore measures of wheat, one hundred sheepe, besides stags and fallow deer, bagles and fowle; foure thousand stables of horses he had for his chariots and other vses, and for the twelue thousand horsemen of his guard. For, the ten thousand stals in the first of Kings the fourth, are to be taken but for so many horses, whence in the second of *Chronicles* the ninth, it is written but foure thousand stals or teemes, and in euerie teemen horses, as *Iunius* and the *Genena* vnderstand it. He was said to be wiser than any man, yea than were *Ethan* the *Ezrahite*, than *Heman*, *Chalcal*, or than *Darda*, to which *Iunius* addeeth a fift, to wit, *Ezrak*. For the *Genena* maketh *Ethan* an *Ezrahite* by Nation. *Iosephus* writes them *Athan*, *Eman*, *Chalcus* and *Danan* the sonnes of *Heman*. He spake three thousand Prouerbes, and his songs were one thousand and fise, whereof eicher the most part perished in the Captiuitie of *Babylon*, or else because many acts of *Salomon* were written and kept among the publique Records of Ciuill causes and not Ecclesiasticall, therefore they were not thought necessary to be inserted into Gods booke.

§. IIII.

Of the fall of *Salomon*, and how long he liued.

NOW as he had plentye of all other things, so had he no scarcitie of women. For besides his euen hundred Wiues, he kept three hundred Concubines, and forgetting that God had commanded that none of his people should accompanie the daughters of Idolators, he tooke Wiues out of *Egypt*, *Edom*, *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Zidon* and *Heb*: and when hee fell a doting, his Wiues turned his heart after other Gods, as *Asteroth* of the *Zidonians*, *Asilcom* or *Molech* of the *Ammonites*, and *Chemosh* of *Moab*.

These things God punished by *Adad* of *Idumae*, *Rezin* of *Damascus*, and by *Ieroboam* his owne seruant and one of the masters of his workes, who by the ordinance of God tare from his sonne *Roboam*, ten of the twelue parts of all the territorie he had. *Deus dum in peccatores animaduertit, aliorum peccatis vitatur, quae ipse non fecit*. God in punishing *I. Mart. in reg. finit*, vyleth the finnes of others, which he himselfe wrought not.

In the reigne of *Salomon* (as in times of long peace) were few memorable actions by him performed, excepting his buildings with other workes of magnificence, and that great Indian voyage already mentioned. Fortie yeres he reigned: how many he liued, is not written, and must therefore be found onely by coniecture. The most likely way to guess at the truth in this case, is by considering the actions of *Dauid* before and after *Salomons* birth, whereby we may best make estimation of the yeres which they consumed, and consequently learne the true, or most likely yeere of his natiuitie. Seauen yeres *Dauid* reigned in *Hebron*: in his eighth yeere he tooke *Ierusalem*, and warred with the *Philistims*, who also troubled him the yeere following. The bringing home of the *Arke* seemes to haue bene in the tenth yeere of *Dauid*, and his intention to build the Temple in the yeere ensuing, at which time he had sufficient leisure, liuing in rest. After this he had warres with the *Philistims*, *Moabites*, *Aramites* and *Edomites*, which mult needs haue held him fise yeres, considered that the *Aramites* of *Damasco* raised warre against him, after such time as he had beaten *Hadadzer*, and that in euerie of these warres he had the entire victory. Neither is it likely that these seruices occupied any longer time, because in those dayes and places there were no wintering camps in use, but at convenient seasons of the yeere Kings went forth to warre, dispatching all with violence, rather than with temporizing, as maintaining their armies, partly vpon the spoyle of the enemies countre, partly vpon the priuate prouision which euerie soldier made for himselfe. The 17. yeere of *Dauid* in which he tooke *Mephiboseth* the sonne

of *Ionathian* into his Court, appeareth to have passed away in quiet; and the yeere following to have begun the warre with *Ammon*; but somewhat late in the end of Summer perhaps, it came to triall of a battaile (for *Iab* after the victorie, returned immediately to *Ierusalem*) the causes and preparations for that warre taking vp all the Summer. *Dauid*s personall expedition against the *Ammites* wherein he brought all the tributaries of *Hadadecer* vnder his owne allegiance, appeares manifestly to have bene the next yeeres worke, wherein he did cut off all meanes of succour from the *Ammites*; all *Syria*, *Moab* and *Idumaea* being now at his owne deuotion. By this reckoning it must haue bene the 20. yeare of *Dauid*s reigne, and about the fiftieth of his life, in which he sent forth *Iab* to besiege *Rabba*, and finished the warre of *Ammon*: wherein also fell out the matter of *Vriahs* wife. So one halfe of *Dauid*s reigne was very prosperous: in the other halfe he felt great sorrow by the expectation, execution, and sad remembrance of that heauie iudgement laid vpon him by God for his foule and bloody offence.

Now very manifest it is, that in the yeere after the death of that childe which was begotten in adulterie, *Salomon* was borne, who must needs therefore haue bene nineteene yeeres old or thereabout, when he began to reigne at the decease of his father, as being begotten in the 21. yeere of his fathers reigne, who reigned in all fortie.

This account hath also good coherence with the following times of *Dauid*, as may be collected out of ensuing actions: for two yeeres passed ere *Abshalon* slew his brother *Ammon*; three yeeres ere his father pardoned him; and two yeeres more ere he came into the Kings presence. After this he prepared horres and men, and laid the foundation of his rebellion, which seemes to haue bene one yeeres work. So the rebellion it selfe with all that happened thereupon, as the Commotion made by *Sheba*, the death of *Amasa* and the rest, may well seeme to haue bene in the 30. yeere of *Dauid*s reigne.

Whether the three yeeres of famine should be reckoned apart from the last yeeres of warre with the *Philistims*, or confounded with them, it were more hard than needfull to coniecture. Plaine enough it is, that in the ten remaining yeeres of *Dauid* there wastime sufficient, and to spare, both for the three yeeres of famine, for four yeeres of warre, and for numbring the people, with the pestilence ensuing; as also for his owne last in firmite, and disposing of the Kingdome. Yet indeede it seemes that the warre with the *Philistims*, was but one yeeres worke, and ended in three or foure fights, of which the two or three former were at *Gob* or *Nob* neere vnto *Gezer*, and the last at *Garb*. This war the *Philistims* vnderooke, as it seemeth, vpon confidence gathered out of the tumults in *Israel*, and perhaps emboldened by *Dauid*s olde age: for hee fainted now in the battaile, and was afterwards hindered by his men from exposing himselfe vnto danger any more. So *Dauid* had fixe or seauen yeeres of rest, in which time it is likely, that many of his great men of Warre died (being of his owne age) whereby the stirring spirit of *Adonijah* found little succour in the broken partie of *Iab* the sonne of *Zeruia*.

At this time it might both truly be said by *Dauid* to *Salomon*, *Thou art a wise man*, and by *Salomon* to God, *I am but a yong childe*; for nineteene yeeres of age might well agree with either of these two speeches.

Neuerthelesse there are some that gather out of *Salomon*s professing himselfe a childe, that he was but eleuen yeeres old when hee began to reigne. Of these *Rabbi Salomon* seemes the first Author, whom other of great learning and iudgement haue herein followed: grounding themselves perhaps vpon that which is said of *Abshalon*s rebellion, that it was after fortie yeeres, which they vnderstood as yeeres of *Dauid*s reigne. But whereas *Rehoboam* the sonne of *Salomon* was 41. yeeres old when he began to reigne, it would follow hereby that his Father had begotten him, being himselfe but a childe of nine or ten yeeres old; the difference betwene their ages being no greater, if *Salomon* (who reigned fortie yeeres) were but eleuen yeeres old when his reigne began. To auoide this inconuenience, *Iosephus* allows 80. yeeres of reigne to *Salomon*; a report so disagreeing with the Scriptures, that it needs no confutation. Some indeede haue in fauour of this opinion construed the words of *Iosephus*, as if they included all the yeeres of *Salomon*s life. But by such reckoning he should haue bene 40. yeeres old at his Fathers death; and consequently should haue bene borne long before his Father had wonne *Ierusalem*; which is a manifest vntruth. Wherefore the 40. yeeres remem-

remembred in *Abshalon*s rebellion, may either seeme to haue reference to the space betwene *Dauid*s first anointment, and the trouble which God brought vpon him for his wickednesse, or perhaps be read (according to *Iosephus*, *Theodoret*, and the *Last* translation) foure yeeres; which passed betwene the returne of *Abshalon* to *Ierusalem*, and his breaking out.

§. V.

Of *Salomon*s writings.

Here remaine of *Salomon*s workes, the *Proverbs*, the *Preacher*, and the Song of *Solomon*. In the first he teacheth good life, and correcteth manners; in the second, the vanity of humane nature; in the third he singeth as it were the Epithalamion of Christ and his Church. For the Booke intituled, The wisdom of *Salomon*, (which some giue vnto *Salomon*, and some make the elder *Philo* the Author thereof) *Hierome* and many others of the best learned make vs thinke it was not *Salomon* that wrote it. *Stylus libri sapientie* (saith *Hierome*) qui *Salomonis* inscribitur, *Græcam* *re-* *Hier. ad Cro-* *dolet* *disputat*. The stile of the booke of wisdom, which is ascribed to *Salomon*, *saui-* *reth* of the *Græcians* eloquence; and of the same opinion was *S. Augustine*, and yet he confessed in the thirteenth Booke and twentieth Chapter of the Cite of God, that the Author of that Booke hath a direct foretelling of the Passion of Christ in these words: *Circumueniamus iustum quoniam insauis est nobis, &c.* Let vs circumuent the righteous, *3. ap. 22.* for he is displeasing to vs, he is contrary to our doings, he checketh vs for offending against the Law, he makes his boast to haue the knowledge of God, and he calleth himselfe the sonne of the Lord, &c. and so doth the course of all the following words point directly at Christ. The Booke of Ecclesiastes, *Proverbs*, and *Cantica Canticorum*, *Rabbi Moses Kimchi*, ascribeth to *Iosy* the Prophet. *Suidas* and *Cædrenus* report that *Salomon* wrote of the remedies of all diseases, and graued the same on the sides of the Porch of the Temple, which they say *Ezechias* pulled downe, because the people neglecting helpe from God by prayer, repaired thither for their recoveries. *Reimcc. in Tul.* *1. Hyl.*

Of *Salomon*s books of Inuocations and Inchantments to cure diseases, and expell euill spirits, *Iosephus* hath written at large, though as I conceiue, rather out of his owne inuention, or from some vn certaine report, than truly.

He also speaketh of one *Eliazarus*, who by the roote in *Salomon*s ring dispossest diuers persons, of euill spirits in the presence of *Vespasian*, and many others, which I will not stand to examine.

Certainly so strange an example of humane frailty hath neuer bene read of as this King: who hauing receiued wisdom from God himselfe, in honour of whom, and for his onely seruice, he built the first and most glorious Temple of the world: he that was made King of *Israel* and *Iudaea*, not by the law of Nature, but by the loue of God, and became the wisest, richest, and happiest of all Kings, did in the end, by the perswasion of a few weak and wretched Idolatrous Women, forget and forsake the Lord of all the world, and the giuer of all goodnesse, of which he was more liberrall to this King, than many that euer the world had. Of whom *Siracides* writeth in this manner: *Salomon reigned in a peaceable time and was glorious, for God made all quiet round about; that hee might build a house to his name, and prepare the Sanctuary for euer: How wise wast thou in thy youth, and wast filled with vnderstanding, as with a fount? Thy minde covered the whole earth, and hast filled it with graue and darke sentences. Thy name went abroad in the Isles, and for thy peace thou wast beloued, &c.* but thus he concludeth: *Thou didst breake thy loynes to Women, and wast ouercome by thy body, thou didst staine thine honour, and hast despised thy posteritie, and hast brought wrath vpon thy children, and felt sorrow for thy folly.* cap. 27.

§. VI.

Of the Contemporaries of *Salomon*.

Here the beginning of *Salomon*s reigne, *Agæsthus* the third of the *Heracids* in *Corinth*, *Labotes* in *Lacedæmon*; and loone after *Syllus Alba* the fourth of the *Stylus* wayed those Kingdomes: *Laobenes* then gouerning *Assyria*: *Agæstus* and *Archippus* the second and third Princes after *Codrus*, ruling the *Athenians*.

In the fixe and twentieth of *Salomons* reigne *Hiram* of *Tyre* died, to whom *Balathur* succeeded, and reigned seuentene yeeres, after *Mercators* account, who reckons the time of his rule by the age of his sonnes. *Iosephus* giues him fewer yeeres. *Theophilus Antiochenus* against *Autolicus* finds *Bozorius* the next after *Hiram*, if there be not some Kings omitted betwene the death of *Hiram* and the reigne of *Bozorius*.

Vaphres being dead, about the twentieth of *Salomon*, *Sefac* or *Shifak* (as our English *Genea* termes him) began to gouerne in *Egypt*, being the same with him whom *Diodorus* calleth *Sofachis*, *Iosephus*, *Susac*, *Cedrenus*, *Susestimus*, *Eusebius* in the column of the *Egyptian* Kings, *Smendes*, and in that of the *Hebrewes*, *Susac*. *Iosephus* in the eight of his Antiquities reproacheth it as an error in *Herodotus*, that he ascribeth the acts of *Susac* to *Sefac*, which perchance *Herodotus* might haue done by comparison, accounting *Sefac* another *Sefestris*, for the great things he did.

Of the great acts and vertues of King *Sefestris* I haue spoken already in the story of the *Egyptian* Princes: onely in this he was reproved, that he caused foure of his captiue Kings to draw his Caroch, when he was disposed to be seene, and to ride in triumph: one of which foure, saith *Eutropius*, at such time as *Sefestris* was carried out to take the aire, cast his head continually backe vpon the two fore-most wheeles next him; which *Sefestris* perceiuing, asked him what he found worthy the admiration in that motion? to whom the captiue King answered, that in those he beheld the instabillity of all worldly things; for that both the lowest part of the wheele was suddainly carried about, and became the highest, and the vppmost part was as suddainly turned downe-ward and vnder all: which when *Sefestris* had iudiciously weighed, he dismissed those Princes, and all other from the like seruitude in the future. Of this *Sefestris*, and that he could not be taken for *Sefac*, I haue spoken at large in that part of the *Egyptian* Kings preceding.

High. Miscl.
157.

CHAP. XIX.

Of *Salomons* Successors vntill the end of *Iehosaphat*.

S. I.

Of *Rehoboam* his beginnings: the defection of the ten Tribes, and *Ieroboams* Idolatry.



Rehoboam the Sonne of *Salomon* by *Nahama* an *Ammonitish*, now forty yeeres old, succeeded his Father *Salomon*, and was anointed at *Sichem*, where the ten Tribes of *Israel* were assembled: who attended a while the returne of *Ieroboam* as yet in *Egypt*, since he fled thither fearing *Salomon*. After his arrival at the people presented a Petition to *Rehoboam*, to be eased of those great Tributes laid on them by his Father. *Sic enim firmus ei fore imperium, si amare mallet quam metui*; So should his Empire (saith *Iosephus*) be more assured, if he desired rather to be beloved than feared: whereof he tooke three dayes to deliberate before his answer, of whom therefore it could not be said as of *Dauid*, that he was wiser than all his Teachers. For as of himselfe he knew not how to resolute, so had he not the iudgement to discern of counsels, which is the very test of wisdom in Princes, and in all men else. But notwithstanding that he had consulted with those graue and aduised men, that serued his Father, who perswaded him by all means to satisfie the multitude: he was transported by his familiars and fauourites, not onely to continue on the backs of his subjects those burdens which greatly cruell them; but (vaunting falsely of greater exceeding his Fathers) he threatened in sharpe, or rather in terrible termes, to lay yet heavier, and more vsupportable loades on them. But as it appeared by the successe, those younger aduisers greatly mistooke the nature of security, which without the temper of clemency is no other than cruelty it selfe: they also were ignorant that it ought to be used for the helpe, and not for the harme of subjects. For what is the strength of a King left by his people? and what cords or fetters haue euer lasted long, but those which haue bene

Annot. c. 3.

twisted

twisted and forged by loue onely? His witlesse parasites could well iudge of the Kings disposition: and being well learned therein, though ignorant in all things else, it sufficed and enabled them sufficiently for the places they held. But this answer of *Rehoboam* did not a little aduance *Ieroboams* designs. For being fore-told by the Prophet *Achib* of his future aduancement, thele Kings threats (changing the peoples loue into furie) consumed and gaue courage to his hopes. For he was no looner arriued, than elected King of *Israel*: the people cryed out, What portion haue we in *Dauid*? we haue no inheritance in the Sonne of *Israh*. Now though themselves, euen all the Tribes of *Israel*, had consented to *Dauids* anointing at *Hebron* the second time, acknowledging that they were his bones and his flesh: yet now after the manner of rebels, they forgot both the bands of nature, and their dutie to God, and as all alienated resofuled hearts doe, they serued themselves for the present with impudent excuses. And now ouer-late, and after time, *Rehoboam* sent *Adoram*, one of the Taxers of the people, a man most harte-full to all his Subjects, to pacifie them: whom they instantly beat to death with stones. Whereupon the King affrighted, got him from *Sichem* with all speed, and recovered *Ierusalem*, where preparing to invade *Israel*, with an hundred and foure-score thousand chosen men, *Sherai* in the person of God commanding to the contrary, all was stayed for the present. In the meane time *Ieroboam* the new King fortified *Sechem* on this side, and *Pennel* on the other side of *Jordan*, and fearing that the Vaion and ex-ercise of one Religion would also ioyne the peoples hearts againe to the House of *Dauid*; and hauing in all likelihood also promised the *Egyptians* to follow their Idolatry: he let vp two Calues of gold for the Children of *Israel* to worship, impiously perswading them that those were the Gods, or at least by these he represented those Gods, which deliuered them out of *Egypt*: and refusing the seruice of the *Leuites*, he made Priests fit for such gods. It must needs be that by banishing the *Leuites* which serued *Dauid* and *Salomon* through all *Israel*, *Ieroboam* greatly enriched himselfe: as taking into his hands all those Cities which were giuen them by *Moses* and *Iosua*, for as it is written, *The Leuites left their suburbs, and their possession, and came to Iuda, &c.* This irreligious policie of *Ieroboam* (which was the foundation of an Idolatry that neuer could be rooted out, vntill *Israel* for it was rooted out of the Land) was by prophecie and miracles impugned sufficiently when it first began; but the affections maintaining it, were so strong, that neither Prophecie nor Miracle could makethem yeelde. *Ieroboam* could not be moued now by the authority of *Abia*, who from the Lord had first promised vnto him the Kingdom; nor by the withering of his owne hand as he stretched it ouer the Altar, which also claue a-funder, according to the signe, which the man of God had giuen him by the commandment of God, who againe recovered and cured him of that defect; yet he continued as obstinate an Idolater as before, for he held it the safest course in policie to proceede as he had begun. This impious inuention of *Ieroboam*, who forsooke God, and the Religion of his forefathers, by God and his Ministers taught them, was by a moderne Historian compared with the policies of late Ages; obseruing well the practice of his Nation, being an Italian borne. *Sic qui hodie (saith he) politici viciantur, & propria commoda, presentisq; vtilitates sibi tanquam vltimum finem constituent, causam quam vocant statum in capite omnium ponunt: pro ipsa suenda, promouenda, conseruanda, amplianda, nihil non faciendum putant. Si iniuria proximo irroganda, si iniustitie honestatisq; leges subuertenda, si religio ipsa pessumdanda, si deniq; omnia iura diuina, & humana violanda, nihil intentatum, nil per fas nefasq; relinquendum consent; cuncta rant, omnia percant, nihil ad ipsos, modo id, quod e re sua esse sibi persuadent, obtineant, ac simul sit qui talia curet, castigare non possit Deus*: So they who are now called Politicians, propounding to themselves, as their v-most end and scope, their owne commoditie and profit; they are wont to alledge the case of state for sooth, as the principall point to be regarded: for the good of the state, for aduancing, preserving, or encreasing of the state, they thinke that they may doe any thing. If they meane to oppresse their neighbour, to ouerturne all lawes of iustice and honesty, if religion it selfe must goe to wracke, yea if all rights of God and Man must be violat, they will try all courses, be it right, be it wrong, they will doe any thing. Let all goe to ruine, what care they, so long as they may haue what they would, as who should say, there were no God: that would offer to meddle in such matters, or had power to correct them.

Indeede this allegation of *ragione del stato*, did serue as well to vp-hold, as at the first

first

first it had doneto bring in this vile Idolary of the ten Tribes. Vpon this ground *Amaziah* the Priest of Bethel, counsailed the Prophet *Amos*, notto prophetic at Bethel; For (saith he) *it is the Kings Court*. Vpon this ground euen *Iehu* that had massacred the Priests of *Beer*, in zeale for the Lord, yet would not in any wise depart from that politique sinne of *Ieroboam* the sonne of *Nebat*, which made *Israel* to sinne. It was reason of state that perswaded the last famous French King *Henrie* the fourth to change his Religion, yet the Protestants whom he forooke, obeyed him, but some of the Papists whom he followed, murdered him. So strongly doth the painted vizzor of wile proceedinge exclude euen those that know the foule face of impietie lurking vnder it, and behold the wretched ends that haue euer followed it; whereof *Iehu* and all the Kings of *Israel* had to and were themselves very great examples.

§. II.

Of *Rehoboam* his impietie; for which he was punished by *Sesac*: of his end and Contemporaries.

While *Ieroboam* was occupied in setting vp his new Religion, *Rehoboam* on the other side, hauing now little hope to recouer the Prouinces lost, strengthened the principall places remaining, with all endeavour: for he fortified and victualled fifteene Cities of *Iudah* and *Beniamin*: not that he feared *Ieroboam* alone, but the *Egyptians*, to whom *Ieroboam* had not onely fastned himselfe, but withall limited them to invade *Judea*: laying perchance before them the incountable riches of *Dauid* and *Salomon*, which might now be easily had, seeing ten of the twelve Tribes were revolted, and become enemies to the *Judeans*. So as by those two wayes (of late yeeres often troden) to wit, change of Religion, and inuitation of forraigne force, *Ieroboam* hoped to settle himselfe in the seate of *Israel*, whom yet the powerfull God for his Idolatry in a few yeeres after rooted out, with all his. *Rehoboam* also, hauing as he thought, by fortifying diuers places, assured his estate, forooke the Law of the liuing God, and made high places, and Images, and Groues on euery high Hill, and vnder euery greene Tree.

And therefore in the fifth yeere of his reigne, *Sesac* or *Shishac* before spoken of being now King of *Egypt*, and with whom as well *Adad* of *Idumaea*, as *Ieroboam*, were familiar, and his instruments; entered *Judea* with twelve thousand Chariots, and three score thousand Horse, besides foot-men, which *Iosephus* numbers at foure hundred thousand. This Armie was compounded of foure Nations: *Egyptians*, *Lubeans*, *Succaens*, and *Cusites*. The *Lubeans* were *Lybeans*, the next bordering Region to *Egypt*, on the West-side. The *Cusites* were of *Petrea*, and of the *Desart Arabia*, which afterward followed *Zerab* against *Asa* King of *Juda*. The *Succaens* according to *Iunius* his opinion, were of *Succoth*, which signifieth Tents: he doth suppose that they were the *Troglodytes*, mentioned often in *Plinie*, *Ptolomee*, and other Authors. The *Troglodytes* inhabited not farre from the banks of the red Sea, in 22. degrees from the line Northward, about fixe hundred *Englisb* miles from the best and Maritimate part of *Egypt*: and therefore I doe not think that the *Succaens*, or *Succai* were those *Troglodytes*, but rather those *Arabians* which *Ptolomee* calls *Arabes Egyptij*, or, *Ichthyophagi*, which possesse that part of *Egypt* betwene the mountaines called *Alabastrini*, and the red Sea, farre neerer *Egypt*; and readyer to be leuiued then those remoued *Sauages* of the *Troglodytia*.

With this great and powerfull Army, *Sesac* invaded *Judea*, and (besides many other strong Cities) wan *Ierusalem* it selfe; of which and of the Temple, and Kings house, he took the spoile, carrying away (besides other treasures) the golden shields which *Salomon* had made, in imitation of those which *Dauid* recouered from *Adadazer*, in the Syrian war: these *Rehoboam* supplied with Targets of brasse, which were fit enough to guard a King of his quality: whom *Syracides* calleth, The foolishnesse of the people.

From this time forward the Kings of *Egypt* claimed the soueraigntie of *Judea*, and held the *Temes* as their Tributaries: *Sesac*, as it seemes, rendring vp to *Rehoboam* his places on that condition. So much may be gathered out of the word of God, where premising the deliuerance of *Juda* after their humiliation, he doth notwithstanding leave them vnder the yoke of *Egypt*, in these words: *Neuerthelesse, they (to wit, the Judeans) shall be his seruants, that is, the seruants of Sesac.*

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After this ouerthrow and dishonour, *Rehoboam* reigned twelue yeeres, and his losses received by *Sesac*, notwithstanding, he continued the warre against *Ieroboam* all his life time. After his death *Ieroboam* gouerned *Israel* foure yeeres.

Rehoboam liued 58. yeeres, and reigned 17. his storie was written at large by *Shemeiah* and *Isidore* the Prophets, but the same perished with that of *Nathan*, and the rest.

With *Rehoboam*, *Archippus*, and *Tersippus*, the third and fourth Archontes or Gouernors for life after *Codrus*, gouerned in *Athens*. *Abdastartus*, or *Abistartus*, in *Tyre*. *Doris*, the first of the *Heracleides* in *Sparta*, according to *Eusebius* (others make him the sixth) and *Primianus* the fourth in *Corinth*. Ouer the *Latines* reigned *Syluius Alba*, and *Syluius* the fourth and fifth of the *Syluij*.

About the 12. of *Rehoboam*, *Abdastartus* King of *Tyre* was murdered by his Nurses sons, or foster brethren, the elder of which vsurped the Kingdome twelue yeeres.

Towards his latter times *Periclades*, or *Pyrithiades*, began to gouerne *Affrica*, the 34. King thereof: and not long after *Astartus*, the sonne of *Balesartus*, recouered the Kingdome of *Tyre* from the *Vsurpers*.

§. III.

Of the great battaile betwene *Ieroboam* and *Abia*, with a Corollarie of the examples of Gods iudgements.

Abijah the sonne of *Rehoboam*, inherited his Fathers Kingdome, and his vices. He raised an Armie of foure hundred thousand, with which he invaded *Ieroboam*, who encountered him with a double number of eight hundred thousand: Both Armies ioyned neere to the Mount *Ephraim*, where *Ieroboam* was vtterly ouerthrowne, and the strength of *Israel* broken; for there fell of that side fixe hundred thousand, the greatest ouerthrow that euer was giuen or receiued of those Nations. *Abijah* being now master of the field, recouered *Bethel*, *Ieshanah*, and *Ephraim*, soone after which discomfiture, *Ieroboam* died: who reigned in all 22. yeeres. *Abijah*, the better to strengthen himselfe, entred into league with *Heslon*, the third of the *Adads* of *Syria*; as may be gathered out of the second of *Chronicles*: he reigned but three yeeres, and then died: the particulars of his acts were written by *Iddo* the Prophet, as some part of his Fathers were.

Here wee see how it pleased God to punish the finnes of *Salomon* in his sonne *Rehoboam*: first, by an Idolator and Traitor: and then by the successor of that *Egyptian*, whose daughter *Salomon* had married, thereby the better to assure his estate, which while he serued God, was by God assured against all and the greatest neighbouring Kings; and when he forsooke him, it was torne asunder by his meanest Vassals: Not that the Father wanted strength to defend him from the *Egyptian Sesac*. For the sonne *Abijah* was able to leaue foure hundred thousand men, and with the same number he ouerthrew eight hundred thousand *Israelites*, and slew of them fixe hundred thousand; God giuing spirit, courage, and inuention, when, and where it pleased him. And as in those times the causes were expre, why it pleased God to punish both Kings and their People: the same being both before, and at the instant deliuered by Prophets; so the same iust God, who liueth and gouerneth all things for euer, doeth in these our times giue victory, courage, and discouragement, raise, and throw downe Kings, Estates, Cities, and Nations, for the same offences which were committed of old, and are committed in the present: for which reason, in these and other the afflictions of *Israel*, alwayes the causes are set downe, that they might be as precedents to succeeding ages. They were punished with famine in *Dauids* time for three yeeres, For *Saul* and his bloody house, &c. And *Dauid* 2 Sam. 21. 1. towards his latter end suffered all sorts of afflictions, and sorrowes in effect, for *Vriah*. *Salomon* had ten Tribes of twelue torne from his sonne for his Idolatry. *Rehoboam* was spoiled of his riches and honour by *Sesac* of *Egypt*, because the people of *Juda* made images, high places, and groves, &c. And because they suffered *Sodomities* in the Land. *Ieroboam* was punished in himselfe and his posteritie, for the golden Calueth that he erected. *Ioram* had all his sonnes slaine by the *Philistims*, and his very bowels torne out of his body by an excoiating flaxe, for murdering his brethren. *Abah* and *Iezabel* were slaine, the blood of the one, the body of the other euen with dogges: for the false accusing and killing of *Naboth*. So also hath God punished the same and the

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the like finnes in all after-times, and in these our dayes by the same famine, plagues, warre, losse, vexation, death, sickness, and calamities, howsoever the wise men of the world raise these effects no higher than to second causes, and such other accidents, which, as being next their eyes and eares, seeme to them to worke every alteration that happeneth.

§. IIII.
Of Asa and his Contemporaries.

IN O Asijah succeeded Asa, who enioyed peace for his first ten yeeres, in which time he established the Church of God, breaking downe the altars dedicated to strange gods, with their images, cutting downe their groues, and taking away their high places. He also spared not his owne mother, who was an Idolatreffe, but depofing her from her regencie, brake her Idoll, stamp it, and burnt it. Hee also fortified many Cities, and other places, providing (as prouident Kings doe) for the troubles of war in the leasure of peace. For not long after he was inuaded by Zerah, who then commanded all the Arabians bordering Iudaea, and with such a multitude entered the territorie of Asa, as (for any thing that I haue read) were neuer assembled of that Nation, either before or since. For it is written, that there came against the Iudeans, Zerah of Ethiopia, with an hoste of ten hundred thousand, and three hundred chariots, which Asa encountered with an Armie of five hundred and fourescore thousand, leuiued out of those two Tribes of Iuda and Benjamin, which obeyed him, and with which hee ouerthrew this fearefull multitude, and had the spoyle both of their Cities and Campes.

That this Zerah was not an Ethiopian, I haue* proued already, and were it but the length betweene Ethiopia and Iudaea, and the strong flourishing Regions of Egypt intertiant (who would not suffer a million of strangers to passe through them) it were sufficient to make it appeare how foolish the opinion is, that these inuaders were Ethiopians. But in that the Scriptures acknowledge that Gerar was belonging to Zerah, and the Cities thereof were spoiled by the Iudeans, in following their victory, as places he longing to Zerah, and that all men know that Gerar standeth vpon the torrent of Besor, which Dauid past ouer when he surprized the Amalekites or Arabians; this proueth sufficiently, that Zerah was leader of the Arabians, and that Gerar was a frontier towne, standing on the vttermost South-border of all Iudaea, from all parts of Ethiopia fixe hundred miles. Also the spoyle which Asa tooke, as the cattell, Camels, and sheepe, whereof he sacrificed five thousand, shew them to be Arabians adioyning, and not farre off, and not vnknewne Ethiopians. And if it be objected that these desert countries can hardly yeelde a million of men fit for the wars, I answer, that it is as like that Arabia Petrea, and the Desert which compasseth two parts of the holy Land, should yeeld ten hundred thousand, as that two Tribes of the twelue, should arme five hundred and fourescore thousand. Besides, it answereth to the promise of God to Abraham, that these Nations should exceede in number; for God spake it of Israel, that hee would make him fruitfull, and multiply him exceedingly, that hee should beget twelue Princes, &c.

Baasba a King of Israel began to reigne in the third of Asa, and fearing the greatest of Asa after his great victory, entertained Benhadad King of Syria, of the race of Adadzeer, to ioyne with him against Asa; and to the end to blocke him vp, he fortified Rama, which lieth in the way from Ierusalem towards Samaria.

This warre began according to the letter of the Scriptures in the 36. yeere of Asa's reigne: but because in the first of Kings the 16. it is said that Baasba died in the 26. yeere of Asa; therefore could not Baasba begin this war in the 35. of Asa his reigne, but in the 37. yeere of the diuision of Iuda and Israel; for so many yeeres it was from the first of Rehoboam, who reigned 17. yeeres, to the 16. of Asa. It may seeme strange, that Asa being able to bring into the field an Armie of five hundred and fourescore thousand good Souldiers, did not easily driue away Baasba, and defeat him of his purposes, the victories of Abia against Ieroboam, and of Asa himselfe against Zerah, being yet fresh in minde, which might well haue emboldened the men of Iuda, and almost disheartened the enemies. Questionlesse there were some important Circumstances, omitted in the Text, which caused

caused Asa to fight at this time with money. It may be that the employment of so many hundred thousands of hands, in the late seruice against Zerah, had caused many mens private businesse to lye vndispached, whereby the people being now inentiuie to the culture of their lands and other trades, might be vnwilling to stir against the Israelites, choosing rather to winke at apparant inconuenience, which the building of Rama would bring vpon them in after-times. Such backwardnesse of the people might haue deterr'd Asa from aduenturing himselfe with the least part of his forces, and committing the successe into the hands of Gods. Howsoever it were, he took the treasures remaining in the Temple, with which he waged Benhadad the Syrian against Baasba, whose employments Benhadad readily accepted, and brake off confederacy with Baasba. For the Israelites were his borderers, and next neighbours, whom neither himselfe (after his inuasion) nor his successors after him euer gaue ouer, till they had made themselves masters of that Kingdom. So Benhadad being now entred into Nephtholim, without resistance, he spoiled diuers principall Cities thereof, and inforced Baasba to quit Rama, and to leaue the same to Asa, with all the materials which he had brought thither, to fortifie the same: which done, Benhadad, who loued neither party, being laden with the spoiles of Israel, and the treasures of Iuda, returned to Damascus. After this, when Hanani the Prophet reprehended Asa in that he now relied on the strength of Syria, and did not rest himselfe on the fauour and assistance of God, he not onely caused Hanani to be imprisoned, but he began to burden and oppress his people, and was therefore strooken with the grievous paines of the gout in his feete, wherewith after he had bene two yeeres continually tormented, he gaue vp the ghost when he had reigned 41. yeeres.

There liued with Asa, Agesilus the sixt of the Heraclides, and Bacis the fift King of the same race in Corinth, of whom his successors were afterward called Bacidae. Astarim, and Astarim were Kings in Tyre. Astarim tooke reuenge on his brother Phelletes, for the murder of Ithabaius Priest of the goddesse Astarte, whom Salomon in dotage worshipped. Ays and Capys ruled the Latines: Pirithiades and Ophratesus the Assyrians: Terippus and Phorbas the Athenians: Chemmis reigned in Egypt; who dying in the 36. yeere of Asa, left Cheops his succellour, that reigned fiftie fixe yeeres, euen to the 16. of 30. laet.

§. V.

Of the great alteration falling out in the ten Tribes during the reigne of Asa.

IN the reigne of Asa the Kingdome of Israel felt great and violent commotions, which might haue reduced the ten Tribes vnto their former allegiance to the house of Dauid, if the wisdom of God had not otherwise determined. The wickednesse of Ieroboam had in his latter dayes, the sentence of heauy vengeance laid vpon it, by the mouth of Abia, the same Prophet which had foretold the diuision of Israel, for the sinne of Salomon, and his reigne ouer the ten Tribes. One Ioseph Ieroboam had among others, in whom onely God found so much pietie, as (though it sufficed not to with-hold his wrath from that Family) it procured vnto him a peaceable end; an honourable testimony of the peoples loue, by their generall mourning and lamentation at his death, and (wherewith he was most happy) the fauourable approbation of God himselfe.

After the losse of this good sonne, the vngodly father was soone taken away: a miserable creature, so conscious of his vile vnthankfulness to God, that he durst not suffer his owne name to be vsed in consulting with an holy Prophet, assured of the ruine hanging ouer him and his, yea of Gods extreame hatred; yet forbearing to destroy those accursed Idols, that wrought his confusion. So loath he was to forsake his worldly wisdom, when the world was ready to forsake him, and all belonging to him, his hatefull memory excepted.

Nadab the sonne of Ieroboam, reigned in the second and third yeeres of Asa, which are reckoned as two yeeres, though indeede his fathers last yeere of two and twenty did run along (how farre is vnertaine) with the second of Asa, whose third yeere was the first of Baasba, so that perhaps this Nadab enioyed not his Kingdome one whole yeere. He did not alter his fathers courses, neither did God alter his sentence. It seemes that hee little feared the iudgements denounced against his fathers house: for as a Prince that

was secure of his owne estate, he armed all *Israel* against the *Philistims*, and besieged one of their Townes. There (whether it were so, that the people were offended with his ill success, and recalled to minde their grievous losse of five hundred thousand vnder *Ieroboam*, counting it an vnluckie family to the Nation; or whether by some particular indiscretion, he exasperated them) slaine he was by *Baasba*, whom the Army did willingly accept for King in his stead, *Baasba* was no sooner proclaimed King, than he began to take order with the house of *Ieroboam*, that none of them might molest him, putting all of them, without mercy, to the sword. That he did this for priuate respects, and not in regard of Gods will to haue it so, is euident by his continuing in the same forme of Idolatry which *Ieroboam* had begun. Wherefore he receiued the same sentence from God as that had bene laid vpon *Ieroboam*; which was executed vpon him also in the same sort. He began to infect *Asa*, by fortifying *Ramah*; but was diuered from thence by the *Syrian Benhadad*, who did waste his Country, destroying all the Land of *Nephtalim*. Four and twenty yeeres he reigned: and then dying, left the Crowne to *Ela* his sonne, who enioyed it, as *Nadab* the sonne of *Ieroboam* had done, two yeeres currant, perhaps not one compleat.

Ela was as much an idolater as his father: and withall a riotous person. Hee sent an Armie against *Gibbethon*, the same Towne of the *Philistims*, before which *Nadab* the son of *Ieroboam* perished; but he sat at home the whilest, feasting and drinking with his Mi- nions, whereby he gaue such aduantage against himselfe, as was not neglected. *Zimri*, an ambitious man, remaining with the King at *Tirza*, finding his Master so dissolute, and his behaviour so contemptible, conceived hope of the like fortune as *Baasba* had found, by doing as *Baasba* had done. Wherefore he did set vpon *Ela* in his drunkenness, and slue him. Presently vpon which fact, he styled himselfe King of *Israel*: and began his reigne with massacring all the house of *Baasba*, extending his cruelty not onely to his children, and kinsfolke, but vnto all his friends in *Tirza*. These newes were quickly blowne to the Campe at *Gibbethon*, where they were not welcommed according to *Zimri* his expectation. For the Souldiers instead of proclaiming him King, proclaimed him Traitor: and being led by *Omri*, whom they saluted King, they (quited the siege of *Gibbethon*) presented themselves before *Tirza*; which in short space they may seeme to haue forced. *Zimri* wanting strength to defend the Citie, not courage to keepe himselfe from falling alie into his enemies hands, did set fire on the Palace, consuming it and himselfe together to ashes. Seauen dayes he is said to haue reigned: accounting (as is most likely) to the time that *Omri* was proclaimed in the Campe. For *Zimri* was also an idolater, walking in the way of *Ieroboam*; and therefore is likly to haue had more time wherein to declare himselfe, than the reigne of seauen dayes, and those consumed partly in murdering the friends of *Baasba*, partly in seeking to haue defended his owne life. After the death of *Ela*, there arose another King to oppose the faction of *Omri*, where- by it may seeme, that *Zimri* had made his party strong, as being able to set vp a new head, who doubtlesse would neuer haue appeared, if there had not bene ready to his hand, some strength, not unlikely to resist and vanquish the Army which maintained *Omri*. How long this *Tibni*, the new Competitor of *Omri*, held our, I doe not finde; onely it appeares that his side was decayed, and so he died, leauing no other Successor than his concurrent.

§. VI.

A coniecture of the causes hindering the reuinion of *Israel* with *Juda*, which might haue bene effected by these troubles.

Nymanth that shall consider the state of *Israel* in those times, may iustly wonder how it came to passe, that either the whole Nation, wearied with the calamities already suffered vnder these vnfortunate Princes, and with the present ciuill warres, did not returne to their ancient Kings, and reunite themselves with the mighty Tribes of *Juda* and *Beniamin*; or that *Zimri* and *Tibni*, with their oppressed situations, did not call in *Asa*, but rather chose the one to endure a desperate necessity of yeelding, or burning himselfe, the other to languish away, a man forsaken: than to haue recourse vnto a remedy, so sure, so ready, and so honourable. To say that God was pleased to haue it so, were a true, but an idle answer (for his secret will is the

the cause of all things) vnlesse it could be proued, that he had forbidden *Asa* to deale in that business, as he forbid *Rehoboam* to force the rebellious people to obedience. That the restraint laid by God vpon *Rehoboam*, did onely binde his hands from attempting the suppression of that present insurrection, it appeares by the Warre continued betwene *Israel* and *Juda*, so many yeeres following: wherein *Abis* so farre prevailed, that he won a great battaile, and recovered some Townes belonging to the other Tribes, which he annexed to his owne Dominion. Wherefore we may boldly looke into the second causes, mouing the People and Leaders of the ten Tribes, to suffer any thing vnder new vprisers, rather than to cast their eyes vpon that Royall house of *Dauid*, from which the succession of true Kings in lineall descent, had taken away imputation, that might formerly haue bene laid vpon the meane beginnings thereof. To thinke that *Omri* had prevented his Competitors, in making peace with *Asa*, were a coniecture more bold than probable. For *Omri* was not onely an Idolater, but did worse than all that were before him; which as it might serue alone to proue, that *Asa*, being a godly King, would not adhere to him, so the course which he professed to take at the very first, of reuenging the massacre committed vpon the family and friends of *Baasba*, (*Asa* his mortall enemy) giues manifest reason, why *Zimri*, who had wrought that great execution, (should more iustly than he haue expected the friendship of *Juda* in that quarrell. Wherefore, in searching out the reason of this backwardness in the ten Tribes (which was such that they may seeme to haue neuer thought vpon the matter) to submit themselves to their true Princes, were not amiss to examine the causes, mouing the people to reuenge the death of *Ela*, an idle drunkard, rather than of *Nadab* the son of *Ieroboam*, who followed the wars in person as a man of spirit and courage. Surely it is apparant, that the very first defection of the ten Tribes, was (if we looke vpon humane reason) occasioned by desire of breaking that heauie yoke of bondage wherewith *Salomon* had galled their neckes. Their desire was to haue a King that should not oppress them: not to haue no King at all. And therefore when the arrogant folly of *Rehoboam* had caused them to renounce him, they did immediately chuse *Ieroboam* in his stead, as a man likely to afford that liberty vnto them, for which he had contended in their behalfe. Neither were they (as it seemes) herein altogether deceived. For his affectation of popularity appeares in his building of decayed Townes, and in the institution of his new deuised idolatry, where he told the people, that it was too much for them, to trauaile so farre as to *Jerusalem*. But whether it were so, that his moderation, being voluntary, began to cease towards the latter end of his reigne, and in the reigne of his sonne, when long time of possession had confirmed his title, which at the first was onely good by courtisie of the people: or whether the people (as often happens in such cases) were more offended by some prerogatives of a King that he still retained in his owne hands, than pleased with his remission of other burdens: it is cleere- ly apparant, that the whole armie of all *Israel* ioyned with *Baasba*, taking in good part the death of *Nadab*, and eradication of *Ieroboams* house.

Now the reigne of *Baasba* himselfe, was (for ought that remaineth in writing of it) euery way vnfortunate; his labour and cost at *Rama* was cast away: the other side of his Kingdome harried by the *Syrians*; neither did he win that one towne of *Gibbethon* from the *Philistims*, but left that business to his sonne, who likewise appeares an vnprofitable sluggard. Wherefore it must needs be, that the fauour of the people toward the house of *Baasba* grew from his good forme of Ciuill government, which happily he reduced to a more temperate method than *Ieroboam* euer meant to doe. And surely he that shall take paine to looke into those examples, which are extant of the different courses, held by the Kings of *Israel* and *Juda*, in administration of iustice, will finde it most probable, that vpon this ground it was that the ten Tribes continued so auerfe from the line of *Dauid*, as to thinke all aduersity more tolerable, than the weightie Scepter of that house. For the death of *Isab* and *Shimei* was indeede by them deferred; yet in that they suffered it without forme of iudgement, they suffered like vnto men innocent. The death of *Asa* himselfe was both without iudgement, and without any crime objected, other than the Kings iealousie: out of which by the same rule of arbitrary iustice (vnder which it may be supposed that many were cast away) hee would haue slaine *Ieroboam* (if hee could haue caught him) before he had yet committed any offence, as appeares by his confident returne out of *Egypt*, like one that was knowne to haue endured wrong, hauing not offered any.

The like and much more barbarous execution, to wit, without law, *Iehoram* did vpon his brethren, and vpon fundry of his greatest men; as also *Iosb* did to put to death *Zachariah*, the sonne of *Iehoiada*, who had made him King, *even in the court of the house of the Lord*: and *Manasse* did shed innocent blood exceeding much, till he repleined *Ierusalem* from corner to corner: and this was imputed to him as another fault; besides his sinne, wherewith he made *Iuda* to sinne. Coniurariwise, among the kings of *Israel* we finde no monument of such arbitrary proceeding, vnlesse perhaps the words of *Iehoram* the sonne of *Ahab* (which were but words) may be taken for an instance, when he said, *God doe so to me, and more also, if the head of Eliaha the sonne of Shaphat shall stand on his head this day*: whereby it was not plaine whether he meant to kill him without more ado, or to haue him condemned as a false Prophet, that had made them hold out against the *Amorites*, till they were faine to eate their owne children; which he thought a sufficient argument to proue, that it was not Gods purpose to deliuer them. The death of *Naboth* sheweth rather the liberty which the *Israelites* enioyed, than any peremptory execution of the Kings will. For *Naboth* did not feare to stand vpon his owne right, though *Ahab* were euensicke for anger; neither was he for that cause put to death, as vpon commandement, but made away by conspiracie, the matter being handled after a iudiciall forme, which might giue satisfaction to the people, ignorant of the deuice, though to God it could not.

The murder of the Prophet is continually ascribed to *Iezabel*, an impudent woman, and not vnto the King her husband. Neither is it certaine, that there was no Law made whereby their liues were taken from them; but certaine it is, that the people, being idolaters, were both pleased with their death, and laboured in the execution. So that the doings of the Kings of *Iuda* (such as are registred) proue them to vie a more absolute manner of command, than the Kings of the ten Tribes. Neither doe their sufferings witness the contrary: For of those which reigned ouer *Iuda*, from the diuision of the Kingdome, to the captivity of the ten Tribes, three were slaine by the people, and two were denied a buriall amongst their ancestors. Yea, the death of *Ahaziah* and his brethren, slaine by *Iehoiada*, with the destruction of all the Royall seede of *Ahab*, did not (for ought that we can read) stirre vp in the people any such thirst of reuenge, as might by the suddennesse and vniformity testifie the affection to be generall, and proceeding from a louing remembrance of their Princes; vnlesse we should thinke that the death of *Ahaziah*, after seuen yeeres reigne, were occasioned rather by the memory of her ill purchasing, than by the present sense of her tyrannicall abusing the gouernment, whercon she had seized. On the other side, such of the Kings of *Israel* as perished by treason (which were seauen of the twenty) were all slaine by conspiracie of the great men, who aspired by treason to the Crowne: the people being so farr from embrouing their hands in the blood of their Soueraignes, that (after *Nadab*) they did neuer forbeare to reuenge the death of their Kings, when it lay in their power; nor approue the good successe of treason, vnlesse feare compelled them. So that the death of two Kings, being thoroughly reuenged vpon other two, namely the death of *Ela* and *Zacharia*, vpon *Zimri* and *Shallum*, who treasonously got and vsurped, for a little while, their places, onely three of the leauen remaine, whose ends how the people tooke, it may be doubtfull. Though indeede it is precisely said of the slaughter, committed on *Ahabs* children by *Iehu*, that the people durst not fight with him that did it; because they were exceedingly afraid: and the same feare might be in them at the death of *Peka*, whose history (as others of that time) is cursorily passed ouer. The like may be pronounced, and more absolutely, of the Kings of *Engelland*, that neuer any of them perished by fury of the people, but by treason of such as did succeed them; neither was there any motiue vrging to forcibly the death of King *Edward* and King *Richard* when they were in prison, as feare lest the people should stirre in their quarrell. And certainly (howsoeuer all that the Law calls treason, be interpreted, as tending finally to the Kings destruction) in those treasonable insurrections of the vulgar, which haue here most preuailed, the furie of the multitude hath quenched it selfe with the blood of some great Officers; no such rebellions, howsoeuer wicked and barbarous otherwise, hurting after the ruine of their natural Soueraignes; but rather forbeare the aduantages gotten vpon his Royall person: which if any man impute vnto grosse ignorance, another may more charitably, and I thinke, more truly, ascribe to a reuerent affection. Wherefore that fable of *Briarion*, who,

who, being loosened by *Pallas*, did with his hundred hands giue assistance to *Iupiter*, when all the rest of the gods conspired against him, is very fitly expounded by Sir Francis Bacon, as signifying, that Monarches need not to feare any courbing of their absolutenes by mightie subiects, as long as by wisdom they keepe the hearts of the people, who will be fure to come in on their side. Though indeed the Storie might very well haue borne the same interpretation, as it is rehearsed by *Homer*, who tells vs that *Pallas* was one of the conspiracie, and that *Theseus* alone did marre all their practice, by loosening *Briarion*. For a good forme of gouernment sufficeth by it selfe to retaine the people, not onely without assistance of a laborious Wit, but euen against all deuices of the greatest and shrewdest politicians: euery Sherife and Constable, being sooner able to arme the multitude, in the Kings behalfe, than any ouer-weening Rebell how mightie soeuer, can against him.

This declaration of the peoples loue, being seldome found in *Iuda*, makes it very likely, that the rule it selfe of gouernment there was such, as neither gaue occasion of contentment vnto the subiects, nor of confidence in their good affection to the Kings. Vpon which reasons it may seeme that the multitude was kept vntually disarmed. For otherwise it would haue beene almost impossible, that *Ahab* the sister of *Ahab*, a stranger to the royall blood of *Iuda*, should by the onely authoritie of a Queene mother haue destroyed all the seed of *Dauid*, and vsurped the Kingdome very neere 7. yeeres, without finding any resistance. Yea when *Iehoiada* the high Priest had agreed with the Captaines and principall men of the Land to set vp *Iosb* their lawfull King, wherunto the whole nation were generally well affected; hee was faine to giue to these Captaines and their men, the *spurs* and the *shields* that were King *Dauids*, and were in the house of the Lord. But we need not enter into such particulars. Questionlesse, the Tribes which thought obedience to their Princes to be a part of their dutie toward God, would endure much more with patience, than they which had Kings of their owne choice or admission, holding the Crowne by a more vncertaine tenure.

And this, in my opinion, was the reason, why the ten Tribes did neuer seek to returne to their ancient Lords; but after the destruction of their first Kings, which died in potheriegn of *Assa*, admitted a seuenth of a new familie, rather than they would confubiect themselves, with those of *Iuda* and *Benjamin*, vnder a more honourable, but more heauie yoke.

So *Assa* hauing seene the death of 7. kings of *Israel*, died himselfe after one and fortie yeeres reigne, leauing *Iehosaphat* his sonne to deale with *Ahab* the sonne of *Omri*, who was the eight King ouer the tenne Tribes.

§. VII.

Of Iehosaphat and his contemporaries.

Iehosaphat, who succeeded *Assa*, was a Prince religious and happie; he destroyed all the Groues, Altars, and high places dedicated to idolatrie, and sent teachers to all places and people wanting instruction; he recovered the tribute due vnto him by the *Arabians* and *Philistines*: from the one hee had siluer, from the other sheepe and goats to the number of fiftene thousand and foure hundred: The numbers of men of warre were more then admirable: for it is written that *Adnah* had the command of three hundred thousand, *Iehohanan* of two hundred and fourescore thousand, and *Amasa* of two hundred thousand; also that hee had, besides these, in *Benjamin* of those that bare shields, which wee call *Targetiers*, and of Archers vnder *Eliada*, two hundred thousand; and vnder the commandement of *Iehozabab* a hundred and fourescore thousand: so which numbred together, make cleuen hundred and fixtie thousand, all which are said to haue waited vpon the King, besides his garrisons.

That *Iuda* and *Benjamin*, a territorie not much exceeding the Countie of *Kent*, should mustre cleuen hundred and fixtie thousand fighting men, it is very strange, and the number farre greater than it was found vpon any other view. *Iosb* in *Dauids* time found fure hundred thousand; *Rehoboam* found but an hundred and fourescore thousand; *Abia* foure hundred and eight thousand; *Assa* fure hundred and fourescore thousand; *Amasiah* inrolled all that could beare armes, and they amounted to three hundred thousand. Surely, whereas it is written that when newes was brought to *Iehosaphat* that *Mosh* & *Ammon* were

were entred his territorie to the West of *Jordan*, and that the ir numbers were many, hee feared (to wit) the multitude, it is not likely that he would have feared even the armie of *Xerxes*, if hee could have brought into the field 11. hundred and 60. thousand fighting men, leauing all his strong Cities manned. I am therefore of opinion (referring my selfe to better iudgement) that these numbers specified in the second of *Chronicles* the 17. distributed to severall Leaders, were not all at one time, but that the 300. thousand vnder *Adnah*, and the 200. and foure-score thousand vnder *Iehobaniam*, were afterward commanded and mustered by *Amasiah*, *Eliada*, and *Iehosabab*: for the greesse and totall is not in that place set downe, as it was vnder the other Kings formerly named. Again, as the aydes which *Iehosaphat* brought to *Ahab* did not shew that hee was a Prince of extraordinary power, so the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* which hee feared, could neuer make the one halfe of those numbers, which he that commanded least among *Iehosaphats* Leaders had vnder him.

This mightie Prince notwithstanding his greatnesse, yet he ioyned in friendship with *Ahab* King of *Israel*, who had married that wicked woman *Iezabel*. Him *Iosaphat* visited at *Samaria*, and caused his sonne *Ioram* to marry *Athalia*, this *Achabs* daughter.

Ahab perswaded *Iosaphat* to assist him in the Warre against the *Syrians*, who held the Citie of *Ramoth Gilead* from him, and called together foure hundred of his Prophets, or *Baalites* to foretell the successe: who promised him victorie. But *Iehosaphat* beleaved nothing at all in those diuiners, but resolved first of all to conferte with some one Prophet of the Lord God of *Israel*. Heereupon *Ahab* made answer that he had one called *Michaiah*, but he hated that Prophet, because hee alwaies foretold of euill, and neuer of any good towards him: Yet *Michaiah* was sent for to the King, but by the way the messenger prayed him to consent with the rest of the Prophets: and to promise victory vnto them as they did. But *Michaiah* spake the truth, and repeated his vision to both the Kings, which was, that God asked who shall perswade *Ahab*, that hee may goe up and fall at *Ramoth Gilead*? to whom a spirit that stood before the Lord answered, that hee would enter into his Prophets, and be in them a false spirit to delude. For as it is said by Chint: *Non enim vos estis qui loquimini, sed spiritus patris vestri loquitur in vobis*: It is not you that speake, but the Spirit of your Father speakes in you: so in a contrary kinde did the deuill in the Prophets of *Baal*, or *Satan*, incourage *Ahab* to his destruction. And as *P. Martyr* vpon this place well obserueth, these euill spirits are ministers of Gods vengeance, and are vied as the hangmen and tormentors, which Princes sometime employ. For as it pleaseth God by his good Angels, to saue and deliuer from destruction, of which the Scriptures haue many examples: so on the contrarie, it is by the euill that hee punisheth and destroyeth, both which are said to performe the will of their Creator, *licet non eodem animo*. Ecclesiasticus remembreth a second sort of malignant natures, but they are e-uery-where visible. There are spirits, saith he, created for vengeance, which in their rigour lay on sure strokes. In the time of destruction they shew forth their power, and accomplish the wrath of him that made them.

Now *Michaiah* hauing by this his reuelation greatly displeased the King, and the Prophets whose spirit he discouered, was strooken by *Zidkiah* one of *Baals* Prophets, and by *Ahab* himselfe committed to prison: where he appointed him to be refused and fedde with bread of affliction till he returned in peace. But *Michaiah*, not fearing to reply, answered, *If thou returne in peace, the Lord hath not spoken by mee*. Neuertheless *Ahab* went on in that warre, and was wounded to death. *Iehosaphat* returned to *Ierusalem*, where he was reprehended by *Iehu* the Prophet for assisting an idolatrous Prince, and one that hated God.

After this the *Arames* or *Damascens*, ioyned with the *Moabites*, *Ammonites* and *Idumaeans* to invade *Inda*: who passe *Jordan* and encampe at *Engaddi*, and when *Iehosaphat* gathered his armie, the Prophet *Iahaziel* foretold him of the victorie, which should be obtained without any bloud-shed of his part: and so when *Iehosaphat* approached, this assembly of Nations, the *Ammonites* and *Moabites*, disagreeing with the *Idumaeans*, and quarrelling for some causes among themselves, those of *Ammon* and *Moab* set vpon the *Idumaeans*, and brake them vterly: which done, they also invaded each other; in which broile *Iehosaphat* arriuing tooke the spoyle of them all without any losse of his part, as it was foretold and promised by God. Norwithstanding this victorie, *Iehosaphat* arriuing tooke the spoyle of them all, without any losse of his part, as it was foretold and promised

by God. Notwithstanding this victory, *Iehosaphat* forgetting that he was formerly reprehended for assisting an Idolatrous King, did notwithstanding ioyne with *Ochazias*, the sonne of *Ahab*, in preparing a Fleet to send to *Ophir*, hoping of the like return which *Salomon* had: but as *Eliezer* the Prophet foretold him, his ships perished, and were broken in the port of *Ezion Gaber*, and so that enterprize was ouerthrowne.

Yet hee taketh part with *Iehoram* the brother of *Ochazias*, against the *Moabites*, with which Kings of *Juda* and *Israel* the *Edomites* ioyne their forces, not forgetting, it seemes, that the *Moabites* assisted by the *Ammonites*, had not long before destroyed their armie.

The *Moabites*, subjects to *David* & *Salomon*, forsaking the Kings of *Juda*, gaue themselves for vassals to *Jeroboam*, and so they continued to his successe till the death of *Achab*: but *Iehosaphat*, notwithstanding the Idolatry of his Colleague, yet as it seemeth, he was drawne into this warre both to be auenged of the *Moabites* for their defection from *Juda* to *Israel*, as also because they had lately ioyned themselves with the *Syrians* against *Iosaphat*, & finally, to punish their double rebellion who first forsooke *Juda* & now *Israel*.

Both Kings resolved to passe by the way of *Elumea*, thereby the better to assure that Nation, for we finde that both *Moab*, *Ammon* and *Edom* were all in the field together at *Engaddi* against *Iehosaphat*: But whether they had then declared themselves against *Iehosaphat*, it is not certaine, for in the 2. of *Chronicles*. 11. vers. 8. it is written that in the time of *Iehoram* the sonne of *Iehosaphat*, *Edom* rebelled, and therefore it seemeth to mee that the *Edomites*, when they were slaine by *Moab* and *Ammon*, not finding themselves satisfied in such conditions as they required, offered to turne from them, and to ioyne themselves with the armie of *Juda*. For that they were numbered among the enemies of *Iosaphat*, it is plain in the 2. of *Chron.* the 20. and as plaine c. 2. v. 8. that they were not declared, nor had made them a King, till *Iehosaphats* death. Now in the passage of these Kings towards *Moab*, whether it were by the extraordinary heat of the yere, or whether the *Idumaeans* hauing a purpose to rebell, mislead the armie of *Juda* and *Israel*, with intent to infeeble them for want of water; true it is, that they suffered the same, if not a greater thirst than the armies of *Craspus* and *M. Antonius* did in their *Parthian* expeditions; and had in all likelihood vterly perished, had not *Elisba* taught them to cut trenches whereunto the water sprang, by which not onely *Iehosaphat* and his armie, but *Iehoram* King of *Israel* an Idolator was relieved: the great mercy and goodnesse of God hauing euery bin prone to saue the euill for the good, whereas he neuer destroyed the good for the euill.

The miserable issue of this warre, and how *Moab* burnt his sonne, or the sonne of the King of *Edom*, for sacrifice on the rampire of his owne Citie, I haue already written in the life of *Iehoram* among the Kings of *Israel*. *Iehosaphat* reigned 25. yeeres and died, he was buried in the valley of *Iehosaphat*, and a part of the *Pyramis* set ouer his graue is yet to be seene, saith *Brochard*. His acts are written at large by *Iehu* the sonne of *Hanani*.

There liued with *Iehosaphat*, *Ophraenes* in *Assyria*, *Capeus* and *Tiberinus* Kings of the *Alans* in *Italie*; of the latter the river *Tiber* (formerly *Albula*) tooke name.

In *Iehosaphats* time also ruled *Mecades* or *Mezades* in *Athens*: *Agelas* or *Agesilaus* in *Corinth*; and *Archilaeus* of the same race, of the *Heracleide* the seventh in *Lacedamon*. *Baefors* ruled the *Tyrians*; *Achab*, *Ochazias* and *Iehoram* the *Israelites*.

CHAP. XX.

Of *Iehoram* the sonne of *Iehosaphat* and *Ahazia*.

§. I.

That *Iehoram* was made King sundry times.



Iehoram the sonne of *Iehosaphat* King of *Juda* began to reigne at thirtie two yeeres of age, and liued vntill he was fortie yeeres old, being eight yeeres a King: but of these eight yeeres, which *Iehoram* is said to haue reigned, foure are to be reckoned in the life of his father, who going to the *Syrian* warre with *Ahab*, left this *Iehoram* King in his stead, as *Ahab* did his sonne *Ahazia*. This appeares by the severall beginnings, which are given in Scripture to the two *Iehoram* Kings of *Israel* and *Juda*, and to *Ahazia* the eldest sonne of *Ahab*. For *Ahazia* is said

saide to have begun his reigne, in the fouenteenth yeere of *Iehosaphat*. *Iehoram* the brother of *Ahasia* succeeded him in the second yeere of *Iehoram* the sonne of *Iehosaphat* King of *Iuda*, that is, in the next yeere after that *Iehoram* of *Iuda* was designed King by his father; it being (as we finde elsewhere) the eighteenth yeere of *Iehosaphat* himselfe, who went with the *Israelites* against *Moab*. Heerby it appears that the full power and execution of the royall office was retained still by *Iehosaphat*, who gouerned absolutely by himselfe, not communicating the rule with his sonne. But in the fift yeere of *Iehoram* King of *Israel*, which was the two and twentieth of *Iehosaphat*, the olde King tooke vnto him as partner in the Gouernment, this his eldest sonne, who was at that time 32. yeeres old, his Father being 57. Now forasmuch as *Iehosaphat* reigned 25. yeeres, it is euident that his sonne did not reigne alone till the eight of *Ioram* King of *Israel*. The like regard is to be had in accounting the times of other Kings of *Iuda* & *Israel*, who did not alwaies reigne precisely so long as the bare letter of the text may seeme at first to affirme: but their yeeres were sometimes complet, sometimes onely current, sometimes confounded with the yeeres of their successors or foregoers, and must therefore be found by comparing their times with the yeeres of those others, with whom they did begin and end.

It were perhaps a thing lesse needfull than curious, to enquire into the reasons mouing *Iehosaphat* either to assume vnto him his sonne as partner in the Kingdome, which hee was able himselfe to command both in peace and in warre, the like hauing neuer beene done by any of his progenitors, or hauing once (in the 17. of his reigne) vouchsafed vnto him that honour, to retuine it vnto himselfe, or at least wile to deferre the confirmation of it, vntill foure or fve yeeres were passed. Yet forasmuch as to enter into the examination of these passages, may be a meane to find some light, whereby we may more cleerlie discouer the causes of much extraordinary businesse ensuing, I hold it not amisse to make such coniecture, as the circumstances of the Story briefly handled in the Scriptures may seeme to approue.

We are therefore to consider, that this King *Iehosaphat* was the first of *Rehoboams* issue that euer entered into any freight league with the Kings of the ten Tribes. All that reigned in *Iuda* before him, had with much labour and long warre, tired themselves in vaine, making small profit of the greatest aduantages that could be wished. Wherefore *Iehosaphat* thought it the wisest way, to make a league offensiue and defensiue betwene *Israel* and *Iuda*, whereby each might enioy their owne in quiet.

This confederacie made by a religious King, with one that did hate the Lord, could not long prosper, as not issuing from the true roote and fountaine of all wisdom: yet as a piece of sound policie, doubtlesse it wanted not faire pretences of much common good thereby likly to arise, with mutuall fortification of both those kingdomes, against the vncircumcised nations their ancient enemies. This apparant benefit, being so inestimable a iewel, that it might not easily be lost, but continue as hereditarie from father to sonne, it was thought a very good courseto haue it confirmed by some sure bond of affinitie, and thereupon was *Ahasia* the daughter of *Omri*, and sister of *Ahab* King of *Israel*, given in marriage to *Iehoram*, who was sonne and heire apparant to the King of *Iuda*. This Lady was of a masculine spirit, and had learned so much of Queene *Iezabel* her brothers wife, that she durst vndertake, and could thoroughly performe a great deale more in *Ierusalem*, than the other knew how to compass in *Samaria*. Shee was indeed a fire-brand, ordeined by God to consume a great part of the noblest houses in *Iuda*, and perhaps of those men or their children, whose worldly wisdom, regardlesse of Gods pleasure, had brought her in.

The first fruits of this great league, was the Syrian warre at *Ramoth Gilead*, wherein *Iuda* and *Israel* did aduenture equally, but the profit of the victorie should haue redounded wholly to *Ahab*: as godly Princes very seldom thrue by marching with Idolators, but so rather serue the times of those false friends, who being ill affected to God himselfe, cannot be well affected to his seruants. Before their setting forth *Ahab* designed, as King, his sonne *Ahasia*; nor so much perhaps in regard of the viceraine euents of warre (for none of his predecessors had euer done the like vpon the like occasions) nor as fearing the threatnings of the Prophet *Ahasia* (for hee despised them) as inuiting *Iehosaphat* by his owne example, to take the same course, wherein hee prevailed.

§. II.

Probable coniectures of the motives inducing the old King *Iehosaphat* to change his purpose of reigne, in making his sonne *Iehoram* King.

Any arguments doe very strongly proue *Iehoram* to haue been wholly ouer-ruled by his wife; especially for his forsaking the religion of his godly Ancestors, and following the abominable superstitions of the house of *Ahab*.

That he was a woman of intollerable pride, and abhorring to liue a priuate life, the whole course of her actions witnesseth at large. Much vaine matter she was to produce, whereby to make her husband thinke that his brethren and kindred were but meane and vnworthy persons in comparison of him, and of his children, which were begotten vpon the daughter and sister of two great Kings, not vpon base women & meere subiects. The Court of *Ahab*, and his famous victories obtained against the Syrian Benadabs, were matter sufficient to make an insolent man thinke highly of himselfe, as being allied so honourably; who could otherwise haue found in his heart well enough, to despise all his brethren, as being the eldest, and heire apparant to the Crowne, whereof already hee had, in a manner, the possession.

How soone his vices brake out, or how long hee dissembled them and his idolatrous religion, it cannot certainly be knowne. Like enough it is, that some smoke, out of the hidden fire, did very soone make his fathers eyes to water; who thereupon caused the young man to know himselfe better, by making him fall backe into ranke among his younger brethren. And surely the doings of *Iehosaphat* about the same time, argue no small dittemper of the whole country, through the misgouernment of his vngodly son. For the good King was faine to make his progresse round about the Land, reclaiming the people vnto the seruice of God, and appointing Iudges throughout all the strong Cities of *Iuda* City by City. This had beene a needlesse labour, if the religion taught and strongly maintained by *Aha*, and by himselfe, had not suffered alteration, and the course of Iustice beene peruered, by the power of such as had borne authoritie. But the necessitie that then was of reformation, appears by the charge which the King did giue to the Iudges; partly by his commission giuen to one of the Priests in spirituall causes, and to the steward of his house in temporall matters, to be generall ouerseers.

This was not till after the death of *Ahasia* the sonne of *Ahab*; but how long after it is vncertaine. For *Iehoram* the brother of *Ahasia* began his reigne (as hath beene already noted) in the eighteenth of *Iehosaphat*, which was then accounted the second of *Iehoram*, *Iehosaphat* sonne, though afterward this *Iehoram* of *Iuda* had another first and second yeere, even in his fathers time, before hee reigned alone, as the best Chronologers and expostors of the holy text agree. So hee continued in priuate estate, vntill the two and twentieth of his fathers reigne, at which time, though the occasions inducing his restitution to former dignitie are not set downe, yet we may not thinke, that motives thereto, appearing substantially, were wanting. *Iehoram* of *Israel* held the same correspondencie with *Iehosaphat* that his father had done, and made vse of it. He drew the *Iudaeans* into the warre of *Moab*, at which time it might well be, that the young Prince of *Iuda* was againe ordeined King by his father, as in the Syrian expedition hee had beene. Or if wee ought rather to thinke, that the preparations for the enterprize against *Moab* did not occurre so much time, as from the eighteenth of *Iehosaphat*, in which yeere that Nation rebelled against *Israel*, vnto his two and twentieth, yet the daily negotiations betwene the two Kings of *Iuda* and *Israel*, and the affinitie betwene them contracted in the person of *Iehoram*, might offer some good occasions thereunto. Neither is it certaine how the behaviour of the younger sonnes, in their elder brothers disgrace, might cause their Father to put him in possession for feare of tumult after his death; or the deepe diffimulation of *Iehoram* himselfe might winne the good opinion both of his Father and Brethren; it being a thing vitall in mischieuous fell natures, to be as abiect and seruile in time of aduersitie, as insolent and bloody vpon aduantage. This is manifest, that being repossessed of his former estate, he demeaned himselfe in such wise toward his brethren, as caused their Father to enable them, not onely with store of siluer and gold, and of precious things, (which kind of liberallitie other Kings doubtlesse had vsed vnto their younger sons) but with the custodie of strong Cities in *Iuda*, to assure them, if it might haue beene, by vnwonted meanes, against vnwonted perils.

§. III.

The doings of Iehoram when he reigned alone; and the rebellion of Edom and Libna.

BVt all this providence auailed nothing; for an higher prouidence had otherwise determined of the sequels. When once the good old man, their Father, was dead, the younger sonnes of *Iehosphat* found strong Cities, a weake defence, against the power of him vnto whom the Citizens were obedient. If they came in vpon the summons of a King their brother, then had he them without any more ado; to if they stood vpon their guard, then were they Traitors, and so vnable to hold out against him, who besides his owne power, was able to bring the forces of the *Israelitish* Kingdome against them; so that the apparent likelihood of their finall ouerthrow; sufficed to make all forsake them in the very beginning. Howsoeuer it was, they were all taken and slaine, and with them for company many great men of the Land; such belike, as eyther had taken their part, when the Tyrant fought their liues, or had bene appointed Rulers of the Countrey, when *Iehoram* was depofed from his Gouvernement; in which Office they, without forbearing to doe iustice, could hardly auoyd the doing of many things, derogatorie to their yong Masters; which if he would now call treason, saying that hee was then King, who durst say the contrary?

After this *Iehoram* tooke vpon him, as being now Lord alone, to make innovations in Religion: wherein he was not contented as other Idolatrous Princes, to giue way and safe conduct vnto Superstition and Idolatrie, nor to prouoke and encourage the people to that sinne, whereto it is wonderfull that they were so much addicted, hauing such knowledge of God, and of his detesting that aboue all other sinnes; but hee used compulsion, and was (if not the very first) the first that is registred, to haue set vpon Irreligion by force.

Whilst he was thus busied at home, in doing what he listeth, the *Edomites* his Tributaries rebelled against him abroad; and hauing hitherto, since *Dauids* time, bene gouerned by a *Viceroy*, did now make vnto themselves a King. Against these *Iehoram* in person made an expedition, taking along with him his Princes, and all his Chariots, with which he obtained victory in the field, compelling the rebels to flie into their places of aduantage, whereof he forced no one, but went away contented with the honour that he had gotten in beating and killing some of those whom hee should haue subdued, and kept his seruants. Now began the propheticie of *Isaac* to take effect, wherein beforetold, that *Esaue* in proceffe of time should breake the yoke of *Jacob*. For after this the *Edomites* could neuer be reclaimed by any of the Kings of *Iuda*, but held their owne so well, that when, after many ciuill and forraigne warres, the *Iewes* by sundry Nations had bene brought low; *Antipater* the *Edomite*, with *Herod* his Son, and others of that race following them, became Lords of the *Iewes*, in the decrepit age of *Israel*, and reigned as Kings, euen in *Ierusalem* it selfe.

The freedome of the *Edomites*, though purchased somewhat dearely, encouraged *Libna*, a great Citie within *Iuda*, which in the time of *Iosua* had a peculiar King, to rebell against *Iehoram*, and set it selfe at libertie. *Libna* stood in the confines of *Beniamin* and of *Dan*, farre from the assistance of any bordering enemies to *Iuda*, and therefore so vnable it was to haue maintained it selfe in libertie, that it may seeme strange how it could escape from vtter destruction, or at the least from some terrible vengeance, most likely to haue bene taken, by their powerfull, cruell, and thoroughly incensed Lord. The *Israelites* held such good intelligence at that time with *Iuda*, that hee would not haue accepted the Towne, had it offered it selfe vnto him: neither doe wee read that it fought how to get it selfe into a new subiection, but continued a free estate. The rebellion of it against *Iehoram*, was, because he had forsaken the Lord God of his Fathers; which I take to haue not onely bene the first and remote cause, but euen the next and immediate reason, mouing the inhabitants to doe as they did: for it was a Towne of the *Leuites*: who must needs be driuen into great extremities, when a religion contrarie to Gods Law, had not onely some allowance to countenance it by the King, but compulsiue authoritie to force vnto it all that were vnwilling. As for the vfe of the Temple at *Ierusalem* (which, being deuout men, they might feare to lose by this rebellion) it was neuer denied to those of the

Chron. 21. 10.

renouled Tribes by any of the Religious Kings, who rather inuited the *Israelites* thither, and gaue them kinde entertainment: vnder Idolaters they must haue bene without wanting, which might moue them rather to doe than suffer that which was vnwarrantable. For in the generall visitation before remembred, wherein *Iehosphat* reformed his Kingdome, the good olde King appointing new Gouernours, and giuing them especial charge to doe iustice without respect of persons, vied these words, *The Leuites shall be officers before you; Be of good courage, and doe it, and the Lord shall be with the good.* By these phrases, it seemes, that he encouraged them against the more powerfull, than iust proceedings of his son; whom if the *Leuites* did (according to the trust reposed in them) neglect in discharging their duties, likely it is that he meant to be ouer with them; and make them now to feele, as many Princes of the Land had done, his heavy indignation. How it happened that *Libna* was not heereupon destroyed, yea, that it was not (for ought that we can read) so much as besieged or molested, may iustly seeme very strange. And the more strange it is in regard of the mighty Armies which *Iehosphat* was able to raise, being sufficient to haue ouerwhelmed any one Towne, and buried it vnder the earth, which they might well in one month haue cast into it with shouels, by ordinary approaches.

But it seemes that of those great numbers which his Father could haue leuiued; there were not many whom *Iehoram* could well trust; and therefore perhaps hee thought it an easier losse, to let one Towne goe, than to put weapons into their hands, who were more likely to follow the example of *Libna*, than to punish it. So desperate is the condition of Tyrants, who thinking it a greater happinesse to be feared, than to be beloved; are faine themselves to stand in feare of those, by whom they might haue bene dreadfull vnto others.

§. IIII.

Of the miseries falling vpon Iehoram, and of his death.

Here afflictions not sufficing to make any impression of God displeasure in the minde of the wicked Prince; a Prophecie in writing was deliuered vnto him, which threatned both his people, his children, his wiues, and his owne bodie. Hereto likewise it appears that he was a cruell Persecutor of Gods seruants; in as much as the Prophets durst not reprove him to his face, as they had done many of his predecessors, both good and euill Kings; but were faine to denounce Gods iudgements against him by letters, keeping themselves close and farre from him. This Epistle is saide to haue bene sent vnto him from *Elias* the Prophet. But *Elias* was translated, and *Elizeus* prophesied in his stead before this time, euen in the dayes of *Iehosphat*. Wherefore it may be that *Elias* left this propheticie in writing behinde him, or that (as some conceive) the error of one letter in writing, was the occasion that wee read *Elias* for *Elizeus*. Indeed anything may rather be beleeued than the Tradition held by some of the *Iewish* Rabbinis, that *Elias* from heauen did send this Epistle; a tale somewhat like to the fable of our Ladies letters, deuised by *Erasmus*, or of the Verse that was sent from heauen to *S. Giles*.

But whoseoeuer was the Author of this threatening Epistle, the accomplishment of the propheticie was as terrible, as the sentence. For the *Philistines* and *Arabians* brake into *Iudea*, and tooke the Kings house, wherein they found all, or many of his children, and wiues; all which they slew, or carried away, with great part of his goods. These *Philistines* had not presumed since the time of *Dauid*, to make any offensive warre till now; for they were by him almost consumed, and had lost the best of their Townes, maintaining themselves in the rest of their finall Territories, by defensive armes, to which they were constrained at *Gibbethen* by the *Israelites*. The *Arabians* were likely to haue bene then as they are now, a naked people, all horfemen, and illappointed; their Countrey affording no other furniture, than such as might make them fitter to rob and spoile in the open fields, than to offend strong Cities such as were thicke set in *Iuda*. True it is that in ages long after following, they conquered all the South parts of the world then knowne, in a very short space of time, destroying some, and building other some very strack Cities. But it must be considered; that this was when they had learned of the

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Romanes the Art of Warre; and that the Prouisions which they found, together with the Arts which they learned, in one subdued Prouince, did make them able and skillfull in pursuing their conquest, and going on into Regions farre remooued from them. At this day hauing lost in effect all that they had gotten, such of them as liue in *Archie* selfe are good horsemen, but ill appointed; very dangerous passengers; but vnable to deale with good Souldiers, as riding starke naked, and rather trusting in the swiftnesse of their horses, than in any other meanes of resistance, where they are well opposed. And such, or little better, may they seeme to haue beene, that spoyled *Judea* in the time of *Iehoram*. For their Countrey was alwaies barren and desert, wanting manuell Arts whereby to supply the naturalls with furniture: neither are these bands named as chiefe in that action, but rather adherents of the *Philistims*. Out of this we may inferre, that one halfe, yea or one quarter of the numbers found in the least muster of *Juda* and *Beniamin* vnder *Iehosaphat* (wherein were inrolled three hundred and eightie thousand fighting men) had been enough to haue driuen away far greater forces than these enemies are likely to haue brought into the field, had not the people beene vnable to deale with them, for lacke of weapons, which were now kept from them by their Princes iealousie, as in *Sauls* time by the policie of the *Philistims*.

It may seeme that the house of the King which these inuaders tooke, was not his Palace in *Ierusalem*, but rather some other house of his abroad in the Countrey, where his wiues and children at that time lay for their recreation: because we read not that they did sacke the Citie, or spoyle the Temple, which would haue inuited them as a more commodious bootie, had they got possession thereof. Yet perhaps they tooke *Ierusalem* it selfe by surprize, the people being disarmed, and the Kings guards too weak to keepe them out; yet had not the courage to hold it, because it was so large and populous; and therefore hauing done what spoyles they could, with-drew themselves with such purchase as they were able safely to conueigh away.

The slaughter committed by *Iehu* on the two and fortie brethren of *Ahazias*, or (as they are called elsewhere) so many of his brothers sonnes, and the cruell massacre wherein all the Royall seede perished (onely *Iosias* excepted) vnder the tyrannie of *Athalia*, following within two yeeres after this inuasion of the *Philistims*, and *Arabians*, make it seeme probable, that the sonnes of *Iehoram* were not all slaine at once, but that rather the first murder beganne in his owne time, and was seconded by many other heauie blowes, wherewith his house was incessantly stricken, vntill it was in a manner quite hewed downe.

After these calamities, the hand of God was extended against the bodie of this wicked King, smiting him with a grievous disease in his bowels, which left him not vntill his guts fell out, and his wretched soule departed from his miserable carcasie. The people of the Land, as they had small cause of comfort in his life, so had they not the good manners to pretend sorrow for his death; wherefore hee was denied a place of buriall among his Ancestors the Kings of *Juda*, though his owne sonne succeeded him in the Kingdome, who was guided by the same spirits that had bene his Fathers euill Angels. *Athalia* had other matters to trouble her head, than the pompous entering of a dead husband. Shee was thinking how to prouide for the future, to maintaine her owne greatness, to retaine her fauourites in their authoritie, and to place about her Sonne such Counsellors of the house of *Ahab*, as were fittest for her turne. Wherefore shee thought it vnseasonable to make much ado about a thing of nothing, and offend the peoples eyes, with a stately funerall of a man by them detested: but rather chose to let the blame of things passed be layd vpon the dead, than to procure an ill opinion of her selfe and hers, which it now did concerne her to auoid. Such is the qualitie of wicked Intigatours, hauing made greedie vse of bad imployments, to charge, not only with his owne vices, but with their faults also, the man whose euill inclinations their sinister counsailes haue made worse, when once he is gone, and can profit them no longer. The death of *Iehoram* fel out indeed in a busie time; when his friend and cousin the *Israelite*, who had the same name, was entangled in a difficult warre against the *Aramites*; and therefore could haue had no better leysure to help *Athalia*, in setting off things according to her owne minde, than hee had (perhaps through the same hinderance) to helpe her husband, when hee was distressed by the *Philistims*. Yea rather hee needed and craved the assistance of the men of *Juda*, for the taking in of *Ramoth Gilead*, where they had

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not pised so well the last time, that they should willingly runne thither againe, vnlesse they were very fairly intreated.

The acts of this wicked man I haue thought good to handle the more particularly (pursuing the examination of all occurrences, as farre as the circumstances remembred in holy Scripture, would guide mee by their directions) to the end that it might more plainly appeare, how the corrupted affections of men, impugning the reuealed will of God, accomplish neuertheless his hidden purpose, and without miraculous means, confound themselves in the seeming-wise deuices of their owne folly: as likewise to the end that all men might learne, to submit their iudgements to the ordinance of God, rather than to thinke, that they may safely dispense with his commandements, and follow the prudent conceits which worldly wisdom dictateth vnto them. For in such kinde of vnhappy subtilties, it is manifest that *Athalia* was able to furnish both her Husband and her Sonne; but the issue of them partly hath appeared already, and partly will appeare, in that which immediately followeth.

§. V.

Of the reigne of Ahazia, and his businesse with the King of Israel.

Ahazia, or *Ahazias*, the sonne of *Iehoram* and *Athalia*, beganne his reigne ouer *Juda* in the twelfth yeere of *Iehoram* the sonne of *Ahab* King of *Israel*, and reigned but one yeere. Touching his age, it is a point of much more difficultie than importance to know it; yet hath it bredde much disputation, whereof I see no more probable conclusion, than that of *Tornellius*, alleaging the Edition of the *Synagoga at Rome*, Anno Domini 1588. which saith that hee was twentie yeeres olde in the beginning of his Kingdome; and the Annotations thereupon, which cite other Copies, that doe giue him two yeeres more. Like enough he is to haue bene young; for hee was gouerned by his Mother, and her Ministers, who gaue him counsaile by which hee perished. In matter of Religion hee altered none of his Fathers courses. In matter of state, hee likewise vp-held the league made with the house of *Ahab*. He was much busied in doing little, and that with ill successe. He accompanied his Cousin the *Israelite* against *Ramoth Gilead*, which they won, but not without blowes: for the *Aramites* fought so well, that the King of *Israel* was faine to aduenture his owne person, which escaped not vnwounded.

The Towne being won was manned strongly, in expectation of some attempt likely to be made by *Hazael* king of *Aram*: which done, *Iehoram* King of *Israel* with-drew himselfe to the Citie of *Tarzel*, where with more quiet he might attend the curing of his wounds; and *Ahazia* returned to *Ierusalem*. It seemes that he was but newly come home (for he reigned in all scantily one yeere, wherof the former expedition, with the preparations for it, had taken vp a great part,) when he did make a new iourney, as it were for good manners sake, to visit the King of *Israel*, who lay sore of his wounds. Belike *Athalia* was brewing some new plots, which his presence would haue hindered, and therefore sought euery occasion to thrust him abroad: for otherwise it was but a vaine piece of worke so to leaue his kingdome, hauing no other businesse than by way of complement to goe see one whom he had seene yesterday. Certaine it is that the Lord had resolued at this time to put in execution that heauie iudgement, which he had laid by the mouth of *Elias* the Prophet vpon the house of *Ahab*. And hereunto at this time had he disposed not only the concurrence of all other things, which in mans eyes might seeme to haue bene accidental; but the very thoughts and affections of such persons, as intended nothing lesse than the fulfilling of his high pleasure. Of these *Athalia* doubtlesse was one; whose mischieuous purposes it will shortly be needefull for explanation of some difficulties arising, that we diligently consider and examine.

§. VI.

How Ahazia perished with the house of Ahab: and how that Familie was destroyed by Iehu.

IHe whole Armie of *Israel*, with all the principall Captaines lying in *Ramoth Gilead*, a Disciple of *Elizem* the Prophet came in among the Captaines that were sitting together, who calling out among them *Iehu*, a principall man, took him in part, and anointed him King over *Israel*, rehearsing vnto him the Prophecies of *Elias* against the house of *Ahab*, and letting him vnderstand that it was the pleasure of God to make him executioner of that sentence. The fashion of the Messenger was such as bredde in the Captaines a desire to know the errand, which *Iehu* thought meet to let them know, as doubting whether they had ouer-heard all the talke or no. When hee had acquainted them with the whole matter, they made no delay, but forthwith proclaimed him King. For the Prophecies of *Elias* was well knowne among them, neither durst any one oppose himselfe against him, that was by God ordained to performe it.

Iehu, who had vpon the sudden this great honour throwne vpon him, was not slow to put himselfe in possession of it, but vfed the first heat of their affections who ioyned with him, in setting on foot the businesse which neerely concerned him, and was not to be fore-flowed, being no more his owne than Gods.

The first care taken was that no newes of the revolt might be carried thither, where by the King might haue had warning either to fight or flee: this being foreseene, he marched swiftly away, to take the Court while it was yet secure. King *Iehoram* was now so well recovered of his wounds, that he could endure to ride abroad, for which cause it seemes that there was much feasting, and ioy made, especially by Queene *Iezabel*, who kept her state so well, that the brethren of *Ahazia* coming thither at this time, did make it as well their errand to salute the Queene, as to visit the King.

Certaine it is, that since the rebellion of *Moab* against *Israel*, the house of *Ahab* did neuer so much flourish as at this time. Seauenty Princes of the blood Royall there were³⁰ that liued in *Samaria*; *Iehoram* the sonne of Queene *Iezabel* had wonne *Ramoth Gilead*, which his Father had attempted in vaine, with losse of his life; and hee wonne it by valiant fight, wherein he receiued wounds, of which the danger was now past, but the honour likely to continue. The amitie was so great between *Israel* and *Juda*, that it might suffice to daunt all their common enemies, leauing no hope of successe, to any rebellious enterprizer: so that now the prophecies of *Elias*, might be forgotten, or no otherwise remembered, than as an vnlike tale by them that beheld the maiestical face of the Court, wherein so great a friend as the King of *Juda* was entertained, and fortie Princes of his blood expected.

In the midst of this securitie, whilst these great Estates were (perhaps) either contented about prosecution of their intents, first against the *Aramites*, and then against *Moab*, *Edom*, and other rebells & enemies: or else were triumphing in ioy of that which was already achieved, and the Queene Mother dressing her selfe in the brauest manner to come downe amongst them; tidings were brought in, that the watchman had from a Tower discovered a company coming. These newes were not very troublesome: for the Armie that lay in *Ramoth Gilead*, to be readie against all attempts of the *Aramites*, was likely enough to be discharged vpon some notice taken that the enemy would not, or could not stirre. Onely the King sent out an Horse-man to know what the matter was, and to bring him word. The messenger coming to *Iehu*, and asking whether all were well, was retained by him, who intended to giue the King as little warning as might bee. The seeming negligence of this fellow in not returning with an answer, might argue the matter to be of small importance: yet the King to be satisfied, sent out another that should bring him word how all went; and hee was likewise detained by *Iehu*. These dumbe shewes bred some suspicion in *Iehoram*, whom the watchman certified of all that happened. And now the company drew so neere, that they might, though not perfectly, bee discerned, and notice taken of *Iehu* himselfe by the furious manner of his marching. Wherefore the King that was loth to discover any weakenesse, caused his Chariot to bee made ready, and issued forth with *Ahazia* King of *Juda* in his company,

company, whose presence added maiestie to his traine, when strength to resist, or expedition to flee had bene more needfull. This could not be done so lustily, but that *Iehu* was come euen to the Townes end, and there they met each other in the field of *Naboth*. *Iehoram* began to salute *Iehu* with termes of peace, but receiuing a bitter answer, his heart failed him, so that crying out vpon the treason to his fellow King, hee turned away to haue fled. But *Iehu* soone ouertooke him with an arrow, where-with he strooke him dead, and threw his carcase into that field, which, purchased with the blood of the rightfull owner, was to be watered with the blood of the vniust possessor. Neyther did *Ahazia* escape so well, but that he was arrested by a wound, which held him till death did seize vpon him.

The Kings Palace was ioyning to the wall, by the gate of the Citie, where *Iezabel* might soone be aduertised of this calamitie, if she did not with her owne eyes behold it. Now it was high time for her to call to God for mercie, whose iudgement, pronounced against her long before, had ouer-taken her, when she least expected it. But shee, full of indignation and proud thoughts, made her selfe ready in all haste, and painted her face, hoping with her statelie and imperious looks to daunt the Traitor, or at least to vter some *Apophegme*, that should expresse her braue spirit, and brand him with such a reproch as might make him odious for euer. Little did shee thinke vpon the hungry dogs that were ordained to deuoure her, whose paunches the *fishium*, with which the besmear'd eyes, would more offend, than the scolding language wherewith the armed her tongue, could trouble the eares of him that had her in his power. As *Iehu* drew neere, she opened her window, and looking out vpon him, began to put him in mind of *Zimri*, that had not long enioyed the fruits of his treason, and murder of the King his Master. This was in meere humane valuation stoutly spoken, but was indeed a part of miserable folly; as are all things, how soeuer laudable, if they haue an ill relation to God the Lord of all. Her owne Eunuchs that stood by and heard her, were not affected so much as with any compassion of her fortune; much lesse was her enemy daunted with her proud spirit. When *Iehu* saw that shee did vse the little remainder of her life in seeking to vex him, hee made her presently to vnderstand her owne estate, by deeds and not by words. He onely called to her seruants to know which of them would be on his side, and soone found them readie to offer their seruice, before the very face of their proud Ladie. Heerevpon hee commanded them to cast her downe head-long: which immediately they performed without all regard of her greatnesse and estate, wherein shee had a few houres before shined so gloriously in the eyes of men; of men that considered not the iudgements of God that had bene denounced against her.

So perished this accursed woman by the rude hands of her owne seruants, at the commandment of her greatest enemy, that was yesterday her subiect, but now her Lord: and shee perished miserably struggling in vaine with base groomes, who contumeliously did haile and thrust her, whilst her insulting enemy late on Horse-backe, adding indignities to her griefe by scornfull beholding the shamefull manner of her fall, and trampling her bodie vnder foote. Her dead carcase that was left without the walls was deuoured by dogges, and her very memorie was odious. Thus the vengeance of God rewarded her Idolatrie, murder, and oppression, with slow, but sure painment, and full interest.

Ahazia King of *Juda* fleeing a-pace from *Iehu*, was ouer-taken by the way where hee liued; and receiuing his deadly wound in the Kingdome of *Samaria*, was suffered to get him gone (which hee did in all haste) and seeke his buriall in his owne kingdome: and this fauour he obtained for his grand-fathers sake, not for his fathers, nor his owne. He died at *Megidda*, and was thence carried to *Ierusalem*, where hee was entred with his Ancestors, hauing reigned about one yeere.

CHAP. XXI.

Of Athalia, and whose Sonne he was that succeeded her.

§. I.

Of Athalia her usurping the Kingdome, and what pretences she might forge.

a Chron. 22. 9.



After the death of *Ahazias*, it is said that his house *was not able to retain the Kingdome*: which note, and the proceedings of *Athalia* vpon the death of her Sonne, haue giuen occasion to diuers opinions concerning the Pedigree of *Iudas*, who reigned shortly after. For *Athalia* being thus dispoyle of her Sonne, vnder whose name shee had ruled at her pleasure, did forth-with lay hold vpon all the Princes of the bloud, and slew them, that so she might occupie the Royall Throne her selfe, & reigne as Queene, rather than liue a Subiect. Shee had before-hand put into great place, and made Countailours vnto her sonne, such as were fittest for her purpose, and ready at all times to execute her will: that shee kept a strong guard about her it is very likely, and as like it is that the great execution done by *Iehoram*, vpon the Princes, and many of the Nobilitie, had made the people tame, and fearefull to stirre, whatsoeuer they saw or heard.

Yet ambition, how violent soeuer it be, is feldome or neuer so shamelesse as to refuse the commoditie of goodly pretences offering themselves; but rather scrapes together all that will any way serue to colour her proceedings. Wherefore it were not absurd for vs to thinke, that *Athalia*, when she saw the Princes of the Royall bloud, all of them in a manner, slaine by her husband, and afterwards his owne children destroyed by the *Philistines*, began euen then to play her owne game, reducing by artificiall practice, into faire likelihoods, those possibilities where-with her husbands bad fortune had presented her. Not without great shew of reason, either by her owne mouth, or by some trustie creature of hers, might she giue him to vnderstand, how needfull it were to take the best order whilst as yet he might, for feare of the worst that might happen. If the issue of *Dauid*, which now remained onely in his Familie, should by any accident faile (as wofull experience had alreadie shewed what might after come to passe) the people of *Iuda* were not vnlike to choose a King of some new stocke, a popular seditious man peraduenture, one that countenance his owne vnworthinesse, would not care what aspersions hee laid vpon that Royall house, which was fallen downe. And who could assure him, that some ambitious spirit, fore-seeing what might be gotten thereby, did not alreadie contriue the destruction of him, and all his seede? Wherefore it were the wisest way to designe by his authority, not onely his Successour, but also the reversioner, and so to provide, that the Crowne might neuer bee subiect to any riseling, but remaine in the disposition of them that loued him best, if the worst that might be feared comming to passe, his owne posteritie could not retain it.

Such persuasions being vrged, and earnestly followed, by the importunate sollicitation of her that gouerned his affections, were able to make the jealous Tyrant thinke, that the onely way to frustrate all deuices of such as gaped after a change, was to make her Heire the last and yongest of his house, whom it most concerned, as being the Queene-Mother, to vp-hold the first and eldest.

If *Athalia* tooke no such course as this in her husbands times, yet might she do it in her Sonnes. For *Ahazias* (besides that he was wholly ruled by his Mother) was not likely to take much care for the securitie of his halfe-brethren, or their children; as accounting his Fathers other wiues, in respect of his owne borne-Mother, little better then Concubines, and their children basely begotten. But if this mischievous woman forgat her selfe so farre in her wicked policie, that shee lost all opportunitie which the weaknesse of her husband and sonne did afford, of procuring vnto her selfe some seeming Title: yet could shee afterwards faigne some such matter, as boldly shee might: being sure that none would aske to see her euidence, for feare of being sent to learne the certaintie of her sonne or husband in another World. But I rather thinke that shee tooke order

der for her affaires before-hand. For though shee had no reason to suspect or feare the suddaine death of her sonne, yet it was the wisest way to provide betimes against all that might happen, whilst her husbands issue by other women was yong and vnable to resist. We plainly finde that the Brethren or Nephewes of *Ahazias*, to the number of two and fortie, were sent to the Court of *Israel*, onely to salute the children of the King, and the children of the Queene. The slender occasion of which long journey, considered together with the qualitie of these persons (being in effect all the stocks of *Iehoram* that could be growne to any strength) makes it very suspitious that their entertainment in *Iehorams* house would onely haue beene more formall, but little differing in substance, from that which they found at the hand of *Iehu*. He that looks into the courses held both before and after by these two Queenes, will finde cause enough to thinke no lesse. Of such as haue aspired vnto Lordships not belonging to them, and thrust out the right Heires by pretence of Testaments, that had no other validitie than the sword of such as claimed by them could giue, Histories of late, yea of many Ages, afford plentifull examples: and the rule of *Salomon* is true: *Is there any thing whereof one may say, Be-zechy, it hold, this is new? It hath beene already in the old time that was before vs.* That a King might flie his brothers bloud, was proued by *Salomon* vpon *Adonia*; that he might aliene the Crown from his naturall Heires, *Dauid* had giuen proue; but these had good ground of their doings. They which follow examples that please them, will neglect the reasons of those examples, if they please them not, and rest contented with the practice, as more willingly shewing what they may doe, than acknowledging why *Salomon* slew his brother that had begun one rebellion, and was entering into another. *Iehoram* slew all his brethren, which were better than he: *Dauid* purchased the Kingdome, and might the more freely dispose of it, yet he disposed of it as the Lord appointed; if *Iehoram*, who had lost much and gotten nothing, thought that he might aliene the remainder at his pleasure, or if *Ahazias* sought to cut off the succession of his brethren, or of their issue: either of these was to be answered with the words which *Iehoadas* the Priest vied afterwards in declaring the title of *Iosab*: Behold, the Kings Sonne must reigne; as the Lord hath said of the seedes of *Dauid*. Wherefore though I hold it very probable, that *Athalia* did suppose some title, whatsoeuer it might be, to the Crowne of *Iuda*; yet is it most certaine that shee had thereunto no right at all, but onely got it by treachery, murder, and open violence, and so she held it sixe whole yeeres, and a part of the seauenth, in good seeming securitie.

§. II.

How *Iehu* spent his time in *Israel*, so that he could not molest *Athalia*.

¶ All this time *Iehu* did neuer goe about to disturbe her; which in reason he was likely to desire, being an enemy to her whole House. But hee was occupied at the first in establishing himselfe, rooting out the posterity of *Ahab*, and reforming somewhat in Religion: afterwards in warres against the *Arames*, wherein he was so farre overcharged, that hardly he could retain his owne, much lesse attempt vpon others. Of the line of *Ahab* there were seuentie liuing in *Samaria*, out of which number *Iehu* by letter aduised the Citizens to set vp some one as King, and to prepare themselves to fight in his defence. Hereby might they gather how confident he was, which they well vnderstood to proceede from greater power about him, than they could gather to resist him. Wherefore they tooke example by the two Kings whom hee had slaine, and being exceedingly afraid of him, they offered him their seruice, wherein they so readily shewed themselves obedient; that in lesse than one dayes warning, they sent him the heads of all those Princes, as they were inioyned by a second letter from him. After this he surprized all the Priests of *Baal* by a subtiltie, faining a great sacrifice to their god, by which meanes he drew them altogether into one Temple, where hee slew them; and in the same zeale to God utterly demolished all the monuments of that impietie.

Concerning the Idolatrie deuised by *Ieroboam*, no King of *Israel* had euer greater reason than *Iehu* to destroy it. For he needed not to feare lest the people should be aliured vnto the house of *Dauid*; it was (in appearance) quite rooted vp, and the Crowne of *Iuda* in the possession of a cruell Tyrannell: hee had receiued his kingdome by the unexpected grace

grace of God; and further, in regard of his zeale expressed in destroying *Baal* out of *Israel*, he was promised, notwithstanding his following the sinne of *Ieroboam*, that the Kingdom should remaine in his Familie, to the fourth Generation. But all this would not suffice; he would needs helpe to piece out Gods providence with his owne circumspection; doing therein like a foolish greedie gamester, who by stealing a needlesse Card to assure himselfe of winning a stake, forfeits his whole rest. Hee had questionlesse displeased many, by that which he did against *Baal*; and many more he should offend by taking from them the use of a superstition, so long practized as was that Idolatrie of *Ieroboam*. Yet all these, how many sooner they were, had neuer once thought vpon making him King, if God, whom (to retaine them,) hee now forsooke, had not given him to the Crowne, when more difficulties appeared in the way of getting it, than could at any time after be found in the meanes of holding it.

This ingratitude of *Iehu* drew terrible vengeance of God vpon *Israel*, whereof *Hzael* King of *Damascus* was the Executioner. The cruelty of this barbarous Prince we may finde in the prophetic of *Elizeus*, who fore-told it, saying: *Their strong Cities shalt thou set on fire, and their yong men shalt thou slay with the sword, and shalt dash their Infants against the stones, and rent in pieces their women with child.* So did not onely the wickednesse of *Abah* cause the ruine of his whole house, but the obstinate Idolatry of the people bring a lamentable misery vpon all the Land. For the furie of *Hazael*s victory was not quenched with the destruction of a few Townes, nor wearied with one invasion; but he smote them in all the coasts of *Israel*, and wasted all the Countrey beyond the River of *Jordan*. Notwithstanding all these calamities, it seemes that the people repented not of their Idolatrie; (for in those dayes the Lord began to loose *Israel*), but rather it is likely, that they bemoaned the noble House of *Abah*, vnder which they had beaten those enemies to whom they were now a prey, and had brauely fought for the conquest of *Syria*, wherethey had enlarged their border, by winning *Ramoth Gilead*, and compelled *Benhadad* to restore the Cities which his Father had won: whereas now they were faine to make wofull shifts, liuing vnder a Lord that had better fortune and courage in murdering his Master that had put him in trust, than in defending his people from their cruell enemies. Thus it commonly falls out, that they who can finde all manner of difficulties in serving him, to whom nothing is difficult, are, in stead of the ease and pleasure to themselves propounded by contrary courses, ouerwhelmed with the troubles which they fought to auoid, and therein by God whom they first forsooke, forsaken, and left vnto the wretched labours of their owne blinde wisdome, wherein they had repofed all their confidence.

§. III. Of Athaliahs Government.

These calamities falling vpon *Israel*, kept *Athalia* safe on that side, giuing her leisure to looke to things at home; as hauing little to doe abroad, vntill it were so that she held some correspondence with *Hazael*, pretending therein to imitate her husbands grand-father King *Ahaz*, who had done the like. And some probably that she did so, may be gathered out of that which is recorded of her doings. For we finde that this wicked *Athalia* and her children brake up the house of God, and all things that were dedicate for the house of the Lord did they bestow vpon Baalim. Such a sacriledge, though it proceeded from a desire to set out her owne Idolatry, with such pompe as might make it the more glorious in the peoples eyes, was not likely to want some faire pretext of necessity of the State so requiring: in which case others before her had made bold with that holy place, and her next successe was faine to doe the like, being there vnto forced by *Hazael*, who perhaps was delighted with the taste of that which was formerly thence extracted for his sake.

Vnder this impious government of *Athalia*, the deuotion of the Priests and Leuites was very notable, and serued (no doubt) very much to retaine the people in the religion taught by God himselfe, howsoeuer the Queenes proceedings advanced the contrary. For the poverty of that sacred Tribe of *Leui* must needs haue beene exceeding great at this time, all their lands and possessions in the ten Tribes being utterly lost, the oblations and other perquisites, by which they liued, being now very few, and small; and the

store laid vp in better times vnder godly Kings, being all taken away by shamefull robbery. Yet they vp-held in all this misery the seruice of God, and the daily sacrifice, keeping daily their courtes, and performing obedience to the high Priest, no lesse than in those dayes wherein their entertainment was farre better.

§. IIII. Of the preservation of Ioas.

Ehoiada then occupied the high Priesthood, an honourable, wise, and religious man. To his carefulnesse it may be ascribed, that the state of the Church was in some slender fort vp-held in those unhappy times. His wife was *Iehosabab*, who was daughter of King *Iehoram*, and sister to *Ahazia*, a godly Lady and veruious, whose piety makes it seeme that *Athalia* was not her Mother, though her access to the Court argue the contrary: but her discreet carriage might more easily procure her welcome to her owne Fathers house, than the education vnder such a Mother could haue permitted her to be such as she was. By her care *Ioas* the yong Prince that reigned soone after, was conueighed out of the noursery, when *Athalia* destroyed all the Kings children, and was carried secretly into the Temple, where as secretly he was brought vp. How it came to passe that this yong childe was not hunted out, when his body was missing, nor any great reckoning (for ought that we finde) made of his escape, I will not stand to examine: for it was not good in policie, that the people should heare say, that one of the children had auoided that cruell blow; it might haue made them hearken after innovations, and so be the lesse conformable to the present government. So *Ioas* was delivered out of that slaughter, he and his Nurse being gone no man could tell whither, and might be thought peradventure to be cast away, as hauing no other guard than a poore woman that gaue him sucke, who foolishly doubting that she her selfe should haue bene slaine, was fled away with him into some desolate place, where it was like enough that she and he should perish. In such cases flatterers, or men desirous of reward, easily coine such tales, and rather sweare them to be true in their owne knowledge, than they will lose the thanks due to their ioyfull tidings.

§ V. whose Sonne Ioas was.

†. I. Whether Ioas may be thought likely to haue bene the Sonne of Athazia.

Now concerning this *Ioas*, whose sonne he was, it is a thing of much difficulty to affirme, and hath caused much controuersie among writers. The places of Holy Scripture, which call him the sonne of *Ahazia*, seeme plaine enough. How a figure of the Hebrew language might giue title of Sonne vnto him, in regard that he was his Successor, I neither by my selfe can finde, nor can by any helpe of Authors learne how to answer the difficulties appearing in the contrary opinions of them, that thinke him to haue bene, or not, the naturall Sonne of *Ahazia*. For whereas it is said, that the house of *Ahazia* was not able to retaine the Kingdom; some doe inferre that this *Ioas* was not properly called his Sonne, but was the next of his kindred, and therefore succeeded him, as a sonne in the inheritance of his Father. And hereunto the murder committed by *Athalia*, doth very well agree. For the perceiving that the Kingdom was to fall into their hands, in whom she had no interest, might easily finde cause to feare, that the tyranny exercised by her husband at her instigation vpon so many noble Houses, would now be reuenged vpon her selfe. The ruine of her Idolatrous religion might in this case terrifie both her and her Minions; the sentence of the Law rewarding that offence with death; and the Tragedy of *Iezabel* teaching her what might happen to a mother Queene. All this had little concerned her, if her owne grand-child had bene heire to the Crowne; for she that had power enough to make her selfe Queene, could with more ease, and lesse enuie, haue taken vpon her the office of a Protector, by which authority she might haue done her pleasure, and bene the more both obeyed by others, and

and secure of her owne estate, as not wanting an Heire. Wherefore it was not needfull that she should be vnnaturall, as to destroy the childe of her owne sonne, of whose life she might haue made greater vfe, than the could of his death: whereas indeede, the loue of grand-mothers to their Nephewes, is little lesse than that of Mothers to their children.

This argument is very strong. For it may seeme incredible, that all naturall affection should be cast a-side, when as neither necessity vteth, nor any commoditie thereby gotten requirerh it, yea when all humane policy doth teach one the same, which nature with our reason would haue perswaded.

†. II.

That Ioas did not descend from Nathan.

BUt (as it is more easie to finde a difficulty in that which is related, than to shew how it might haue otherwise bene) the pedigree of this *Ioas* is, by them which thinke him not the sonne of *Ahazias*, set downe in such sort that it may very iustly be suspected. They say that he descended from *Nathan* the sonne of *Dauid*, and not from *Salomon*, to which purpose they bring a Historie (I know not whence) of two families of the race of *Dauid*, saying that the line of *Salomon* held the kingdome with this condition, that if at any time it failed, the familie of *Nathan* should succcede it. Concerning this *Nathan* the sonne of *Dauid* there are that would haue him to be *Nathan* the Prophet, who, as they thinke, was by *Dauid* adopted. And of this opinion was *Origen*, as also *S. Augustine* sometime was, but afterward he reuoked it, as was meete; for this *Nathan* is reckoned among the sonnes of *Dauid*, by *Bathsua* the daughter of *Amnes*, and therefore could not be the Prophet. *Gregory Nazianzen* (as I finde him cited by *Peter Martyr*) and after him, *Erasmus*, and *Faber Stapulensis*, haue likewise held the same of *Ioas*, deriuing him from *Nathan*. But *Nathan* and those other brethren of *Salomon* by the same mother, are thought, vpon good likelihoods, to haue bene the children of *Vria* the *Hittite*: and so are they accounted by sundry of the fathers, and by *Lyra*, and *Abulenfis*, who follow the *Hebrew* expostors of that place in the first of *Chronicles*. The words of *Salomon* calling himselfe the onely begotten of his mother, doe approue this exposition: for we reade of no more than two sonnes which *Bathsua* or *Bathsbea* did beare vnto *Dauid*, whereof the one begotten in adultery, died an infant, and *Salomon* onely of her children by the King did liue. So that the rest must needs haue bene the children of *Vria*, and are thought to haue bene *Dauids* onely by adoption. Wherefore, if *Ioas* had not bene the sonne of *Ahazias*, then must that pedigree haue bene false, wherein *S. Matthew* deriueh him lineally from *Salomon*; yea, then had not our blessed Saviour issued from the loynes of *Dauid*, according to the flesh, but had onely bene of his line by courtisie of the Nation, and forme of Law, as any other might haue bene. As for the authority of *Philo*, which hath drawne many late writers into the opinion that *Ioas* was not of the posterity of *Salomon*, it is enough to say, that this was *Frier Annus* his *Philo*: for no other edition of *Philo* hath any such matter, but *Annus* can make Authors to speake what he list.

†. III.

That *Ioas* may probably be thought to haue bene the sonne of *Iehoram*.

IN so doubtfull a case, if it seeme lawfull to hold an opinion that no man hath yet thought vpon, me thinks it were not amiss to lay open at once, and peruse together two places of Scripture, whereof the one telling the wickednesse of *Iehoram* the sonne of *Iehoshaphat* King of *Juda*, for which he and his children perished, rehearseth it as one of Gods mercies towards the house of *Dauid*, that according to his promise hee would give him a light, and to his children for ever: the other doth say, that for the offences of the same *Iehoram*, there was not a sonne left him, save *Iehoas* the youngest of his sonnes. Now, if it were in regard of Gods promise to *Dauid*, that after those massacres of *Iehoram* vpon all his brethren, and of the *Philistims* and *Arabians* vpon the children of *Iehoram*, one of the seede of *Dauid* escaped; why may it not be thought that he was left to haue escaped, in whom the line of *Dauid* was preferred? for had all the race of *Salomon*

now bene rooted vp in these wofull Tragedies, and the progenie of *Nathan* succeeded in place thereof; like enough it is that some remembrance more particular would haue bene extant, of an euent so memorable. That the race of *Nathan* was not extinguished, it is indeede apparent by the *Genealogie* of our Lord, as it is recounted by *S. Luke*: but the preservation of the house of *Dauid*, mentioned in the books of *Kings* and *Chronicles*, was performed in the person of *Iehoshas*, in whom the Royall branch of *Salomon*, then naturall, and not onely legall issue remaining of *Dauid*, was kept aliuie. Wherefore it may be thought that this *Ioas*, who followed *Athalia* in the Kingdome, was the youngest sonne of *Iehoram*, whose life *Athalia* as a stepdame, was not likely to pursue. For it were not easily understood, why the preservation of *Dauids* line, by Gods especiall mercy in regard of his promise made, should pertaine rather to that time, when besides *Athalia* himselfe, there were two and fortie of his brethren, or (as in another place they are called) sonnes of his brethren remaining aliuie, which afterwards were all slaine by *Iehu*, than haue reference to the lamentable destruction and little lesse than extirpation of that progeny, wherein one onely did escape. Certainly that inhumane murder which *Iehoram* committed vpon his brethren, if it were (as appeareth in the History) reuenged vpon his owne children; then was not this vengeance of God accomplished by the *Philistims* and *Arabians*, but being onely begun by them, was afterwards prosecuted by *Iehu*, and finally tooke effect by the hands of that same wicked woman, at whose instigation he had committed such barbarous outrage. And from this execution of Gods heauy iudgement laid vpon *Iehoram* and all his children, onely *Iehoshas* his youngest son was exempted; whom therefore if I should affirme to be the same with *Ioas*, which is called the sonne of *Ahazias*, I should not want good probability. Some further appearance of necessity there is, which doth argue that it could no otherwise haue bene. For it was the youngest sonne of *Iehoram* in whom the race was preferred; which could not in any likelihood be *Ahazias*, seeing that he was twenty yeeres old at the least (as is already noted) when he began to reigne, and consequently, was borne in the eighteenth or twentieth yeere of his Fathers age. Now I know not whether of the two is more vnkely, either that *Iehoram* should haue begotten many children before he was eighteen yeeres old, or that hauing (as he had) many viues and children, hee should vpon the sodaine, at his eighteenth yeere, become vnfertill, and beget no more in twenty yeeres following: each of which must haue bene true, if this were true that *Athalia* was the same *Iehoshas*, which was his youngest sonne. But this inconuenience is taken away, and those other doubts arising from the causelesse crueltie of *Athalia*, in seeking the life of *Ioas*, are easily cleared, if *Ioas* and *Iehoshas* were one. Neither doth his age withstand this opinion. For he was *seuen yeeres old when he began to reigne*; which if we understand of yeeres compleat, he might haue bene a yeere old at the death of *Iehoram*, being begotten somewhat after the beginning of his sicknesse. Neither is it more absurd to say that he was the naturall sonne of *Iehoram*, though called the son of *Ahazias*, than it were to say, as great Authors haue done, this difficultie notwithstanding, that he was of the posteritie of *Nathan*. One thing indeed I know not how to answer; which, had it concurred with the rest, might haue serued as the foundation of this opinion. The name of *Iehoshas*, that soundeth much more neere to *Ioas*, than to *Ahazias*, in an *English* ear, doth in the *Hebrew* (as I am informed by some, skilfull in that language) through the dissimilitude of certaine letters, differ much from that which it most resembleth in our Western manner of writing, and little from the other. Now, although it be so that *Athalia* herselfe bee also called *Azaria*, and must haue had three names, if hee were the same with *Iehoshas*; in which manner *Ioas* might also haue had seuerall names; yet, because I finde no other warrant heereof than a bare possibility, I will not presume to build an opinion vpon the weak foundation of mine owne coniecture, but leaue all to the consideration of such as haue more abilitie to iudge, and leisure to consider of this point.

†. IIII.

Upon what reasons *Athalia* might seeke to destroy *Ioas*, if he were her owne grandchilde.

[Therefore we shall follow that which is commonly received, and interpret the text according to the letter, it may be said, that *Athalia* was not onely blinded by the passions

ons of ambition and zeale to her idolatrous worship of *Baalim*, but pursued the accomplishment of some vnaturall desires, in seeking the destruction of her grand-child, and the rest of the bloud Royall. For whether it were so that *Athalia* (as proud and cruell women are not alwayes chaste) had imitated the liberty of *Isabel* her sister in law, whose whoredomes were vpbraid by *Iehu* to her sonne; or whether she had children by some former husband, before she was married vnto *Iehoram* (which is not vnlike in regard of her age, who was daughter of *Omri*, and sister to *Ahab*) certaine it is that she had sonnes of her owne, and those old enough to be employed, as they were, in robbing of the Temple. So it is not greatly to be wondered at, that to settle the Crowne vpon her owne children, she did seeke to cut off, by wicked policie, all other claimes. As for *Ios*, if so she were his grand-mother, yet she might mistrust the interest which his mother would haue in him, lest when he came to yeeres, it might draw him from her deuotion. And hereof (besides that women doe commonly better loue their daughters husbands, than their sonnes wiues) there is some appearance in the reigne of her sonne: for she made him spend all his time in idle iourneys, to no other apparant end, than that the might rule at home; and he liuing abroad be estranged from his wife, and entertaine some new fancies, wherein *Isabel* had cunning enough to be his turoesse. But when the sword of *Iehu* had rudely cut in funder all these fine deuices, then was *Athalia* faine to goe roundly to worke, and doe as she did, whereby she thought to make all sure. Otherwise, if (as I could rather thinke) she were onely stepdame to *Ios*, we neede not seeke into the reasons, mouing her to take away his life; her owne hatred was cause enough to dispatch him among the first.

§ VI.

A digression, wherein is maintained the liberty of vsing coniecture in Historie.

Hus much concerning the person of *Ios*, from whom, as from a new roote, the tree of *Dauid* was propagated into many branches. In handling of which matter, the more I consider the nature of this Historie, and the diuersitie betweene it and others, the lesse me thinks I neede to suspect mine owne presumption, as detaching blame, for curiositie in matter of doubt, or boldnesse in liberty of coniecture. For all Histories doe giue vs information of humane counsailes and euents, as farre forth as the knowledge and faith of the writers can afford; but of Gods will, by which all things are ordered, they speake onely at randome, and many times falsely. This we often finde in prophane writers, who ascribe the ill successe of great vndertakings to the neglect of some impious Rites, whereof indeede God abhorred the performance as vntimely, as they thought him to be highly offended with the omission. Hereat we may the lesse wonder, if we consider the answers made by the *Iewes* in *Egypt* vnto *Ieremie* the Prophet reprehending their idolatry. For, howsoeuer the written Law of God was knowne vnto the people, and his punishments laid vpon them for contempt thereof, were very terrible, and euen then but newly executed; yet were they so obstinately bent vnto their wils, that they would not by any meanes be drawne to acknowledge the true cause of their affliction. But they told the Prophet roundly, that they would worship the *Queene of Heauen*, as they and their Fathers, their Kings and their Princes had vied to doe: For then (said they) had we plenty of victuals, and were well, and felt no euill: adding that all manner of miseries were befallen them, since they left off that seruice of the *Queene of Heauen*. So blinde is the wisdom of man, in looking into the counsaile of God, which to finde out there is no better nor other guide than his owne written will not peruerbed by vaine additions.

But this Historie of the Kings of *Israel* and *Iuda* hath herein a singular prerogative above all that haue beene written by the most sufficient of meere humane authors: it setteth downe exprefly the true, and first causes of all that happened; not in imputing the death of *Ahab* to his ouer-forwardnesse in bataille; the ruine of his familie, to the securitie of *Iehoram* in *Izrael*; nor the victories of *Hazael*, to the great commotions raised in *Israel*, by the coming of *Iehu*; but referring all vnto the will of God, I meane, to his reuealed will: from which that his hidden purposes doe not varie, this storie, by many great examples, giues most notable prooffe. True it is, that the concurrence of second causes with their effects, is in these bookes nothing largely described; nor per-

haps exactly in any of those Histories that are in these points most copious. For it was well noted by that worthy Gentleman, Sir *Philip Sidney*, that Historians doe borrow a plie side in the of Poets, not onely much of their ornament, but some what of their substance. Informations are often false, records not alwayes true, and no moribus actions commonly insinuated to discouer the passions which did first stirre them on foote. Wherefore they are faine (I speake of the best, and in that which is allowed; for to take out of *Lucretius* one circumstance of *Claudius* his iourney against *Astribal* in *Italie*, sitting all, to another businesse, or any practice of that kinde, is neither Historically, nor Poetically) to search into the particular humour of Princes, and of those which haue gouerned their affections, or the instruments by which they wrought, from whence they doe collect the most likely motives, or impediments of euery businesse; and so figuring as neere to the lifes as they can imagine, the matter in hand, they iudiciously consider the defects in counsaile, or obliquity in proceeding.

Yet all this, for the most part, is not enough to giue assurance, howsoeuer it may giue satisfaction. For the heart of man is vnsearchable: and Princes, howsoeuer their intents be fildome hidden from some of those many eyes which pierce both into them, and into such as liue about them; yet sometimes either by their owne close temper, or by some subtill miste, they concale the truth from all reports. Yea, many times the affections themselves lye dead, and buried in obliuion, when the preparations, which they beget, are conuered to another vfe. The industrie of an Historian, hauing so many things to weare it, may well be excused, when finding apparant cause enough of things done, it forbearh to make further search; though it often fall out, where sundry occasions worke to the same end, that one small matter in a weak minde is more effectually, than many that seeme farre greater. So comes it many times to passe, that great fires, which consume whole houses or Townes, beginne with a few strawes, that are wasted or not seene; when the flame is discouered, hauing failed vpon some wood-pile, that catcheth all about it. Questionlesse it is, that the warre commenced by *Darius*, and pursued by *Xerxes* against the *Greekes*, proceeded from desire of the *Persians* to enlarge their Empire: howsoeuer the enterprize of the *Athenians* vpon *Sardes*, was noised abroad as the ground of that quarrell: yet *Herodotus* telleth vs, that the wanton desire of *Queen Astiope*, to haue the *Grecian* dames her bondwomen, did first moue *Darius* to prepare for this warre before he had receiued any injury; and when he did not yet so much desire to get more, as to enioy what was already gotten.

I will not here stand to argue whether *Herodotus* be more iustly reprehended by some, or defended by others, for allcading the vaine appetite, and secret speech of the *Queene* in bed with her husband, as the cause of those great euils following; this I may boldly affirme, (hauing I thinke, in euery estate some sufficient witness) that matters of much consequence, founded in all seeming vpon substantiall reasons, haue issued indeede from such pettie trifles, as no Historian would either thinke vpon, or could well search out.

Therefore it was a good answer that *Sixtus Quintus* the Pope made to a certaine Friar, coming to visit him in his Popedom, as hauing long before in his meane estate, bene his familiar friend. This poore Friar, being emboldened by the Pope to vfe his old liberty of speech, aduentured to tell him, that he very much wondered how it was possible for his Holinesse, whom he rather tooke for a direct honest man, than any cunning politician, to attaine vnto the Papacie; in compassing of which, all the subtiltie (said he) of the most crafty braines, is made worke enough: and therefore the more I thinke vpon the Art of the Conclauis, and your vnspicifick thereto, the more I needes must wonder. Pope *Sixtus* to satisfie the plaine dealing Friar, dealt with him againe as plainly, saying, Hadst thou liued abroad as I haue done, and seene by what folly this world is gouerned, thou wouldest wonder at nothing.

Surely, if this be referred vnto those exorbitant engines, by which the course of affaires is moued, the Pope said true. For the wildest of men are not without their vanities, which requiring and finding mutuall toleration; worke more closely, and earnestly, than right reason either needes or can. But if we lift vp our thoughts to the supreme Gouernour, of whose Empire all that is true, which by the Poet was said of *Iupiter*:

*Qui terram inuicem, qui mare temperat
Ventoſam, & urbes, regnaq; triſtia
Diuulſa, mortaleſq; iurmas,
Imprio regit vnus aquo.*

Who rules the duller earth, the winde-ſwolne ſtreames,
The ciuill Cities, and the thinnell realmes,
Who th'hoſt of heauen, and the mortall band,
Alone doth gouerne by his iuſt command:

Then ſhall we finde the quite contrary. In him there is no vncertainty nor change; he foreſeeeth all things, and all things diſpoſeth to his owne honour; He neither deceiueth nor can be deceiued, but continuing one and the ſame for euer, doth conſtantly gouerne all creatures by that Law, which he hath preſcribed, and will neuer alter. The vanities of men beguile their vaine contriuers, and the proſperity of the wicked, iſt the way leading to their deſtruction: yea, this broad and head-long paſſage to hell, iſt no ſo delightfull as it ſeemes at the firſt entrance, but hath growing in it, beſides the poiſon which infect the ſoule, many cruell thornes deeply wounding the body; all which, if any few eſcape, they haue only this miſerable aduantage of others, that their deſcent was the more ſwift and expedite. But the ſeruice of God iſt the path guiding vs to perfect happineſſe, & hath in it a true, though not compleat felicity, yeelding ſuch abundance of ioy to the conſcience, as doth eaſily counteruaile all afflictions whatſoeuer; though indeede thoſe brambles that ſometimes teare the ſkinne of ſuch as walke in this bleſſed way, doe commonly lay hold vpon them at ſuch time as they fit downe to take their eaſe, and make them with themſelues at their iournies end, in the preſence of their Lord whom they faithfully ſerue, in whoſe preſence *iſt the fulneſſe of ioy, and at whoſe right hand are plaiſures for euer more.*

Wherefore it being the end and ſcope of all Hiſtory, to teach by example of times paſt, ſuch wiſdome as may guide our deſires and actions, we ſhould not maruaile though the *Chronicles of the Kings of Iuda and Iſrael*, being written by men inſpired with the Spirit of God, inſtructive chiefly, in that which iſt moſt requiſite for vs to know, as the meanes to attaine vnto true felicitie, both here, and hereafter, propounding examples which illuſtrate this inſallible rule; *The ſeare of the Lord iſt the beginning of wiſdom.* Had the expedition of *Xerxes* (as it was foretold by *Daniel*) bene written by ſome Prophet after the captiuitie: we may well beleuee that the counſaile of God therein, and the executioners of his righteous will, ſhould haue occupied either the whole or the principall roome in that narration. Yet had not the purpoſe of *Darius*, the deſire of his Wife, and the buſineſſe at *Sardes*, with other occurrents, bene the leſſe true, though they might haue bene omitted, as the leſſe materiall: but theſe things it had bene lawfull for any man to gather out of prophane Hiſtories, or out of circumſtances other wife appearing, wherein he ſhould not haue done iniurie to the Sacred Writings, as long as he had forborne to derogate from the firſt cauſes, by aſcribing to the ſecond more than was due.

Such, or little different, iſt the buſineſſe that I haue now in hand: wherein I cannot beleuee that any man of iudgement will taxe me, as either fabulous or preſumptuous. For he doth not ſaine, that rehearſeth probabilities as bare coniectures; neither doth he depraue the Text, that ſeeketh to illuſtrate and make good in humane reaſon, thoſe things, which authority alone, without further circumſtance, ought to haue confirmed in ouer mans belief. And this may ſuffice in defence of the liberty, which I haue vſed in coniectures, and may hereafter vſe when occaſion ſhall require, as neither vnlawfull, nor miſbecoming an Hiſtorian.

§. VII.

The conſpiracie againſt Athalia.

WHen *Athalia* had now fixe yeeres and longer worne the Crowne of *Iuda*, and had found neither any forreine enemy, nor domeſticall aduerſarie to diſturb her poſſeſſion, ſuddenly the period of her glory, and reward of her wickedneſſe

wickedneſſe meeting together, tooke her away without any warning, by a violent and ſhamefull death. For the growth of the yong Prince began to be ſuch, as permitted him no longer to be concealed, and it had bene very vaniſhing that his education ſhould be ſimple, to make him ſeeme the childe of ſome poore man; (as for his ſafety it was requiſite,) when his capacitie required to haue bene inſtuct with the ſtomacke and qualities meete for a King. All this *Iehoiada*, the Prielt conſidered, and withall, the great increaſe of impietie, which taking deepe root in the Court, was likely to ſpread it ſelfe ouer all the Countrey, if care were not uſed to weede it vey ſpeedily. Wherefore he aſſociated vnto himſelfe ſiue of the Captaines, in whoſe ſideliſty he had beſt aſſurance, and hauing taken an oath of them, and ſhewed them the Kings ſonne; he made a Covenant with them, to aduance him to the Kings dome. Theſe drew in others of the principall men, to countenance the action, procuring at the firſt onely that they ſhould repaire to *Ieruſalem*, where they were further acquainted with the whole matter. There needed not many perſuaſions to win them to the buſineſſe: the promiſe of the Lord vnto the houſe of *David*, was enough to aſſure them, that the action was both lawfull, and likely to ſucceede as they deſired.

But in compaſſing their intent ſome difficulties appeared: For it was not to be hoped, that with open force they ſhould bring their purpoſe to good iſſue; neither were the Captaines, and other aſſociats of *Iehoiada* able by cloſe working, to draw together ſo many uſuſly and ſerueiceable hands as would ſuffice to manage the buſineſſe. To hepe in this caſe, the Prielt gaue order to ſuch of the *Leuites*, as had finiſhed their courſes in waiting on the Diuine ſeruice at the Temple, and were now relieued by others that ſucceeded in their turnes, that they ſhould not depart vntill they knew his further pleaſure. So by aduizing the new comers, and not diſcharging the old, he had, without any noiſe, made vp ſucha number, as would be able to deale with the Queene ordinary Guard, and that was enough, for if the Tyranneſſe did not preuaile againſt them at the firſt brunt, the fauour of the People was like to ſhew it ſelfe on their ſide, who made head againſt her. Theſe *Leuites* were placed in the inner Court of the Temple, about the perſon of the King, who as yet was kept cloſe; the followers of the Captaines, and other adherents, were beſet in the vter Courts: As for weapons, the Temple it ſelfe had ſtore enough; King *David* had left an Armory to the place, which was now employed to defence of his iſſue.

All things being in a readineſſe, and the day come, wherein this high deſigne was to be put in execution, *Iehoiada* deliuered vnto the Captaines, Armour for them and their adherents; appointed a guard vnto the Kings perſon, produced him openly, and gaue vnto him the Crowne; vſing all ceremonies accuſtomed in ſuch ſolemnities, with great applauſe of the people. Of theſe doings, the Queene was the laſt that heard any word, which iſt not ſo ſtrange as it may ſeeme: for inſolent natures, by dealing outrageously with ſuch as bring them ill tidings, doe commonly loſe the benefit of hearing what is to be feared, whileſt yet it may be prevented, and haue no information of danger: till their owne eyes, amazed with the ſuddenneſſe, behold it in the ſhape of ineuitable miſchiefe.

All *Ieruſalem* was full of the rumour, and entertained it with very good liking. Some carried home the newes, others ran forth to ſee, and the common ioy was ſo great, that without apprehenſion of perill, vnder the windowes of the Court, were the people running and prauiſing the King. *Athalia* hearing and beholding the extraordinary concourſe, and noiſe of folkes in the ſtreets, making towards the Temple, with much vnſuall paſſion in their looks, did preſently conceiue, that ſomewhat worthy of her care was happened; though, what it might be, ſhe did not apprehend. Howſoeuer it were, ſhe meant to viſe her owne wiſdome in looking into the matter, and ordering all as the occaſion might happen to require. It may be, that ſhe thought it ſome eſpeciall ſolemnity vſed in the Diuine ſeruice, which cauſed this much adoe; and hereof the vnaccuſtomed number of *Leuites*, and of other deuout men, about the towne, might giue ſome preſumption.

Many things argue that ſhe little thought vpon her owne Tragedie; although *Iſeophus* would make it ſeeme otherwiſe. For we finde in the Text, *She came to the people into the houſe of the Lord* (which was neere to her Palace) and that when ſhe looked and ſaw the King ſtand by his pillar, as the manner was with the Princes, or great men of the

Land by him, and the Trumpeters proclaiming him, she rent her clothes, and cried, Treason, Treason. Hereby it appears that she was quietly going, without any mistrust or feare, to take her place; which when she found occupied by another, then she began to afflict her selfe, as one cast away, and cried out in vaine vpon the Treason, whereby she saw that she must perish. But that she came with a guard of armed men to the Temple, (as *Iosaphus* reporteth) and that her company being beaten backe, she entred alone, and commanded the people to kill the yong Tyrant, I finde no where in Scripture, neither doe I hold it credible. For had she truly knowne how things went, she would surely haue gathered her friends about her, and vsed those forces in defence of her Crowne, by which she gat it, and hitherto had held it. Certainly, if it were granted, that she, like to a new *Semiramis*, did march in the head of her troupe, yet it had beene a more madnesse in her, to enter the place alone; when her assistants were kept out; but if she perceived that neither her authority, nor their owne weapons, could preuaile to let in her guard, would neuertheless take vpon her to command the death of the new King, calling a childe of seauen yeeres old a Conspirator, and bidding them to kill him, whom she saw to be armed in his defence, may we not thinke that she was mad in the most extreame degree? Certaine it is that the counsaile of God would haue taken effect, in her destruction, had she vsed the most likely means to dis appoint it: yet we neede not so cut her throat with any morall impossibilities. It is enough to say, that the godly zeale of *Iehoiada* found more easie successe, through her indiscretion, than order: so wife could haue beene expected; so that at his appointment, she was without more adoe, carried out of the Temple and slaine, yea so, that no bloud, save her owne, was shed in that quarrell; her small traine that she brought along with her, not daring to stand in her defence.

§. VIII.

The death of Athalia, with a comparison of her and Iezabel.

Most like it is, that *Athalia* had many times, with great indignation, bewailed the rashnesse of her Nephew *Iehoram* the *Israélite*, who did foolishly cast himselfe into the very throat of danger, gaping vpon him, onely through his eager desire of quickly knowing what the matter meant: yet, she her selfe, by the like bait, was taken in the like trap, and hauing liued such a life as *Iezabel* had done, was rewarded with a sutable death. These two Queenes were in many points much alike, each of them was Daughtre, Wife, and Mother to a King; each of them ruled her husband; was an Idolatresse, and a Murtheresse. The onely difference appearing in their conditions, is, that *Iezabel* is more noted as incontinent of body, *Athalia* as ambitious: So that each of them furnishing her husband about eight yeeres, did spend their time in satisfying her owne affections; the one vsing tyrannie, as the exercise of her haughty minde; the other painting her face, for the ornament of her vnchaste body. In the manner of their death little difference there was, or in those things which may seeme in this world to pertaine vnto the dead when they are gone. Each of them was taken on the suddaine by Conspirators, and each of them exclaiming vpon the Treason, receiued sentence from the mouth of one that had liued vnder her subiection; in execution whereof, *Iezabel* was trampled vnder the feet of her enemies horses; *Athalia* slaine at her owne horse-gate; the death of *Athalia* hauing (though not much) the more pleasure to vex her proud heart; that of *Iezabel*, the more indignity, and shame of body. Touching their buriall, *Iezabel* was deuoured by Dogges, as the Lord had threatened by the Prophet *Elias*; what became of *Athalia* we doe not finde. Like enough it is, that she was buried, as hauing not persecuted and slaine the Lords Prophets, but suffered the Priests to exercise their function; yet of her buriall there is no monument, for she was a Church-robbet. The seruice of *Baal* erected by these two Queenes, was destroyed as soone as they were gone, and their Chaplaines, the Priests of that Religion, slaine. Herein also it came to passe, alike, as touching them both when they were dead; the Kings who sue them, were afterwards afflicted, both of them by the same hand of *Hazael* the *Syrian*; in which point *Athalia* had the greater honour, if the *Syrian* (who seemes to haue beene her good friend) pretended her reuenge, as any part of his quarrell to *Iuda*. Concerning children, all belonging to *Iezabel* perished in

few

few dayes after her: whether *Athalia* left any behind her, it is vncertaine; she had sons liuing after she was Queene, of whom, or of any other, that they were slaine with her, we doe not finde.

This is a matter not vnworthy of consideration, in regard of much that may depend vpon it. For if the children of *Athalia* had beene in *Ierusalem* when their Mother fell, their death would surely haue followed hers as necerely, and beene registred, as well as the death of *Matan* the Priest of *Baal*. That Law by which God forbid that the children should die for the fathers, could not haue failed these vngracious Imps, whom the claue following would haue cut off, which commands, that euery man should die for his owne sinne. Seeing therefore that they had beene professors and aduancers of that vile and Idolatrous worship of *Baal*, yea had robbed the Temple of the Lord, and enriched the house of *Baal* with the spoyle of it; likely it is, that they should not haue escaped with life, if *Iehoiada* the Priest could haue gotten them into his hands. As there was lawfull cause enough requiring their death, so the securitie of the King and his friends, that is, of all the Land, craued as much, and that very earnestly. For these had beene esteemed as heires of their mothers Crowne, and being reckoned as her assistants in that particular businesse of robbing the Temple, may be thought to haue carried a great sway in other matters, as Princes, and followers with their Mother in the Kingdome. Therefore it is euident, that either they were now dead, or (perhaps) 20 In following *Hazael* in his warres against *Iehu* absent from *Ierusalem*; whereby *Iehoiada* might, with the more confidence, aduenture to take Armes against their Mother, that was desolate.

CHAP. XXII.

Of Ioas and Amasia, with their Contemporaries; where somewhat of the building of Carthage.

§. I.

Of Ioas his doings, whilest Ichoiada the Priest liued.



By the death of *Athalia*, the whole Countrie of *Iuda* was filled with great ioy and quietnesse; wherein *Ioas* a childe of seauen yeeres old or thereabout; began his reigne, which continued almost fortie yeeres. During his minority, hee liued vnder the protection of that honourable man *Iehoiada* the Priest, who did as faithfully gouerne the Kingdome, as he had before carefully preferred the Kings life, and restored him vnto the Throne of his ancestors. When he came to mans estate, he tooke by appointment of *Iehoiada* two wives, and began to Sonne and Daughters, repairing the family of *Dauid*, which was almost worne out. The first Act that hee tooke in hand, when he began to rule without a Protector, was the reparation of the Temple. It was a needefull peece of worke, in regard of the decay wherein that holy place was fallen, through the wickednesse of vngodly Tyrants; and requisite it was that he should vp-hold the Temple, whom the Temple had vp-held. This businesse he followed with so earnest a zeale, that not onely the *Leuites* were more slacke than he, but euen *Iehoiada* was faine to be quickened by his admonition. Money was gathered for the charges of the worke, partly out of the tax imposed by *Asa*, partly out of the liberality of the people: who 2 Chro 24. 14 gaue so freely, that the Temple, besides all reparations, was enriched with vessels of gold and siluer, and with all other Vncles. The sacrifices likewise were offered, as vnder godly Kings they had beene, and the seruice of God was magnificently celebrated.

§ II.

The death of Ichoiada, and Apostasie of Ios.

BVt this endured no longer than the life of *Ichoiada* the Priest: who having lived an hundred and thirtie yeeres, dyed before his Countrie could haue spared him. He was buried among the Kings of *Iuda*, as he well deserued, hauing preserued the race of them, and restored the true Religion, which the late Princes of that house by attempting to eradicate, failed but a little, of rooting vp themselves, and all their issue. Yet his honorable Funerall seemes to haue beene giuen to him, at the motion of the people; it being said, *They buried him in the Citie of David*. As for the King himselfe, who did owe to him no lesse than his Crowne and life, he is not likely to haue beene Author of it, seeing that he was as easily comforted after his death, as if he had thereby beene discharged of some heauie debt.

For after the death of *Ichoiada*, when the Princes of *Iuda* began to flatter their King, he soone forgot, not onely the benefites, receiued by this worthie man his old Counselour, but also the good precepts which he had receiued from him, yea and God himselfe, the Author of all goodnesse. These Princes drew him to the worship of Idols, where with *Iehoram* and *Athalia* had so infected the Countrie, in fifteene or sixteene yeeres; that thirty yeeres, or there about, of the reigne of *Ios*, wherein the true Religion was exercised, were not able to cleere it from that mischiefe. The King himselfe, when once he was entred into these courses, ran on head-long, as one that thought it a token of his libertie, to despise the seruice of God; and a manifest prooue of his being now King indecde, that he regarded no longer the sower admonitions of deuout Priests. Hereby it appears, that his former zeale was onely counterfained, wherein like an Actor vpon the stage, he had striven to expresse much more liuely affection, than they could shew, that were indecde religious.

§ III.

The causes and times of the Syrians invading Iuda in the dayes of Ios.

BVt God, from whom he was broken loose, gaue him ouer into the hands of men, that would not easily be shaken off. *Hazael* King of *Aram*, hauing taken *Gath*, a Towne of the *Philistines*, addrest himselfe towards *Ierusalem*, whether the little distance of way, and great hope of a rich bootie, did inuite him. He had an Armie heartned by many victories, to hope for more; and for ground of the warre (if his ambition cared for pretences) it was enough, that the Kings of *Iuda* had assisted the *Israelites*, in their enterprises vpon *Aram*, at *Ramoth Gilead*. Yet I thinke he did not want some further instigation. For if the Kingdome of *Iuda* had molested the *Aramites*, in the time of his predecessour, this was throughly recompensed, by forbearing to succour *Israel*, and leauing the ten Tribes in their extream misery, to the fury of *Hazael* himselfe. Neither is it likely, that *Hazael* should haue gone about to awake a sleeping Dogge, and stirre vp against himselfe a powerfull enemy, before he had assured the conquest of *Israel*, that lay betweene *Ierusalem* and his owne Kingdome, if some opportunity had not performed such easie and good successe, as might rather aduance, than any way disturbe his future proceedings against the ten Tribes. Wherefore I hold it probable, that the sonnes of *Athalia*, mentioned before, were with him in this action, promising (as men expelled their Countreies vsually doe) to draw many partakers of their owne to his side; and not to remaine, as *Ios* did, a neutrall in the warre betweene him and *Israel*, but to ioyne all their forces with his, as they had cause, for the rooting out of *Iehu* his posterity, who, like a bloudy Traytor, had vnterly destroyed all the kindred of the Queenes, their mother, euen the whole house of *Abah*, to which he was a subiect. If this were so, *Hazael* had the more apparant reason to invade the Kingdome of *Iuda*. Howsoever it were, we finde it plainly, that *Ios* was afraid of him, and therefore tooke all the hallowed things, and all the gold that was found in the treasures of the house of the Lord, or in his owne house, with which present he redeemed his peace: the *Syrians* (questionlesse) thinking it a better bargain, to get so much readily paid into his hand for nothing, than to hazard the assurance of this,

2 Kin. 22. 8.

for the possibilitie of not much more. So *Hazael* departed with a rich bootie of vnappiecerature, which, belonging to the liuing God, remained a small while in the possession of this mighty, yet corruptible man, but sent him quickly to the graue. For in the thirtie seuenth yeere of *Ios*, which was the fifteenth of *Iehashaz*, hee made this purchase; but in the same or very next yeere hee died, leauing all that he had vnto his Sonne *Benhadad*, with whom these treasures prospered none otherwise, than ill-gotten goods are wont.

This enterprise of *Hazael* is, by some, confounded with that warre of the *Aramites* vpon *Iuda*, mentioned in the second Booke of *Chronicles*. But the reasons alleged by them that hold the contrarie opinion, doe forcibly proue, that it was not all one warre. For the former was compounded without blood-shed or fight; in the later, *Ios* tried the fortune of a battaile, wherein being put to the worst, he lost all his Princes, and hardlie escaped with life: In the one, *Hazael* himselfe was present; in the other, hee was not named: but contrariwise, the King of *Aram* then reigning (who may seeme to haue then bene the Sonne of *Hazael*) is said to haue bene at *Damascus*. The first Armie came to conquer, and was so great, that it terrified the King of *Iuda*; The second was a small company of men, which did animate *Ios* (in vaine, for God was against him) to deale with them, as hauing a very great Armie.

Now, concerning the time of this former inuasion, I cannot perceiue that God forsooke him, till hee had first forsaken God. There are indeed some, very learned, who thinke that this expedition of *Hazael* was in the time of *Ichoiada* the Priest, because that thorie is ioynd vnto the restauration of the Temple. This had bene probable, if the death of *Ichoiada* had bene afterwards mentioned in that place of the second Booke of Kings; or if the Apostasie of *Ios*, or any other matter implying so much, had followed in the relation. For it is not indecd to be doubted, that the Lord of all may dispose of all things, according to his owne will and pleasure, neither was hee more vniust in the afflictions of *Ios* that righteous man, or the death of *Iosias* that godly King, than in the plagues which he laid vpon *Pharaoh*, or his iudgements vpon the house of *Abah*. But it appears plainly, that the rich furniture of the Temple, and the magnificent seruice of God there, which are ioynd together, were vsed in the house of the Lord continually, all the dayes of *Ichoiada*; soone after whose death, if not immediately vpon it, that is (as some very learnedly collect) in the fixe, or thirty seuenth yeere of this *Ios* his reigne, the King falling away from the God of his Fathers, became a foule Idolater.

And indeed we commonly obserue, that the crosses which it hath pleased God sometimes to lay vpon his seruants, without any cause notorious in the eyes of men, haue allwaies tended vnto the bettering of their good. In which respect, euen the sufferings of the blessed Martyrs (the death of his Saints being precious in the sight of the Lord) are to their great aduantage. But with euill and rebellious men, God keepeth a more euen & strict account; permitting vsually their faults to get the start of their punishment, and either delaying his vengeance (as with the *Amorites*) till their wickednesse be full: or not working their amendment by his correction, but suffering them to runne on in their wicked courses, to their greater miserie. So hath he dealt with many; and so it appears that hee dealt with *Ios*. For this vnhappy man did not onely continue an obstinate Idolater, but grew so forgetfull of God and all goodnesse, as if hee had brouen to exceed the wickednesse of all that went before him, and to leaue such a villanous patterne vnto others, as few or none of the most barbarous Tyrants should endure to imitate.

§ IIII.

How Zacharia was murdered by Ios.

BVndry Propheets hauing laboured in vaine to reclaim the people from their superstition, *Zacharia* the sonne of *Ichoiada* the Priest, was stirred vp at length by the Spirit of God, to admonish them of their wickednesse, and make them vnderstand the punishment due vnto it, whereof they stood in danger. This *Zacharia* was a man so much honoured, and some to a man so exceedingly beloued in his lifetime, and reuerenced, that if *Ios* had reputed him (as *Abah* did *Elias*) his open enemy, yet ought he in common honestie, to haue cloaked his ill affection, and haue vsed

at

at least some part of the respect that was due to such a person : On the other side, the singular affection which he and his father had borne vnto the King, and the vnrecountable benefites, which they had done vnto him, from his first infancie, were such, as should haue placed *Zacharia* in the most hearty and assured loue of *Ioas*, yea though he had been otherwise a man of very small make, and not very good condition. The truth is, that the message of a Prophet sent from God, should be heard with reuerence, how simple focuer he appears that brings it. But this King *Ioas*, hauing already scorned the admonitions and protestations of such Prophets as first were sent, did now deale with *Zacharia*, like as the wicked husbandmen in that parable of our Sauour, dealt with the heyre of the Vineyard; who said, *This is the heyre, come let vs kill him that the inheritance may be ours*. By killing *Zacharia* he thought to become an absolute Commander, supposing belike that he was no free Prince, as long as one durst tell him the plaine truth, how great focuer that mans defending were, that did so, yea though Gods commandement required it. So they conspired against this holy Prophet, and stoned him to death at the Kings appointment; but whether by any forme of open Law, as was practised vpon *Naboth*, or whether pursuing him by any close treacherie, I doe neyther reade, nor can coniecture. The dignity of his person, considered together with their treacherous conspiracy, makes it probable, that they durst not call him into publique iudgement, though that the manner of his death, being such as was commonly, and by order of Law, inflicted vpon malefactors, may argue the contrarie. Most likly it is, that the Kings transgression, by which hee suffered, tooke place in stead of Law: which exercise of meere power (as hath beene already noted) was nothing strange amongst the Kings of *Iuda*.

§. V.

How *Ioas* was shamefully beaten by the *Aramites*, and of his death.

THis odious murder, committed by an vnthankfull snake vpon the man in whose bosome he had beene fostered, as of it selfe alone it sufficed, to make the wretched Tyrant hateful to men of his owne time, and his memorie detested in all ages; so had it the well-describ'd curse of the blessed Martyr, to accompany it vnto the throne of God, and to call for vengeance from thence, which fell downe swiftly, and heavily vpon the head of that vngratefull monster. It was the last yeere of his reigne; the end of his time comming then vpon him, when hee thought himselfe beginning to liue how he list without controulement. When that yeere was expired, the *Aramites* came into the Countrey, rather as may seeme to get pillage, than to performe any great action; for they came with a small companie of men: but God had intended to doe more by them, than they themselves did hope for.

That *Ioas* naturally was a coward, his bloudie malice against his best friend, is, in my iudgement, proofe sufficient: though otherwise his base composition with *Hizael*, when he might haue leaued (as his sonne after him did muster) three hundred thousand chosen men for the warre, doth well enough shew his temper. Yet now he would needs be valiant, and make his people know, how stout of disposition their King was, when hee might haue his owne will. But his timorous heart was not well cloaked. For to encounter with a few bands of Routers, hee tooke a verie great Armie, so that wise men might well perceiue, that he knew what he did, making shew as if he would fight for his Countrey, and expose himselfe to danger of warre, when as indeed all was meere ostentation, and no perill to be feared; hee going forth so stronglie appointed, against so weak enemies. Thus might wise men thinke, and laugh at him in secret; considering what adoe he made about that, which in all apparent reason was (as they say) a thing of nothing. But God, before whom the wisdom of this world is foolishnesse, did laugh not only at this vaine-glorious King, but at them that thought their King secure, by reason of the multitude that he drew along with him.

When the *Aramites* and King *Ioas* met, whether it were by some folly of the Leaders, or by some amazement happening among the Souldiers, or by whatsoever means it pleased God to worke, so it was, that that great Army of *Iuda* receiued a notable ouerthrow, and all the Princes were destroyed: the Princes of *Iuda*, at whose perswasion the King had become a Rebelle to the King of Kings. As for *Ioas* himselfe (as *Abulenfis* and others expound

expound the storie) he was sorely beaten and hurt by them, being (as they thinke) taken and shamefully tormented, to wring out of him an exorbitant ranfome.

And surely, all circumstances doe greatly strengthen this coniecture. For the text (in the old translation) saith, they exercised vpon *Ioas* ignominious iudgements; and that departing from him, they dismissed him in great languor. All which argues, that they had him in their hands, and handled him ill-fauouredly. Now at that time *Ioas* the sonne of *Iehazabab* reigned ouer *Israel*, and *Benhadad* the sonne of *Hizael* ouer the *Syrians* in *Damascus*, the one a valiant vnder-taking Prince, raised vp by God to restore the State of his millicable Countrey; the other inferior euery way to his father, of whose purchases hee lost a great part, for want of skill to keepe it. The difference in condition found betweene these two Princes, promising no other euent than such as afterward followed, might haue giuen to the King of *Iuda* good cause to be bold, and plucke vp his spirits, which *Hizael* had beaten downe, if God had not bene against him. But his fearefull heart being likely to quake vpon any apprehension of danger, was able to put the *Syrian* King in hope; that by terrifying him with some shew of warre at his doors, it were easie to make him craue any tolerable conditions of peace. The vnexpected good successe hereof, already related, and the (perhaps as unexpected) ill successe, which the *Aramites* found in their following warres against the King of *Israel*, sheweth plainly the weaknesse of all earthly might, resisting the power of the Almighty. For by his Ordinance, both the Kingdome of *Iuda*, after more then forty yeeres time of gathering strength, was vnable to driue out a small companie of Enemies; and the Kingdome of *Israel*, hauing so been trodden downe by *Hizael*, that onely fifty Horsemen, tenne Chariots, and tenne thousand Foot-men were left; preuailed against his Sonne, and recovered all from the victorious *Aramites*. But examples heereof are euen where found, and therefore I will not insit vpon this; though indeed wee should not, if wee be Gods children, thinke it more tedious to heare long and frequent reports of our heavenly Fathers honour, than of the noble actes performed by our fore-father vpon earth.

When the *Aramites* had what they list, & saw that they were notable, being so few, to take any possession of the Countrey, they departed out of *Iuda* laden with spoyle, which they lent to *Damascus*, themselves belike falling vpon the ten Tribes, where it is to be thought that they sped not halfe so well. The King of *Iuda* being in ill case, was killed on his bed when he came home, by the sonnes of an *Ammonitisse*, and of a *Moaditisse*, whom some (because onely their Mothers names, being strangers, are expressed) thinke to haue beene bond-men. Whether it were contempt of his fortune, or feare, lest (as Tyrants vse) he should reuenge his disaster vpon them, imputing it to their fault, or whatsoever else it were that animated them to murder their King; the Scripture tels vs plainly, that, *For the blood of the children of Iehoiada*, this befell him. And the same appeares to haue bene vsed as the pretence of their conspiracy, in excuse of the fact when it was done. For *Amazias*, the sonne and succesor of *Ioas*, durst not punish them, till his Kingdome was established: but contrariwise, his bodie was judged vnworthie of buriall in the Sepulchers of the Kings: whereby it appeares, that the death of *Zacharia* caused the treason, wrought against the King, to find more approbation, than was requisite, among the people, though afterwards it was recompensed by his Sonne, vpon the Traytors, with well-deserued death.

§. VI.

Of the Princes liuing in the time of *Ioas*: of the time when Carthage was built; and of Dido.

Here liued with *Ioas*, *Alexades* and *Diognetus* in Athens: *Eudemus* and *Aristomides* in Corinth: about which time *Agrippa Syluius*, and after him *Syluius Alladus*, were Kings of the *Albans* in *Italie*. *Ocrasapes*, commonly called *Anacrapides*, the thirteenth King succeeding vnto *Ophrastanes*, began his reigne ouer the *Assyrians*, about the eighteenth yeere of *Ioas*, which lasted forty two yeeres. In the sixteenth of *Ioas*, *Ceprenes*, the fourth son of *Sesac*, succeeded vnto *Cheops* in the Kingdome of *Egypt*, and held it fiftie yeeres.

In this time of *Ioas*, was likewise the reigne of *Pigmalion* in *Tyre*, and the foundation of

of Carthage by Dido; the building of which Citie is, by diuers Authors, plac'd in diuers ages, some reporting it to be 70. yeeres younger than Rome, others about 400. yeeres elder, few or none of them giuing any reason of their assertions, but leaving vs vncertaine whom to follow: *Iosephus*, who had read the Annals of Tyre, counting one hundred fortie and three yeeres and eight moneths from the building of *Salomons* Temple, in the twelfth yeere of *Hiram* King of Tyre, to the founding of Carthage by *Dido*, in the seventh of *Pigmalion*. The particulars of this account (which is not rare in *Iosephus*) are very perplexed, and serue not very well to make cleere the totall summe. But whether it were so that *Iosephus* did omit, or else that he did mis-write some number of the yeeres, which he reckoned in Fractions, as they were diuided among the Kings of Tyre, from *Hiram* to *Pigmalion*, we may well enough beleue, that the *Tyrian* writers, out of whose bookes hee giues vs the whole summe, had good meanes to know the truth, and could rightly reckon the difference of time, betweene two workes no longer following one the other, than the memorie of three, or four generations might easily reach. This hundred fortie and foure yeeres current, after the building of *Salomons* Temple, being the eleventh yeere of *Dauid*, was a hundred fortie and three yeeres before the birth of Rome, and after the destruction of Troy, two hundred eighty and nine: a time so long after the death of *Aeneas*, that wee might truly conclude all to be fabulous which *Virgil* hath written of *Dido*, as *Ausonius* noteth, who doth honour her Statua with this Epigram:

Aul. Ep. 117.

*Illa ego sum Dido vultu quam conspicis hospes,
As simulata modis pulchra q. mirifica.
Talis eram, sed non Maro quam mihi finxit, erat mens;
Vita nec incertis, laeta cupidinis,
(Namq. nec Aeneas vidit me Troius vnquam
Nec Lybiam aduenit, clausibus Iliacis.
Sed furas fugiens, atq. arma procacis Iarbas,
Seruauit, fateor, morte pudicitiam;
Pectore transfixo, castos quod pertulit enses)
Non furor, aut laeso crudus amore dolor.
Sic cecidisse iunus: vixit sine vulnere fama,
Illa virum, positis manibus opetit.
Inuida cur in me stimulaſti Musa Maronem,
Fingeret ex nostra damna pudicitia?
Vos magis Historicis lectores credite de me
Quam qui furta Deum concubitusq. canunt.
Falsidici vates: temerant qui carmine verum,
Humanisq. deos asimulant viuis.*

Which in effect is this,

I Am that *Dido* which thou heere do'st see.
Cunningly framed in beauteous Imag'rie.
Like this I was, but had not such a soule,
As *Maro* fained, incestuous and foule.
Aeneas neuer with his *Troian* hoast
Beheld my face, or landed on this coast.
But flying proud *Iarbas* villanie,
Nor mou'd by furious loue or ieaousie;
I did with weapon chaste, to saue my fame,
Make way for death vntimely, ere it came.
This was my end; but first I built a Towne,
Reueng'd my husbands death, liv'd with renowne.
Why did'st thou stirre vp *Virgil*, enuious Muse,
Falsely my name and honour to abuse?
Readers beleue Historians, not those
Which to the world *Ioues* thefts and vice expose.
Poets are lyers, and for verses sake
Will make the gods of humane crimes partake.

From

From the time of *Dido* vnto the first *Panick* warre, that *Carthage* grew and flourished in wealth and conquests, we finde in many histories: but in particular wee finde little of the *Carthaginian* affaires before that warre, excepting those few things that are recorded of their attempts of the Isle of *Sicily*. Wee will therefore deferre the relation of matters concerning that mightie Citie, vntill such time as they shall encounter with the State of Rome, by which it was finally destroyed; and prosecute in the meane while the Historie that is now in hand.

§. VII.

The beginning of Amazia his reigne. Of Ioas King of Israel, and Elisha the Prophet.

Amazias, the sonne of *Iosaph*, being twenty five yeeres old when his Father died, tooke possession of the Kingdome of *Iuda*, wherein he laboured so to demean himselfe, as his new beginning reigne might be least offensive. The Law of *Moses* he professed to obserue; which howsoever it had bene secretly despised since the time of *Iehoram*, by many great persons of the Land, yet had it by prouision of good Princes, yea and of bad ones (in their best times) imitating the good, but especially by the care of holy Priests, taken such deepe root in the peoples hearts, that no King might hope to be very plausible, who did not conformance himselfe vnto it. And at that present time, the slaughter, which the *Aramites* had made of all the Princes, who had withdrawn the late King from the seruice of God, being seconded by the death of the King himselfe, even whilst that execrable murder, committed by the King vpon *Zecharia*, was fresh in memorie, did serue as a notable example of Gods iustice against Idolaters, both to animate the better sort of the people in holding the Religion of their fathers, and to discourage *Amazias* from following the way, which led to such an euill end. He therefore, hauing learned of his father the arte of dissimulation, did not onely forbear to punish the Traytors that had slaine King *Ioas*, but gaue way to thether, and suffered the dead body to be interred, as that of *Iehoram* formerly had bene, in the City of *David*, yet not among the Sepulchers of the Kings of *Iuda*. Neuertheless, after this, when (beske) the noyse of the people hauing wearied it selfe into silence, it was found that the Conspirators (howsoever their deed done, was applauded as the handie worke of God) had neither any mighty partakers in their fact, nor strong maintainers of their persons, but rested secure, as hauing done well, seeing it was not ill taken: the King, who perceiued his government well established, called them into question, at such a time, as the heere of mens affections being well allayed, it was easie to distinguish between their treasons and Gods judgements, which, by their treasons had taken plausible effect. So they were put to death without any tumult, and their children (as the Law did require) were suffered to liue; which could not but giue contentment to the people, seeing that their King did the office of a iust Prince, rather than of a reuenging sonne. This being done, and his owne life better secured, by such exemplary iustice, against the like attempts; *Amazias* carried himselfe outwardly as a Prince well affected to Religion, and so continued in rest, about twelue or thirteene yeeres.

As *Amazias* gathered strength in *Iuda* by the commoditie of a long peace, so *Ioas* the *Israelite* grew as fast in power, by following the warre hotly against the *Aramites*. Hee was valiant and fortunate Prince, yet an Idolater, as his Predecessors had bene, worshipping the Calues of *Ieroboam*. For this sinne had God so plagued the house of *Iehu*, that the tenne Tribes wanted little of being vtterly consumed, by *Hizael* and *Benhadad*, in the time of *Iehu* and his sonne *Iehozabab*. But as Gods benefites to *Iehu*, sufficed not to withdraw him from this politique Idolatrie; so were the miseries, rewarding that impie, vnable to reclaim *Iehozabab* from the same impious course: yet the mercy of God beholding the trouble of *Israel*, did condescend vnto the prayers of this vngodlie Prince, euen then when hee and his miserable subiects, were obstinate in following their owne abominable waies. Therefore in temporall matters the tenne Tribes recovered space, but the fauour of God, which had bene infinitely more worth, I doe not finde, nor beleue, that they sought; that they had it not, I finde in the words of the Prophet, saying plainly to *Amazias*, The Lord is not with Israel, neither with all the house of Ephraim.

2. Chron. 25. 7.

Whether

Whether it were so, that the great Prophet *Elisha*, who lived in those times, did foretell the prosperitie of the *Israelites* vnder the Reigne of *Iosias*; or whether *Iehozabab*, wearied and broken with long aduersitie, thought it the wisest way, to discharge himselfe in part of the heauie cares attending those vnhappy *Syrian* Warres, by laying the burden then vpon his hopefull sonne; wee finde that in the thirtie-seuenth yeere of *Iosias*, King of *Iuda*, *Iosias* the sonne of *Iehozabab* began to reigne ouer *Israel* in *Samaria*, which was in the 15. yeere of his fathers reigne, and some two or three yeeres before his death.

It appeares that this young Prince, euen from the beginning of his Rule, did so well husband that poore stocke that he receiued from his Father, often Chariots, sixtie Horsemen, and ten thousand Foot, that he might seeme likely to proue a thriuer. Amongst other circumstances, the words which he spake to *Elisha* the Prophet, argue no lesse. For *Iosias* visiting the Prophet, who lay sicke, spake vnto him thus; *O my father, my father, the Chariot of Israel, and the horse-men of the same*: by which manner of speech he did acknowledge, that the prayers of this holy man had stood his Kingdome in more stead, than all the Horses and Chariots could doe.

This Prophet who succeeded vnto *Elias*, about the first yeere of *Iosias* the sonne of *Ahab* King of *Israel*, died (as some haue probably collected) about the third or fourth yeere of this *Iosias*, the Nephew of *Iehu*. To shew how the spirit of *Elias* was doubled, or did rest vpon him; it exceedeth my facultie. This is recorded of him, that he did not onely raise a dead child vnto life, as *Elias* had done, but when hee himselfe was dead, it pleased God that his dead bones should restore life vnto a carcase, which touched them in the graue. In fine, hee bestowed, as a legacie, three victories vpon King *Iosias*, who thereby did fit *Israel* in a faire way of recovering all that the *Aramites* had vspured, and weakening the Kings of *Damascus* in such sort, that they were neuer after terrible to *Samaria*.

§. VIII.

Of *Amazias* his warre against *Edom*; His Apostasie; and ouerthrow by *Iosias*.

Hee happie successe which *Iosias* had found in his warre against the *Aramites*, way (such as might kinde in *Amazias* a desire of vnder-taking some expedition where in himselfe might purchase the like honour. His kingdome could furnish three hundred thousand feruicable men for the Warres; and his treasures were sufficient for the payment of these, and the hire of many more. Cause of warre hee had very iust against the *Edomites*, who hauing rebelled in the time of his grand-father *Iehoram*, had about fifty yeeres bene vnreclaimed, partly by reason of the troubles happening in *Iuda*, partly through the sloth and rimerousnesse of his father *Iosias*. Yet, forasmuch as the men of *Iuda* had in many yeeres bene without all exercise of Warre (excepting that vnhappy fight wherein they were beaten by a few bands of the *Aramites*) hee held it a point of wisdom to increase his forces, with souldiers waged out of *Israel*, whence hee hired for an hundred talents of siluer, an hundred thousand *Edomites* men, as the Scripture telleth vs, though *Iosephus* diminish the number, saying that they were but twentie thousand.

This great Armie, which with so much cost *Amazias* had hired out of *Israel*, hee was faine to dismiss, before hee had employed it, being threatened by a Prophet with iusticesse, if hee strengthened himselfe with the helpe of those men, whom God (though in mercy hee gaue them victory against the cruell *Aramites*) did not loue, because they were Idolaters. The *Israelites* therefore departed in great anger, taking in ill part this dismissal, as an high disgrace, which to reuenge, they fell vpon a piece of *Iuda* in their returne, and shewed their malice in the slaughter of three thousand men; and some spoyle which they carried away. But *Amazias* with his owne forces, knowing that God would bee assistant to their journey, entered courageously into the *Edomite* Countrie; out whom obtaining victory, hee slew ten thousand, and tooke other ten thousand prisoners, all which hee threw from an high rocke; holding them, it seemes, rather as Traytors, than as iust enemies. This victory did not seeme to reduce *Edom* vnder the subiection of the Crowne of *Iuda*, which might bee the cause of that seueritie, which was used to the prisoners; the *Edomites* that had escaped, refusing to buy the liues of their friends and kinsmen at so deare a rate, as the losse of their owne libertie. Some townes in mount

Sar, *Amazias* tooke, as appeares by his carrying away the Idols thence; but it is like they were the places most indefensible, in that hee left no garrisons there, whereby hee might another yeere the better haue pursued the conquest of the whole Countrie. Howsoever it were, hee got both honour by the iourney, and gaines enough, had hee not lost himselfe. Among other spoyles of the *Edomites*, were carried away their gods, which being vanquished and taken prisoners, did deserue well to be led in triumph. But they contrariwise know not by what strange witchcraft, so bestowed this vnworthy King *Amazias*, that hee set them up to be his gods, and worshipped them, and burned incense vnto them.

For this when hee was rebuked by a Prophet sent from God, hee gaue a churlish and threatening answer, asking the Prophet, Who made him a Counsellor, and bidding him hold his peace for feare of the worst. If either the costly stufte, whereof these Idols were made, or the curious workmanship and beautie, with which they were adorned by Artificers, had raiued the Kings fancie; me thinks, hee should haue rather turned them to matter of profit, or kept them as house-hold ornaments and things of pleasure, than thereby haue suffered himselfe to be blinded, with such vnreasonable deuotion towards them. If the superstitious account wherein the *Edomites* had held them, were able to worke much vpon his imagination; much more should the bad seruice which they had done to their old Clients, haue moued him thereupon to laugh, both at the *Edomites*, and them. Wherefore it seemes to me, that the same affections carried him from God, to the seruice of Idols, which afterwards moued him to talke so roughly to the Prophet reprehending him. Hee had already obeyed the warning of God by a Prophet, and sent away such auxiliarie forces as hee had gathered out of *Israel*; which done, it is said, that hee was encouraged, and led forth his people, thinking belike, that God would now rather assist him by miracle, than let him faile of obtaining all his hearts desire. But with better reason hee should haue limited his desires by the will of God, whose pleasure it was, that *Esau* hauing broken the yoke of *Iacob* from his necke, accordingly as *Isaac* had foretold, should no more become his seruant. If therefore *Amazias* did hope to reconquer all the Countrie of *Edom*, hee failed of his expectation; yet so, that hee is ought home both profit and honour, which might haue well contented him.

But there is a foolish and a wretched pride, wherewith men being transported, can ill endure to ascribe vnto God the honour of those actions, in which it hath pleased him to vse their owne industrie, courage, or fore-sight. Therefore it is commonly scene, that they, who entering into battaile, are carefull to pray for aide from heauen, with due acknowledgement of his power, who is the giuer of victorie; when the field is wonne, doe vaunt of their owne exploits: one telling how hee got such a ground of aduantage; another, how hee gaue checke to such a battalion; a third, how hee seized on the enemies Canon; every one struing to magnifie himselfe, whilest all forget God, as one that had not bene present in the action. To ascribe to fortune the effects of another mans vertue, is, I confesse, an argument of malice. Yet this is true, that as hee which findeth better successe, than hee did, or in reason might expect, is deeply bound to acknowledge God the Author of his happinesse; so he whose meere wisdom and labour hath brought things to prosperous issue, is doubly bound to shew himselfe thankfull, both for the victory, and for those vertues by which the victorie was gotten. And indeed so farre from weakenesse is the nature of such thanksgiving, that it may well be called the height of magnanimity, no vertue being so truly heroically, as that by which the spirit of man aduanceth it selfe with confidence of acceptance, vnto the loue of God. In which sense it is a braue speech that *Enander* in *Virgil*, vnto *Aeneas*, none but a Christian being capable of the admonition:

*Aude spes contemnere opes, & te quoque dignum
Finge Deo.*

With this Philosphic *Amazias* (as appeares by his carriage) troubled not his head: hee had shewed himselfe a better man of warre than any King of *Iuda* since the time of *Iehozaphat*, and could be well contented, that his people should thinke him little inferior to *Dauid*: of which honour hee saw no reason why the Prophets should rob him, who had made him loose an hundred talents, and done him no pleasure; hee hauing preuailed by plaine force and good conduct, without any miracle at all. That hee was discontented with such vain thoughts as these (besides the witness of his impietie following) *Iosephus* doth say.

testified, saying, That he despised God, and that being puffed up with his good successe, of which neuerthelesse he would not acknowledge God to be the Author, he commanded *Iosias* King of *Israel* to become his subject, and to let the tenne Tribes acknowledge him their Soueraigne, as they had done his Ancestors King *Dauid* and *Salomon*. Some thinke that his quarrell to *Iosias* was rather grounded vpon the iniurie done to him by the *Israelites*, whom hee dismissed in the journey against Mount *Seir*. And likely it is, that the sense of a late wrong had more power to stirre him up, than the remembrance of an olde title, forgotten long since, and by himselfe neglected thirteene or fouretee yeeres. Neuerthelesse it might so be, that when he was thus prouoked, hee thought it not enough to require new wrongs, but would also call old matters into question; that so the Kings of *Israel* might, at the least, learne to keepe their subjects from offending *Juda*, for feare of endangering their owne Crownes. Had *Amazias* desired onely recompence for the iniurie done to him, it is not improbable that hee should haue had some reasonable answer from *Iosias*, who was not desirous to fight with him. But the answer which *Iosias* returned, likening himselfe to a Cedar, and *Amazias* in respect of him to no better than a thistle, shewes that the challenge was made in insolent termes, first perhaps with such proud comparison of Nobilitie, as might bee made (according to that which *Iosephus* had written) betwene a King of ancient race, and one of lesse nobilitie than vertue.

*sophocles in
Ajax lxxx.*

It is by *Sophocles* reported of *Ajax*, that when going to the warre of *Troy*, his father, did bid him to bee valiant, and get victorie by Gods assistance, he made answer, That by Gods assistance, a coward could get victorie, but hee would get it alone without such helpe: after which proud speech, though hee did many valiant acts, hee had small thanks, and finally killing himselfe in a madnesse, whereinto hee fell vpon disgrace received, was hardly allowed the honour of buriall. That *Amazias* did utter such words, I doe not finde: but hauing once entertained the thoughts, which are parents of such words, hee was rewarded with successe according. The verie first counsaile wherein this warre was concluded, serues to proue that hee was a wise Prince indeed at *Jerusalem*, among his Paralites; but a foole when hee had to deale with his equals abroad. For it was not all one, to fight with the *Edomites*, a weak people, trusting more in the size of their Country, than the valour of their Souldiers; and to encounter with *Iosias*, who from so poore beginnings had raised himselfe to such strength, that hee was able to lend his friend a hundred thousand men, and had all his Nation exercised, and trained up, in a long victorious warre. But as *Amazias* discovered much want of judgement, in vnderstanding such a match; so in prosecuting the businesse, when it was set on foot, hee behaued himselfe as a man of little experience, who hauing once onely tried his fortune, and found it to bee good, thought that in Warre there was nothing else to doe, than send a defiance, fight, and winne. *Iosias* on the contrarie side, hauing bene accustomed to deale with a stronger enemy than the King of *Juda*, vsed that celeritie, which peraduenture had often stood him in good stead against the *Aramites*. Hee did not sit waiting till the enemies brake in and wasted his Countrey, but presented himselfe with an Armie in *Juda*, readie to bid battaile to *Amazias*, and saue him the labour of a long iourney. This could not but greatly discourage those of *Juda*; who (besides the impression of feare which an inuasion beates into people, not inured to the like) hauing deuoured, in their greedie hopes, the spoyle of *Israel*, fully perswading themselves to get as much, and as easie rate as in the iourne of *Edom*; were so farre disappointed of their expectation, that well they might haue all new assurance of good lucke, when the olde had thus beguiled them. All this notwithstanding, their King that had stomack enough to challenge the Patrimoine of *Salomon*, thought like another *Dauid* to winne it by the sword. The issue of which foole-hardinesse might easily haue bene foreseene in humane reason; comparing together, either the two Kings, or the qualitie of their Armies, or the first and ominous beginning of the Warre. But mere humane wisdom, howsoever it might foresee much, could not haue prognosticated all the mischiefe that fell vpon *Amazias*. For as soone as the two Armies came in sight, God, whose helpe this wretched man had so despised, did (as *Iosephus* reports it) strike such terror and amazement into the men of *Juda*, that without one blow giuen, they fled all away, leauing their King to shift for himselfe, which hee did so ill, that his enemy had soone caught him, and made him change his glorious humour into most abiect basenesse. That the Armie which fled

2^d Ant. l. 9. c. 10.

fled, sustained any other losse than of honour, I neither finde in the Scriptures nor in *Iosephus*; it being likely that the soone beginning of their flight, which made it the more shamefull, made it also the more safe. But of the mischiefe that followed this overthrow, it was Gods will that *Amazias* himselfe should sustaine the whole disgrace. For *Iosias* carried him directly to *Jerusalem*, where he had him procure that the gates might be opened to let him in and his Armie; threatening him otherwise with present death. So much amazed was the miserable caitiue, with these dreadfull words, that he durst do no other, than perswade the Citizens, to yeeld themselves to the mercie of the Conqueror. The Towne, which afterwards being in weaker state, held out two yeres, against *Nebuchad-nessar*, was vtterly dismayed, when the King, that should haue giuen his life to saue it, vsed all his force of command and intreaty to betray it. So the gates of *Jerusalem* were opened to *Iosias*, with which honour (greater than any King of *Israel* had euer obtained) hee could not rest contented, but, the more to despise *Amazias* and his people, hee cause 4000 cubits of the wall to be throwne down, and entered the Citie in his Chariot through that breach, carrying the King before him, as in triumph. This done, hee sackt the Temple, and the Kings Palace, and so, taking hostages of *Amazias*, he dismissed the poore creature that was glad of his life, and returned to *Samaritis*.

§. IX.

A discourse of the reasons hindring Iosias from uniting Iuda to the Crowne of Israel, when he had wonne Ierusalem, and held Amazias prisoner. The end of Iosias his Reigne.

It may iustly maruell how it came to passe, that *Iosias*, being thus in possession of *Jerusalem*, hauing the King in his hands, his enemies forces broken, & his owne more, could be so content to depart quietly, with a little spoyle, when he might haue laizd vpon the whole Kingdome. The reigne of *Abahia* had giuen him cause to hope, that the issue of *Dauid* might be dispossessed of that crowne; his owne Nobilitie, being the sonne and grand-child of Kings, together with the famous acts that hee had done, were enough to make the people of *Juda* thinke highly of him; who might also haue preferred his forme of government, before that of their owne Kings, especially at such a time, when a long succession of wicked Princes had smothered the thanks, which were due to the memorie of a few good ones. The commoditie that would haue ensued, vpon the vniion of all the twelue Tribes, vnder one Prince, is so apparent, that I need not to insit on it. That any message from God forbade the *Israelite* (as afterwards in the victorie which *Pekah* the sonne of *Romeia* got vpon *Abaz*) to turne his present advantage, to the best vse, wee doe not reade. All this makes it the more difficult to resolute the question, why a Prince so well exercised, as *Iosias* had bene, in recouering his owne, and winning from his enemy, should forsake the possession of *Jerusalem*, and wilfully neglected the possibilitie, or rather cast away the full assurance of so faire a conquest, as the kingdome of *Juda*.

But concerning that point, which, of all others, had bene most materiall, I meane the desire of the vanquished people to accept the *Israelite* for their King, it is plainly seene, that entering *Jerusalem* in triumphant manner, *Iosias* was vnable to conceit his owne prosperitie. For the opening of the gates had bene enough to haue let him not onely into the Citie, but into the Royall Throne, and the peoples hearts, whom by faire intreatie (especially hauing sure meanes of compulsion) he might haue made his owne, when they saw themselves betrayed, and basely giuen away by him whose they had bene before. The faire mark which this opportunity presented, hee did not away, because his ambition was otherwise and more meanelie busied, in leuellling at the glory of triumphant entrie through a breach. Yet this error might afterwards haue bene corrected well enough, if entering as an enemy, and shewing what he could doe, by spending his anger vpon the walls, he had within the Citie done offices of a friend, and laboured to shew good will to the inhabitants. But when his pride had done, his courtesie beganne, and sought to please it selfe, with that which is common to most traitors to the spoyler, yet should be most forborne. The Treasure wherewith *Sesai*, *Hazael*, and the *Philistines*, men ignorant of the true God and his Religion, had quenched their greedy thirst, ought not to haue tempted the appetite of *Iosias*, who though an Idolatour,

yet acknowledged also and worshipped the eternall God, whose Temple was at *Ierusalem*. Therefore when the people saw him take his way directly to seise that holy place, and lay his rauenous hands vpon the consecrated vessels, calling the family of *Obed* *E-*
1 Chron. 28. 15. *dom* (whose children had hereditarie charge of the treasure) to a strict account, as if they had beene Officers of his owne Exchequer; they considered him rather as an execrable Church-robber, than as a Noble Prince, an *Israelite* and their brother, though of another Tribe. Thus following that course, which the most vertuous King of our age (taxing it with the same phrase) hath wisely auoyded; by stealing a few Apples, he lost the inheritance of the whole Orchard. The people detested him, and after the respite of a few dayes, might by comparing themselves oneto one, perceiue his Souldiers to be no better than men of their owne mould, and inferior in number to the inhabitants of so great a Citie. It is not so easie to hold by force a mighty towne entered by capitulation, as to enter the gates opened by vnadvised feare. For when the Citizens, notwithstanding disarmed, recouer their spirits, and begin to vnderstand their first error; they will thinke vpon every aduantage, of place, of provisions, of multitude, yea of women armed with tile-stones, and rather choose by desperate resolution, to correct the evils growne out of their former cowardice, than suffer those mischiefs to poison the body, which in such halfe-conquests, are easily tasted in the mouth. A more liuely example hereof cannot be desired, than the Citie of *Florence*, which through the weaknesse of *Peter de Medices*, governing therein as a Prince, was reduced into such hard termes, that it opened the gates vnto the French King *Charles* the Eighth, who not plainly professing himselfe either friend or foe to the Estate, entered the Towne, with his Armie, in triumphant manner, himselfe and his horse armed, with his lance vpon his thigh. Many insolencies were therein committed by the French, and much argument of quarrell ministred, betwene them and the Townes-men: so farre forth that the *Florentines*, to preserve their liberty, were driuen to prepare for fight. To conclude the matter, *Charles* propounds intollerable conditions, demanding huge summes of ready money, and the absolute Signorie of the State, as conquered by him, who eured the Citie in Armes. But *Peter Caponi*, a principall Citizen, catching these Arides from the Kings Secretarie, and tearing them before his face, bad him found his Trumpets, and they would ring their Bells: which peremptorie words made the French be thinke themselves, and come readily to this agreement, that for fortie thousand pounds, and not halfe of that money to be paid in hand, *Charles* should not onely depart in peace, but restore whatsoever he had of their Dominion, and continue their assured friend. So dangerous a matter did it seeme for that braue Armie, which in few moneths after wanne the Kingdome of *Naples*, to fight in the streets, against the armed multitude of that populous Citie. It is true, that *Charles* had other businesse (and so perhaps had *Iosias*, as shall anon be shewed) that called him away: but it was the apprehension of imminent danger that made him come to reason. In such cases the firing of houses, usually drawes euery Citizen to saue his owne, leauing victory to the Souldier: yet where the people are prepared and resolute, women can quench, as fast as the enemy, hauing other things to looke vnto, can set on fire. And indeede that Commander is more giuen to anger than regardfull of profit, who vpon the vncertaine hope of destroying a Towne, forsakes the assurance of a good composition. Diuersity of circumstance may alter the case: it is enough to say, that it might be in *Ierusalem*, as we know it was in *Florence*.

How strongly soeuer *Iosias* might hold himselfe within *Ierusalem*, he could not easily depart from thence, with his booty safe, if the Army of *Iuda*, which had beene more terrified than weakened in the late encounter, should re-enforce it selfe, and giue him a check vpon the way. Wherefore it was wisely done of him, to take hostages for his better security, his Army being vpon returne, and better laden than when it came forth; for which causes it was the more vnapt to fight.

Besides these impediments, within the Citie and without, seruing to coole the ambition of *Iosias*, and keepe it downe from aspiring to the Crowne of *Iuda*: it appears that somewhat was newly fallen out, which had reference to the anger of *Elisha* the Prophet, who when this *Iosias* had smitten the ground with his arrowes thrice, told him that he should no longer smite the *Aramites*. The three victories which *Israel* had against *Aram*, are by some, and with great probability, referred vnto the fifth, sixth and seventh yeeres

yeeres of *Iosias*: after which time, if any losses ensuing had blemished the former: good successe, ill might the King of *Israel* haue likened himselfe to a stately Cedar, and worke could he haue either lent the *Iudeans* one hundred thousand men, or meet him in battell, who was able to bring into the field three hundred thousand of his owne. Seeing therefore it was made plaine by the words of *Elisha*, that after three victories, *Iosias* should finde some change of fortune, and suffer losse, we must needs conclude, That the *Aramite* prevailed vpon him this yeere, it being the last of his Reigne. That this was so, and that the *Syrians*, taking aduantage of *Iosias* his absence, gaue such a blow to *Israel*, as the King at his returne was not able to remedie, but rather fell himselfe into new misfortunes, which increased the calamitie, wee may evidently perceiue in that which is spoken of *Ieroboam* his sonne. For it is said, That the Lord saw the exceeding bitter afflictions of *Israel*, and that hauing not decreed to put out the name of *Israel* from vnder the heauen, he preferred them by the hand of *Ieroboam* the sonne of *Iosias*. This is enough to proue, that the victorious Reigne of *Iosias* was concluded with a sad catastrophe; the riches of the Temple hastning his miserie and death, as they had done with *Sesac*, *Athalia*, and *Hazael*, and as afterwards they wrought with *Antiochus*, *Cassius*, and other sacrilegious Potentates.

Thus euer through indignation conceiued against him, by the people of *Ierusalem*, and courage which they tooke to set vpon him within the Walls: or through preparation of the Armie that lay abroad in the Countrey, to bid him battell in open field, and to recover by a new charge the honour which was lost at the former encounter; or through the miseries daily brought vpon his owne Countrey, by the *Syrian* in his absence, if not by all of these: *Iosias* was driuen to lay aside all thought of winning the Kingdome of *Iuda*, and taking hostages for his quiet passage, made all haste homewards, where he found a sad welcome, and being vtterly forsaken of his wonted prosperitie, forsooke also his life in few moneths after, leauing his Kingdome to *Ieroboam* the second, his fortunate and valiant sonne.

§. X.

The end of Amasia his Reigne and Life.

Nyman is able to ghesse how *Amasia* looked; when the enemy had left him. Hee that had vaunted so much of his owne great prowesse and skill in Armes, threatening to worke wonders, and set vp a new the glorious Empire of *Dauid*, was now vncafed of his Lyons hide, and appeared nothing so terrible a beast as hee had beene painted. Much argument of scoffing at him he had ministred vnto such, as held him in dislike, which at this time, doubtlesse, were very many: for the shame that falls vpon an insolent man, seldom failes of meeting with abundance of reproach. As for *Amasia* (besides that the multitude are alwaies prone to lay the blame vpon their Gouernours, even of those calamities which happened by their owne default) there was no schilde in all *Ierusalem*, but knew him to be the root of all this mischiefe. He had not onely challenged a good man of Warre, being himselfe a Dauidist; but when he was beaten and taken by him, had basely pleaded for the common enemy, to haue him let into the Citie, that with his owne eyes he might see what spoyle there was, and not make a bad bargaing by heare-say. The father of this *Amasia*, was a beastly man; yet when the *Aramites* tooke him and tormented him, he did not offer to buy his owne life at so deare a rate, as the Citie and Temple of *Ierusalem*. Had he offered, should they haue made his promise good? surely the hast which they had made in condescending to this hard match, was very vnfortunate: for by keeping out the *Israelite* (which was easie enough) any while, they should soone haue beene rid of him, seeing that the *Aramites* would haue made him runne home, with greater speed than he came forth. Then also, when hauing trusted vpon his baggage, he was ready to be gone, a little courage would haue serued to perswade him to leaue his load behind, had not their good King deliuered vp hostages, to secure his returne, as loath to defraud him of the recompence due to his paines taken.

Such exprobrations could not but vex the heart of this vnhappy King: it had bene well for him, if they had made him acknowledge his fault vnto God, that had punished him by all this dishonour. But wee finde no mention of his amendment. Rather it appears, that hee continued an Idolator to the very last. For it is said of him, that after his turning away from the Lord, they wrought treason against him in *Ierusalem*; a manifest *2. Chr. 25. 27.*

proofe that hee was not reclaimed, vnto his liues end. And certainly, they which tell a man in his aduersitie of his faults passed, shall sooner be thought to vpbraid him with his fortune, than to seeke his reformation. Wherefore it is no maruell, that Priests and Prophets were lesse welcome to him, than euer they had bene. On the other side, flatterers, and such as were desirous to put a heart into him, whereof themselves might alwayes be masters, wanted not plausible matter to reuiue him. For hee was not first, nor second, of the Kings of *Juda*, that had bene overcome in battell. *David* himselfe had abandoned the Citie, leaving it, before the Enemie was in sight, vnto *Achaz* his rebellious sonne. Many besides him had received losses, wherein the Temple bare a part. If *Ioas* might so easily haue bene kept out, why did their Ancestors let *Sefac* in? *Asa* was reputed a vertuous Prince, yet with his owne hands he emptied the Temple, and was not blamed, but held excusable by necessitie of the State. Belike these traducers would commend no actions but of dead Princes: if so, hee should rather liue to punish them, than to dye to please them. Though wherein hee had given them any cause of displeasure? It was hee indeed that commanded to set open the gates to *Ioas*; but it was the people that did it. Good seruants ought not to haue obeyed their Masters Commandements, to his disadvantage, when they saw him not master of his owne Person. As his captiuitie did acquite him from blame, of all things that hee did or suffered in that condition; so was that misfortune itselfe, in some estimation, as highly to his honour, as deeply to his losse. For had hee bene as hasty to flye, as others were; hee might haue escaped, as well as others did. But seeking to teach the base Multitude courage, by his Royall example, hee was shamefully betrayed by those in whom he trusted. Vnworthy creatures that could readily obey him, when speaking another mans words, being prisoner, hee commanded them to yeeld, hauing neglected his charge, when leading them in the field, he bade them stand to it and fight like men. The best was that they must needs acknowledge his mischance, as the occasion whereby many thousand liues were saved; the Enemie hauing wisely preferred the surpris of a Lion that was Captaine, before the chase and slaughter of an Army of Sages that followed him.

The *ſ*e or like words comforting *Amazias*, were able to perswade him, that it was euen to indeed. And such excuses might haue serued well enough to please the people, if the King had first studied how to please God. But hee that was vnwilling to ascribe vnto God the good successe foretold by a Prophet; could easily finde how to impute this late disaster, vnto fortune, and the fault of others. Now concerning fortune, it seemes that hee meant to keepe himselfe safe from her, by sitting still; for in fifteene yeeres following (so long hee out-liued his honour) we finde not that he stirred. As for his subiects, though nothing henceforth be recorded of his gouernment, yet wee may see by his end, that the middle time was ill spent among them, increasing their hatred, to his owne ruine. He that suspecteth his owne worth, or other mens opinions, thinking the lesse regard is had of his person, than he beleueeth to be due to his place, will commonly spend all the force of his authoritie, in purchasing the name of a seuerer man. For the affected fowlenesse of a vaine fellow, doth many times resemble the grauitie of one that is wise: and the feare wherein they liue, which are subiect vnto oppression, carries a shew of reuerence, to him that does the wrong; at least it serues to dazle the eyes of vnderlings, keeping them from prying into the weaknesse of such as haue indiction ouer them. Thus the time, wherein, by well vsing it, men might attaine to be such as they ought, they do vially mis-spent, in seeking to appeare such as they are not. This is a vain & deceivable course, procuring in stead of the respect that was hoped for, more indignation than was feared. Which is a thing of dangerous consequence; especially when an vnable spirit, being ouer-perted with so high authoritie, is too passionate in the execution of such an Office, as cannot be checked but by violence. If therefore *Amazias* thought by extreame rigour to hold vp his reputation, what did hee else than strue to make the people thinke hee hated them, when of themselves they were apt enough to beleue that hee did not loue them? The best was that hee had, by reuenging his fathers death provided well enough for his owne securitie: but who should take vengeance (or vpon whom?) of such a murder, wherein euery one had a part? Surely God himselfe, who had not giuen commandment or leaue vnto the people, to take his office out of his hand, in shedding the blood of his Anointed. Yet as *Amazias*, careless of God, was carried

headlong

headlong by his owne affections; so his subiects, following the same ill example, without requiring what belonged vnto their duties, rose vp against him, with such headlong furie, that being vnable to defend himselfe in *Ierusalem*, he was driuen to forsake the Citie, and flye to *Lachis*, for safegard of his life. But so extreame was the hatred conceiued against him, and so generall, that neither his absence could allay the rage of it in the Capitall Citie, nor his presence in the Countrey abroad procure friends, to defend his life. Questionlesse, he chose the Towne of *Lachis* for his refuge, as a place of all others best affected to him; yet found he there none other fauour, than that the people did not kill him with their owne hands: for when the Conspirators (who troubled not themselves about raising an Armie for the matter) sent pursuers after him, he was abandoned to death. *Lachis* was the vtmost Citie of his Dominion Westward, standing somewhat without the border of *Juda*; so that he might haue made an easie escape (if he durst adventure) into the Territorie of the *Philistims*, or the Kingdome of *Israel*. Therefore it may seeme that he was detained there, where containe it is that hee found no kinde of fauour: for had not the people of this Towne, added their owne treason to the generall insurrection; the murderers could not so good leisure as they did, haue carried away his body to *Ierusalem*, where they gaue him buriall with his fathers.

20

§. XI.

of the Interregnum, or vacancie, that was in the Kingdome of *Juda*, after the death of *Amazias*.

Thath already bene shewed, that the reines of the Kings of *Juda* and *Israel* were sometimes to be measured by compleat yeeres, otherwhiles, by yeeres current: and that the time of one King is now and then confounded with the last yeeres of his fathers Reigne, or the foremost of his sonnes. But we are now arrived at a merueilation, wherein the Crowne of *Juda* lay void eleauen whole yeeres: a thing not plainly set downe in Scriptures, nor yet remembered by *Iosephus*, and therefore hard to be beleueed, were it not proued by necessary consequence.

Twice we finde it written, that *Amazias*, King of *Juda*, liued after the death of *Ioas* King of *Israel* fifteene yeeres; whereupon it followes, that the death of *Amazias*, was about the end of fifteene yeeres compleate, which *Ieroboam* the second (who in the sixteenth yeere of *Amazias* was made King ouer *Israel*) had reigned in *Samaria*. But the succession of *Azarias*, who is also called *Azarias*, vnto his father in the Kingdome of *Juda*, was eleauen yeeres later than the sixteenth of *Ieroboam*: for it is expressed, that *Azarias* began to reigne in the seauen and twentieth yeere of *Ieroboam*; the sixteenth yeere of his life, being ioyned with the first of two and fiftie that he reigned. So the Interregnum of eleauen yeeres cannot be diuided, without some hard meanes vsed, of interpreting the Text otherwise upon the letter founds.

Yet some coniectures there are made, which tend to keepe all euen, without acknowledging any voided time. For it is thought that in the place last of all cited, by the seauen and twentieth yeere of *Ieroboam*, we should perhaps vnderstand the seauen and twentieth yeere of his life; or else (because the like words are no where else interpreted in the like sense) that *Azarias* was eleauen yeeres vnder age, that is, five yeeres old, when his father died, and so his sixteenth yeere might concur with the seauen and twentieth of *Ieroboam*; or that the Text it selfe may haue suffered some wrong, by miswriting twenty seauen for seauenteene yeeres, and so, by making the seauenteenth yeere of *Ieroboam* to be newly begun, all may be salued. These are the coniectures of so that worthy man *Gerard Mercator*: concerning the first of which, it may suffice, that the Author himselfe doth easily let it passe, as improbable; the last is followed by none that I know, neither is it fit, that vpon euery doubt, we should call the text in question, which could not be satisfied in all copies, if perhaps it were in one: as for the second, it may be held with some qualification, that *Azarias* began his Reigne being five yeeres old; but then must we add those eleauen yeeres which passed in his minority, to the two and fiftie that followed his sixteenth yeere, which is all one, in a manner, with allowing an interregnum.

But why should we be so careful to auoide an interregnum in *Juda*, seeing that the like necessary

necessity hath enforced all good Writers, to acknowledge the like vacancy, twice happening within few yeeres, in the Kingdome of *Israel*? The space of time betwene *Ierobams* death, and the beginning of *Zachariabs* Reigne, and such another gap found betwene the death of *Peka*, and the beginning of *Hosea*, haue made it easily to be admitted into *Samarita*, which the consideration of things as they stood in *Iuda*, when *Amazias* was slaine, doth make more probable to haue happened there, yet although the necessity of computation were not so apparent.

For the publique furie, hauing so farre extended it selfe, as vnto the destruction of the Kings owne person, was not like to be appeased without order taken for obtaining some redresse of those matters, which had caused it at the first to breake forth into such extremity. We neede not therefore wonder how it came to passe, that they which already had throwne themselves into such an horrible treason, should afterwards dare to withhold the Crowne from a Prince of that age, which being inuested in all ornaments of Regality, is neuertheless exposed to many iniuries, proceeding from head-strong and forgetfull subjects.

As for their coniecture, who make *Azaria* to haue bene King but one and forty yeeres, after he came out of his non-age; I dare not allow it, because it agrees too harshly with the Text. The best opinion were that, which giues vnto *Ieroboam* cleauen yeeres of Reigne with his Father, before he began to reigne single in the fiftieth of *Amazias*; did it not swallow vp almost the whole Reigne of *Ioa*, and extending the yeeres of those which reigned in *Israel* (by making such of them complet, as were onely current) and take at the shortest the Reignes of Princes ruling in other Nations. But I will not stand to dispute further of this: every man may follow his owne opinion, and see mine more plainly in the Chronologicall Table, drawn for these purposes.

§. XII.

Of Princes Contemporarie with *Amazias*, and more particularly of *Sardanapalus*.

THE Princes living with *Amazias*, and in the cleauen yeeres that followed his death, were *Ioa* and *Ieroboam* in *Israel*; *Cephrenes* and *Mycerinus* in *Aegypt*; *Syluius Alladius*, and *Syluius Auentinus* in *Alba*; *Agamemnon* in *Corinth*; *Diogenes Pheredus*, and *Aripbron* in *Athens*; in *Lacedaemon* *Theleetus*, in whose time the *Spartians* went from the *Achaians*, *Gerauthe*, *Amycle*, and some other Townes.

But more notable than all these, was *Affirian Sardanapalus*, who in the one and twentieth yeere of *Amazias*, succeeding his father *Ocraxapes* or *Anacardaxares*, reigned twenty yeeres, and was slaine the last of the cleauen void yeeres which fore-went the Reigne of *Azaria*. In him ended (as most agree) the line of *Ninus*, which had held that Empire one thousand, two hundred and fortie yeeres. A most luxurious and effeminate Pillioner he was, passing away his time among strumpets, whom he imitated both in apparel and behaviour.

In these voluptuous courses he liued an unhappy life, knowing himselfe to be so vile, that he durst not let any man haue a sight of him; yet scarce he was at length, and the sight of him was so odious, that it procured his ruine. For *Arbaces*, who gouerned *Media* vnder him, finding meanes to behold the person of his King, was so incensed with that beastly spectacle, of a man disguised in womans attire, and striving to counterfeite an harlot, that he thought it a great shame to liue vnder the command of so vnworthy a creature. Purposing therefore to free himselfe and others from so base subiection, he was much encouraged by the prediction of *Belesus* or *Belosus* a *Chaldean*, who told him plainly, that the Kingdome of *Sardanapalus* should fall into his hands. *Arbaces* well pleased with the prophetic, did promise vnto *Belosus* himselfe the gouernment of *Babylon*; and so concluding how to handle the businesse, one of them stirred vp the *Medes*, and allured the *Persians* into the quarrell, the other perswaded the *Babylonians* and *Ara* *bians* to venture themselves in the same cause. These foure Nations armed fortie thousand men against *Sardanapalus*, who in this danger was not wanting to himselfe, but gathering such forces as he could, out of other Nations, encountered the rebels, as one that would by deedes refute the tales that they had told of him. Neither did his carriage in the beginning of that warre, answere to the manner of his retirednesse. For in three

battles he carried away the better, driving *Arbaces* and his followers into such fearefull tremors, that had not *Belesus* promised them constantly some vnexpected succours, they would forthwith haue broken vp their Campe. About the same time, an Armie out of *Babylonia* was coming to assist the King; but *Arbaces* encountering it vpon the way, perswaded it strongly by promise of liberty, that those forces ioyned themselves with his. The sodaine departure of the enemy seeming to be a flight, caused *Sardanapalus* to feast his Armie, triumphing before victory. But the Rebels being strengthened with this new supply, came vpon him by night, and forced his Campe, which through ouer-great security was vnprepared for resistance.

This overthrow did so weaken the Kings heart, that leauing his wiues brother *Salamennus* to keepe the field, he withdrew himselfe into the Citie of *Ninive*; which, till new aiders that he sent for should come, he thought easily to defend; it hauing bene prophesied, that *Ninive* should neuer be taken, till the Riuer were enemy to the Towne. Of the greatness and strength of *Ninive*, enough hath bene spoken in our discourse of *Nine*. It was so well victualled, that *Arbaces* (hauing in two battles overthrowne the Kings Armie, and slaine *Salamennus*) was faine to lye two whole yeeres before it, in hope to winne it by famine, whereof yet he saw no appearance. It seemed that he wanted Engines and skill to force those wals, which were a hundred foote high, and thicke enough for three Chariots in front to passe vpon the rampire. But so that which he could not doe in two yeeres, the Riuer of *Tygris* did in the third: for being high swolne with raines, it not onely drowned a part of the Citie through which it ran, but threw downe twentie furlongs of the wall, and made a faire breach for *Arbaces* to enter.

Sardanapalus, either terrified with the accomplishment of the old Oracle, or seeing no means of resistance left, shutting vp himselfe into his Palace, with his wiues, Euniches and all his treasures, did set the house on fire, wherewith he and they were together consumed. *Strabo* speaks of a monument of his, that was in *Anchiale* a Citie of *Sicily*, whereon was found an inscription, shewing that he built that Citie and *Tharsus* vpon one day: but the addition hereto, bidding men eate and drinke, and make merry, encouraging others, with verses well knowne, to a voluptuous life, by his owne example, testified that his nature was more prone to sensuality, than to any vertue becomming a Prince.

There are some that faintly report otherwise of his end; saying that *Arbaces*, when he first found him among his Concubines, was so enraged, that suddenly he slew him with a dagger. But the more generall consent of Writers agrees with this relation of *Diodorus Siculus*, who citeth *Ctesias* a Greeke Writer, that liued in the Court of *Persia*, where the truth might best be knowne.

Concerning the Princes which reigned in *Affyria*, from the time of *Semiramis*, vnto *Sardanapalus*, though I beleue that they were sometimes (yet not, as *Orosius* hath it, incessantly) busied, in offense or else defense of ames; yet for the most part of them I doe better trust *Diodorus Siculus*, who saith that their names were ouerpasse by *Diodorus*, because they did nothing worthy of memory. Whatsoeuer they did; that which *Theophilus Antiochenus* hath said of them is very true; Silence and obliuion hath oppressed them.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of Vzzia.

S. I.

The prosperitie of Vzzia, and of Ieroboam the second, who reigned with him in Israel. Of the Anarchie that was in the ten Tribes after the death of Ieroboam. Of Zacharia Salum, Menahem and Pekahia.



Vzzia, who is also called Azaria, the sonne of Iorham, was made King of Iuda, when he was sixteen yeeres old, in the seauen and twentieth yeere of Ieroboam the sonne of Ioas King of Israel. He serued the God of his father Dauid, and had therefore good successe in all his enterprises. He built Eloth, a Towne that stood neere to the Red Sea, and restored it to Iuda. He ouercame the Philistims, of whose Townes he dismanned some, and built others in sundry parts of their Territories. Also he got the maiorie ouer some parts of Arabia, and brought the Ammonites to pay him tribute. Such were the fruits of his prosperous warres, wherein (as Iosephus rehearseth his ads) he began with the Philistims, and then proceeded vnto the Arabians and Ammonites. His Armie consisted of three hundred and seauen thousand men of warre, ouer which were appointed two thousand and sixe hundred Captaines. For all this multitude the King prepared shields, and speares, and helmets, and other Armes requisite; following therein happily a course quite opposite vnto that which some of his late predecessours had held, who thought it better policie to vie the seruice of the Nobilitie, than of the multitude; carrying forth to warre the Princes and all the Chariots.

As the victories of Vzzia were farre more important, than the achievements of all that had reigned in Iuda, since the time of Dauid; so were his riches and magnificent works, equal, if no superiour to any of theirs that had beene Kings between him and Salomon. For besides that great conquests are wont to repay the charges of Warre with triple interest, he had the skill to vie, as well as the happinesse to get. He turned his Lands to the best vse, keeping Ploughmen and Dressers of Vines, in ground conuenient for such husbandry. In other places he had Cattell feeding, whereof he might well keepe great store, hauing won so much from the Ammonites and Arabians, that had abundance of waste ground seruing for pasturage. For defence of his Cattell and Heardsmen, he built Towres in the wilderness. He also digged many Cisternes or Ponds. Iosephus calls them Water-courses, but in such dry grounds, it was enough that he found water, by digging in the most likely places. If by these Towres he so commanded the water, that none could without his consent, releue themselves therewith, questionlesse he tooke the onely course, by which he might securely hold the Lordship ouer all the Wilderness, it being hardly passable, by reason of the extreame drought, when the few Springs therein found, are left free to the vse of Trauailers.

Besides all this cost, and the building both of Eloth by the Red Sea, and of sundry Townes among the Philistims; he repaired the wall of Ierusalem, which Ioas had broken downe, and fortified it with Towres, whereof some were an hundred and fifty Cubits high.

The State of Israel did neuer so flourish, as at this time, since the diuision of the twelve Tribes into two Kingdomes. For as Vzzia preuailed in the South, so (if not more) Ieroboam the sonne of Ioas, King of theren Tribes, enlarged his border on the North; where obtaining many victories against the Syrians, he wan the Royall Citie of Damascus, and he wan Hamath, with all the Countrie thereabout from the entering of Hamath, vnto the Sea of the Wilderness, that is, (as the most expound it) vnto the vast deserts of Arabia, the end whereof was vndiscovered. So the bounds of Israel in those parts, were in time of this Ieroboam, the same (or not much narrower) which they had beene in the Reigne of Dauid.

But

But it was not for the pietie of Ieroboam, that he thrived so well, for he was an Idolater: it was onely the compassion which the Lord had on Israel, seeing the exceeding bitter affliction, whereinto the Aramites had brought his people, which caused him to alter the successe of warre, and to throw the victorious Aramites vnder the feete of those whom they had so cruelly oppressed. The line of Iehu, to which God had promised the Kingdom of Israel vnto the fourth generation, was now not farre from the end; and now againe it was inuited vnto repentance, by new benefites, as it had beene at the beginning. But the time of Ieroboam the sonne of Nebat, was held so precious, that neither the Kingdom it selfe, giuen to him by God, was able to draw Iehu from that politike Idolatry; nor the misery falling vpon him and his posteritie, to bring them to a better course of Religion; nor yet, at the last, this great prosperitie of Ieroboam the sonne of Ioas, to make him render the honour that was due, to the onely giuer of victorie. Wherefore the promise of God, made vnto Iehu, that his sons, vnto the fourth generation, should sit on the throne of Israel, was not enlarged, but being almost expired, gaue warning of the approaching end, by an accident (so strange, that we, who finde no particulars recorded, can hardly ghesse at the occasions) foregoing the last accomplishment.

When Ieroboam the Sonne of Ioas, after a victorious reigne of one and forty yeeres, had ended his life; it seemes in all reason that Zacharia his sonne, should forthwith haue bene admitted, to reigne in his stead; the Nobilitie of that race hauing gotten such a lustre, by the immediate succession of foure Kings, that any Competitor, had the crowne passed by election, must needs haue appeared base; and the vertue of the last King, hauing bene so great, as might well serue to lay the foundation of a new house, much more to establish the already confirmed right of a family so rooted in possession. All this notwithstanding, two or three and twentie yeeres did passe, before Zacharia the sonne of Ieroboam, by vniforme consent, receiued as King. The true originall causes hereof were to be found at Dan and Bethel, where the golden Calues did stand: yet second instruments of this disturbance, are likely not to haue bene wanting, vpon which, the wisdom of man was ready to cast an eye. Probable it is, that the Capitaines of the Army (who afterwards slew one another, so fast, that in foureteen yeeres there reigned foue Kings) did not by head-strong violence, rent the Kingdom asunder, holding each what he could, and either despising or hating some qualities in Zacharia; yntill, after many yeeres, wearied with dissention, and the principall of them perhaps, being taken out of the way by death, for want of any other eminent man, they consented to yeele all quietly to the son of Ieroboam. That this Anarchie lasted almost three and twenty yeeres, we finde by the difference of time, betwene the sixteenth yeere of Vzzia, which was the last of Ieroboam his one and fortieth (his seauen and twentieth concurring with the first of Vzzia) and the eight and thirtieth of the same Vzzia, in the last fixe moneths whereof Zacharia reigned in Samaria. There are some indeede that by supposing Ieroboam to haue reigned with his father cleauen yeeres, doe cut off the interregnum in Iuda (before mentioned) and by the same reason, abridge this Anarchie, that was before the Reigne of Zacharia in Israel. Yet they leaue it twelue yeeres long: which is time sufficient to proue, that the Kingdom of the ten Tribes was no lesse distempered, than as is already noted. But I choole rather to follow the more common opinion, as concurring more exactly with the times of other Princes reigning abroad in the Word, than this doubtfull coniecture, that giues to Ieroboam two and fiftie yeeres, by adding three quarters of his fathers Reigne vnto his owne, which was it selfe indeede so long, that he may well seeme to haue begun it very young: for I doe not thinke, that God blessed this Idolater, both with a longer reigne, and with a longer life, than he did his seruant Dauid.

This much being spoken of the time, wherein the throne of Israel was void, before the reigne of Zacharia; little may suffice to be said of his Reigne it selfe, which lasted but a little while. Sixe moneths onely was he King; in which time he declared himselfe a worshipper of the golden Calues; which was enough to iustifie the iudgement of God, whereby he was slaine. He was the last of Iehu's house; being (inclusiue) the first of that line; which may haue bene some cause of the troubles impeaching his orderly succession: the propheticke hauing determined that race in the fourth generation. But (besides that Gods promise was extended vnto the utmost) there was no warrant giuen to Salum or to any other, for the death of Zacharia, as had bene giuen to Iehu, for the slaughter of Ieroram, and for the eradication of Ahabs house.

Zacharia

Zacharia having bene fixe months a King, was then slaine by *Sallum*, who reigned after him, the space of a month in *Samaria*. What this *Sallum* was, I doe not finde; like onely that he was a Traytour, and the sonne of one *Iabez*, whereby his father got no honour. It seemes that he was one of those, who in time of faction had laboured for himselfe; and now, when all other Competitors were siten downe, thought easily to preuaile against that King, in whose person the race of *Iehu* was to faile. Manifest it is, that *Sallum* had a strong party: for *Tiphah* or *Thapfa*, and the coast thereof euen from *Tirzah*, where *Menahem*, his enemy and supplanter then lay, refused to admit as King in his stead, the man that murdered him. Yet at the end of one month, *Sallum* received the reward of his treason, and was slaine by *Menahem* who reigned in his place.

Menahem the sonne of *Gadi*, reigned after *Sallum* ten yeeres. In opposition to *Sallum*, his hatred was deadly, and inhumane: for he not onely destroyed *Tiphah*, and all that were therein, or therabouts, but heript vp all their women with childe, because they did not open their gates and let him in. Had this cruelty bene vied in reuenge of *Zacharia*'s death, it is like that he would haue bene as earnest, in procuring vnto him his Fathers Crowne when it was first due. But in performing that office, there was vied such long deliberation, that we may plainly discouer Ambition, Disdain, and other priuate passions, to haue bene the causes of this bloody outrage.

In the time of *Menahem*, and (as it seemes) in the beginning of his Reigne, *Pul* King of *Assyria*, came against the Land of *Israel*: whom this new King appeald, with a thousand talents of silver, leauied vpon all the substantiall men in his Countrey. With this money the *Israelite* purchased, not onely the peace of his Kingdome, but his owne establishment therein: some factious man (belike) having either inuited *Pul* thither, or (if he came vncalled) sought to vie his helpe, in deposing this ill beloued King. *Iosephus* reports of this *Menahem*, that his Reigne was no milder than his entrance. But after tenne yeeres, his tyrannie ended with his life: and *Pekahia*, his Sonne, occupied his roome.

Of this *Pekahia* the Historie is short: for he reigned onely two yeeres, at the end whereof, he was slaine by *Peka*, the Sonne of *Remalia*, whose treason was rewarded with the Crowne of *Israel*, as, in time comming, another mans Treason against himselfe shall be. There needs no more to be said of *Menahem*, and his Sonne, saue that they were, both of them, Idolaters; and the Sonne (as we finde in *Iosephus*) like to his Father in cruelty. Concerning *Pul* the *Assyrian* King, who first opened vnto those Northerne Nations the way into *Palastina*; it will shortly follow in order of the Storie, to deliuer our opinion: whether he were that *Belosus* (called also *Belesus*, and by some, *Phul Belochus*) who ioynd with *Arbaces* the *Median*, against *Sardanapalus*, or whether he were some other man. At the present it is more fit that we relate the end of *Vzzia*'s life, who out-lived the happiness wherein we left him.

§. II.

The end of *Vzzia* his Reigne and life.

AS the zeale of *Iehoiada*, that godly Priest, was the meane, to preserue the lineage of *Dauid*, in the person of *Ionas*; so it appeares, that the care of holy men was not wanting to *Vzzia*, to bring him vp, and aduance him to the Crowne of *Iuda*, when the hatred borne to his Father *Amazias*, had endangered his succession. For it is said of *Vzzia*, That he sought God in the dayes of *Zacharia* (which vnderstood the vision of God) and when as he sought the Lord, God made him prosper.

But, when he was strong, his heart was lifted up to his destruction: for he transgressed against the Lord his God, and went into the Temple of the Lord to burne incense, vpon the Altar of incense. Thus he thought to enlarge his owne authority, by meddling in the Priests office, whose power had in euery extremity bene so helpfull to the Kings of *Iuda*, that meere gratitude, and ciuill policie, should haue held backe *Vzzia* from inchoing thereupon; yea, though the Law of God had bene silent in this case, and not forbidding it. Howsoeuer the King forgot his dutie, the Priests remembered theirs, and God forgot not to assist them. *Azarias* the high Priest interrupted the Kings purpose, and gaue him to vnderstand, how little to his honour it would proue, that he tooke vpon him the office of the Sonnes of *Aaron*. There were with *Azarias* fourescore other Priests, valiant men, but their

their valour was shewed onely in assisting the high Priest, when (according to his dutie) he reprehended the Kings presumption. This was enough, the rest God himselfe performed. We finde in *Iosephus*, that the King had apparelled himselfe in Priestly habits, and that he threatened *Azarias* and his Companions, to punish them with death, vnlesse they would be quiet. *Iosephus*, indeede, enlargeth the Storie, by inserting a great Earthquake, which did teare downe halfe an Hill, that rowled foure furlonges, till it rested against another Hill, stopping vp the high wayes, and spoiling the Kings Garden in the passage. With this Earthquake, he saith, that the roofof of the Temple did cleaue; and that a Sonne-beame did light vpon the Kings face, which was presently infected with leprosie. All this may haue bene true; and some there are who thinke that this Earthquake is the same, which is mentioned by the Prophet *Amos*; wherein they doe much misse-reckon the times. For the Earthquake spoken of by *Amos*, was in the dayes of *Ieroboam* King of *Israel*, who dyed seauen and thirtie yeeres before *Vzzia*; so that *Iahaz* the Sonne of *Vzzia*, which supplied his Fathers place in government of the Land, should, by this account, haue bene then vnborne: for he was but fixe and twenty yeeresold, when he began to reigne as King. Therefore, thus farre onely we haue assurance; that while *Vzzia* was wrought with the Priests, the leprosie rose up in his forehead, before the Priests. Hereupon he was caused, in all haste, to depart the place, and to lue in a house by himselfe, vntill he dyed; the rule ouer the Kings house, and ouer all the Land, being committed to *Iotham*, his Sonne, and Successor. *Iotham* tooke not vpon himselfe the stile of a King, till his Father was dead; whom they buried in the same field wherein his Ancestors lay interred, yet in a Monument a-part from the rest, because he was a Leper.

§. III.

Of the Prophets which liued in the time of *Vzzia*; and of Princes then ruling in *Egypt*, and in some other Countries.

IN the time of *Vzzia* were the first of the lesser Prophets, *Hosea*, *Isaiah*, *Amos*, *Obadiah*, and *Ionas*. It is not indeede set downe, when *Isaiah*, or *Obadiah*, did prophesie: but if the Prophets, whose times are not expressed, ought to be ranged (according to *Saint Hieromes* rule) with the next before them; then must these two be iudged contemporarie with *Hosea* and *Amos*, who liued vnder King *Vzzia*. To enquire which of these fue was the most ancient, it may perhaps be thought, atleast a superfluous labour; yea if the age wherein *Homer* liued, hath so painefully bene sought, without reprehension; how can he be taxed, which offers to search out the antiquitie of these holy Prophets? It seemes to me, that the first of these, in order of time, was the Prophet *Ionas*, who foretold the great victories of *Ieroboam* King of *Israel*; and therefore is like to haue prophesied in the dayes of *Ionas*, whilest the affliction of *Israel* was exceeding big. After; the Text it selfe intimating no lesse: by which consequence, he was elder than the other Prophets, whose workes are now extant. But his prophecies that concerned the Kingdome of *Israel*, are now lost. That which remaineth of him, seemes, not without reason, vnto some very learned, to haue belonged vnto the time of *Sardanapalus*, in whose dayes *Nimue* was first of all destroyed. This Prophet rather taught Christ by his sufferings, than by his writings now extant: in all the rest are found expresse promises of the Messias.

In the reigne of *Vzzia* likewise it was, that *Esaie*, the first of the foure great Prophets; began to see his visions. This difference of *great* and *lesser* Prophets, is taken from the Volumes which they haue left written (as *S. Augustine* giues reason of the distinction) because the greater haue written larger Bookes. The Prophet *Esaie* was great indeede, not onely in regard of his much writing, or of his Nobility, (for their opinion is reiected, who thinke him to haue bene the sonne of *Amos* the Prophet) and the high account wherein he liued, but for the excellency, both of his stile and argument, wherein he so plainly foretelleth the Birth, Miracles, Passion, and whole Historie of our Sauiour, with the calling of the Gentiles, that he might as well be called an Euangelist, as a Prophet; having written in such wise, That (as *Hierome* saith) one would thinke he did not foretell of things so come, Hier. in prof. super *Esaie*.

Bocchoris was King of *Egypt*, and the ninth yeere of his Reigne, by our computation

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(whereof

whereof in due place we will giue reason) was current, when *Vezia* tooke possession of the Kingdome of *Iuda*.

After the death of *Bacchoris*, *Asychis* followed in the Kingdome of *Aegypt*, vnto him succeeded *Amfis*; and these two occupied that Crowne fixe yeeres. Then *Sabacus*, an *Ethiopian*, became King of *Aegypt*, and held it fiftie yeeres, whereof theren first ran along with the last of *Vezia* his Reigne and life. Of these and other *Egyptian* Kings, more shall be spoken, when their affaires shall come to be intermedd with the businesse of *Iuda*.

In *Athens*, the two last yeeres of *Arifbron* his twenty, the seauen and twentich of *Speius*, the twentich of *Agamemnor*, and three the first of *Eschylus* his three and twenty, made euen with the two and fiftie of *Vezia*: as likewise did in *Alba* the last seauen of *Siluius Auentinus* his seauen and thirty, together with the three and twenty of *Siluius Tuccus*, and two and twenty the first of *Syluius Amulius*. In *Media Arbaces* began his new Kingdome, in the first of *Vezia*, wherein, after eight and twenty yeeres, his Sonne *Sofarmus* succeeded him, and reigned thirty yeeres. Of this *Arbaces*, and the diuision of the *Assyrian* Empire, betwene him and others, when they had oppressed *Sardanapalus*, I hold it conuenient to vife more particular discourse, that we may not wander in too great vncertainty in the Story of the *Assyrian* Kings, who haue already found the way into *Palestina*, and are not likely to forget it.

§. IIII.

Of the *Assyrian* Kings, descending from *Phul*: and whether *Phul* and *Belofus* were one person, or heads of sundry Families, that reigned a-part in *Ninieue* and *Babylon*.

BY that which hath formerly bene shewed of *Sardanapalus* his death, it is apparent, that the chiefe therein was *Arbaces* the *Median*; to whom the rest of the Confederates did not onely submit themselves in that Warre, but were content afterwards to be iudged by him; receiving by his authority sentence of death, or pardon of their forfeited liues. The first example of this his power, was shewne vpon *Belofus* the *Babylonian*, by whose especiall aduice and helpe, *Arbaces* himselfe was become so great. Yet was not this power of *Arbaces* exercised in so tyrannicall a manner, as might giue offence in that great alteration of things; either to the Princes that had assisted him, or to the generality of the people. For in the condemnation of *Belofus*, he vied the counsaile of his other Captaines, and then pardoned him of his owne grace; allowing him to hold, not onely the Citie and Prouince of *Babylon*, but also those treasures, for embelishing whereof his life had bene endangered.

In like manner, he gaue rewards to the rest of his partakers, and made them Rules of Prouinces; retaining (as it appeares) onely the Soueraigntie to himselfe, which tovic immediately he did naturally abhorre. He is said, indeede, to haue excited the *Medes* against *Sardanapalus*, by propounding vnto them hope of transferring the Empire vnto their Nation. And to make good this his promise, he destroyed the Citie of *Ninieue* permitting the Citizens neuertheless to take and carry away euery one his owne goods. The other Nations that ioyned with him, as the *Persians* and *Bactrians*, he drew to his side, by the allurement of liberty; which he himselfe so greatly loued, that by slackning too much the reines of his owne Soueraignty, he did more harme to the generall estate of *Media*, than the pleasure of the freedome, which it enjoyed, could recompence. For both the Territory of that Countrey was pared narrower by *Salmassar* (or perhaps by some of his Progenitors) whom we finde, in the Scriptures, to haue held some Townes of the *Medes*; and the ciuill administration was so disorderly, that the people themselves were glad to see that reformation, which *Dioces*, the last of *Arbaces* his Line, did make in that gouernment, by reducing them into stricter termes of obedience.

How the force of the *Assyrians* grew to be such, as might in fourescore yeeres, if not sooner, both extend it selfe vnto the conquest of *Israel*, & reare away some part of *Media*, it is a question hardly to be answered, not only in regard of the destruction of *Ninieue* and subuersion of the *Assyrian* Kingdome, whereof the *Medes*, vnder *Arbaces*, had the honor, who may seeme at that time to haue kept the *Assyrians* vnder their subiection, when the rest of the Prouinces were set at liberty; but in consideration of the Kings themselves, who

who reigning afterwards in *Babylon* and *Ninieue*, are confounded by some, and distinguished by others; whereby their Historie is made vncertaine.

I will first therefore deliuer the opinion generally receiued, and the grounds whereupon it stands: then, producing the obiections made against it; I will compare together the determination of that worthy man *Ioseph Scaliger*, with those learned that subscribe thereunto, and the iudgement of others that were more ancient Writers, or haue followed the Ancients in this doubtfull case. Neither shall it be needfull to set downe a-part the severall authorities and arguments of sundry men adding somewhat of weight or of clearnesse one to another: it will be enough to relate the whole substance of each discourse: in which I will doe as briefly as I can, and without feare to be taxed of partiality, as being no more addicted to the one opinion than to the other, by any fancy of mine owne, but merely led by those reasons which vpon examination of each part, seemed to me most forcible, though to others they may perhaps appeare weak.

That which, vntill of late, hath passed as currant, is this; That *Belofus* was the same King, who, first of the *Assyrians*, entred *Palestina* with an Armie; being called *Pul*, or *Phul* in the Scriptures, and by *Annus* his Authors with such as follow them, *Phul Belodinus*. Of this man it is said, that he was a skillfull Astrologer, subtile, and ambitious; that he got *Babylon* by composition made with *Arbaces*; and that not therewith content, he got into his hand part of *Assyria*: finally, that he reigned eight and forty yeeres, and then dying, left the Kingdome to *Teglat-phalsar* his Sonne, in whose Posterity it continued some few descents, till the house of *Mero-Jach* prevailed. The truth of this, if *Annus* his *Metastemes* were sufficient prooffe, could not be gaind: for that Author (such as he is) is peremptorie herein. But, howsoever *Annus* his Authors deserve to be suspected, it stands with no reason, that we should conclude all to be false which they affirme. They, who maine this Tradition, iustifie it by diuers good Allegations, as a matter confirmed by circumstances found in all Authors, and repugnant vnto no Historie at all. For it is manifest by the relation of *Diodorus* (which is indeede the foundation whereupon all haue built) that *Arbaces* and *Belofus* were Partners in the action against *Sardanapalus*; and that the *Bactrians*, who ioyned with them, were thought well rewarded with libertie, as likewise other Captaines were with gouernements: but that any third Person was so eminent, as to haue *Assyria* it selfe, the chiefe Countrey of the Empire, bestowed vpon him, it is a thing whereof not the least appearance is found in any History. And certainly it stood with little reason, that the *Assyrians* should be committed vnto a peculiar King, at such time as it was not thought meete to trust them in their owne wals and houses. Rather it is apparent, that the destruction of *Ninieue* by *Arbaces*, and the transplantation of the Citizens, was held a needfull policie because thereby the people of that Nation might be kept downe from aspiring to recover the Soueraignty, which else they would haue thought to belong, as of right, vnto the Seat of the Empire.

Vpon such considerations did the *Romanes*, in ages long after following, destroy *Carthage*, and dissolve the Corporation, or Body politike, of the Citizens of *Capua*; because those two Townes were Mistress of the Empire: a matter esteemed ouerdangerous even to *Rome* it selfe, that was Mistresse of them both. This being so, how can it be thought that the *Assyrians* in three or foure yeeres had created their Kingdome a-new, vnder one *Pul*; or what must this *Pul* haue bene (of whose desertings, or intermeddling, or indeed of whose very name, we finde no mention in the Warre against *Sardanapalus*) to whom the principall parts of the Empire fell, either by generall consent in diuision of the Prouinces, or by his owne power and purchase very soone after? Surely he was none other than *Belofus*, whose neere Neighbourhood gaue him opportunity (as he was wise enough to play his owne game) both to get *Assyria* to himselfe, and to empeach any other man, that should haue attempted to seize vpon it. The Prouince of *Babylon*, which *Belofus* held, being (as *Herodotus* reports) in riches, and power, as good as the third part of the *Persian* Empire, was able to furnish him with all that was requisite for such a businesse: if that were not enough, he had gotten into his owne hands all the gold and siluer that had been in the Palace of *Ninieue*. And questionlesse to restore such a Citie as *Ninieue*, was an enterprise fit for none to take in hand, except he had such means as *Belofus* had; which *Pul*, if he were not *Belofus*, is likely to haue wanted.

Besides all this, had *Pul* been a distinct person from *Belofus*, and Lord of *Assyria*, which

Josephus Ant. l. 10.
cap. 12.

lay beyond the Countries of *Babylon* and *Mesopotamia*, it would not have beene an easie matter for him, to passe quite through another mans Kingdome with an Armie, seeking booties a farre off in *Israel*: the onely action by which the name of *Phul* is knowne. But if we grant, that he, whom the Scriptures call *Pul* or *Phul*, was the same whom prophane writers have called *Belofus*, *Beleses*, and *Belesis*, (in like manner as *Iosephus* acknowledgeth, that he, whom the Scriptures called neuer otherwise than *Darius* the *Mede*, was the same of *Affages*, and called of the *Greekes* by another name, that is, *Cyaxares*) then is this scruple verily removed. For *Babylon* and *Mesopotamia* did border vpon *Syria* and *Palestina*: so that *Belofus*, having settled his affaires in *Affyria* towards the East and North, might with good leasure encroach vpon the Countries that lay on the other side of his Kingdome, to the South and West. He that lookes into all particulars, may finde every one circumstance concurring, to proue that *Phul* who invaded *Israel*, was none other than *Belofus*. For the Prince of the *Arabians*, who ioyned with *Arbaces*, and brought a small part of the forces wherewith *Sardanapalus* was ouerthrowne, did enter into that action, meereley for the loue of *Belofus*. The friendship of these *Arabians* was a thing of maine importance, to those that wereto passe ouer *Euphrates* with an Armie into *Syria*. Wherefore *Belofus*, that held good correspondence with them; and whose most fruitfull Prouince, adioyning to their barraine quarters, might yeerely doe them indissoluble pleasures; was not onely likely to haue quiet passage through their borders, but their vniuersall assistance: yea, it stands with good reason, that they, who loued not *Israel*, should for their owne behoofe haue giuen him intelligence, of the destruction and ciuill broyles among the ten Tribes; whereby as this *Pul* got a thousand talents, so it seemes that the *Syrians* and *Arabians*, that had felt an heauie neighbour of *Iereboam*, recovered their owne, setting vp a new King in *Damasco*, and clearing the coast of *Arabia*, (from the Sea of the Wilderness to *Hamath*) of the *Hebrew* Garrisons. Neither was it any new acquaintance, that made the Nations diuided by *Euphrates* hold together in so good rearmes of friendship: it was ancient consanguinity; the memorie whereof was auailable to the *Syrians*, in the time of *Dauid*, when the *Aramites* beyond the Riuer came out willingly, to the succour of *Hadadazer*, and the *Aramites* about *Damasco*. So *Belofus* had good reason to looke into those parts; what a King reigning so farre off as *Ninine*, should haue to doe in *Syria*, if the other end of his Kingdome had not reached to *Euphrates*; it were hard to shew.

But concerning this last argument of the businesse which might allure the *Chaldeans* into *Palestina*, it may be doubted, lest it should seeme to haue ill coherence with that which hath bene said of the long Anarchie that was in the ten Tribes. For if the Crowne of *Israel* were worn by no man in three and twenty yeeres, then is it likely that *Belofus* was either vnwilling to surre, or vnable to take the aduantage when it was fauour, and first discouered. This might haue compelled those, who alone were not strong enough, to seeke after helpe from some Prince that lay further off; and so the opinion of those that distinguish *Phul* from *Belofus*, would be somewhat confirmed. On the other side, if we say, that *Belofus* did passe the Riuer of *Euphrates*, as soone as he found likelihood of making a prosperous iourney, then may it seeme that the inter-regnum in *Israel* was not so long as we haue made it: for three and twenty yeeres leasure would haue afforded better opportunity, which ought not to haue bene lost.

For answer hereunto, we are to consider, what *Orosius* and *Eusebius* haue written concerning the *Chaldees*: the one, that after the departure of *Arbaces* into *Media*, they laid hold on a part of the Empire: the other, that they preuailed and grew mighty, betweene the times of *Arbaces* and *Deioeces* the *Medes*. Now, though it be held an error of *Orosius*, where he supposeth that the occupying of *Babylonia* by the *Chaldeans*, was in manner of a rebellion from the *Medes*; yet herein he and *Eusebius* doe concur, that the authority of *Arbaces* did restrain the ambition, which by his absence grew bold, and by his death, regardfull onely of it selfe. Now, though some haue coniectured that all *Affyria* was giuen to *Belofus* (as an ouerplus, besides the Prouince of *Babylon* which was his by plain bargain made aforehand) in regard of his high desertings; yet the opinion more commonly received is, that he did onely encroach vpon that Prouince by little and little, whilst *Arbaces* liued, and afterwards dealing more openly, got it all himselfe. Seeing therefore, that there passed but twelue yeeres betweene the death of *Arbaces*, and the beginning of *Menahem* his Reigne; manifest it is, that the conquest

of *Affyria*, and sitting of that Country, was worke enough to hold *Belofus* occupied, besides the reftauration of *Ninine*, which alone was able to take vp all the time remaining of this Reigne, if perhaps he liued to see it finished in his owne dayes. So that this argument may rather serue to proue that *Phul* and *Belofus* were one person; forasmuch as the iourney of *Phul* against *Israel* was not made vntill *Belofus* could finde leisure; and the time of aduantage which *Belofus* did let slip, argued his businesse in some other quarter, namely in that Prouince of which *Phul* is called King. Briefely, it may be said, that he who conquered *Affyria*, and performed somewhat vpon a Country so farre distant as *Palestina*, was likely to haue bene, at least, named in some Historie, or, if not himselfe, yet to his Country to haue bene spoken off for those victories: but we neither heare of *Phul*, in any prophane Author, neither doth any Writer, sacred or prophane, once mention the victories or acts whatsoever of the *Affyrians*, done in those times; whereas of *Belofus*, and the power of the *Chaldeans*, we finde good Record.

Surely, that great slaughter of so many thousand *Affyrians*, in the quarrell of *Sardanapalus*, together with other calamities of that long and vnfortunate warre, which ouerwhelmed the whole Country, not ending but with the ruine and vtter desolation of *Ninine*, must needs haue so weakened the state of *Affyria*, that it could not in thirty yeeres space be able to invade *Palestina*, which the ancient Kings, reigning in *Ninine*, had in all their greatnesse, forborne to attempt. Yet these afflictions, disabling that Country, did helpe to enable *Belofus* to subdue it; who hauing once extended his Dominion to the borders of *Media*, and being (especially if he had compounded with the *Medes*) by the interposition of that Country, secure of the *Syrians*, and other war-like Nations on that side, might very well turne Southward, and try his fortune in those Kingdomes, whereinto ciuill dissention of the inhabitants, and the bordering enuie of the *Arabians* and *Aramites* about *Damasco*, friends and Cousins to the *Chaldeans* and *Mesopotamians*, did inuite him. For these, and the other before alledged reasons, it may be concluded, That what is said of *Pul* in the Scriptures, ought to be vnderstood of *Belofus*; euen as by the names of *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Darius* the *Mede*, *Artaxerxes*, and *Absuerus*, with the like, are thought, or knowne, to be meant the same, whom prophane Historians, by names better knowne in their owne Countries, haue called *Nabopolassar*, *Cyaxares*, and *Ariaxerxes*: especially considering, that hereby we shall neither contradict any thing that hath bene written of old, nor neede to trouble our selues and others with framing new coniectures. This in effect is that, which they alledge in maintenance of the opinion commonly received.

Now this being once granted; other things, of more importance, will of themselves easily follow. For it is a matter of no great consequence to know the truth of this point (considering it apart from that which depends thereon) Whether *Pul* were *Belofus*, or some other man: the whole race of these *Affyrian* and *Babylonian* Kings, wherein are found those famous Princes, *Nabonassar*, *Mardocempadus*, and *Nabopolassar* (famous for the Astronomically obseruations recorded from their times) is the maine ground of this contention. If therefore *Belofus* or *Beleses* were that *Phul* which invaded *Israel*, if he and his posterity reigned both in *Ninine* and in *Babylon*; if he were father of *Tezlar-Phul-Afar*, from whom *Salmanassar*, *Senacherib*, and *Asarhaddon* descended; then it is manifest, that we must seeke *Nabonassar*, the *Babylonian* King, among these Princes; yea, and conclude him to bene one other than *Salmanassar*, who is knowne to haue reigned in those yeeres, which *Ptolemy* the mathematician hath assigned vnto *Nabonassar*. As for *Merodach*, who supplanted *Asarhaddon*, manifest it is, that he and his successors were of another house. This is the scope and end of all his disputation.

But they that maintain the contrary part, will not be satisfied with such coniectures. They lay hold vpon the conclusion, and by shaking that into peeces, hope to ouerthrow all the premisses, vpon which it is inferred. For (say they) if *Nabonassar*, that reigned in *Babylon*, could not be *Salmanassar*, or any of those other *Affyrian* Kings, then is it manifest, that the races were distinct, and that *Phul* and *Belofus* were severall Kings. This consequence is so plaine, that it needes no confirmation. To proue that *Nabonassar* was a distinct person from *Salmanassar*, are brought such arguments as would stagger the resolution of him that had sworn to hold the contrary. For first, *Nabonassar* was King of *Babylon*, and not of *Affyria*. This is proued by his name, which is meereley *Chaldean*, whereas *Salman*, the first part of *Salmanassars* name, is proper to the *Affyrians*.

It is likewise proued by the Astronomical observations, which proceeding from the Babylonians, not from the Assyrians; doe shew, that Nabonassar, from whom Ptolemy drawes that Epoch, or account of times, was a Babylonian, and no Assyrian. Thirdly, and more strongly, it is confirmed by the successor of Nabonassar, which was Mardochempadus, called in his owne language *Mero-dac-ken-pad*, but more briefly in *Ely* his prophesie, *Merodach*, by the former part of his name; or *Merodach Baladan*, the sonne of *Baladan*. Now if *Merodach*, the sonne of *Baladan*, King of *Babel*, were the sonne of Nabonassar, then was Nabonassar none other than *Baladan* King of *Babel*, and not *Salmanassar* King of *Assyria*.

What can be plainer? As for the cadence of these two names, *Nabonassar* and *Salmanassar*, which in *Greece* or *Latine* writing hath no difference, we are taught by *Scaliger*, that in the *Hebrew* letters there is found no affinity therein. So concerning the places of *Babylonia*, whereinto *Salmanassar* carried captiue some part of the ten Tribes; it may well be granted, that in the Province of *Babylon*, *Salmanassar* had gotten somewhat, yet will it not follow that he was King of *Babylon* in selfe. To conclude, *Merodach* began his reign ouer *Babylon* in the sixt yeere of *Hezekiah*, at which time *Salmanassar* tookes *Samaritiam*; therefore, if *Salmanassar* were King of *Babylon*, then must we say that he and *Merodach* yea and *Nabonassar*, were all one man. These are the arguments of that noble and learned Writer *Ioseph Scaliger*; who not contented to follow the common opinion, founded vpon likelihood of coniectures, hath drawne his proofes from matter of more necessary inference.

Touching all that was said before of *Phul Belosus*, for the prouing that *Phul* and *Belosus* were not sundry Kings; *Ioseph Scaliger* pitties their ignorance, that haue spent their labour to so little purpose. Honest and painfull men he confesse that they were, who by their diligence might haue won the good liking of their Readers, had they not, by mentioning *Annus* his Authors, giuen such offence, that men refused thereupon to reade their Bookes and Chronologies. A short answer.

For mine owne part, howeouer I beleue nothing that *Annus* his *Berosus*, *Metasthenes*, and others of that stampe asseme, in respect of their bare authority; yet am I not so squeamish, but that I can well enough digest a good Booke, though I finde the names of one or two of these good fellows alleaged in it: I haue (somewhat peraduenture too often) already spoken my minde of *Annus* his Authors: neuertheless, I may lay here againe, that where other Histories are silent, or speake not enough, there may we without shame borrow of these, as much as agrees with that little which elsewhere we finde, and serueth to expaine or enlarge it without improbabilities.

Neither indeede are those honest and painfull men (as *Scaliger* termes them, meaning, if I mistake him not; good silly fellows) who set downe the Assyrian Kings from *Pul* forwards, as Lords also of *Babylon*, taking *Pul* for *Belosus*, and *Salmanassar* for *Nabonassar*, such Writers as a man should be ashamed or vnwilling to reade. For (to omit a multitude of others, that herein follow *Annus*, though disliking him in generally) *Gerardus Mercator* is not so slight a Chronologer, that he should be laughed out of doores, with the name of an honest meaning fellow.

But I will not make comparisons betwene *Scaliger* and *Mercator*, they were both of them men notably learned: let vs examine the arguments of *Scaliger*, and see whether they be of such force, as cannot either be resisted or auoided. It will easily be granted, that Nabonassar was King of *Babylon*; that he was not King of *Assyria*, some men doubt whether *Scaliger*'s reasons be enough to proue. For though Nabonassar be a Chaldean name, and *Salmanassar* an Assyrian; yet what hinders vs from beleueing, that one man in two languages might be called by two seuerall names? That Astronomic flourished among the Chaldees, is not enough to proue Nabonassar either an Astrologer, or a Chaldean. So it is, that *Scaliger* himselfe calseth them, *Prophetas nescio quos, qui Nabonassarum Astronomum fuisse in somnis viderunt; Prophetas I know not who, that in their sleepe haue dreamt of Nabonassar, that he was an Astrologer*.

Whether Nabonassar were an Astrologer or no, I cannot tell; it is hard to maintaine the negatiue. But as his being Lord ouer the Chaldeans, doth not proue him to haue beene learned in their sciences; so doth it not proue him, not to haue beene also King of *Assyria*. The Emperour *Charles* the fifth, who was borne in *Gant*, and *Philip* his Sonne, King of *Spain*, and Lords of the *Netherlands*, had men farre more learned in all Sciences,

Sciences, and particularly in the Mathematicks, among their Subjects of the Low Countries, than were any that I read of then liuing in *Spain*, if *Spain* at that time had any; yet I thinke, Posteritie will not vse this as an argument, to proue that *Spain* was none of theirs. It may well be, that *Salmanassar* or *Nabonassar*, did vse the Assyrian Souldiers, and Babylonian Schoollers: but it seemes, that hee and his posteritie, by giuing themselves wholly to the more warlike Nation, lost the richer, out of which they first lifted, as likewise King *Philip* lost partly, and partly did put to a dangerous hazard all the *Netherlands*, by such a course. As for the two vn-answerable arguments, (as *Scaliger* termes them, being me-thinks none other than answers to somewhat that is or might be alleaged on the contrary side) one of them which is drawne from the vnlike sound and writing of those names, *Salmanassar* and *Nabonassar* in the *Hebrew*, I hold a point about which no man will dispute; for it is not likeness of sound, but agreement of time, and many circumstances else, that must take away the distinction of persons: the other likewise may be granted; which is, that *Salmanassar* might be Lord of some places in the Province of *Babylon*, yet not King of *Babylon* in selfe: this indeed might be so, and it might be otherwise. Hitherto there is nothing saue conjecture. But in that which is alleaged out of the Prophet *Isai*, concerning *Merodach* the sonne of *Baladan*; and in that which is said of this *Merodach*, or *Mardochempadus*, his being the Successor of Nabonassar, and his beginning to reigne in the sixt yeere of *Hezekiah*, I finde matter of more difficultie, than can be answered in haste. I will therefore deferre the handling of these objections vntill I meet with their subiect in his proper place; which will be when we come to the tinte of *Hezekiah*, wherein *Merodach* liued and was King. Yet that I may not leaue too great a scruple in the minde of the Reader, thus farre will I heere satisfie him; that how strong soeuer this argument may seeme, *Scaliger* himselfe did liue to retract it, ingeniously confessing, that in thinking *Merodach* to be the sonne of Nabonassar, hee had bene deceived.

Now therefore let vs consider, in what sort they haue fashioned their storie, who taking *Pul* to be a distinct person from *Belosus* or *Belesius*, haue in like sort, as was necessary, distinguished their off-spring, making that of *Pul* to faile in *Asarhadon*, which left all to *Merodach* the Babylonian. And heere I must first confesse mine want of Bookes, if perhaps there be many, that haue gone about to reduce this narration into some such order, as might present vnto vs the bodie of this Historie, in one view. Diuers, indeed, therat, whom I haue seene, that since *Ioseph Scaliger* deliuered his opinion, haue written in fauour of some one or other point thereof: but *Sebus Calvisius* himselfe, who hath abridged *Scaliger*'s learned Worke, *De emendatione Temporum*, hath not bene careful to giue vs notice, how long *Belosus*, *Baladan*, *Pul*, or *Tiglat Palsar*, did reigne, (perhaps because he found it not expressed in *Scaliger*) but is content to set downe *Baladan*, for the same person with Nabonassar, which *Scaliger* himselfe reuoked. In this case therefore I must lay downe the plot of these diuided Kingdomes, in such sort as I finde it contriued by *Augustinus Tornellus*; who onely of all that I haue seene, sets downe the succession, continuance, and acts, of those that reigned in *Assyria* after *Sardanapalus*, distinguishing them from *Belosus*, and his Posteritie, of whom hee hath the like remembrance. This *Tornellus* is a Regular Clarke of the congregation of *S. Paul*, whose Annales were printed the last yeere; he appeares to me a man of curious industrie, found iudgement, and free Spirit; yet many times (and I take it, wilfully) forgetfull of thanking, or mentioning those Protestant Writers, by whose Bookes hee hath receiued good information, and enriched his workes by inserting somewhat of theirs. But in this businesse hee hath openly professed to follow *Scaliger*, whole helpe, without wrong or dishonour to himselfe, he hath both vied and acknowledged. For mine owne part, I will not spare to doe so right vnto *Tornellus*; but confesse my selfe to haue receiued benefit by his writing; and with that his Annales had sooner come to light; for that as he hath much confirmed mee in some things, so would he haue instructed and emboldened me, to write more fully and testimoniously in other things, which now I haue not leisure to reuise. Particularly in that coniecture (which I had faintly deliuered, and yet feared lest it had ouer-hastily passed out of my hand, and bene exposed to other mens constructions) of the foure Kings that invaded the Vallie of *Siddim*, and were slaine by *Abraham*, I finde him aduenturing, C. 1. §. 13 as I haue done, to say, that they may probably be thought to haue bene some perie Lord; the contrary opinion of all Writers notwithstanding. But now let vs consider how

how he hath ordered these last *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* Kings. After the destruction of *Sardanapalus*, *Arbaces* being the most mightie, sought to get all to himselfe, but was opposed by *Belofus*, in which contention, one *Phul*, a powerfull man in *Assyria*, sided with *Belofus*, and they two prevailed so farre, that finally *Arbaces* was content to share the Empire with them, making such a diuision thereof, as was long after made of the *Roman* Empire, betwene *Oclanin*, *Antonie*, and *Lepidus*.

Another conjecture is (for *Tornellus* offers not this, or the rest, as matter of certaintie) that *Arbaces* made himselfe Soueraigne Lord of all, and placed the seat of his Empire in *Media*, appointing *Belofus* his Lieutenant in *Babylonia*, and *Phul* in *Assyria*. But in short space, that is, in foure yeeres, it came to passe, by the just iudgement of God, that *Phul* and *Belofus* rebelled against *Arbaces*, like as *Arbaces* had done against *Sardanapalus*; and in stead of being his Viceroyes, made themselves absolute Kings. And to this later opinion *Tornellus* himselfe leans, as being more agreeable to that which is found in prophane Histories. Why he did make and publish the former supposition, resolving to hold the later, I shall anon, without any wrong to him, make bold to guess. Having thus deuided, how *Phul* and *Belofus* might, at the first, attaine to be Kings, he orders their time, and their successors, in this manner.

Foure yeeres after *Arbaces*, *Phul* begins to reigne, and continues eight and forty yeers. *Theglathalsar* (whose name, and the names of other Princes, I write diuerly, according as the Authors whom I haue in hand are pleased to diuersifie them) succeeding vnto *Phul*, reigned three and twentie. *Salmansar* followed him, and reigned tenae. After him *Senacherib* reigned seuen: and when he was slaine, *Asarhaddon* his sonne ten yeers; in whom that Line failed.

The same time that *Phul* tooke vpon him as King of *Assyria*, or not long after, (why not rather afore: for so it had bene more likely) *Belofus* viturped the Kingdome of *Babylon*, and held it threecore and eight yeeres; at the least threecore and eight yeeres did passe, before *Nabonassar* followed him in the possession.

To *Nabonassar*, whom (with *Scaliger*) he thinks to be *Balsadan*, are assigned fixe and twentie yeeres: then two and fiftie to *Merodach*, or *Mardocempadus*: foure and twentie to *Ben Merodach*: and lastly, one and twentie to *Nabalsar*, the father of *Nabuchodonosor*, who is like to offer matter of further disputation.

Concerning the original of these *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* Kingdomes, I may truly say; That the conjectures of other men, who giue all to *Belofus*, and confound him with *Phul*, appeare to me more neerely resembling the truth. Neither doe I thinke, that *Tornellus* would haue conceived two different wayes, by which *Phul* might haue gotten *Assyria* (for how *Belofus* came to get *Babylon*, it is plaine enough) if either of them alone could haue contented him. He adheres to the later of the two, as better agreeing with *Diodore*, and other Historians. But he perceiued, that to make *Phul* on the suddain King of *Assyria*; or to giue him so noble a Prouince, as would, of it selfe, inuite him to accept of the name and power of a King, was a thing most vnlikely to haue happened, vnlesse his deserts (whereof wee finde no mention) had bene proportionable to so high areward. And for this cause (as I take it) hath he deuised the meanes, whereby *Phul* might be made capable of so great a share in the Empire. If this were a true or probable supposition, then would a new doubt arise, Why this *Phul*, being one of the three that diuided all betwene them, was vtterly forgotten by all Historians: yea, why this diuision it selfe, and the ciuill Warres that causedit, were neuer heard of? Questionlesse, the interuening of some Treasures by *Belofus*, with his Iudgement, Condemnation, and Pardon following, were matters of farre lesse note. Therefore I doe not see, how one of the two inconueniences can this way be auoyded; but that eyther we must confesse the Dominion giuen to *Phul* to haue bene exceeding his merits, or else his merits, and name withall, to haue bene strangely forgotten: either of which is enough to make vs thinke, that rather the conjecture, inferring such a sequele, is wiser of the truth. As for the rebellion of *Phul* and *Belofus* against *Arbaces*, it was almost impossible for the *Assyrians* to recover such strength in foure yeeres, as might serue to hold out in rebellion: for *Belofus*, it was needlesse to rebell, considering, that *Arbaces* did not seeke to molest him, but rather permitted (as being an ouer-great fauourer of libertie) euen the *Medes*, that were vnder his owne Government to doe what they listed.

But

But it is now fit that wee peruse the Catalogue of these Kings: not passing through them all: for some will require a large discourse in their owne times) but picking of their order and time in generall. If it be so vnlawfull to thinke, that some of *Annius* his tales (let them all be counted his tales, which are not found in other Authors as well as in his) may be true, especially such, as contradict no acknowledged truth, or appertain likelihood; why then is it said, that *Phul* did reigne in *Assyria* eight and fortie yeeres? For this hath no other ground than *Annius*. It is true, that painfull and iudicious Writers haue found this number of yeeres, to agree fitly with the course of things in History: yet all of them tooke it from *Annius*. Let it therefore be the punishment of *Annius* his fortune (as questionlesse he is often guilty of this crime) that when he tells truth, or probability, he be not beleued for his owne sake; though for our owne sakes we make vse of his boldnesse, taking his words for good, whereas (nothing else being offered) we are vnwilling our selues to be Authors, of new, though not vnprobable conjectures. Heerein we shall haue this commoditie, that we may without blushing alter a little, to helpe our owne opinions, and lay the blame vpon *Annius*, against whom wee shall be sure to finde friends that will take our part.

The reignes of *Theglathalsar* and *Salmansar* did reach, by *Annius* his measure, to the length of fixe and twenty yeeres the one, and seuenteen the other; *Tornellus* hath cut off two from the former, and seuen from the later of them, to fit (as I thinke) his owne computation; vsing the liberty whereof I spake last: for that any Author, saue our good *Methuens*, or those that borrowed of him, hath gone about to tell how long each of these did reigne, it is more then I haue yet found. To *Senacherib* and *Asarhaddon*, *Tornellus* giues the same length of reignes, which is found in *Methuens*. I thinke there are not many, that will arrogate so much vnto themselves, as may very well be allowed vnto a man so iudicious as is *Tornellus*: and yet I could wish that hee had forborne to condemne the followers of *Annius*, in this business, wherein hee himselfe hath chosen, in part, rather to become one of them, than to say, as else he must haue done, almost nothing.

The like liberty we finde that he hath vsed in measuring the reignes of the *Chaldeans*; so filling up all the space betwene the end of *Sardanapalus*, and the beginning of *Nabonassar*, with the threecore and eight yeeres of *Belofus*. In this respect it was, perhaps, that he thought *Belofus* might haue begun his reignes somewhat later than *Phul*: for threecore and eight yeeres would seeme a long time for him to hold a Kingdome, that was no young man when he tooke possession of it. But how is any whie of his age abated by shortning his reignes, seeing his life reacheth to the end of such a time, as were alone, without adding the time wherein he was a priuate man, enough for a long liuer? Indeed, eight and forty yeeres had bene somewhat of the most, considering that hee seemes by the storie to haue bene little lesse, at such time as he ioyned with *Arbaces*; and therefore the addition of twenty yeeres, did well deserue that note (which *Tornellus* aduisedly giues) that if his reignes extended not so farre, then the reignes of such as came after him, occupied the mid-time, vnto *Nabonassar*.

Neither doe reprehend the boldnesse of *Tornellus*, in conjecturing, nor the modestie of *Scaliger* and *Sebus Calvisius*, in forbearing to set downe as warrantable, such things as depend onely vpon likelihood. For things, whereof the perfect knowledg is taken away from vs by Antiquitie, must be described in History, as Geographers in their Maps describe those Countreies, whereof as yet there is made no true discouerie, that is, eyther by leaving some part blanke, or by inserting the Land of Pigmies, Rocks of loadestone, with Head-lands, Bayes, great Riueres, and other particularities, agreeable to common report, though many times controlled by following experience, and found contrarie to truth. Yet indeed the ignorance growing from distance of place, allows not such libertie to a Describer, as that which ariseth from the remediless obliuion of consuming time. For it is true that the Poet saith;

— Neg. seruatis
Pars inclusa caloribus
Mundi, nec Boree finitimum lasus,
Duratq. sole Nixes,
Mercatorem abigunt: horrida callidi
Vincunt aequora Nautica.

Nor

Nor Southerne heare, nor Northerne shew
That freezing to the ground doth grow,
The subject Regions can fence,
And keepe the greedie Merchant thence.
The subtle Shipmen way will finde,
Storme neuer so the Seas withinde.

Therefore the fictions (or let them be called conjectures) painted in Maps, doe leue onely to mislead such discoverers as rashly beleue them; drawing vpon the publishers, eyther some angry curses, or well deserued scorne; but to keepe their owne credit, they cannot serue alwaies. To which purpose I remember a pretie jest of *Don Pedro de Sarmiento*, a worthy Spanish Gentleman, who had bene employed by his King in planting a Colonie vpon the Streights of *Magellan*: for when I asked him, being then my Prisoner, some question about an Island in those Streights, which me thought, might haue done cyther benefit or displeasure to his enterprise, he told me merrily, that it was to be called the *Painters wines Island*; saying, That whilest the fellow drew that Map, his wife sitting by, desired to put in one Countrey for her; that she, in imagination, might haue an Island of her owne. But in filling vp the blankes of old Histories, wee need not be so scrupulous. For it is not to be feared, that time should runne backward, and by restoring the things themselves to knowledge, make our conjectures appeare ridiculous: What if some good Copie of an ancient Author could be found, shewing (if we haue it not already) the perfect truth of these vncertainties: would it bee more shame to haue beleued in the meane while, *Annius* or *Tornellius*, than to haue beleued nothing? Here I will not say, that the credit, which wee giue to *Annius*, may chance otherwhiles to be giuen to one of those Authors whose names he pretendeth. Let it suffice, that in regard of authority, I had rather trust *Scaliger* or *Tornellius*, than *Annius*; yet him than them, if his assertion be more probable, and more agreeable to approoued Histories than their conjecture, as in this point it seemes to me; it hauing moreover gotten some credit, by the approbation of many, and those not meanly learned.

To end this tedious disputation; I hold it a sure course in examination of such opinions, as haue once gotten the credit of being generally, so to deale as *Pacuvius* in *Capadid* with the multitude, finding them desirous to put all the Senators of the Citie to death. He lockt the Senators vp within the State-house, and offered their liues to the Peoples mercie; obtaining thus much, that none of them should perish, vntill the Commonalty had both pronounced him worthy of death, and elected a better in his place. The condemnation was hastie; for as fast as euery name was read, all the town cryed, Let him die: but the execution required more leisure; for in substituting of another, some notorious vice of the Person, or baseness of his condition, or insufficiencie of his qualitie, made each new one that was offered, to be rejected: so that finding the worse and lesse choise, the further and the more that they sought, it was finally agreed, that the olde should be kept for lacke of better.

§ V.

Of the Olympiads, and the time when they began.

After this diuision of the *Assyrian* Empire, folloves the instauration of the *Olympian* games, by *Iphitus*, in the reigne of the same King *Pezia*, and in his one and fiftieth yeere. It is, I know, the generall opinion, that these games were established by *Iphitus*, in the first of *Iotham*: yet is not that opinion so generally, but that Authors, waightie enough, haue giuen to them a more early beginning. The truth is, that in fitting those things vnto the sacred Historie, which are found in prophane Authors, wee should not be too carefull of drawing the *Hebrewes* to those workes of time, which had no reference to their affaires; it is enough, that setting in due order these beginnings of accounts, we ioine them to matters of *Israel* and *Juda*, where occasion requires.

These *Olympian* games and exercises of activitie, were first instituted by *Hercules*, who measured the length of the race by his owne foot; by which *Pythagoras* found out the stature and likely strength of *Hercules* his bodie. They tooke name, not from the Mountaine *Olympus*, but from the Citie *Olympia*, otherwise *Pisa*, neere vnto *Elis*; where also

Jupiter

Jupiter Temple in *Elis*, famous among the *Gracians*, and repared among the wonders of the World, was knowne by the name of the Temple of *Jupiter Olympus*. These games were exercised from euery fourth yeere compleat, in the plaines of *Elis*, a Citie of *Peloponnesus*, neere the river *Alpheus*.

After the death of *Hercules*, these meetings were discontinued for many yeeres; till *Iphitus* by aduice from the Oracle of *Apollo*, re-established them, *Lycurgus* the Law-giver then liuing: from which time they were continued by the *Gracians*, till the reigne of *Theodosius* the Emperor, according to *Cedrenus*: others thinke that they were dissolved vnder *Constantine* the Great.

From this institution, *Varro* accompted the *Gracian* times, and their stories, to be certaine: but reckoned all before either doubtful, or fabulous: and yet *Plinie* giues little credit to all that is written of *Greece*, till the reigne of *Cyrus*, who began in the fise and fiftieth *Olympiad*, as *Eusebius* out of *Diadore*, *Cassio*, *Polybius*, and others hath gathered, in whole time the seuen wise *Gracians* flourished. For *Solon* had speech with *Croesus*, and *Croesus* was ouerthrowne and taken by *Cyrus*.

Many patient and piercing braines haue laboured to finde out the certaine beginning of these *Olympiads*, namely, to set them in the true yeere of the World, and the reigne of such and such Kings: but seeing they all differ in the first accompt, that is, of the Worlds yeere, they can hardly iumpe in particulars thereof depending.

Cyril against *Julian*, and *Didymus*, begin the *Olympiads* the nine and fortieth of *Osius*, or *Asarath*.

Eusebius, who is conerarie to himselfe in this reckoning, accounts with those that finde the very first *Olympiad* in the beginning of the foure hundredth and sixth yeere after *Troy*, euen yettelth vs, that it was in the fiftieth yeere of *Pezia*, which is (as I finde it) two yeeres later.

Erastothenes placeth the first *Olympiad* foure hundred and seuen yeeres after *Troy*, reckoning the yeeres that passed betwene; to whom *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, *Diadorus Siciliensis*, *Plutarchus*, *Solinus*, and many others adhere.

The distance betwene the destruction of *Troy*, and the first *Olympiad*, is thus collected by *Erastothenes*. From the taking of *Troy*, to the descent of *Hercules* his Posteritie into *Peloponnesus*, were foure score yeeres; thence to the *Ionian* expedition, three score yeeres; from that expedition to the time of *Lycurgus* his gouernement in *Sparta*, one hundred fiftie nine; and thence to the first *Olympiad*, one hundred and eight yeeres. In this account the first yeere of the first *Olympiad* is not included.

But vaine labour it were, to seeke the beginning of the *Olympiads*, by numbering the yeeres from the taking of *Troy*, which is of a date farre more vncertaine. Let it suffice, that by knowing the instauration of these games, to haue been in the foure hundredth and eight yeere current after *Troy*, wee may reckon backe to the taking of that Citie, setting that, and other accidenes, which haue reference thereto, in their proper times. The certaintie of things following the *Olympiads*, must needs teach vs how to finde when they began.

To this good vse, we haue the ensuing yeeres, vnto the death of *Alexander* the Great, thus diuided by the same *Erastothenes*. From the beginning of the *Olympiads*, to the passage of *Xerxes* into *Greece*, two hundredth foure score and seuentee yeeres; from thence to the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* Warre, eight and fortie yeeres; forwards to the victorie of *Lysander*, seuen and twentie; to the battaile of *Leuctra*, thirtie foure; to the death of *Philip* King of *Macedon*, fise and thirtie; and finally to the death of *Alexander*, twelue. The whole summe ariseth to 453. yeeres; which number he otherwise also collecteth, and it is allowed by the most.

Now for placing the institution of the *Olympiads* in the one & fiftieth yeere of *Pezia*, we haue arguments grounded vpon that which is certaine, concerning the beginning of *Cyrus* his reigne, and the death of *Alexander*; as also vpon the Astronomicall calculation of sundrie Eclipses of the Sunne, as of that which happened, when *Xerxes* set out of *Sardis* with his Armie to invade *Greece*; and of diuers other.

Touching *Cyrus*, it is generally agreed that his reigne as King, before he was Lord of the great Monarchie, began the first yeere of the fise and fiftieth *Olympiad*, and that hee reigned thirty yeeres; they who giue him but twentie nine yeeres of reigne (following *Herodotus* rather than *Tully*, *Iustine*, *Eusebius*, and others) begin a yeere later, which comes all

all to one reckoning. So is the death of *Alexander* set by all good Writers, in the first yeere of the hundredth and fourteenth *Olympiad*. This later note of *Alexanders* death, I serue well to leade vs backe to the beginning of *Cyrus*; as many the like obseruations doe. For if wee reckon vppwards from the time of *Alexander*, wee shall finde all to agree with the yeeres of the *Olympiads*, wherein *Cyrus* began his reigne, either as King, or (taking the word Monarch, to signifie a Lord of many Kingdomes) as a great Monarch. From the beginning of *Cyrus*, in the first yeere of the five and fiftieth *Olympiad*, vnto the end of the *Perſian* Empire, which was in the third of the hundredth and twelfth *Olympiad*, wee finde two hundred and thirty yeeres compleat: from the beginning of *Cyrus* his Monarchie, which lasted but seven yeeres, we finde compleat two hundred and seven yeeres, which was the continuance of the *Perſian* Empire.

Now therefore seeing that the first yeere of *Cyrus* his Monarchie (which was the last of the sixtieth *Olympiad*, and the two hundredth and fortieth yeere from the institution of those games by *Iphius*) followed the last of the seuentie yeeres of the captiuitie of *Iuda*, and delolation of the Land of *Israel*; manifest it is, that we must reckon backe those seuentie yeeres, and one hundred threescore and ten yeeres more, the last which passed vnder the Kings of *Iuda*, to finde the first of these *Olympiads*; which by this accompt is the one and fiftieth of *Vzziah*, as we haue already noted.

The Eclipses whereof wee made mention, serue well to the same purpose. For examples sake, that which was seene when *Xerxes* mustered his Armie at *Sardis*, in the two hundredth threescore, and seuench yeere of *Nabonassar*, being the last of the threescore and fourteenth *Olympiad*, leades vs backe vnto the beginning of *Xerxes*, and from him to *Cyrus*, whence we haue a faire way through the threescore and ten yeeres, vnto the destruction of *Ierusalem*; and so vppwards through the reignes of the last Kings of *Iuda*, to the one and fiftieth yeere of *Vzziah*.

Thus much may suffice, concerning the time wherein these *Olympiads* beganne.

To tell the great solemnities of them, and with what exceeding great concourse of all *Greece* they were celebrated, I hold it a superfluous labour. It is enough to say that all bodily exercises, or the most of them, were therein practised; as Running, Wrestling, Fighting, and the like. Neither did they onely contend for the Maistrise in those feats; whereof there was good vse, but in running of Chariots, fighting with Whorle-bas, and other the like ancient kindes of exercises, that serued onely for ostentation. This also repaired Orators, Poets, Musicians, and all that thought themselves excellent in any laudable qualitie, to make triall of their skill. Yea the very Cryers which proclaimed the victories, contended which of them should get the honour, of hauing plaied the best part.

The *Eleans* were Presidents of those Games, whose iustice, in pronouncing without partialitie, who did best, is highly commended. As for the rewards given to the Victors, they were none other than Garlands of Palme, or Oliue, without any other commoditie following, than the reputation. Indeede there needed no more. For that was held so much, that when *Diagoras* had seene his three sonnes crowned forth their severall victories in those games, one came running to him with this gratulation: *Morere, Diagoras, non enim in celum ascensus es*; that is, *Die Diagoras, For thou shalt not come up to heauen*: as if there could be no greater happinesse on earth, than what already had befallen him. In the like sense *Horace* speaks of these Victors, calling them,

*Quos Elae domum reducit
Palma caules.*

Such as like heavenly wights doe come
With an Eleian Garland home.

Neither was it onely the voice of the People, or songs of Poets, that so highly extolled them, which had wonne these *Olympian* prizes, but euen graue Historians thought it a matter worthe of their noting. Such was (as *Tullie* counts it) the vanitie of the *Greekes*, that they esteemed it almost as great an honour, to haue wonne the victorie at Running or Wrestling in those games, as to haue triumphed in Rome for some famous victorie, or conquest of a Prouince.

That these *Olympian* games were celebrated at the full of the Moone, and vpon the fifteenth

*Horat. Carm.
l. 4. Ode 2.*

*Tull. in Orat.
pro Plancio.*

fifteenth day of the Moneth *Hecatombeon*, which doth answere to our *June*; and what meanes they vsed to make the Moneth begin with the new Moone, that the fifteenth day might be the full; I haue shewed in another place. Wherefore I may now returne vnto the Kings of *Iuda*, & leaue the merrie *Greekes* at their games, whom I shall meet in more serious employments, when the *Perſian* quarrells draw the bodie of this Historie into the coasts of *Ionia* and *Helleſpont*.

§ VI.

Of *Iotham* and his Contemporaries.

Iotham the sonne of *Vzziah*, when hee was five and twenty yeeres old, and in the second of *Pekah* King of *Israel*, was anointed King in *Ierusalem*, his Father yet liuing. He built an exceeding high Gate to the Temple, of threescore cubits vpright, and therefore called *Ophel*: besides diuers Cities in the Hills of *Iuda*, and in the Forts, Towers, and Palaces: he enforced the *Ammonites* to pay him Tribute, to wit, of Silver an hundred talents, and of Wheat and Barly two thousand measures: he reigned five and twentie yeeres: of whom *Iosephus* giues this testimony: *Eius modi vero Principis hic fuit, ut nullum in eo virtutis genus desideres: ut qui Deum adeo pie coluerit, hominum suis adeo iuste praeſuerit, vrbem ipsam tante sibi cura esse passus sit, & tam opere aduerſi, ut vniuersum regnum hostibus quidem minime contemnendum, domesticis autem ciuiculis atque ciuibus saluū, sanctum & fortunatum sua virtute effecere*; This was (such a Prince, as a man could finde no kind of vertue wanting in him: hee worshipped God so religiously he gouerned his men so rigorously, he was so prouident for the Citie, and did so greatly amplify it, that by his vertue and prowesse he made his whole Kingdome not contemptible to his enemies, but to his Seruants, Inhabitants and Citizens, prosperous and happy.

This is all that I finde of *Iotham*: his reigne was not long, but as happie in all things, as he himselfe was deuout and vertuous.

Auchmenes about this time succeeded *Phelisteus* in *Corinth*: after whom, the *Corinthians* erected Magistrats, which gouerned from yeere to yeere. And yet *Pausanias* in his second Booke, with *Strabo* and *Plutarch*, in many places are of opinion, that *Corinth* was gouerned by Kings of the race of the *Bacidae*, to the time of *Cypselus*, who droue them out.

Tiglathphalſar, or *Tiglathpeleſer*, the sonne of *Phul*, the second of the *Babylonians* and *Assyrian* that was of this new race, about this time inuaded *Israel*, while *Pekah* (who murdered his Master *Pekaiab*) was King thereof. In which Expedition he tooke most of the Cities of *Nephtali* and *Galile*, with those of *Gilead*, our *Jordan*, and carried the inhabitants captiue. This *Tiglath* reigned five and twentie yeeres, according to *Metaſthenes*. But *Krentzheimius* findes, that with his sonne *Salmanaſſar* he reigned yet two yeeres longer: which yeeres I would not ascribe to the sonne, because the *Aera* of *Nabonassar* begins with his single reigne, but reckon them to *Tiglath Phulſar* himselfe, who therewith reigned 27. yeeres.

Aſtibus, the sonne of *Agamemſtor*, about the same time, the twelfth Archon in *Athens*, ruled 15. yeeres. *Alcamenes* gouerned *Sparta*: after whom, the Estate changed, according to *Eusebius*; but therein surely *Eusebius* is mistaken. For *Diodore*, *Plutarch*, *Pausanias*, and others witness the contrary. *Pausanias* affirmeth, That *Polydorus*, a Prince of eminent vertues, succeeded his father, and reigned 60. yeeres, and our liued the *Messenack* warre: which was ended by *Theopompus*, the sonne of *Nicander*, his royall companion.

At this time liued *Nabum* the Prophet, who foretold the destruction of the *Assyrian* Empire, and of the Citie of *Ninive*; which succeeded (saith *Iosephus*) a hundred & fifteen yeeres after. The Cities of *Cyrene* and of *Aradus* were built at this time, while in *Media*, *Sorasmus* and *Medidus* reigned, being the second and third Kings of those parts.

§ VII.

Of *Achaz* and his Contemporaries.

Has, or *Achaz*, succeeded vnto *Iotham* in the seuenteenth yeere of *Pekah*, the son of *Remaliah*: the same being also the last yeere of his fathers reigne, who began in the second of the same *Pekah*, and reigned 16, but not compleat yeeres. This

Ccc

Achaz

Abaz was an Idolater, exceeding all his predecessors. He made molten Images for *Baalim*, and burnt his Sonne for sacrifice before the Idoll *Moloch*, or *Saturne*, which was presented by a man-like brazen bodie, bearing the head of a Calf, set vp not farre from *Ierusalem*, in a Valley shadowed with Woods, called *Gehinnom*, or *Tophet*, from whence the word *Gehenna* is vied for Hell. The children offered, were inclosed within the carcase of this Idoll, and as the fire encreased, so the sacrificers, with a noyse of Cymbals and other Instruments, filled the ayre, to the end the pittifull cries of the children might not be heard: which vnnatural, cruell, and diuellish Oblation, *Ieremie* the Prophet vehemently reprehendeth, and of which *Saint Hierome* vpon the tenth of *Matthew* hath written at large. By the prohibition in *Leuiticus* the eighteenth, it appeareth that this horrible sinne was ancient: in the twelfth of *Deuteronomie*, it is called an abomination which God hateth. That it was also practised elsewhere, and by many Nations remote from *Iudaea*, diuers Authors witnesse; as *Virgil* in the second of *Aeneids*, — *Sanguine placatus, Cyce, and Silius*, — *Postere cade Deos*. *Saturne* is said to haue brought this custome into *Italie*, besides the casting of many soules into the Riuer of *Tyber*, in stead of which, *Hercules* commanded, that the waxen Images of men should be throwne in and drowned. The Deuill also taught the *Carthaginians* this kinde of butcherie, in-fomuch, that when their Citie was besieged, and in distresse, the Priest made them beleue, that because they had spared their owne children, and had bought and brought vp others to be offered, that therefore *Saturne* had stirred vp, and strengthened their Enemies against them: whereupon they presently caused two hundred of the noblest youths of their Citie to be slaine, and offered to *Saturne* or *Satan*, to appeale him: who besides these forenamed Nations had instructed the *Rhodians*, the people of *Crete*, and *Chios*, of *Messene*, of *Galatia*, with the *Massagets*, and others, in these his seruices. Further, as if he were not content to destroy the soules of many Nations in *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*, (as *Acetile* writeth) the *Mexicans* and other people of *America*, were brought by the Deuill vnder this fearefull seruitude, in which he also holdeth the *Floridians* and *Virginians* at this day.

For the wickednesse of this King *Abaz*, God stirred vp *Resin* of *Damascus*, and *Pekab* the Sonne of *Remaliah*, King of *Israel* against him, who invaded *Iudaea*, and besieged *Ierusalem*, but entred it not.

The King of *Syria*, *Resin*, posselt himselfe of *Elah* by the Red Sea, and cast the *Yeru* out of it; and *Pekab* slaughtered in one day an hundred and twenty thousand *Iudaeans*, the ablest of the Kingdome, at which time *Masfiah*, the Sonne of *Achaz* was also slaine by *Zichri*, with *Azrikam* the Gouverneur of his house: and *Elcanath* the second person vnto the King. Besides all this, two hundred thousand prisoners of women and children, the *Israelites* led away to *Samaria*: but by the counsell of the Prophet *Oded*, they were returned and deliuered backe againe.

As *Israel* and *Aram* vexed *Iuda* on the North; so the *Edomites* and the *Philistims*, who euermore attended the ruine of *Iudaea*, entred vpon them from the South; and took *Beth-p* *Semes*, *Aialon*, *Gaderoth*, *Socho*, *Tinnah*, and *Gemza*, slew many people, and carried away many prisoners. Whereupon when *Achaz* saw himselfe enuironed on all sides, and that his Idols and dead gods gaue him no comfort, he sent to the *Affryan* *Tiglatphileser*, to desire some aide from him against the *Israelites* and *Aramites*, presenting him with the silver and gold both of the Temple, and Kings House.

Tiglatphileser wanted not a good example to follow, in making profit of the troubles that rose in *Palestina*. His Father hauing lately made himselfe from a Proinciall Lieutenant, King of *Babylon* and *Affrya*, had a little before led him the way into *Iudaea*, invited by *Menahem*, King of *Israel*. Wherefore now the Sonne willingly harkened to *Achaz*, and embraced the aduantage. As for *Belochus* himselfe, he was content to assigne some other time for going through with this enterprize: because (as I haue said before) he was not firmly settled at home, and the *Syrian* Kings lay directly in his way, who were yet strong both in men and fame. But *Tiglat*, hauing now, with the treasures of *Ierusalem*, prepared his Armie, first invaded the Territorie of *Damascus*, wanne the Citie, and killed *Resin* the last of the race of the *Adads*, who began with *Dauid*, & ended with this *Achaz*. At *Damascus* *Achaz* met *Tiglat*, and taking thence a patterne of the Altar, sent into *Yriah* the Priest, commanding the like to be made at *Ierusalem*, whereon at his returne hee burnt Sacrifice to the Gods of the *Syrians*. In the meane while *Tiglat* posselt all *Basan*, and

2. King. 26. 1.
2. Chron. 28.

C. 7. 12. 32.

Euseb. de Prop.
Evang. l. 6.
Dion. l. 1.
Diod. l. 20.

Acetile. de Hist.
nat. l. 7. mor.
Iuda.

2. Chron. 28. 6.

2. Chron. 28.

2. Kings. 16.

and the rest by and *Iordan*, which belonged to the Tribes of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and *Manasse*. And then passing the Riuer, he mastered the Cities of *Galilee*, invaded *Ephraim*, and the Kingdome of *Israel*, and made them his Vassalls. And notwithstanding that he was inuaded and waged by *Achaz*, yet after the spoile of *Israel*, he posselt himselfe of the greater part of *Iuda*, and as it seemeth, enforced *Achaz* to pay him Tribute. For in the second of Kings, the eighteenth, it is written of *Ezechias*, that he revolted from *Affur*, or rebelled against him, and therefore was inuaded by *Sennacherib*. After *Abaz* had beheld and borne these miseries, in the end of the sixteenth yeere of his reigne he died: but was not buried in the Sepulchers of the Kings of *Iuda*.

With *Abaz* liued *Medias*, the third Prince in *Media*, who gouerned 40. yeeres, saith *Eusebius*: *Diodorus* and *Ctesias* finde *Anticarnus* in stead of this *Medias*, to haue bene *Euseb. in Chre. Sogarnus* his Successour, to whom they giue 50. yeeres.

Tiglatphileser held the Kingdome of *Affrya*, all the reigne of *Abaz*: yet so, that *Salmanassar* his Sonne may seeme to haue reigned with him some part of the time. For wee finde that *Abaz* did send vnto the Kings of *Affur* to helpe him. The *Genea* note saies, that these Kings of *Affur*, were *Tiglatphileser*, and those Kings that were vnder his Dominion. But that he or his Father had hitherto made such conquests, as might giue him the Lordship ouer other Kings, I doe neither finde any Historie, nor circumstance that pro-ueeth. Wherefore I thinke that these Kings of *Affur*, were *Tiglat*, and *Salmanassar*.

Some, who reigned with his Father, as hath bene said before: though how long hee reigned with his Father, it had bene hard to define.

Arthistime began the *Ephori* in *Lacedaemon*, a hundred and thirty yeeres after *Lycurgus* *Plut. in vita Sola*. according to *Plutarch*. *Eusebius* makes their beginning farre later, namely, in the fifteenth Olympiad. Of these *Ephori*, *Elalus* was the first; *Theopompus* and *Polydorus*, being then joynt Kings. These *Ephori*, chosen euery yeere, were controllers, as well of their Senators as of their Kings, nothing being done without their aduice and consent. For (saith *Cicero*) they were opposed against their Kings, as the *Roman* Tribunes against the Consuls. In the time of *Abaz* died *Aeschylus*, who had ruled in *Athens* ever since the fiftieth yeere of *Pozia*. *Alcamenon* the thirteenth of the *Medonids*, or Gouvernours of the *Athenians* (so called of *Medon* who followed *Codrus*) succeeded his Father *Aeschylus*, and was the last of their Gouvernors: he ruled onely two yeeres. For the *Athenians* changed first from Kings (after *Codrus*) to Gouvernors for life; which ending in this *Alcamenon*, they enacted Magistrate, whom they termed an *Archon*, who was a kinde of *Barehomas*, or Gouvernor of their City for ten yeeres.

This alteration *Pausanias* in his fourth Booke begins, in the first yeere of the eight Olympiad. *Eusebius* and *Halicarnassus* in the first of the seuenth Olympiad: at which time indeed, *Carops* the first of these, began his ten yeeres rule.

The Kingdome of the *Latines* gouerned about three hundred yeere by the *Sylui*, of the race of *Aeneas*, tooke end in the same *Abaz* time: the foundation of *Rome*, being laid by *Remulus* and *Remus* in the eight yeere of the same King. *Codoman* builds it the eleuenth of *Achaz*, *Bucholzer* in the eighth, as I thinke hee should; others somewhat later, and in the reigne of *Ezechias*. *Cicero*, *Eutropius*, *Orosius*, and others, square the time of the foundation to the third yeere of the sixth Olympiad. But *Halicarnassus*, *Solinus*, *Antiochus*, *Clement*, *Alexandrinus*, and *Eusebius*, to the first yeere of the eleuenth: who seeme not onely to me, but to many very learned Chronologers, to haue kept herein the best account.

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CHAP. XXIII.

Of the Antiquities of Italie, and foundation of Rome in
the time of Ahas.

§. I.

Of the old Inhabitants, and of the name of Italie.



whom *Halicarnassus* thinks to haue bene the first, that brought a Colonie of *Acadians* into that Land. Afterward it was called *Italie* of *Italus*: concerning which changes of names, *Virgil* speakes thus:

*Est locus, Hesperiam Graij cognomine dicunt:
Terra antiqua, potens armis, atque ubere gleba:
Oenotrij coluere viri, nunc fama, minores
Italiam dixisse, ducis de nomine, gentem.*

There is a Land which *Greekes* *Hesperia* name,
Ancient, and strong, of much fertilitie:
Oenotrians held it, but we heare by fable,
That by late ages of Posteritie,
'Tis from a Captaines name called *Italie*.

Who this Captaine or King may haue bene, it is very vncertaine. For *Virgil* speakes no more of him, and the opinions of others are many and repugnant. But like enough it is, that the name which hath continued so long vpon the whole Countrey, and wome out all other denominations, was not at the first accepted without good cause. Therefore to finde out the originall of this name, and the first planters of this noble Countrey, *Reynecius* hath made a very painfull search, and not improbable coniecture. And first of all he grounds vpon that of *Halicarnassus*, who speakes of a Colonie which the *Eleans* did leade into *Italie*, before the name of *Italie* was giuen to it: Secondly, vpon that of *Isidore*, who saith, that *Brundisium* was a Colonie of the *Atolians*: Thirdly, vpon that of *Strabo*, who affirms the same of *Temesa* or *Tempa*, a Citie of the *Brutij* in *Italie*: Lastly, vpon the authoritie of *Plinie*, who shewes that the *Italians* did inhabit only one Region of the Land, whence afterward the name was deriued ouer all. Concerning that which is said of the *Eleans* and *Atolians*, who (as hee shewes) had one originall; from them he brings the name of *Italie*. For the word *Italia*, differs in nothing from *Atolia*, saue that the first Letter is cast away, which in the *Greeke* words is common; and the letter (o) is changed into (a) which change is found in the name of *Atalia* an Island neere *Italie*, propred by the *Atolians*: and the like changes are very familiar in the *Atole* Dialect, of which Dialect (being almost proper to the *Atolians*) the accent & pronunciation, together with many words little altered, were retained by the *Latines*, as *Dionysius Halicarnassus*, *Quintilian*, and *Priscian* the Grammarian teach.

Heereunto appertaines that of *Julian* the Apostata, who called the *Greekes*, cousins of the *Latines*. Also the common Originall of the *Greekes* and *Latines* from *Ianus*; and the Fable of *Ianus*, whose Image had two faces, looking East and West, as *Greece* and *Italie* lay, and was stamped on Coynes, with a Shippe on the other side; all which is, by interpretation, referred to *Ianus*, father of the *Greekes* and *Latines*: who sailing ouer the *Ionian* Sea, that lies betwene *Atolia* and the Westerne parts of *Greece* and *Italie*, planted Colonies in both. Now whereas *Reynecius* thinks, that the names

of *Atlas* and *Italus* belonged both to one man, and thereto applies that of *Berosus*, who called *Cebimus*, *Italus*; though it may seeme strengthened by the marriage of *Dardanus*, whilst he abode in *Italie* with *Electra*, the daughter of *Atlas*, yet is it by arguments (in my valuation) greater and stronger, easily disproued. For they who make mention of *Atlas*, place him before the time of *Moses*: and if *Atlas* were *Cebimus*, or *Kittim*, then was he the sonne of *Ianan*, and nephew of *Iapheth*, the eldest sonne of *Noah*: which antiquity farre exceeds the name of *Italie*, that began after the departure of *Hercules* out of the Countrey, not long before the Warre of *Troy*.

Likewise *Virgil*, who speakes of *Atlas*, and of *Dardanus* his marriage with *Electra*, to both nothing of his meeting with her in *Italie*; but calleth *Electra* & her sister *Maja* (poetically) daughters of the Mountaine *Atlas* in *Africa*, naming *Italus* among the *Kings* of the *Aborigines*; which he would not haue done, had *Atlas* and *Italus* been one person.

As for the authoritie of *Berosus* in this case, we need the lesse to regard it, for that *Reynecius* himselfe, whose coniectures are more to be valued than the dreames wherewith *Amasius* hath filled *Berosus*, holds it but a figment.

That the name of *Italie* began long after *Atlas*, it appears by the Verses of *Virgil* last rehearsed, wherein hee would not haue said, — *Nunc fama minores Italiam dixisse ducis de nomine gentem*, had that name bene heard of ere *Dardanus* left the Countrey. But seeing that, when *Hercules*, who died a few yeeres before the Warre of *Troy*, had left in *Italie* a Colonie of the *Eleans* (who in a manner were one and the same Nation with the *Asolians*, as *Strabo*, *Herodotus*, and *Pausanias* teach) then the name of *Italie* began; and seeing *Virgil* makes mention of *Italus* among the *Italian* *Kings*, it were no great boldnesse to say, that *Italus* was Commander of these *Eleans*. For though I remember not that I haue read of any such *Greeke* as was named *Italus*, yet the name of *Atolus*, written in *Greece* *Atolus*, was very famous among the *Atolians*, and among the *Eleans*, he being sonne of a King of *Elis*, and founder of the *Atolian* Kingdome. Neyther is it more hard to deriue the name of *Italus* from *Atolus*, then *Italia* from *Atolia*. So may *Virgil*'s authoritie stand well with the collections of *Reynecius*; the name of *Italie* being taken both from a Captaine, and from the Nation, of which hee and his people were.

§. II.

Of the Aborigines, and other Inhabitants of Latium, and of the reason of the names of Latini and Latium.

Italie the *Latines* and *Hetrurians* were most famous; the *Hetrurians* hauing held the greatest part of it vnder their subiection; and the *Latines* by the vertue and felicity of the *Romans*, who were a branch of them, subduing all *Italie*, and in few ages whatsoever Nation was knowne in *Europe*: together with all the Westerne parts of *Africa*, and North of *Africk*.

The Region called *Latium* was first inhabited by the *Aborigines*, whom *Halicarnassus*, *Varro*, and *Reynecius* (following them) thinke to haue been *Acadians*: and this name of *Aborigines* (to omit other significations that are strained) imports as much as originall, or native of the place, which they possessed: which title the *Acadians* are known in vaunting manner to haue alwaies vsurped, fetching their antiquitie from beyond the Moone; because indeed, neither were the inhabitants of *Peloponnesus* enforced to forsake their heares so oft as other *Greekes* were, who did dwell without that halfe island, neyther had the *Acadians* so vsure a dwelling as the rest of the *Peloponnesians*, because their Countrey was lesse fruitfull in land, mountainous, and hard of access, & they themselves so (as in such places commonly are found) very warlike men. Some of these therefore hauing occupied a great part of *Latium*, & held it long, did according to the *Acadian* manner, stile themselves *Aborigines*, in that language, which either their new Seate, or their Neighbours thereby had taught them. How it might be that the *Acadians*, who dwelt somewhat far from Sea, & are alwaies noted as vnapt men to proue good Mariners, should haue bene Authors of new discoueries, were a question not easie to be answered, were it not so, that both fruitfulness of children, in which those ages abounded, enforced the superfluous companie to seek another seat, and that some expeditions of the *Acadians*, as especially that of *Euander*, into the same parts of *Italie*, are generally acknowledged.

After the *Aborigines*, were the *Telagi*, an ancient Nation, who sometimes gave name to all *Greece*: but their antiquities are long since dead, for lacke of good records. Neither was their glorie such in *Italie*, as could long sustaine the name of their owne Tribe; for they were in short space accounted one people with the former inhabitants. The *Sicani*, *Aufones*, *Arunci*, *Ruili*, and other people, did in ages following disturbe the peace of *Latium*, which by *Saturne* was brought to some ciuilitie; and he therefore canonized as a god.

This *Saturne S. Angustine* calleth *Sterces* or *Sterculum*, others terme him *Stercutum*, and say, that he taught the people to dung their grounds. That *Latium* took his name of *Saturne*, because he did *latere*, that is, lie hidden there, when he fled from *Jupiter*, it is questionable a fable. For as in Heathenish superstition, it was great vanitie to thinke that any thing could be hidden from God, or that there were many gods of whom one should be hidden from another; so in the truth of Historie, it is well knowne, that no King reigning in those parts was so mighty, that it should bee hard to finde one Countie or another, wherein a man might be safe from his pursuier. And yet, as most fables and poetical fictions were occasioned by some ancient truth, which eyther by ambiguity of speech, or some allusion, they did maimedly and darkly expresse (for so they fained a passage o-uer a Riuer in Hell, because death is a passage to another life; and because this passage is hatefull, lamentable, and painfull, therefore they named the Riuer *Styx* of Hate, *Carpus* of Lamentation, and *Acheron* of Paine: so also because men are stonie-hearted, and because the *Greeke* was people, and stones, are neere in found, therefore they fained in the time of *Dionysius* stones conuerted into men, as at other times men into stones: in like manner it may be, that the original of *Saturne* hiding himselfe, was some allusion to that olde opinion of the wisest of the Heathen, that the true God was *signatus Deus*, as it is noted in the *Aldi*; whence also *Esay* of the true God saies, *tu Deus absconditus*. For can not be in vaine, that the word *Saturnus* should also haue this very signification; if he deriued (as some thinke) from the Hebrew *Satur*, which is to hide: Howbeit I demie not, but that the original of this word, *Latium*, ought rather to be sought elsewhere.

Reyneccius doth coniecture that the *Ceteans*, who descended of *Cethim*, the Sonne of *Iauan*, were the men who gaue the name to *Latium*. For these *Ceteans* are rememberd by *Homer* as aiders of the *Troians* in their Warre. *Strabo* interpreting the place of *Homer*, calls them subjects to the Crowne of *Troy*. Heereupon *Reyneccius* gathers, that their-bode was in *Asia*: viz. in *agro Elaitico*; in the *Elaitian* Territorie, which agreeth with *Strabo*. Of a City which the *Aolians* held in *Asia*, called *Elaea*, or *Elaitia*, *Paulinus* makes mention: *Stephanus* calls it *Cidamis*, or (according to the *Greeke* writing) *Cidamis*, which name last rehearset hath a very neere found to *Cethim*, *Citim*, or *Cithim*; the *Greeke* Letter (*D*) hauing (as many teach) a pronunciation very like to (*T*) differing onely in the strength or weaknesse of vnerance, which is found betwene many English words written with the same letters. Wherefore that these *Ceteans* being descended of *Cethim*, *Citim*, or *Cithim*, the Sonne of *Iauan*, who was Progenitor of the *Greekes*, might very well take a denomination from the Citie, and Region, which they inhabited, and from thence be called *Elaites*, or *Elaites*, it is very likely, considering that among the *Arcadians*, *Phocians*, *Aetolians*, and *Eleans*, who all were of the *Aetolian* Tribe, are found the names of the Mountaine *Elaeus*, the Hauen *Elaea*, the people *Elaites*, the Citie *Elaea*, *Elaitia*, and *Elaitis*; of which last it were somewhat harsh in the Latine tongue to call the Inhabitants by any other name then *Elaitis*, from whence *Latini* may come. Now whereas both the *Cetei* and *Arcadians*, had their original from *Cethim*, it is nothing unlikely, that agreeing in language and similitude of names, they might neuertheless differ in found and pronunciation of one and the same word. So that as he is by many called *Sabinus*, to whom some (deriuing the *Sabines* from him) giue the name of *Sabinus*; in the like manner might he whom the *Arcadians* would call *Elatus* (of which name they had a Prince that founded the Citie *Elaitia*) be named of the *Ceteans* *Latinus*. *Reyneccius* pursuing this likelihood, thinks, that when *Eurypylus*, Lord of the *Ceteans*, (being the Sonne of *Telephus*, whom *Hercules* begat vpon *Ange*, the daughter of *Alcus* King of *Arcadia* was slaine by *Achilles* in the *Troian* Warre: then did *Telephus*, brother to *Eurypylus*, conduct the *Ceteans*, who (feeling what euill might befall themselves by the *Greekes*, if the affaires of *Troy* should goe ill) passed into that part of *Italie*, whereas the *Arcadians* were planted by *Oenotrus*. And *Reyneccius* farther thinks, that *Telephus* being the more gracious among

See lib. recap. p. 5. v. 67. 109.

Aldi 1. 7. 2. 3.
Esay 45. 15.

among the *Oenotrian* *Arcadians*, by the memory of his G. and-mother *Ange*, an *Arca* di- on Lady, was well contented to take an *Arcadian* name, and to be called *Elatus*, which in the dialect and pronunciation either of the *Ceteans*, or of the *Oenotrians*, was first *Elatus*, and then *Latinus*. That this name of *Elatus* may haue bene taken or imposed by the *Arcadians*, it is the more easie to be thought, for that there were then two Families, the one of *Aphidas*, the other of *Elatus*, who were Sons of *Arcaus* King of *Arcadia*, which gaue name to the Countie: and betwene these two Families the succession in that Kingdome did passe, almost enterchangeably for many ages, till at the end of the *Troian* warre it fell into the hand of *Hippothus* of the race of *Elatus*, in whose Posteritie it continued vntill the last. Again, the name of *Latinus*, hauing a deriuative from *Agreus*, agrees the better with the supposition of such an accident. This is the coniecture of *Reyneccius*, which if he made ouer-boldly, yet others may follow it with the lesse reproofe, considering that it is not easie to finde either an apparent truth, or faire probability among these disagreeing Authors, which haue written the originals of *Latium*.

§. III.

Of the ancient Kings of the Latines vntill *Aeneas* his coming.

10 He Kings which reigned in *Latium* before the arriual of *Aeneas*, were *Saturnus*, *Picus*, *Faunus* and *Latinus*. Of *Saturne* there is nothing remembered, saue what is mentioned already, and many fables of the *Greekes*, which whether they be applicable to this man, it is for him to iudge, who shall be able to determine, whether this were the *Saturne* of the *Greekes*, called by them *Soma*, or some other, styled *Saturne* by the *Aborigines*. For the age wherein he liued, may very well admit him to haue bene the same: but the names of *Sterces*, and *Stercutius* (for it may be, this name was not borrowd from the skill which he taught the people, but rather the soyle which they laid on their grounds, had that appellation from him) doe rather make him seeme some other man.

30 Of *Picu* it is said, that he was a good Horse-man. The fable of his being changed into a Bird, which we call a Pie, may well seeme (as it is interpreted) to haue growne from the skill which he had in sooth-saying, or diuination, by the flight and chattering of Fowles. *Faunus*, the Sonne of *Picu*, reigned after his Father. He gaue to *Euander* the *Arcadian* (who hauing slaine by mischance his Father *Echeneus* King of *Arcadia*, fled into *Italie*) the waste grounds on which *Rome* was afterward built.

Fauna, called *Fatua*, the sister of *Faunus*, who was also his Wife, as all Historians agree; she was held a Prophetesse, and highly commended for her chastitie, which praise in her I do, it pleased God that in a like fash-

40 It is not mentioned that *Faunus* had by his sister any child, neither doe we reade of any other Wife which he had, saue onely that *Virgil* giues vnto him *Latinus* as his Sonne, by a Nymph, called *Marica*.

But who this *Marica* was it is not found, saue onely that her aboad was about the Riuer *Liris* neere *Minturne*.

Of the name *Latinus*, there are by *Pomponius Sabinus* recounted foure: one, the Sonne of *Faunus*, another of *Hercules*, a third of *Vlysses* by *Circe*, the fourth of *Telemachus*. *Suidas* in the takes notice onely of the second, of whom he saith, that his name was *Telephus*, and the people anciently named the Citie, were from his surname called *Latini*. This agrees in effect with the opinion of *Reyneccius*, the difference consisting almost in this onely, that *Suidas* calls *Telephus*, the sonne of *Hercules*, whereas *Reyneccius* makes him his Nephew, 50 by a sonne of the same name. This *Latinus* hauing obtained the succession in that Kingdome after *Faunus*, did promise his onely Daughter and Heire *Lavinia*, to *Turnus* the son of *Penus*, who was sister to *Amata* *Latinus* his Wife.

But when *Aeneas* arriued in those parts with fiftene ships, or perhaps fewer, wherein might be imbarcked according to the rate which *Thucydides* allowes to the Vessels then vied about one thousand and two hundred men: then *Latinus* finding that it would stand best with his assurance, to make alliance with the *Troian*, and moued with the great reuerence of *Aeneas*, which himselfe had heard of in the Warre of *Troy*, gaue his Daughter to him, breaking off the former appointment with *Turnus*; who incensed here-

See lib. 1. of the Idols of the heathen
des Perceus: and hence it may be that in the Euangelist we reade of *Belzebul*, *Belzebul*, which is interpreted *Domus stercoreus*: and it may be that after that *Saturne* became the name of art the name of art
God that in a like fash-
this name *Reyneccius* should fittie vnto him
denied 7.

herewith, fought to auenge himselfe by warre: which was soone ended with his owne death.

Of *Amata* the Wife of *Latinus*, it is very certaine, that were she an *Italian*, she could not haue borne a Daughter mariagable at the arrivall of *Aeneas*; vnlesse we should wholly follow *Suidas*, and rather giue the conduct of the *Cetei* into *Italie*, to *Telephus* the Father, than to his Sonne, who serued in the last yeere of the *Troian* Warre. But *Regemius* holds her an *Asiatique*, and thinks wishall, that *Lauius* was borne before *Telephus* came into *Italie*. That this name *Amata*, by which *Virgil* and *Italicarnassus* call her, was not proper, but rather a surname, it may seeme by *Varro*, who calleth her *Palatia*: which name very well might be deriued from the *Greece* name *Pallas*. *Amata*, which signifies beloued, or deare, was the name by which the High Priest called every Virgin, whom he tooke toserue as a Nunne of *Vesta*; wherefore it is the more easie to be thought a surname, howfoeuer *Virgil* discourse of her and *Venilia* her sister.

Lauius, the daughter of *Latinus*, being giuen in marriage to *Aeneas*, the Kingdome of *Latium*, or the greatest part of that Countrey, was established in that race: wherein it continued vntill it was ouer-grown by the might and greatnesse of the *Romans*.

§. III.

Of *Aeneas*, and of the Kings and Governors of *Alba*.

Aeneas himselfe being of the royall blood of *Troy*, had the command of the *Dardanians*: he was a valiant man, very rich, and highly honoured among the *Troians*. By his wife *Crensa*, the daughter of *Priamus*, he had a sonne called *Ascanius*, whose surname was *Iulus*, hauing before the ruine of *Troy* (as *Virgil* notes) bene furnished *Iulus*. But when *Aeneas* was dead, his wife *Lauius*, the daughter of *Latinus*, being great with child by him, and fearing the power of this *Ascanius*, fled into the Woods, where she was deliuered of a sonne, called thereupon *Sylvius*, and surname *Posthumus*, because he was borne after his fathers Funerall. This flight of *Lauius* was so euill taken by the people, that *Ascanius* procured her returne, entreated her honourably, and vsing her as a Queene, did foster her yong sonne, his half-brother *Sylvius*. Yet afterwards, whether to auoid all occasions of disagreement, or delighted with the situation of the place; *Ascanius* leauing to his mother in law the Citie *Lauium*, which *Aeneas* had built and called after his new wiues name, founded the Citie *Alba Longa*, and therein reigned. The time of his reigne was, according to some, eight and twenty yeeres: *Virgil* giues him thirtie; others siue and thirtie, and eight and thirtie. After his decesse, there arose contention betwene *Sylvius*, the sonne of *Aeneas*, and *Iulus* the sonne of *Ascanius*, about the Kingdome: but the people inclining to the sonne of *Lauius*, *Iulus* was contented to hold the Priesthood, which he and his race enioyed, leauing the Kingdome to *Sylvius Posthumus*, whose posterity were afterwards called *Syluij*.

The reigne of the *Alba* Kings, with the continuance of each mans reigne, I finde thus set downe:

1	<i>Sylvius Posthumus</i> .	29
2	<i>Sylvius Aeneas</i> .	31
3	<i>Sylvius Latinus</i> .	50
4	<i>Sylvius Alba</i> .	39
5	<i>Sylvius Atis</i> .	26
6	<i>Sylvius Capys</i> .	28
7	<i>Sylvius Capetus</i> .	13
8	<i>Sylvius Tiberinus</i> .	8
9	<i>Sylvius Ascrippa</i> .	41
10	<i>Sylvius Aladus</i> .	19
11	<i>Sylvius Auentinus</i> .	37
12	<i>Sylvius Procas</i> .	23
13	<i>Sylvius Amulius</i> .	44
	<i>Sylvius Numitor</i> .	
	<i>Rhea</i> , called also <i>Rhea</i> and <i>Syluia</i> .	
	<i>Romulus</i> . <i>Remus</i> .	

The

The most of these Kings liued in peace, and did little or nothing worthy of remembrance.

Latinus founded many Townes in the borders of *Latium*: who standing much vpon the honour of their originall, grew thereby to be called *Prisci Latini*. Of *Tiberinus* some thinke that the Riuer *Tiber* had name, being formerly called *Albula*: but *Virgil* giues it that denomination of another called *Tibris*, before the coming of *Aeneas* into *Italie*. The Mountaine *Auentinus* had name (as many write) from *Auentinus* King of the *Albanes*: who was buried therein: but *Virgil* hath it otherwise. *Iulius*, the brother of *Auentinus*, is named by *Ensebius* as father of another *Iulius*, and grandfather of *Iulius Proculus*, who leauing *Alba*, dwelt with *Romulus* in *Rome*. *Numitor*, the elder sonne of *Procas*, was deposed of his Kingdome by his brother *Amulius*; by whom also his sonne *Agellus* was slaine, and *Rhea* his daughter made a Nunne of *Vesta*, that thereby the issue of *Numitor* might be cut off. But she conceiued two sonnes, either by her Vncle *Amulius*, as some thinke, or by *Mars*, as the Poets saie, or perhaps by some man of warre. Both the children their Vncle commanded to be drowned, and the mother buried quick, according to the Law; which so ordained, when the Vestall Virgins brake their chastitie. Whether it was so, that the mother was pardoned at the entreatie of *Ancho*, the daughter of *Amulius*, or punished as the Law required (for Authors herein doe varie) it is agreed by all, that the two children were preserued, who afterward reuenged the cruelty of their Vncle, with the slaughter of him and all his, and restored *Numitor* their grandfather to the Kingdome: wherein how long he reigned, I finde not, neither is it greatly materiall to know; for as much as the Estates of *Alba* and of *Latium* were presently eclipsed by the swift increase of *Rome*; vpon which the computation of Time following (as far as concerns the things of *Italie*) is dependant. After the death of *Numitor*, the Kingdome of *Alba* ceased; for *Numitor* left no male issue. *Romulus* chose rather to liue in *Rome*; and of the Line of *Sylvius* none else remained. So the *Albanes* were gouerned by Magistrates; of whom only two Dictators are mentioned, namely *Caius Clauius*, who in the dayes of *Tullus Hostilius*, King of the *Romans*, making Warre vpon *Rome*, dyed in the Campe; and *Metius Suffetius*, the successor of *Clauius*, who followed the Estate of *Alba* vnto the *Romans*, hauing committed the hazard of both Signories to the successe of three men of each side, who decided the quarrell by Combat: in which, the three brethren *Horatij*, the Champions of the *Romans*, preuailed against the *Curatij*, Champions of the *Albanes*. After this Combat, when *Metius* (following *Tullus Hostilius* with the *Albane* forces against the *Peletes* and *Fidenates*) withdrew his Companies out of the battaile, hoping thereby to leaue the *Romans* to such an overthrow, as might make them weake enough for the *Albanes* to deale with; *Tullus*, who notwithstanding this falsehood, obtained the victory, did reward *Metius* with a cruell death, causing him to be tyed to two Chariots, and so torne in pieces. Then was *Alba* destroyed and the Citizens carried to *Rome*, where they were made free Citizens, the noble Families being made *Patritians*; among which were the *Iulij*: of whom *C. Iulius Caesar* being descended, not onely gloried in his ancient, royall, and forgotten pedigree, in full assembly of the *Romans*, then gouerned by a free Estate of the People: but by his rare industrie, valour, and iudgement, obtained the Soueraigntie of the *Romane* Empire (much by him enlarged) to himselfe and his posterity; whereby the name of *Aeneas*, and honour of the *Troian* and *Alban* Race, was so reuiued, that feldome, if euer, any one Family hath attained to a proportionable height of glory.

§. V.

Of the beginning of *Rome*, and of *Romulus* birth and death.

Of *Rome*, which deuoured the *Alban* Kingdome, I may here best shew the beginnings, which (though somewhat vncertaine) depend much vpon the birth and education of *Romulus*, the grand-child of *Numitor*, the last that reigned in *Alba*. For how not onely the bordering people, but all Nations betwene *Eubrates* and the Ocean where broken in pieces by the yron teeth of this fourth Beast, it is not to be described in one place, hauing bene the worke of many Ages; whereof I now doe handle onely the first, as incident vnto the discourse preceding. *O. Fabius Pictor*, *Por-*

tius

simus Cato, Calpurnius Piso, Sempronius, and others, seeke to deriue the Romans from Lusus; but Herodotus, Marcellus, and many others of equall credit, giue the Gracians for their ancestors: and as Strabo reporteth in his fifth Booke, Cæcilius rerum Romanarum scriptor ex argumento colligit, Romanos à Græcis esse conditos, quod Romani Græco ritu, antiquo instituta, Herculi rem sacram faciunt, matrem quoque Euandri venerantur Romani: Cæcilius (saith he) a Romane Historiographæ, doct by this argument gather, that Rome was built by the Grækes, because the Romanes, after Græckish fashion, by ancient ordinance doe sacrifice to Hercules: the Romanes also worship the mother of Euander.

Plutarch in the life of Romulus remembered many founders of that Citie: as Romulus the sonne of Rhysses and Circe; Romus the sonne of Emathion, whom Diomedes sent thither to from Troy; or that one Romus, a Tyrant of the Latines, who draue the Tuscan out of that Country, built it. Solinus beflowes the honour of building Rome vpon Euander, saying, That it was beforetimes called Valentia. Heracles giues the denomination to captiue Lady, brought thither by the Gracians: others say, That it was anciently called Febris, after the name of Februa, the mother of Mars; witness Saint Augustine in his third Booke de Ciuitate Dei. But Linius will haue it to be the worke of Romulus, euen from the foundation: of whom and his comforts, Iunenal to a Roman Citizen, vaunting of their original, answered in these Verses:

*Attamen ut longerepetas Jongeque reuoluas
Matorum quisquis primus fuit ille tuorum,
Aut pastor fuit, aut illud quod dicere nolo.*

Yet though thou fetch thy pedegree so farre;
Thy first Progenitor, who ere he were,
Some Shepherd was, or else, that Ile forbeare.
meaning either a Shepherd, or a Theefe.

Now of Romulus begetting, of his education and preferuation, it is said, That he had Rhea for his mother, and Mars supposed to be his father, that he was nursed by a Wolfe, found and taken away by Faustula a Shepherds wife. The same vnnatural nursing had Cyrus, the same incredible fostering had Semiramis: the one by a Bitch, the other by a Dogge. But, as Plutarch saith, it is like enough that Amulius came couered with armour to Rhea, the mother of Romulus, when he begat her with childe: and therein it seemeth to me that he might haue two purposes; the one, to destroy her, because she was the daughter and heire of his elder brother, from whom he iniuriously held the Kingdome; the other to satisfie his appetite, because she was faire and goodly. For she being madea Nunne of the goddesse Vesta, it was death in her, by the Law, to breake her chastitie. Also finde in Fauchet his Antiquitez de Gaule, that Merouée, King of the Franks, was begoten by a Monster of the Sea: but Fauchet sayes, *Les them belecue is that list; Il le croira qui voudra*: Also of Alexander, and of Scipio African, there are poetically inventions: but to answer these imaginations in generall, it is true, that in those times, when the World was full of this barbarous Idolatry, and when there were as many gods as there were Kings, or passions of the minde, or as there were of vices and vertues; then did many women greatly borne, couer such slips as they made, by protesting to be forced by more than humane power: so did Oenone confesse to Paris, that she had bene rauished by Apollo. And Anchyses boasted that he had knowne Venus, but Rhea was made with childe by some man of Warre, or other, and therefore called Mars, the god of battell, according to the sense of the time. Oenone was overcome by a strong wit, and by such a one as had those properties ascribed to Apollo. The Mother of Merouée might fancie a Sea Captaine to be gotten with yong by such a one: as the Daughter of Iachus fancied, according to Herodotus. Aneas was a bastard begotten vpon some faire Harlot, called for her beautie Venus, and was therefore the childe of lust, which is Venus. Romulus was nursed by a Wolfe, which was Lupus, or Lupina, for the Curtelans in those dayes were called Wolfes, que nunc (saith Halicarnassæus) honestiori vocabulo amica appellantur; which are now by an honest name called friends. It is also written, that Romulus was in the end of his life taken vp into heauen, or rather out of the world by his father Mars, in a great storme of thunder, and lightning: so was it said that Aneas vanished away by the River Xanthus: but

Faucher. f. 119.

but thereof Linius also speaketh modestly; for hee reherseth the other opinion that the storme was the furie of the Senators, but seemeth to adhere partially to this taking vp; and many Authors agree, that there was an vnnatural darknesse, both at his birth and at his death, and that hee might be slaine by thunder or lightning, it is not vnlikely. For the Emperour Anastasius was slaine with lightning, so was Strabo the Father of Pompey slaine with a thunder-bolt: so Carus the Emperour (who succeeded Probus) whilst hee lodged with his Armie vpon the Riuer Tigris, was there slain with lightning. But a Mars of the same kinde might end him that began him; for he was begotten by a man of war, and by violence destroyed. And that he died by violence (which doctrine followed most of the Roman Emperours) it appeareth by Tarquinius Superbus: who was the seventh King after him: who when he had murdered his Father-in-law, commanded that he should not be buried, for (saith hee) Romulus himselfe died and was not buried. But let Halicarnassæus end this dispute; whose words are these: *They (saith hee) who drew netrest to the truth, say that he was slaine by his owne Citizens; and that his crueltie in punishments of offenders, together with his arrogancie, were the cause of his slaughter. For it is reported, that both when his mother was rauished, whether by some man, or by a god, the whole body of the Sunne was eclipsed, and all the earth couered with darknesse like vnto night, and that the same did happen at his death.*

Such were the birth and death of Romulus: whose life historified by Plutarch, doth containe (besides what is here already spoken of him) the conquest of a few small Cities, which had soone bene forgotten, if the Roman greatnesse built vpon that foundation, had not giuen it memorie in all ages following, euen vnto this day. A valiant man he was, very strong of bodie, patient of trauell, and temperate in diet, as forbearing the vse of wine and delicacies; but his raging ambition he knew not how to temper, which caused him to slay his brother, and neglect to reuenge the death of Tatius, his companion in the Kingdome, that he himselfe might be Lord alone in those narrow Territories. He reigned 37. yeres: first alone, then with Tatius, and after his death, single, till hee was slaine, as is already shewed: after which time the Soueraigntie fell into the hands of Numa, a man to him vnknowne, & more Priest-like then King-like: wherein Rome it selfe in her later times hath somewhat resembled this King. For hauing long bene sole Gouvernesse till Constantine shared with her: afterwards, when as the Greeke Emperour was crushed by forraigne enemies, and the Latines dispoyle of Imperiall power, shee fell into the subjection of a Prelate, swelling by degrees from the Sheepe-hooke to the Sword, and therewith victorious to excessive magnificence, from whence by the same degrees it fell, being driuen from luxurie to defensiué armes, and therein hauing bene vnfortunate, at length betakes herselfe againe to the Crozier staffe.

And thus much of Rome in this place by occasion of the Storie of the times of King Abaz, during whose reigne in Iurie, the foundations of this famous Citie were laid.

CHAP. XXV.

Of Ezekia, and his Contemporaries.

§. 1.

Of the beginning of Ezechias, and of the agreeing of Ptolomies, Nabonassar, Nabopolassar, and Mardocempadus, with the historie of the Bible.



The first yeere of Abaz his Reigne was confounded with the last of his father Iotham, so was the later end of his sixteene yeres taken vp in the three first of Ezechias his sonne. This appears by the Reigne of Hosea, ouer Israel, which beganne in the twelfth of Abaz, and therefore the third thereof was concurrent with Abaz his fourteenth. But the third of Hosea was the first of Ezechia, so it followes, that Ezechia beganne to reigne in his Fathers fourteenth yeere. Like enough it is, that the third yeere of Hosea, the same being the fourteenth of Abaz, was almost spent when Ezechia beganne, and

so

fo to the fifteenth yeere of *Ahaz* may haue bene concurrent, for the most part, with the first of *Ezekia*.

By supposing that *Hofea* began his Kingdome, when the twelfth yeere of *Ahaz* was almost compleat, some would finde the means how to disioyne the first of *Ezekia* from the fifteenth of *Ahaz*, placing him yet one yeere later, of which yeere, *Ahaz* may perhaps haue liued not many dayes. But seeing that the foureteenth and fifteenth yeeres of *Ezekia*, may not be removed out of their places, it is vaine labour to alter the first yeere.

*In the foureteenth yeere of Ezekia, Sennacherib invading Iuda, and the Countie adioyning, lost his Armie by a miraculous stroke from Heauen, fled home, and was slaine. The yeere following it was that God added fifteene yeeres to the life of Ezekia, when he had already reigned fouretee of his nine and twenty: and the same yeere was that miracle scene of the Sunnes going backe, of which wonder (as I heare) one Bartholomew Scutlet, who is much commended for skill in Astronomie, hath by calculation found the very day which answered vnto the twenty fifth of April, in the Italian yeere, being then Thursday. I haue not scene any workes of Scutlet; but surely to finde a motion so irregular and miraculous, it is necessary that he produce some record of obseruation made at such a time. Howsoever it be, the fifteenth yeere of Ezekia agreed vpon; and therefore we may not alter the first. As for that saying, which is vsuall in like cases, that *Ahaz slept with his Fathers*, and *Ezekia his Sonne reigned in his stead*, it doth no more proue, that *Ezekia* reigned not with his Father, than the like saying doth intertelle the like at the death of *Iehosaphat*, and succession of *Iehoram*; whereof, as concerning the beginning of the Soane to reigne whilst his Father liued, wee haue already said enough.*

Of this godly King *Ezekias*, we finde, that his very beginning testified his deuotion and zeale. For whether it were so, that his vnfortunate and vngacious Father (who had out-worne his reputation) gaue way to his Sons proceedings, which perhaps it lay not in him to hinder, or whether (as I rather thinke) the first yeere and first month of his reigne, wherein *Ezekias* opened the doores of the Temple, were to be vnderstood as the beginning of his sole government; we plainly finde it to haue bene his first worke, that he opened the doores of the house of the Lord, which *Ahaz* had shut vp, cleansed the Citie and Kingdome of the Idols, restored the Priests to their offices and estates, commanded the Sacrifices to be offered which had bene for many yeeres neglected, & brake downe the brasen Serpent of *Moses*, because the people burnt incense before it, and he called it *Nehushtan*, which significth a lump of brasie. He did also celebrate the Pass-over with great magnificence, inuiring thereunto the *Israelites* of the ten Tribes: many there were, euen out of those Tribes, that came vp to *Ierusalem*, to this feast. But the general multitude of *Israel* did laugh the Messengers of *Ezekia* to scorn.

It was not long ere they that scorned to solemnize the memorials of their deliuerance out of the *Egyptian* seruitude, fell into a new seruitude, out of which they neuer were deliuered. For in the fourth of *Ezekias* his reigne, *Salmansar* the Sonne of *Tiglath* the Sonne of *Belochus*, hearing that *Hofea* King of *Israel* had practised with *Sae* King of *Egypt*, against him, invaded *Israel*, besieged *Samarita*, and in the third yeere (after the inhabitants had endured all sorts of miseries) forced it, and carried thence the ten Idolatrous Tribes into *Assyria* and *Media*: among whom *Tobias* and his Sonne of the same name, with *Anna* his Wife, were sent to *Ninive*, in whose Seates and Places the *Assyrians* sent strangers of other Nations, and among them many of the ancient Enemies of the *Israelites*, as those of *Cutha*, *Ana*, *Hamath*, and *Spernum*, besides *Babylonians*: whose Places and Nations I haue formerly described in the Treatise of the Holy Land.

These later *Assyrian* Kings, and the *Perfians*, which followed them, are the first, of whom we finde mention made both in Prophane and Sacred bookes. These therefore serue most apply to ioyn the times of the old World, (whereof none but the Prophets haue written otherwise than fabulously) with the Ages following that were better knowne, and described in course of History. True it is, that of *Cyrus* and some other *Perfians*, we finde in the Bible the same names by which other Authors haue recorded them: but of *Phul* and *Salmansar*, with other *Assyrian*, *Chaldean* Kings, diversity of name hath bred question of the persons. Therefore, whereas the Scriptures doe speake of *Salmansar*, King of *Assur*, who reigned in the time of *Ahaz* and *Ezekia*, Kings of *Iuda*, and of *Hofea* King of *Israel*, whom he carried into captiuitie: and whereas *Ptolome* makes mention

mention of *Nabonassar*, speaking precisely of the time wherein he liued, it is very pertinent to shew, that *Salmansar* and *Nabonassar* were one and the same man. The like reason alfo requieth, that it be shewed of *Nebuchadnezzar*, that he was the same, whom *Ptolome* calleth *Nabopolassar*.

Of both these points *Bucholerus* hath well collected sufficient proofs from the exact calculations of sundry good Mathematicians. For by them it appears, that betwene *Nabonassar* and the birth of *Christ*, there passed seauen hundred fortie and five yeeres: at which distance of time the reigne of *Salmansar* was. One great proofe herof is this, which the same *Bucholerus* alleadgeth out of *Erasmus Reinboldus* in the *Prutenick* Tables, 10 *Mardocempadus* King of *Babylon* (whom *Ptolome*, speaking of three Eclipses of the Moone, which were in his time, doth mention) was the same whom the Scriptures call *Merodach*, who sent Embassadors to *Hekzekia*, King of *Iuda*. So that if we reckon backwards to the difference of time, betwene *Merodach* and *Salmansar*, we shall finde it the same which is betwene *Mardocempadus* and *Nabonassar*. Likewise *Fanctius* doth shew, that whereas from the destruction of *Samarita*, to the destruction of *Ierusalem*, in the nineteenth of *Nabuchadnezzar*, we collect out of the Scriptures, the distance of one hundred thirty and three yeeres: the selfe-same distance of time is found in *Ptolome*, betwene *Nabonassar* and *Nabopolassar*. For, whereas *Ptolome* seemes to differ from this accompt, making *Nabonassar* more ancient by an hundred and fortie yeeres, than the destruction of *Ierusalem*, we are to vnderstand that he took *Samarita* in the eighth yeere of his reigne; so that the seauen foregoing yeeres added to these one hundred thirty and three, make the accompts of the Scriptures full euen with that of *Ptolome*. *Ptolomies* computation is, that from the first of *Nabonassar*, to the fifth of *Nabopolassar*, there passed one hundred twentie and seauen yeeres. Now if we adde to these one hundred twentie seauen, the thirtene ensuing of *Nabuchadnezzars* yeere, before the Citie and Temple were destroyed, we haue the summe of one hundred and fortie yeeres. In so plain a case more proofes are needlesse, though many are brought, of which this may serue for all, that *Ptolome* placeth the first of *Nabopolassar* one hundred twentie and two yeeres, after the first of *Nabonassar*, which agreeth exactly with the Scriptures. To these notes are added the consent of all Mathematicians: which in accompt of times I hold more sure than the authority of any History; and therefore I thinke it folly to make doubt, whereas Historians and Mathematicall obseruations doe so thoroughly concur.

Yet so far as that argument of the learned *Scaliger* doth rest vnanswered, whereby he proued *Saladan* the Father of *Merodach*, to haue bene this *Nabonassar*, I will not spare to lose a word or two in giuing the Reader satisfaction herein. It is true, that the next obseruations of the heauenly Bodies, which *Ptolome* recorded, after the time of *Nabonassar*, were in the reigne of *Mardocempadus*; the second yeere of whose reigne, is, according to *Ptolome*, concurrent in part with the twentie seauen of *Nabonassar*. For the second of three ancient Eclipses which he calculates, being in the second yeere of *Mardocempadus*, was from the beginning of *Nabonassar* twentie seauen yeeres, seauenteene dayes, and cleauen houres: the accompt from *Nabonassar*, beginning at high-noone the first day of the *Egyptian* moneth *Thot*, then answering to the twenty first of *February*; and this Eclipse being fiftie minutes before mid-night, on the eighteenth day of that Moneth, when the first day thereof agreed with the nineteenth of *February*, so that the difference of time betwene the two Kings *Nabonassar* and *Mardocempadus*, is noted by *Ptolome*, according to the *Egyptian* yeeres. But how does this proue, that *Mardocempadus* or *Merodach*, was the Sonne of *Nabonassar*? yea, how doth it proue, that he was his next Successor, or any way of his Linage? It was enough to satisfie me, in this argument, that *Scaliger* himselfe did afterwards beleue *Mardocempadus* to haue bene rather the Nephew, than the Sonne of *Saladan*, or *Nabonassar*. For if hee might be either the Nephew, or the Sonne, hee might perhaps be neither the one, nor the other. But because our Countie-man *Lidgate* hath reprehended *Scaliger* for changing his opinion; and that both *Tornellius*, who follows *Scaliger* herein, and *Salmus Calaisius*, who hath drawne into forme of Chronologie, that learned worke, *De Emendatione Temporum*, doe hold vp the same assertion, confounding *Saladan* with *Nabonassar*: I haue taken the paines to search, as farre as my leisure and diligence could reach, after any sentence that might proue the Kindred or succession of these two. Yet

cannot I finde in the *Almagest* (for the Scriptures are either silent in this point, or adhere to *Seahger*; and other good authority, I know none, in this business) any sentence more neerly proving the succession of *Alerodach* to *Nabonassar*, than the place now last heard: which makes no more, to shew that the one of these was Father to the other, than (that I may vie a like example) the neere succession of *William the Conqueror*, declares him, to have bene *Sonne*, or Grand-child to *Edward the Confessor*. This considered, we may safely goe on with our account from *Nabonassar*, taking him for *Salmanassar*; and not fearing, that the Readers will be diuine from our booke, when they finde something in it, agreeing with *Annus*, forasmuch as these Kings mentioned in Scriptures, reigned in *Babylon* and *Assyria*, in those very times which by *Diodorus* and *Ptolemy* are assigned to *Belosus*, *Nabonassar*, and *Mardocempadus*, and the rest: no good History naming any others, that reigned there in those ages; and all Astronomical observations, fitly concurring, with the yeeres that are attributed to these, or numbered from them.

§. II.

Of the danger and deliuerance of *Iudaa* from *Sennacherib*.

When *Salmanassar* was dead, and his son *Sennacherib* in possession of the Empire, in the fourteenth yeere of *Ezechias*, he demanded of him such Tribute as was agreed on, at such time as *Tiglath*, the Grand-father of *Sennacherib*, and Father of *Salmanassar*, inuited by *Ahaz*, inuaded *Rezen* King of *Damascus*, and deliuered him from the dangerous Warre which *Israel* had vnderaken against him. This Tribute and acknowledgement when *Ezechias* denied, *Sennacherib*, hauing (as it seemes) a purpose to inuade *Egypt*, sent one part of his Armie to lye before *Ierusalem*. Now though *Ezechias* (fearing this powerfull Prince) had acknowledged his fault, and purchased his peace, as he hoped, with thirty hundred talents of siluer, and thirty talents of gold: wherewith he presented *Sennacherib*, now set downe before *Lachis* in *Iudaa*; yet vnder the colour of better assurance, and to force the King of *Iudaa* to deliuer hostages, the *Assyrian* enuironed *Ierusalem* with a grosse Armie, and hauing his Sword in his hand, thought it the fittest time to write his owne conditions.

Ezechias directed his three great Counsellors, to parlie with *Rabfaces*, ouer the Wall; and to receiue his demands: who vfed three principall arguments to perswade the people to yelde themselves to his Master *Sennacherib*. For though the Chancellor, Steward, and Secretarie, sent by *Ezechias*, desired *Rabfaces* to speake vnto them in the Syrian tongue, and not in the *Iewish*, yet he with a louder voice directed his speech to the multitude in their owne language. And for the first, he made them know, That if they continued obstinate, and adhered to their King, that they would, in a short time, be inforced to cate their owne dung, and drinke their owne vrine: Secondly, he altogether disabled the King of *Egypt*, from whom the *Iudeans* hoped for succour; and compared him to a broken Staffe, on which whoeuer leaneth, pierceth his owne head: Thirdly, that the gods who should helpe them, *Ezechias* had formerly broken and defaced, meaning chiefly (as it is thought by some) the brazen Serpent, which had bene preferred our since *Moses* time: and withall he bade them remember the gods of other Nations: whom, notwithstanding any power of theirs, his Master had conquered and throwne downe; and for God himselfe, in whom they trusted, hee perswaded them by no means to relye on him, for hee would deceiue them. But finding the people silent (for so the King had commanded them) after a while, when he had vnderstood that the King of *Arabia* was marching on with a powerfull Armie, hee himselfe left the *Assyrian* forces in charge to others, and fought *Sennacherib* at *Libna* in *Iudaa*, either to inforce him of their resolution in *Ierusalem*, or to conferre with him concerning the Armie of *Tarbaca* the *Arabian*. Soone vpon this there came letters from *Sennacherib* to *Ezechias*, whom hee partly aduised, and partly threatened to submit himselfe: vnto the same blasphemous outrage against the all-powerfull God, as before. But *Ezechias* sending those Counsellors to the Prophet *Esay*, which had lately bene sent to *Rabfaces*, receiued from him comfort, and assurance, that this Heathen Idolater should not preuaile; against whom the King also besought aide from Almighty God, repeating the most insolent and blasphemous parts of *Sennacherib*'s letter, before the

Altar

Altar of God in the Temple, confessing this part thereof to be true. That the King of *Assyria* had destroyed the Nations and their Lands, and had set fire on their gods, for they were no Gods, but the worke of mans hands, euen wood and stone, &c.

Thereupon that moued *Sennacherib* to desire to possesse himselfe in haste of *Ierusalem*, was that he might therein to haue retraited his Armie, which was departed as it seemeth from the siege of *Pelusium* in *Egypt*, for feare of *Tarbaca*: and though the Scriptures are silent of that enterprise (which in these bookes of the Kings, and of the *Chronicles* or *Paralipomenon*, speake but of the affaires of the *Iewes* in effect) yet the ancient *Berosus*, and out of him *Iosephus*, and Saint *Hierome*, together with *Herodotus*, remember it as followeth. *Herodotus* calleth *Sennacherib* King of *Arabia* and *Assyria*: which he might iustly doe, because *Tiglath* his Grand-father held a great part thereof, which he wrested from *Pekah* King of *Israel*: as *Gilead* ouer *Jordan*, and the rest of *Arabia Petraea* adjoining: the same *Herodotus* also maketh *Sethon* King of *Egypt*, to be *Vulcan*'s Priest, and reporteth that the reason of *Sennacherib*'s returne from *Pelusium* in *Egypt*, which he also besieged, was that an innumerable multitude of Rats had in one night eaten in funder the Bow-strings of his Archers, and spoyled the rest of their weapons in that kinde, which no doubt might greatly amaze him: but the approach of *Tarbaca*, remembered *Iosaphat* by *Iosephus* and *Berosus*, was the more vigent. Saint *Hierome* vpon the seauen and thirtieth of *Esay*, out of the same *Berosus*, as also in part out of *Herodotus*, whom *Iosephus* citeth, telleth somewhat otherwise than his words lye, repproaching *Sennacherib* reitrat in these words.

Pugnasse autem Sennacherib Regem Assyriorum contra Aegyptios, & obsedisse Pelusium, iamque extructis aggeribus urbi capiendo, venisse Taracham Regem Aethiopia in auxilium, & cum nocte iuxta Ierusalem, centum octoginta quinquemilia exercitus Assyri pestilentia corripisse *Herodotus*: & plenissime *Berosus* Chaldaica scriptor Historie, quorum fides depugnabitur petenda est; That *Sennacherib* King of the *Assyrians* fought against the *Aegyptians*, and besieged *Pelusium*, and that when his Mounts were built for taking of the Citie, *Tarbaca* King of the *Aethiopians* came to helpe them; and that in one night, neere *Ierusalem*, one hundred eighty five thousand of the *Assyrian* Armie perished by pestilence; of these things (saith *Hierome*) * *Herodotus* reports: and more at large *Berosus* a writer of *Iudea*, and of *Chaldaean* storie, whose credit is to be taken from their owne Bookes. Out of *Esay* it is gathered, that this destruction of the *Assyrian* Armie was in this manner: Thou shalt be visited of the Lord of Hosts with thunder and shaking, and a great noise, a whirlwind and a tempest, and a flame of denouring fire. But *Iosephus* hath it more largely out of the same *Berosus*, an authority (because so well agreeing with the Scriptures) not to be omitted; *Sennacherib* autem ab Aegyptiaco bello reuertens, ostendit ibi exercitum, quem (ab *Rabfacis* imperio reliquerat peste diuinitus immissa deletum, prima nocte postquam urbem oppugnare ceperat, assumptis cum Ducibus & Tribunis centum octoginta quinquemilibus Militum; qua clade territus, & de reliquis copiis sollicitus, maximis itineribus in regnum suum contendit, ad regiam qua *Ninus* dicitur. Vbi paulo post per

*Uisitatione Seniorum & filijs suis, Adramelech, & Selennari, vitam amisit: oculus in ipso Templo quod dicitur Aracis, quem praeipuo cultu dignabatur: quibus ob patricidiam a populo pulsus & in Armeniam fugientibus, Afaracoldas minor filius in Regnum successit; Sennacherib (saith Iosephus) returning from the Egyptian warre, found there his Armie, which he had left vnder the command of *Rabfaces*, destroyed by a pestilence sent from God, the first night that he had begunne to assault the Towne: one hundred fourescore and five thousand of the Souldiers being consumed with their Chieftaines and Coronells. Whose destruction being terrified, and withall afraid what might become of the rest of his Armie, he made great marches into his Kingdome, to his Royall Citie, which is called *Ninus*, where shortly after by the treason of two of the eldest of his *Sonnes*, *Adramelech* and *Selennar* or *Sharezer*, hee lost his life in the Temple dedicated to *Araces*, or *Nesioch*: whom hee especially worshipped. These his *Sonnes* being for their parricide dispatched away by the people: and flying into *Armenia*, *Afaracoldas* his younger Sonne succeeded in the Kingdome. Who in the beginning of his reigne sent new troups out of *Assyria* and *Samarita*, to fortifie the Colonie therein planted by his grand-father *Salmanassar*. What this *Nesioch* was, it is vncertaine: *Hierome* in his Hebrew traditions hath somewhat of him, but nothing positively. It is certaine, that *Penus* *Prania* was worshipped by the *Assyrians*; and so was *Iupiter Belas*, as *Dion*, *Eusebius*, and *Cyrillus* testifie. Many fancies there are, what cause his *Sonnes* had to murder him; but the*

most likely it is, that he had formerly dis-inherited those two, and conferred the Empire on *Assarhaddon*. *Tobit* tells vs, that it was fiftie five dayes after *Senacherib* returned, ere he was murdered by his sonnes; during which time he flew great numbers of the *Israelites* in *Nineue*, till the most iust God, turned the Sword against his owne brest.

§. III.

Of *Ezekias* his sicknesse and recoverie; and of the Babylonian King that congratulated him.

After this marvellous deliury, *Ezekias* sickned, and was told by *Isaiah*, that he must dye: but after he had besought God with teares for his deliury, *Isaiah*, as he was going from him, returned againe, and had warrant from the Spirit of God to promise him recovery after three dayes, and a prolongation of life for fiftene yeeres. But *Ezekias* somewhat doubtfull of this exceeding grace, prayeth a signe to confirme him: whereupon, at the prayer of *Isaiah*, the shadow of the Sonne cast it selfe the contrary way, and went backe tenne degrees, vpon the Dyall of *Achaz*. The cause that moued *Ezekias* to lament (saith Saint *Hierome*) was, because he had as yet no sonne, and then in despair that the *Messias* should come out of the house of *Dauid*, or at least of his Seede. His disease seemeth to be the Pestilence, by the medicine giuen him by the Prophet, to wit, a masse of Figges, layed to the Bitch or Sore.

This wonder when the Wife-men of *Chaldea* had told to *Merodach*, King of *Babylon*, the first of that house, he sent to *Ezekias*, to be informed of the cause: at which time *Ezekias* shewed him all the Treasure he had, both in the Court and in the Kingdome: for which he was reprehended by the Prophet *Isaiah*, who told him; *The days are at hand, that all that is in thine house, and whatsoever thy fathers have layd up in store to this day, shall be carried into Babel*: nothing shall be left, saith the Lord. It may seeme strange, how *Ezekias* should haue got any treasure worth the shewing: for *Senacherib* had robbed him of all, the yeere before. But the spoyle of the same *Senacherib* his Campe repayed all with aduantage, and made *Ezekias* richer vpon the suddaine than euer he had bene: which vnexpected wealth was a strong temptation to boasting. After this time *Ezekias* had rest, and spending without noyse that addition which God had made vnto his life; he dyed, hauing reigned nine and twentie yeeres. One onely offensue Warre he made, which was against the *Philistims* with good successe. Among his other acts (shortly remembred in *Ecclesiasticus*) he deuised to bring water to *Ierusalem*.

In two respects they say that he offended God: the one, that he reioyced too much at the destruction and lamentable end of his enimie; the other, that he so much gloried in his riches, as he could not forbear to shew them to strangers. But the reason which moued *Ezekias* (speaking humanly) to entertaine the Embassadors of *Merodach* in this friendly and familiar manner, was, because he came to visit him, and brought him a present, congratulating the recovery of his health; as also in that *Merodach* had weakened the house of *Senacherib*, his fearefull enemy. For *Merodach*, who was Commander and Lieutenant vnder *Senacherib* in *Babylon*, vsurped that State himselfe, in the last yeere of that King, and held it by strong hand against his son *Assarhaddon*; who was not onely simple, but impaired in strength, by the molestation of his brothers. This aduantage *Merodach* espied, and remembering, that their ancestor *Phul Belochus* had let his owne master *Sardanapalus* besides the cushion, thought it as lawfull for himselfe to take the opportunity which this Kings weakenesse did offer, as it had bene for *Belochus* to make vse of the others wickednesse: and so, finding himselfe beloued of the *Babylonians*, and sufficiently powerfull, he did put the matter to hazard, and preuailed. The assertion of this history is made by the same arguments that were vsed in maintaining the common opinion of Writers, touching *Phul Belochus*; which I will not here againe rehearse. So of this new Race, which cut a-nder the Line of *Ninus*, there were onely five Kings.

Phul Belochus.
Tiglath Philassar.
Salmanassar.
Senacherib.
Assarhaddon.

who reigned } 27 } yeeres.
 } 10 }
 } 7 }
 } 210 }

But forasmuch as the last yeere of *Salmanassar* was also the first of *Senacherib* his son, we reckon the time, wherein the house of *Phul* held the *Assyrian* Kingdome, to haue been an hundred and one yeeres, of which, the last fiftie and twentie were spent with *Ezekias*, vnder *Salmanassar*, *Senacherib*, and *Assarhaddon*.

§. IIII.

The Kings that were in *Media* during the reigne of *Ezekia*: Of the difference found betweene sundry Authors, in rehearsing the *Median* Kings. Other contemporaries of *Ezekia*: of *Candaces*, *Gyges*, and the Kings descended from *Hercules*.

IN the time of *Ezekia*, *Medius*, and after him *Cardaceus*, reigned in *Media*. Whether it were so, that variety of names, by which these Kings were called in sundry small Histories, hath caused them to seeme more than indeede they were, or whether the sonnes reigning with the fathers, haue caused not onely the names of Kings, but the length of Time, wherein they gouerned *Media*, to exceede the due proportion: or whether the Copies themselves, of *Ctesias* and *Annus* his *Metasthenes*, haue bene faulty, as either of these two Authors is ouer-highly commended of trustinesse: so it is, that the names, number, and length of reigne, are all very diuersly reported of these *Median* Kings that follow *Arbaces*: therefore it neede not seeme strange, that I reckon *Medius* and *Cardaceus* as contemporaries with *Ezekia*. For to reconcile so great a difference, as is found in those Writers that varie from *Eusebius*, is more than I dare vndertake. I will onely heretofore downe the roll of Kings that reigned in *Media*, accordingly as sundry Authors haue deliuered it.

Annus his *Metasthenes* orders them and their reignes thus:

<i>Arbaces</i> .	28	} who reigned } 40 } yeeres.
<i>Mandanes</i> .	50	
<i>Sofarmon</i> .	30	
<i>Articarmis</i> .	50	
<i>Artianes</i> .	22	
<i>Artius</i> .	40	
<i>Artines</i> .	22	
<i>Astiberus</i> , with his sonne <i>Apanda</i> .	20	
<i>Apanda</i> alone.	30	
<i>Darius</i> with <i>Cyrus</i> .	36	

Diodorus Siculus following *Ctesias* (as perhaps *Annus* made his *Metasthenes* follow *Diodes*, with some little variation, that he might not seeme a borrower) placeth them thus.

<i>Arbaces</i> .	28	} who reigned } 22 } yeeres.
<i>Mandanes</i> .	50	
<i>Sofarmon</i> .	30	
<i>Articus</i> .	50	
<i>Artianes</i> .	22	
<i>Artius</i> .	40	
<i>Artines</i> .	22	
<i>Artabanus</i> .	40	

Astibara.
Astages. } the continuance of these two he doth not mention.

Mercator hath laboured with much diligence, to reconcile these Catalogues, and to make them also agree with *Eusebius*. But forasmuch as it seemes to me an impossible matter, to attaine vnto the truth of these forgotten times, by coniectures founded vpon

Ctesias and Metasthenes, I will lay the burthen vpon *Eusebius*, who liued in an age better furnished than ours, with bookes of this argument. Let it therefore suffice, that these two Kings (whom I haue reckoned as contemporaries with *Ezekia Medidus* and *Cardaceas*, are found in *Eusebius*: for whether *Cardaceas* were *Diodorus* his *Arbianes*, I will not stay to search. The Kings of *Media*, according to *Eusebius*, reigned in this order.

<i>Arbaces.</i>	} reigned	28	} yeeres.
<i>Sosarmus.</i>		30	
<i>Medidus.</i>		40	
<i>Cardaceas.</i>		15	
<i>Dioces.</i>		54	
<i>Phraortes.</i>		24	
<i>Cyaxares.</i>		32	
<i>Astyages.</i>		38	

These names, and this course of succession I retain; but adde vnto these, *Cyaxares* the sonne of *Astyages*, according to *Xenophon*; and sometimes follow *Herodotus*, in setting down the length of a Kings reigne, otherwise than *Eusebius* hath it: of which variations, I will render my reasons in due place.

The twentie nine yeeres of *Ezekia* were concurrent, in part, with the rule of the same first that were chosen Gouernors of *Athenes* for ten yeeres, that is, of *Charops*, *Asinides*, *Elidicus*, and *Hippones*. Touching the first of these I heare nothing, save that *Rome* was built in his first yeere; of which perhaps himselfe did not heare. Of the second and third I finde onely the names. The fourth made himselfe knowne by a strange example of iustice, or rather of cruelty, that he shewed vpon his owne Daughter. For he finding that she had offended in vnchastity, caused her to be lockt vp with an Horse, giuing to neither of them any foode: so the Horse, constrained by hunger, deuoured the vnhappy Woman.

In *Rome*, the first King, and founder of that Citie *Romulus*, did reigne both before, and somewhat after *Ezekia*.

In *Lydia*, *Candaules* the last King, ruled in the same age.

This Region was first called *Maonia*. *Lydia* the sonne of *Atys* reigning in it, gaue the name of *Lydia*, if we beleue such authority as we finde. This Kingdome was afterward, by the appointment of an Oracle, conferred vpon *Argon*, who came of *Alcaus* the son of *Hercules*, by *Jardana*, a bond-woman. The race of these *Heracleides* continued reigning fiftie yeeres (in which two and twentie Generations passed) the sonne continually succeeding the father. *Candaules* the son of *Myrsus* was the last of his race, who doored so much vpon the beautie of his owne Wife, that he could not be content to enioy her, but would needes enforce one *Gyges*, the sonne of *Dasyclus*, to behold her naked body; and placed the vnwilling man secretly in her chamber, where he might see her preparing to bedward. This was not so closely carried, but that the Queene perceived *Gyges* at his going forth, and vnderstanding the matter,ooke it in such high disdain, that she forced him the next day to requite the Kings folly with treason. So *Gyges*, being brought againe into the same chamber by the Queene, slew *Candaules*, and was rewarded not only with his Wife, but with the Kingdome of *Lydia*. He reigned thirty eight yeeres, beginning in the last of *Ezekia*, one yeere before the death of *Romulus*.

After *Gyges*, his son *Ardys* reigned nine & forty yeeres; then *Sadyattes*, swelne *Halyattes*, fiftie seauen; and finally *Crasus*, the son of *Halyattes*, fourtency yeeres: who lost the Kingdome, and was taken by *Cyrus* of *Persia*.

And here by the way we may note, that as the *Lydian* Kings, whom *Crasus* his Progenitor dispossest, are deduced from *Hercules*, so of the same *Hercules* there sprang many other Kings, which gouerned severall Countries very long, as in *Asia*, the *Myrians*; in *Greece*, the *Lacedemonians*, *Messenians*, *Rhodiens*, *Corinthians*, and *Argives*; and from the *Argives*, the *Macedonians*, as likewise from the *Corinthians*, the *Syracusan*; besides many great and famous, though priuate, Families.

But of the *Heracleides* that reigned in *Lydia*, I haue not troubled my selfe to take notice in the time of their severall reignes: for little is found of them, beside the bare names, and the folly of this last King *Candaules*.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of the Kings that reigned in *Egypt*, betweene the deliuerance of *Israel* from thence, and the reigne of *Ezekiah* in *Iuda*, when *Egypt* and *Iuda* made a league against the *Affyrians*.

§. I.

That many names of *Egyptian* Kings, found in *Historie*, are like to haue belonged onely to Viceroyes. An example prouing this out of *William* of *Tyre* his *Historie* of the holy warre.



He emulation and quarrels arising in these times, between the mighty Kingdomes of *Egypt* and *Affyria*, doe require our paines, in collecting the most memorable things in *Egypt*, and setting downe briefly the state of that Countie, which had continued long a flourishing Region, and was of great power, when it contended with *Affyria* for the Maistrie. Of *Cham* the sonne of *Noah*, who first planned that Countie, and of *Osiris*, *Orus*, and other ancient Kings, that reigned there, vnill the *Israelites* were thence deliuered, more hath bene saide already than I can stand to; though I hold it no shame to faile in such coniectures. That which I haue deliuered, in speaking mine opinion of the *Aegyptian* Dynasties, must heere againe helpe me. For it may truly be affirmed, That the great number of Kings, which are saide to haue reigned in *Egypt*, were none other than Viceroyes or Stewards, such as *Nephtus* was, and such as were the *Soldanes* in later ages. Therefore I will not onely forbear to seeke after those, whom *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* haue reckoned vp, from the mounthes of *Egyptian* Priests, deliuering them by number, without rehearsing their names; but will saue the labour of marshalling them in order, whose names onely are found; the yeares of their reignes, and other circumstances prouing them to haue bene Kings in deed, being not recorded.

But that I may not seeme before hand, to lay an imaginarie ground, whereupon after I may build what I list; it were not amisse, to giue vnto the Reader such satisfaction in this point, as apparent reason, and truth of *Historie* doth afford. First therefore, wee ought not to beleue those numbers of Generations, which the lying Priests haue reckoned vp, to magnifie their Antiquities. For wee know, that from *Abraham*, our *Sauour Christ* was removed onely fortie two descents, which makes it euident, that in farre shorter time, namely before the *Persian* Empire, there could not haue passed away twiccas many successions in *Egypt*: especially considering, that many of these, whose continuance is expressed, haue reigned longer than fortie yeeres. It folloes that we should square the number of the *Egyptian* Kings in some euen proportion, to those which did beare rule in other Countries. As for the rest, whose names we finde scattered here and there, any man that will take the paines to reade the nineteenth booke of the holy Warre, written by *William* Archbishop of *Tyre*, may easily perfwade himselfe, that it is not hard to finde names enow, of such as might be thought to haue reigned in *Egypt*, being none other than Regents or Viceroyes. Yet will I here insert, as briefly as I can, some things making to that purpose for the pleasure and information of such, as will not trouble themselves with turning ouer many Authors.

When *Elahdech* the Caliph ruled in *Egypt*, one *Dargan*, a powerfull and a subtile man, made himselfe *Soldan*, by force and cunning, chasing away *Sanar* an *Arabian*, who was *Soldan* before & after him. This *Dargan* ministred matter of quarrell to *Amalricke* King of *Ierusalem*; and sustained, with little losse, an inuasion, which *Amalricke* made vpon *Egypt*. Heereupon he grew so insolent and proud, that *Sanar* the former *Soldan* hoped to make his partie good against him, if he could get any forces wherewith to enter *Egypt*.

Brictly,

Briefly, *Saner* such to *Noradine*, King of *Damasco*, for aide, who sends an Army of his *Turkes*, vnder the command of *Syracon*, against the *Soldan Dargan*. So *Dargan* and *Saner* met, and fought: The Victory was *Dargan*'s; but he enjoyed it not: for in few daies after, hee was slaine by treason, whereby *Saner* did recouer his Dignitie: which to establish, he slew all the Kinred and Friends of *Dargan*, that he could finde in the great Citie of *Cairo*.

To all these doings, the *Caliph Elhadach* gaue little regard: for he thought it little concerned him, which of them liued, and had the administration of the Kingdome, whilst he might haue the profit of it, and enioy his pleasure. But new troubles presently arise, which (one would thinke) do neerly touch the *Caliph* himselfe. *Syracon* with his *Turkes*, to whom *Saner* hath gotten to come into *Egypt*, will not now be intreated there to leaue him, and quietly go their way home. They seize vpon the Towne of *Belbeis*, which they fortifie, and there attend the arriual of more company from *Damasco*, for the conquest of all *Egypt*. The *Soldan* perceiues their intent, and findes himselfe not strong enough to expell them; much lesse to repell the *Turkish* Armie, that was likely to second them. He therefore sends Messengers to King *Almaricke* of *Ierusalem*, whom with large promises, hee gets to bring him aide, and to driue out the *Turkes*. Of all this trouble, the great *Caliph* heares nothing, or not so much, as should make him looke to the playing of his owne game.

A greater mischicfe ariseth, concerning the *Caliph Elhadach* particularly; in his owne Title. *Syracon*, Captaine of the *Turkes* that had bene in *Egypt*, goes to the *Caliph of Balдах* (who was opposit to him of *Egypt*, each of them claiming as heire to *Mohomet* that false prophet, the Soueraigneticke ouer all that were of the *Saracen* Law) and tells him the weakenesse of the *Egyptian*, with his owne abilitie of doing seruice in those parts, offering his best means for the extirpation of the Schismaticall *Caliph*, and the reduction of all *Egypt*, with the Westerne parts, vnder the subiection of the *Babylonian*. This motion is readily and ioyfully entertained; all the Easterne Prouinces are vp in Armes; and *Syracon*, with a mighty power, descendeth into *Egypt*. The noyse of this great expedition so affrighteth King *Almaricke*, that with all his forces hee hasteth into *Egypt*: well knowing how neerely it concerned him and his Kingdome of *Ierusalem*, to keepe the *Saracens* from ioyning all vnder one head. *Saner* the *Soldan* perceiuing the faithfull care of the *Christians* his friends, welcomes them, and bestirs himselfe in giuing them all manner of content, as it behooued him: for by their admirable valour, hee finally drateth enemies out of the Countrie. But this victory was not so soone gotten, as it is quickly told.

Strange it is (which most concerns our present purpose) that of so desperate a danger, the *Caliph*, as yet, seemes to know nothing. May we not thinke him to haue bene King in title onely, who meddled so little in the Government? The *Soldan*, finding that the *Christians* (without whose helpe, all was lost) could not well stay, so long as his necessities required; makes large offers to King *Almaricke*, vpon condition that he should abide by it. He promitteth a great Tribute (*William* of *Tyre* calls it a Tribute; the *Saracens*, perhaps, called it a Pension) which the Kings of *Ierusalem* should receiue out of *Egypt*, for this behoouefull assistance. But the *Christians* vnderstanding that the *Soldan* (how much sooner he tooke vpon him) was subiect to an higher Lord, would make no bargain of such importance, with any other than the *Caliph* himselfe. Hereupon *Hugh* Earle of *Casiers*, and a Knight of the *Templars*, are sent vnto *Elhadach* to ratifie the couenants. Now shall we see the greatnesse of the *Caliph* and his estate.

These Embassadors were conueighed by the *Soldan* to *Cairo*; where arriuing at the Palace, they found it guarded by great troupes of Souldiers. The first entrance was through darke Porches, that were kept by many armed bands of *Ethiopian*s, which with all diligence, did reuerence to the *Soldan* as he passed along. Through these streights the Warders led them, into goodly open Courts, of such beautie and riches, that they could not retain the grauitie of Embassadors, but were enforced to admire the things which detained their eyes. For there they saw goodly Marble Pillars, gilded Beames, all wrought ouer with embossed workes, curious pauements, fish-ponds of marble with cleare waters, and many sorts of strange birds, vknowne in those parts of the world, as comming perhaps from the East *Indies*, which then was vndiscovered. The farther they went, the greater was the magnificence; for the *Caliph* his Eunuches conueyed them into other

other Courts within these; as farre excelling the former, as the former did the passe ordinarie houses. It were tedious perhaps to rehearse, how, the further they entered, the more high state they found, and cause of maruaile, suffice it, that the good Archbishop, who wrote these things, was neuer held a vaine Author. Finally they were brought into the *Caliph* owne lodgings, which were yet more stately, and better guarded; where entering the Presence, the *Soldan* hauing twice prostrated himselfe, did the third time cast off his Sword, that he wore about his necke, and throw himselfe on the ground, before the curtaine, behinde which the *Caliph* sat. Presently the trauesters, wrought with Gold and pearles was opened, and the *Caliph* himselfe discovered, sitting with great Maestie on a throne of gold, hauing few of his most inward seruants and Eunuches about him. When the *Soldan* had humbly kissed his Masters feet, he briefly told the cause of his coming, the danger wherein the Land stood, and the offers that he had made vnto King *Almaricke*, desiring the *Caliph* himselfe to ratifie them, in presence of the Embassadors. The *Caliph* answered, that he would thoroughly performe all which was promised. But this contented not the Embassadors: They would haue him to giue his hand vpon the bargain, which the *Egyptians*, that stood by, thought an impudent request. Yet his greatnesse confederated at length, after much deliberation, at the earnest request of the *Soldan*, to reach out his hand. When the Earle of *Casiers* saw that the *Caliph* gaue his hand, neither willingly nor bare, he told him roundly thus much in effect: Sir, *Truth* seeks no holes to hide in selfe; Princes, that will hold couenant, must deale openly, nakedly, and sincerely; Giue vs therefore your bare hand, if you meane that we shall trust you, for wee will make no bargain with your Glove. Much adoe there was about this: for it seemed against the Maestie of such a Prince to yeeld so farre. But, when it would none otherwise be, with a smiling cheare (though to the great griefe of his seruants) he vouchsafed to let the Earle take him by the bare hand; and so rehearsing the couenants word by word, as the Earle spake them, he ratified all; dismissing finally the Embassadors, with such rewards as testified his Greatnesse.

In this *Caliph* and his *Sultan*, wee may discern the Image of the ancient *Pharaoh*, and his *Viceroy*: wee see a Prince of great estate, sitting in his Palace, and not vexing himselfe with the great preparations made against him, which terrifie his neighbour Countries: wee see his *Viceroy*, in the meane season, vsing all Royall power; making warre & peace, containing, & repelling Armies of strangers; yea making the Land of *Egypt* tributarie to a foreign Prince. What greater authoritie was giuen to *Ioseph*, when *Pharaoh* said vnto him, *Thou shalt be ouer mine house, and as thy word shall all my people be armed, only in the daye Thine will I be aboue thee, Behold, I have set thee ouer all the Land of Egypt*.

I doe not commend this forme of Government; neither can I approue the coniecture of mine Author, where he thinks, that the *Egyptians*, euer since *Ioseph*'s time, haue felt the burden of that seruitude which he brought vpon them, when he bought them, and their Lands, for *Pharaoh*. Herein I finde his iudgement good; that he affirms this manner of the *Egyptian* Kings, in taking their ease, and ruling by a *Viceroy*, to be part of the ancient customes, practised by the *Pharaohs*. For we finde, that euen the *Ptolemies* (excepting *Ptolemeeus Lagi*, and his sonne *Philadelphus*, founder and establisher of that race) were giuen, all of them, wholly to please their owne appetites, leauing the charge of the Kingdome to Women, Eunuches, and other ministers of their desires. The pleasures which that Countie afforded, were indeed sufficient to inuite the Kings thereof vnto a voluptuous life; and the awfull regard wherein the *Egyptians* held their Princes, gaue them securitie, whereby they might the better trust their Officers, with so ample commission. But of this matter, I will not stand longer to dispute. It is enough to haue shewed, that the great and almost absolute power of the *Viceroyes* gouerning *Egypt*, is set downe by *Moses*, and that a liuely example of the same is found in *William* of *Tyre*; who liued in the same age; was, in few yeeres after, Chancellour of the Kingdome of *Ierusalem*; and had full discourse with *Hugh* Earle of *Casiers*, touching all these matters. Wherefore it remains, that we be not carried away with a vaine opinion, to beleue that all they were Kings, whom reports of the fabulous *Egyptians* haue honoured with that title; but rest contented with a Catalogue of such, as we finde by circumstance, likely to haue reigned in that Countie; after whom it follows that we should make enquiry.

§. II.

Of Acherres; whether he were Vchorus that was the eighth from Olymmandyas. Of Olymmandyas and his Tombe.

IN this business I hold it vaine to be too curious. For who can hope to attaine to the perfect knowledge of the truth, when as *Diodorus* varies from *Herodotus*, *Eusebius*, from both of them; and late Writers, that haue sought together the truth out of these and others, finde no one with whom they can agree? In this case *Amnius* would doe good seruice, if a man could trust him. But it is enough to be beholding to him, when others doe either say nothing, or that which may iustly bee suspected. I will therefore hold my selfe contented, with the pleasure that he hath done me, in saying somewhat of *Osiris*, *Isis*, *Orus*, and those antiquities remoued so farre out of sight: as for the Kings following the departure of *Israhel* out of *Egypt*, it shall suffice, that *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and *Eusebius*, haue not bene silent, and that *Reineccius* hath taken paines, to range into some good order the names that are extant in these, or else found scattering in others.

From the departure of *Israhel* out of *Egypt*, vnto the reigne of *Thunoris* (who is generally taken to bee the same that the *Greekes* call *Proteus*) there is little or no disagreement about the *Egyptian* Kings. Wherefore I set downe the same which are found in *Eusebius*, and giue to euery one the same length of reigne.

Acherres was the first of these, who succeeded vnto *Chenchers*, that perished in the Red Sea. This King seemes to *Reineccius* to be the same whom *Diodorus* calls *Vchorus*, the founder of *Memphis*. But whereas mention is found in *Diodorus* of a great King, named *Olymmandyas*, from whom *Vchorus* is said to be the eighth; it will either hardly follow, that *Timaeus* (as *Reineccius* coniectures) was the great *Olymmandyas*, or else that this *Acherres* was *Vchorus*: for the distance betweene them was more then eight generations. *Mercator* iudgeth *Olymmandyas* to haue beene the husband of *Ancheres*, *Orus* the second daughter; thinking that *Manethon* (cited by *Iosephus*) doth omit his name, and insert his wiues, into the Catalogue of Kings, because he was King in his wiues right. As for *Vchorus*, it troubles not *Mercator* to finde him the eighth from this man: for he takes *Ogdoos*, not to signifie in this place of *Diodore* (as that *Greeke* word else doth) the eighth, but to be an *Egyptian* name, belonging also to *Vchorus*, who might haue had two names, as many of the rest had. I will not vex my braines in the vnprofitable search of this, and the like inextricable doubts. All that *Diodore* hath found of this *Olymmandyas* was wrought vpon his monument; the most thereof in figures, which I thinke the *Egyptians* did subtilly expound. For whereas there was pourtraied a great Armie with the siege of a Towne, the captiuitie of the People, and the triumph of the Conqueror; all this, the *Egyptians* said to denote the conquest of *Babylonia* made by that King: which how like it was, let others iudge. I hold this goodly peece of worke, which *Diodore* so particularly describes, to haue beene erected for a common place of buriall, to the ancient Kings and Queenes of *Egypt*, and to their Viceroyes; whilest yet they were not so ambitious, as euery one to haue his own particular monument, struing therein to exceed all others. This appeares by the many statues, therein placed, by the Warres, the iudgement seat, the receiving of Tribute, the offering Sacrifice to God, the account of Reuenues, and plentie of all Cattell and Foode; all which were there curiously wrought, shewing the severall Offices of a Gouernour. On the Tombe of *Olymmandyas* was this inscription. *I am Olymmandyas King of Kings; If any desire to know what I am, or where I lie, let him exceed some of my workes.* Let them, that hope to exceed his workes, labour to know what he was. But since by those words, *Or where I lie*, it should seeme that hee lay nowhere; interred, we may lawfully suspect that it was *Ioseph*, whose body was preferred among the *Hebrewes*, to be buried in the land of *Canaan*, and this empty Monument might King *Orus*, who out-liued him, erect in honor of his high deserts, among the royal Sepulchers. To which purpose, the plentie of Cattell, and all manner of viands, had good reference. The name *Olymmandyas* doth not hinder this coniecture; seeing *Ioseph* had one new name giuen to him by *Pharaoh*, for expounding the dreame, and might, vpon further occasions, haue another, to his increase of honor. As for that stile, *King of Kings*, it was perhaps no more than *Beglerbeg*, as the *Turkish Bassaes* are called, that is, Great about the Great.

Now

Now although it be so, that the reckoning falls out right, betweene the times of *Ioseph* and *Acherres* (for *Acherres* was the eight in order, that reigned after the great *Orus*, whose Viceroy *Ioseph* was) yet will I heereby seeke, neither to fortifie mine owne coniecture, as touching *Ioseph*, nor to inferre any likelihood of *Acherres* his being *Vchorus*. For it might well be, that *Memphis* was built by some such King as was *Gehaar*, Lieutenant vnto the *Caliph Elcanis*, who hauing to his Masters vse conquered *Egypt*, and many other Countries, did build, not farre from old *Memphis*, the great Citie of *Cairo* (corruptly pronounced naming it *El Cabira*, that is, an enforcing, or an imperious Mistresse, though he himselfe were a *Dalmatian* slave.

§. III.

Of Cherres, Armeus, Rameffes, and Amcnophis. Of Myris, and the Lake that beares his name.

WHEN *Acherres* had reigned eight yeeres, *Cherres* succeeded, and held the Kingdom fifteen yeeres: then reigned *Armeus* five yeeres, and after him *Rameffes*, threecore and eight. Of *Armeus* and *Rameffes* is that Historie vnderstood by *Eusebius*, which is common among the *Greekes*, vnder the names of *Danaus* and *Egyptus*. For it is said that *Danaus*, being expelled out of *Egypt* by his brother, fledde into Greece, where he obtained the Kingdom of *Argos*: that he had fiftie Daughters, whom vpon seeming reconciliation, he gaue in marriage to his brothers fiftie sonnes, but commanded euery one of them to kill her husband the first night; that onely *Hypermetra*, one of his Daughters, did saue her husband *Lyncus*, and suffered him to escape; finally, That for this fact, all the bloudie sisters, when they died, were enioyned this foolish punishment in Hell, to fill a leaking Vessel with water.

Thereigne of *Danaus* in *Argos* was indeed in this age; but that *Armeus*, was *Danaus*; and *Rameffes*, *Egyptus*; is more then *Reineccius* beleuees: he rather takes *Armeus* to haue bene *Myris*, or *Meris*, who caused the great Lake to be made which beares his name. For my owne part, as I can easily beleuee, that he which fled out of *Egypt* into Greece, was a man of such qualitie as the *Soldan Sanar*, of whom we spake before, so doe I not finde how in so short a reigne, as five yeeres, a worke of that labour could bee finished, which was required vnto the Lake of *Myris*, and the Monuments therein; whereof his owne Sepulcher and his wiues being some part, it is manifest that hee was not buried in *Argos*. Wherefore of *Myris*, and of all other Kings, whose age is vncertaine, and of whose reignes we haue no assurance, I may truly say, that their great workes are not enough to proue them of the house of *Pharaoh*, seeing that greater deeds or more absolute, than were those of *Ioseph*, who bought all the people of *Egypt* as bond-men, and all their Land for bread; of *Gehaar*, who founded *Cairo*; and of *Sanar*, who made the Countie Tributarie; were performed by none of them.

It shall therefore be enough to set downe the length of their reignes, whom we finde to haue followed one another in order of succession: but in rehearsing the great acts which were performed, I will not stand to examine, whether they that did them were Kings or no.

The Lake of *Myris* is, by the report of *Diodore* and *Herodotus*, three thousand fixe hundred furlongs in compass, and fiftie fadomes deepe. It serueth to recieue the waters of *Nilus*, when the ouer-flow, being too great, was harmefull to the Countie; and to supply the defect, by letting out the waters of the Lake, when the Riuer did not rise high enough. In opening the sluices of this Lake, for the letting in or out of waters, were spent fiftie talents; but the Lake it selfe defraied that cost; seeing the tribute imposed vpon fiftie taken therein, was euery day one talent, which *Myris* gaue to his Wife to buy sweet oynments, and other ornaments for her bodie. In the middelt of it was left an Island, wherein were the Sepulchers of *Myris* and his Wife, and ouer each of them a Pyramid, that was a furlong, or (according to *Herodotus*) fiftie paces high; hauing on the top their statues, sitting in Thrones. I finde not the description of this Lake in Maps, answereable to the report of Historians: yet is it very great. The yeeres of *Armeus* are by *Manethon* diuided, by inserting one *Armesis* (whom *Eusebius* omits) that should haue reigned one yeere and odder months of the time; but I hold not this difference worthy of examination.

After

After *Rameses*, his sonne *Amenophis* held the Kingdome fortye yeeres. Some giue him onely nineteene yeeres; and *Mercator* thinks him to haue been the King that was drowned in the Red Sea: whereof I haue already spoken in the first Booke.

§. IIII.

Of the Kings that reigned in the Dynastie of the *Larthes*.

S *Ethosis*, or *Zethus*, reigned after his Father *Amenophis*, fiftie five yeeres. To him are ascribed the famous acts of that ancient *Sesostrius*. But the state of the world was not such at these times, that so great an expedition as the old *Sesostrius* made, nor could haue beene cyther easily performed, or forgotten in the Countries through which he passed, had it now bene performed, as any man will perceiue, if hee looke vpon my Chronologicall Table, and consider who liued with this *Zethus*. With this King began the Dynastie of the *Larthes*; which *Reineccius* coniectures to haue had the same signification, wherein the old Kings of *Hetruria*, were called *Lartes*, (the *Hetrurians* being issued out of *Lydia*, the *Lydians* out of *Aegypt*) and to haue signified as much as *Imperator* or *Generall*. The Warres in which these Kings were Generalls, I take to haue bene against the *Athiopians*: for sure I am, that they troubled not the Countrie of *Palaestina*, that lay next vnto them on the one hand; nor is it likely that they travelled ouer the desert sands, on the other hand, to seeke matter of conquest, in the poore Countries of *Africa*. But these Generalls (if the *Larthes* were such) were not many. Five onely had that title; and the last of these tooke it, perhaps, as hereditarie from the first; in such sort as the *Roman* Emperours were proud for a while, to be called *Antonini*, till the most vsurtable conditions of *Heliogabales*, made his successors forbear the name.

Here it may be objected, that the *Dynasties* (as appeares by this particular) tooke name from the Kings, that the Kings also did administer the gouernment themselves; and that therefore I am deceived in ascribing so much vnto the Viceroyes. But it is to be considered, that what is said of these *Larthes*, depends onely vpon coniecture, and that the authoritie of the Regents, or Viceroyes, might be great enough, though some few Kings tooke the conduct of Armies into their owne hands. For so wee finde in *Iohn Leo*, that the *Soldan* of *Aegypt* (after such time as the *Soldan* *Saladine*, murdering the *Caliph*, got the Soueraigntie to himselfe) had vnder him a Viceroy, stiled *Eddagadare*, who had authoritie to place, or displace, any Magistrates, or Officers; and that this mans Familie was almost as great, as the *Soldans* owne. Yet was there also the *Amir Cabir*, or Lord Generall of the *Soldans* forces, who had the charge of defending the Land, and might as he thought good, spend of the *Soldans* Treasure. So might the office of the Viceroyes continue, though the Kings themselves, taking the charge, or title of Generalls vpon them, did somewhat abridge the greatnesse of that second place. As for the names of the *Dynasties*, it skills not when they were drawne; whether from their Countrie, as those of the *Thebans* and *Diopolitans*, or from some eminent men, or man, who ruled in that time; as many thinke, that the fourteenth Dynastie was called of the Sheep-heads, because *Ioseph* gouerned in part thereof; or from the Kings themselves that reigned; as this was said to be of the *Larthes* or *Generalls*. The next, as *Mancho* (but *Aminius* his *Maelio*) hath it, was without any *Larthes* or *Generalls*, yet was it not without Kings, for in much as *Vaphres*, and *Sesac*, reigned therein, if many others did not. But let vs now returne to the business which we left.

Ramfes was King after *Zethus*, or *Sethois*, three score and fixe yeeres. He is mistaken for that second *Sesostrius*, of whom I haue spoken in the first booke. I find nothing worth rehearsal of this *Ramfes*, or of *Amenophis* and *Amenemes*, that followed him in order, the former of which reigned fortye, the later fixe and twenty yeeres. Wherefore I may very well bee, that the name which *Zethus* had from valour, was taken by these as hereditarie.

Thooris, the last of the *Larthes*, reigned onely seven yeeres; yet is hee thought to haue bene rather *Proteus*, of whom *Herodotus* hath mention, saying, That he took *Helen* from *Paris*, and after the sacke of *Troy*, restored her to *Athenians*. I neede say no more in illustration of this, than that the time of *Thooris* his reigne, lasted not so long as from the Rape of *Helena* to her restitution.

This

This *Proteus* or *Cetes* (as he is named by some) together with *Thoon*, and others, mentioned by *Greeke* Writers in this business, or in other such matters, may seeme to be vnder Officers: For such onely are like to haue had their residence about *Pharos*, and the Sea-coast, where *Athenians* arrived.

Of *Proteus*, who detained *Helen*, it is said, That he could foretell things to come, and that he could change himselfe into all shapies: whereby is signified his craftie head, for which he is growne into a Proverbe. The Poets staine him a Sea-God, and keeper of *Nepheus* Seale-fishes, for belike hee was some vnder-Officer to the Admirall, hauing charge of the Fishing about the Ile of *Pharos*, as was said before.

Ramphes, the Sonne of *Proteus*, is reckoned the next King, by *Diodore*, as also by *Herodotus*, who calls him *Ramsinitus*, and tells a long tale, fit to please children, of his couetousnesse, and how his treasure-house was robbed by a cunning Theefe, that at last married his Daughter. But of this a man may beleuee what he list. How long this King reigned I know not, nor thinke that either he, or his Father, did reigne at all.

§. V.

Of the Egyptian Kings whose names are found scattering in sundrie Authors, their times being not recorded. The Kings of *Aegypt*, according to *Cedrenus*. Of *Vaphres* and *Sesac*.

Any other names of *Aegyptian* Kings, are found scattered here and there; as *Tophetophobis*, of whom *Suidas* deliueres onely the bare name and title; *Senemures*, or *Senepes*, mentioned in *Macrobius*, who perhaps was the same that by *Suidas* is called *Senes*, or *Euenes*, noted by occasion of a great Physician that liued vnder him; *Zandyrus*, recorded by the same *Suidas*, for his great iustice; and *Thulis*, of whom *Suidas* tells great matters, as that his Empire extended to the Ocean Sea; that he gaue name to the Ile of *Thule*, which some take to be *Iceland*; and that he consulted with the *Deuill*, or (which is all one) with *Seraphis*, desiring to know, who before him had bene, or after him should be so mighty as himselfe. The answer or confession of the *Deuill* was remarkable; which I finde Englished in the translation of *Plessis* his worke, Of the transgression of Christian religion. The *Greeke* Verses are somewhat otherwise, and much more imperfect in those Copies that I haue of *Cedrenus* and *Suidas*, but the sense is all one; which is this:

First God, and next The word, and then The Spirit,
Which three be One, and joyne in One all three;
Whose force is endlessse. Get thee hence fraile wight,
The Man of Life vnkowne excelleth thee.

I should haue thought that *Suidas* had borrowed all this of *Cedrenus*, had I not found somewhat more in *Suidas*, than *Cedrenus* hath hereof; as the forme of invocation which *Thulis* vsed, and that clause, of his giuing name to the Island: though in this last point I hold *Suidas* to be deceived; as also *Cedrenus* is, or (at least) seems to me, in giuing to this King such profound antiquitie of reigne. Indeed the very name of that booke, cited of *Cedrenus*, which he calls *Little Genesis*, is alone enough to breed suspicion of some imposture: but the Frierly stuffe that he alledgeth out of it, is such as would serue to discredit himselfe, were it not otherwise apparant, that hee was a man both deuout, and of good iudgement, in matters that fell within his compasse. I will here set downe the List of olde *Aegyptian* Kings deliuered by him, and leaue the censure to others.

The first King of *Aegypt* that he sets downe, is *Mizraim*, the sonne of *Cham*. After him he findes many of a new race, deniuing their pedigree thus: *Nimrod*, the son of *Chus*, was also called *Orion*, and further, tooke vpon him the name of the Planet *Saturne*, had to wife *Semiramis*, who was of his owne Linage, and by her three sonnes; *Picus*, surnamed *Iupiter*, *Edus*, and *Ninus*. *Picus* chasing his father out of *Assyria* into *Babylonia*, reigned in his stead thirtie yeeres, and then gaue vp that Kingdome to *Iuno*, his sister and wife, and to *Belus* his sonne: after which *Belus*, who reigned onely two yeeres, *Ninus* had the Kingdome, and married his owne mother *Semiramis*. But *Picus* went into *Italia*, to visit his olde father *Saturne*; *Saturne* forth-with resigned the Kingdome vnto him. *Picus Iupiter* reigned in *Italia* three score and two yeeres, had three score and tenne Wiues or Concubines, and about as many children: finally died, and lyes buried in the Isle of *Crete*.

Eee

The

The Principall of *Iupiters* sonnes were *Faunus*, *Perseus*, and *Apollo*. *Faunus* was called by the name of the Planet *Mercurie*: he reigned in *Italie*, after his father, five and thirtie yeeres: and then (finding that all his brethren conspired against him) he went into *Egypt*, with abundance of Treasure; where, after the death of *Mizraim*, he got the Kingdome, and held it nine and thirtie yeeres. After *Mercurie*, *Vulcan* reigned in *Egypt*, foure yeeres and a halfe. Then *Sol*, the sonne of *Vulcan*, reigned twentie yeeres and a halfe. There followed in order *Sosis*, *Osiris*, *Orus*, and *Thules*, of whom wee spake before: the length of their severall reignes is not set downe. After *Thules*, was the great *Sesostris* King twenty yeeres. His successor was *Pharao*, called *Nareche*, that held the Crowne fiftie yeeres, with which there passed from him the surname of *Pharao*, to a very long posteritie.

These reports of *Cedrenus* I hold it enough to set downe as I finde them: let their credit rest vpon the Author.

Others yet we finde, that are said to have reigned in *Egypt*, without any certaine note, when, or how long: about whom I will not labour, as fearing more to be reprehended of vaine curiositie, in the search made after these already rehearsed, than of negligence, in omitting such as might have bene added.

Vaphres, the father in law to *Salomon*; and *Sesac*, the afflicter of *Rehoboam*, leade vs againe into faire way, but not farre. The name of *Vaphres* is not found in the Scriptures; but wee are beholding to *Clemens Alexandrinus* and *Eusebius* for it. These give vs not the length of his reign; but we know, that he liued in the times of *David* and of *Salomon*. He came into *Palestina* with an Armie, took *Gezar* from the *Canaanites*, and gave it to his daughter, *Salomons* wife: though for her sake perhaps it was, that in time following either he, or (as I rather take it) *Sesac* his sonne did fauour the enemies of *Salomon*, who kept to many Wives and Concubines, besides this *Egyptian* Princeesse. In the life of *Rehoboam* all hath bene written that I finde of *Sesac*, excepting the length of his reign, which must haue bene fixe and twentie yeeres, if he were that *Smendis* with whom *Eusebius* begins the one and twentieth *Dynastie*.

Now forasmuch as it would serue to no great purpose, that wee know the length of *Sesac* his reign, and of theirs that followed him, vnlesse therewithall wee knew the beginning of *Sesac*, vpon which the rest haue dependance; this course I take. From the fourth yeere of *Iehoiakim*, King of *Iuda*, in which *Pharao Neco* was slaine, I reckon vponwards the yeeres of the same *Neco*, and of his predecessors, vnto the beginning of *Sesac*: by which account, the first yeere of *Sesac* is found, concurrent with the twentieth of *Salomons* reign, and the twentie fixe of *Sesac* with the fifth of *Rehoboam*: wherein *Sesac* spoiled the Temple, and died, enjoying the fruits of his Sacriledge no longer, than *Iudas* the *Israelite*, & *Craffus* the *Romane* did; who, after him, spoiled the Temple of *Ierusalem*.

To fill vp the time betwene *Sesac* and *Neco*, I haue rather taken those Kings that I finde in the *Greeke* Historians, than them which are in *Eusebius* his Catalogue. For of these that are deliuered by *Eusebius*, we finde no Name nor Act recorded elſewhere, save onely of *Bacchoris*, who is remembered by *Diadore*, *Plutarch*, and others, much being spoken of him, that makes him appeare to haue bene a King. Hereunto I may adde, that the succession is often interrupted in *Eusebius* by *Aethiopians*, which got the Kingdome often, and held it long: whereas contrariwise it appears by the Prophet *Esaie*, that the Counsellors of *Pharao* did vaunt of the long and flourishing continuance of that house, inſomuch, that they said of *Pharao*, *I am the Sonne of the wife, I am the Sonne of the ancient King*. But that which overthrowes the reckoning of *Eusebius*, is, the good agreement of it with his mistakentimes of the Kings of *Iuda*. For though it please him well to see how the reignes of *Iosias* and *Neco* meet by his computation, yet this indeed marres all: the reignes of *Iosias* being misplaced. This error growes from his omitting, to compare the reignes of the Kings of *Iuda* with theirs of *Israel*: by which occasion, *Ioram*, King of *Israel*, is made to reigne three yeeres after *Ahabas* of *Iuda*; *Samaris* is taken by *Salmassar* before *Hzekias* was King: and in a word, all, or most of the Kings, haue their beginnings placed in some other yeere of their collateralls than the Scriptures haue determined.

§. VI. of

§. VI.

Of *Chemmis*, *Cheops*, *Cephrenes*, and other Kings revived by *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* *Siculus*, which reigned betwene the times of *Rehoboam* and *Ezekias*.

Following therefore the *Greeke* Historians, I place *Chemmis*, or (according to *Diadore*) *Chemmis*, first in the ranke of those that were Kings after *Sesac*. He reigned fiftie yeeres, and built the greatest of the three *Pyramides*, which was accounted one of this worlds Wonders. The *Pyramis* hath his name from the shape, in that it resembleth a flame of fire, growing from the bottome vpwards narrower and narrower to the top. This of *Chemmis* being foure-square, had a Bale of seven akers euery way, and was about fixe akers high. It was of a very hard and durable Stone, which had lasted, when *Diadore* saw it, about a thousand yeeres, without complaining of any iniurie that it had suffered by weather in so long space. From the reign of *Chemmis*, vnto the reage of *Augustus Caesar*, wherein *Diadore* liued, are indeede a thousand yeeres, which doth giue the better likelyhood vnto this time wherein *Chemmis* is placed. As for this and other *Pyramides*, late Writers doe testifie, that they haue seene them yet standing.

After *Chemmis*, *Diadore* placeth *Cephrenes* his brother; but doubtfully, and enclining rather to the opinion, that his sonne *Chabreus* succeeded. *Herodotus* hath *Cheops* (who might be *Chabreus*) and *Cephrenes* after him. These are said to haue bene brethren; but the length of their reignes may argue the later to haue bene sonne to the former: for *Cheops* reigned fiftie yeeres; *Cephrenes* fiftie fixe. These were, as *Chemmis* had bene, builders of *Pyramides*, whereby they purchased great hatred of their people, who already had ouer-labored themselves in erecting the first. These *Pyramides* were ordained to be Tombs for those that raised them; but the malice of the *Egyptians* is said to haue called out their bodies; and to haue called their Monuments by the name of an *Heardf-man*, that kept his Beasts thereabouts. It may be, that the robbing them of their honor, and enuiling a poore fellow to their workes, was held to be the casting out of their bodies: otherwise, it is hard to conceiue, how it might be, that they, who had not power to avoid the like slaueerie, laid vpon them by the younger brother or sonne, should haue power or leisure to take such reuenge vpon his Predecessor. To the like malice may be ascribed the tale deuised against *Cheops* his Daughter; That her Father, wanting money, did prostitute her, and that she, getting of euery man that accompanied her, one stone, did build with them a fourth *Pyramis*, that stood in the middelt of the other three. Belike she was an insolent Lady, and made them follow their drudgery, for her sake, longer a while than they thought to haue done, in raising a Monument, with the superfluite of her Fathers provisions.

Myserinus, the sonne of *Cephrenes*, reigned after his Father fixe yeeres. He would haue built as his fore-goes did, but preuented by death, finished not what he had begun. The people thought him a good King, for that he did set open the Temples, which *Cheops* and *Cephrenes* had kept shut. But an Oracle threatened him with a short life of fixe yeeres onely, because of this his deuotion; For (said the Oracle) *Egypt should haue bene afflicted an hundred and fiftie yeeres, which thy Predecessors knew, and performed for their parts; but thou hast released it, therefore shalt thou liue but fixe yeeres*. It is very strange, that the gods should be offended with a King for his pietie; or that they should decree to make a Countre impious, when the people were desirous to serue them; or that they hauing decreed, it should lie in the power of a King, to alter destinie, and make the ordinance of the gods to faile intaking full effect. But these were *Egyptian* gods. The true God was, doubtlesse, more offended with the restitution of such Idolatrie, than with the interruption. And who knows, whether *Chemmis* did not learne somewhat at *Ierusalem*, in the last yeere of his Father *Sesac*, that made him perceiue, and deliuer to those that followed him, the vanity of his *Egyptian* superstition? Most sure it is that his reign, and the reignes of *Cheops*, and *Cephrenes*, were more long and more happie, than that of *Myserinus*, who, to delude the Orade, reuelled away both dayes and nights, as if by keeping candles lighted, hee had changed his nights into dayes, and so doubled the time appointed: a seruice more pleasing to the Diuell, than the restitution of *Idolatrie* durst then seeme, when it could speede no better. I finde in *Reineccius* fiftie

Ecc 2

yeeres

Clem. Strom. l. 1.
Euseb. de Prep.
Evang. l. 3. c. 4.1. King. 5. 16.
2. 11. v. 18.
1. 2. 27.

Esa. 49. 11.

yeeres assigned to this King, which I verily beleeue to haue beene some error of the print, though I finde it not corrected among other such ouersights: for I know no Author that giues him so many yeeres, and *Reineccius* himselfe takes notice of the Oracle, that threatened *Mycerinus* with a short life, as is before shewed.

Bocchorus is placed next vnto *Mycerinus*, by *Diodore*, who speaks no more of him than this, that he was a strong man of body, and excelling his predecessors in wit. He is spoken of by diuers Authors, as one that loued iustice; and may bee taken for that *Ranchyris*, whom *Suidas* commends in that kinde: *Eusebius* reckons 44. yeeres of his reigne.

After *Bocchorus*, one *Sabacus* an *Ethiopian* followes, in the Catalogue of *Diodore*; but certaine ages after him. *Herodotus*, quite omitting *Bocchorus*, hath *Asychis*; who made to sharpe law (as it was then held) against bad debtors, that their dead bodies should be in the creditors disposition, till the debt were paid. This *Asychis* made a Pyramid of bricke, more costly and faire, in his owne iudgement, than any of those that the former Kings had raised. Besides this *Asychis*, *Herodotus* placeth one *Anysis*, a blinde man, before the *Ethiopian*. The reignes of these two are perhaps those many ages, which the *Egyptians*, to magnifie their antiquities, accounted betwene *Bocchorus*, and him that followed them. But all this could make but fixe yeeres; and so long doth *Fanuchis*, so long doth *Reineccius* hold, that these two Kings, between them both did gouerne. If any man would lengthen this time, holding it vnprobable that the reignes of two Kings should haue been so soone spent; hee may doe it by taking some yeeres from *Seton* or *Psammetichus*, and adding them to either of these. To adde vnto these, without subtracting from some other, would breede a manifest inconuenience: forasmuch as part of *Sesac* his reigne, must haue beene in the fifth of *Rehoboam*, as also the last of *Pharao Neco* was the fourth of *Iehoiakim*, and the first of *Nabuchadnezzar*. For mine owne part I like it better to allow fixe yeeres only to these two Kings, than to lose the witness of *Herodotus*, who, concurring herein with the Scriptures, doth speake of *Sennacherib*'s warre: at which time *Seton* was King of *Egypt*. I will not therefore adde yeeres vnto these obscure names; for by adding vnto these men three yeeres, we shall thrust the beginning of *Seton* out of place, and make it later than the death of *Sennacherib*. In regard of this agreement of *Herodotus* with the Scriptures, I am the more willing to hold with him, in his *Asychis* Kings. Otherwise it were a matter of no great enuie, to leaue both *Asychis* and *Anysis* out of the roll; which were easily done, by placing *Sesac* lower, and extending his life yet fixe yeeres further, or more, (if the like abridgement shall bee required of *Psammetichus* his reigne) into the yeeres of *Rehoboam*.

Of *Sabacus* the *Ethiopian*, who tooke the Kingdome from *Anysis*, it is agreed by the most, that he reigned fiftie yeeres. He was a mercifull Prince, not punishing all capitall offences with death, but imposing bondage and bodily labour vpon malefactors; by whose toyle he both got much wealth into his owne hands, letting out their seruice to hire, and performed many workes, of more vse than pompe, to the singular benefit of the Countrey. *Zonaras* calls this King *Sua*; the Scriptures call him *So*. *Hesai*, the last King of *Israel*, made a league with him against *Salmansar*, little to his good: for the *Egyptian* was more rich than warlike, and therefore his friendship could not prelerue the *Israelite* from destruction.

It seemes, that the encroching power of the *Assyrian*, grew terrible to *Egypt* about these times; the victories of *Tiglah Pileas*, and *Salmansar*, hauing eaten so farre into *Syria*, in the reigne of this one King *So* or *Sabacus*. Yea, perhaps it was in his dayes (for his reigne began in the fourth of *Menahe*) that *Phul* himselfe did make the first entrance into *Palastina*. This caused *So* to animate the halfe subdued people, against their Conquerours; but the helpe which he and his Successor gaue them was so faint, that *Sennacherib*'s Embassador compared the *Egyptian* succour to a broken staffe of Reede. *So* indeed had *Hosea* found it, and such *Ezekia* might haue found it, had hee not bene supported by the strong staffe of Him, that ruleth all Nations with a rodde of yron. It appeareth by the words of *Rabshake*, that the opinion was great in *Juda*, of the *Egyptian* forces, for *Chareits* and *Horse-men*; but this power, whatsoever it was, grew needfull, within a little while, for the defence of *Egypt* it selfe which *So* left vnto *Seton* his successor, hauing now fulfilled the fiftie yeeres of his reigne. *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* haue both one tale, from the relation of *Egyptian* Priests, concerning the departure of this King; saying, that he left the Countrey, & willingly retired into *Ethiopia*, because

because it was often signified vnto him in his dreames, by the god which was worshipped at *Thebes*, that his reigne should be neither long nor prosperous, vnlesse hee flew all the Priests in *Egypt*; which rather than to do, he resigned his Kingdome. Surely, these *Egyptian* gods were of a strange qualitie, that so ill rewarded their seruants, and initiated Kings to doe them wrong. Well might the *Egyptians* (as they likewise did) worship Dogs as gods, when their chiefe god had the propriety of Dogs, which loue their Masters the better for beating them. Yet to what end the Priests should haue signified this tale, I cannot tell; and therefore I thinke that it might be some deuice of the fearefull olde man, who seeing his Reallme in danger of an inuasion, sought an honest excuse for his departure out of it, and with-drawing himselfe into *Ethiopia*, where hee had bene bred in his youth. What if one should say, that the *Ethiopia* into which hee went, was none other than *Arabia*, whereof *Tirhaka* the King (perhaps at the instigation of this man) raised an Armie against *Sennacherib*, when he meant to inuade *Egypt*, within two or three yeeres after? But I will not trouble my selfe with such enquire. This I hold, that *So* or *Sabacus*, was not indeed an *Ethiopian* (for in his time liued the Prophet *Esay*, who mentioneth the antiquitie of *Pharao*'s house) but onely so furnished for his education, and because issuing from thence, he got the Kingdome from *Anysis*, who was his oppositor. The quiet and milde forme of his gouernment; his holding the Kingdome so long without an Armie; and many other circumstances argue no lesse. But whether finally hee betooke a priuate life, or whether hee fore-went his Life and Kingdome at once, being now very olde, it is time that we leaue him, and speake of *Seton* his next Successor, who is omitted by *Diodore*, but remembered by *Herodotus*, by a sure token of his hauing bene King.

§. VII.

Of *Seton* who reigned with *Ezekia*, and sided with him against *Sennacherib*.

His first yeere of *Seton*'s reigne falls into the twelfth of *Ezekia*, which was the fift of *Sennacherib*. It was a troublefome age, and full of danger; the two great Kingdomes of *Assyria* and *Egypt*, being then engaged in a Warre, the issue whereof was to determine, whether of them should rule or serue. The *Assyrian* had the better men of Warre; the *Egyptian* better provision of necessaries: the *Assyrians*, more Subjects; the *Egyptians*, more Friends; and among the new conquered halfe Subjects of *Assyria*, many that were *Egyptian* in heart, though *Assyrian* in outward shew.

Of this sort were *Ezekia*, and his people; who, knowing how much it concerned *Pharao*, to protect them against his owne great Enemy, preferred the friendship of so meere and mighty a Neighbour, before the seruice of a terrible, yet farre removed King. But herein was great difference, betwene *Ezekia* and his Subjects: For the good King, fixing his speciall confidence in God, held that course of policie, which hee thought most likely to turne to the benefit of his Countrey: the multitude of *Juda*, looking into the faire hopes which this *Egyptian* league promised, were puffed vp with vaine conceits, thinking that all was safe, and that now they should not need to feare any more of those iniuries, which they had suffered by the *Assyrians*, and so became forgetfull of God, taking comfort but not of him. The Prophet *Esay* complained much of this presumption; giuing the people of *Juda* to vnderstand, That the *Egyptians* were men, and not God, and their Horses flesh, and not spirit; that God himselfe should defend *Israel* vpon repentance, and that *Assyria* should fall by the sword, but not of man. As for the *Egyptians* (said the Prophet) they are vanitie, and they shall helpe in vaine, their strength is to sit still.

According to the Prophets words it came to passe. For in the treatie of Confederation, which was held at *Zenn*, all manner of contentment and assurance was giuen to the *Jews*, by *Seton*, or his Agents, who filled them with such reports, of Hostes and Chariots, that they did not looke (as *Esay* saith) vnto the Holy one of *Israel*, nor seeke vnto the Lord. *Esay* 31. 1. 2.

After a while came *Sennacherib* with his Armie, & wakened them out of these dreames; for *Seton* their good Neighbour, as meere as he was, did seeme farre off, being vnreadie, when his helpe was most needfull. It may seeme that hee purposed, rather to make *Palastina* than *Egypt* the stage, whereon this great Warre should be acted, and was not without hope, that the *Assyrians* and *Jews*, weakening one another, should yeeld vnto him a

Eſay 30. 6.

Eſay 31. 9.

faire aduantage ouer both. Yet he fought with monie; for hee ſent Hories and Camels laden with treaſure, to hire the *Arabians*, whom *Eſay* calleth a people that cannot profi. Theſe *Arabians* did not profi indeede; for (beſides that it ſeemes by the ſame place of *Eſay*, that the rich treaſures miſcaried, and fell into the enemies hands before any helpe appeared from *Tirhaca*.) all the ſtrong Cities of *Juda* were taken by *Sennacherib*, except *Lidna*, *Lachiſ*, and *Jeruſalem* it ſelfe, which were in ſore diſtreſſe, till the ſword of God, and not of Man, defeated the *Aſſyrian*, who did goe, for feare, to his Tower, that is, hee fled to *Nineue*, where he was ſlaine.

Concerning this expedition of *Sennacherib*, *Herodotus* takes this notice of it: That it was purpoſed againſt *Egypt*, where the men of warre, being offended with *Seton* their King, who had taken away their allowance, refuſed to beare armes in defence of him and their Country; that *Seton* being *Vulcan* Prieſt, bemoaned himſelfe to his god, who by dream promiſed to ſend him helpers; that hereupon *Seton*, with ſuch as would follow him, (which were crafts-men, ſhop-keepers, & the like) marched towards *Pelaſium*; and that a great multitude of field-mice entering the Campe of *Sennacherib* by night, did gnaw the bowes, quivers, and ſtraps of his mens armour, that they were ſaine the next day to ſie away in all haſte, finding themſelves diſarmed. In memorie hereof (ſaith *Herodotus*) the ſtatue of this King is ſet vp in the Temple of *Vulcan*, holding a Mouſe in his hand, with this inſcription: *Let him, that holds me, ſerue God*. Such was the relation of the *Egyptian* Prieſts, wherein how farre they ſwarued from the truth, being deſirous to magnifie their owne King, it may eaſily be perceiued. It ſeemes that this Image of *Seton* was fallen downe, and thereto forgotten in *Diodorus* his time, or ſince perſons, the Prieſts did forbear to tell it him (which cauſed him to omit it) for that the Nation of the *Temes* was then well knowne to the world, whereof euery childe could haue told, how much falſehood had bene mingled with the truth.

We finde this hiftorie agreeable to the Scriptures, thus farre forth; That *Sennacherib* King of the *Aſſyrians* and *Arabians*, (ſo *Herodotus* calleth him: the *Syrians*, or peraduenture ſome borderers vpon *Syria*, being meant by the name of *Arabians*) lived in this age, made Warre vpon *Egypt*, and was miraculoſly driuen home. As for that exploy of the Mice, and the great pleaſure that *Vulcan* did vnto his Prieſt; happy it was (if *Seton* were a Prieſt) that he tooke his god now in ſo good a moode. For within three or foure yeeres before this, all the Prieſts in *Egypt* ſhould haue bene ſlaine, if a mercifull King had not ſpared their liues, as it were halfe againſt the gods will. Therefore this laſt good turne was not enough to ſerue as an example, that might ſtir vp the *Egyptians* to pietie, ſeeing that their deuotion, which had laſted ſo long before, did bring all the Prieſts into danger of ſuch a bad reward. Rather I thinke, that this Image did repreſent *Sennacherib* himſelfe, and that the Mouſe in his hand, ſignified Hieroglyphically (as was the *Egyptian* manner of expreſſing things) the ſhamefull iſſue of his terrible expedition, or the deſtruction of his Armie, by meanes which came, no man knew from whence. For the vengeance of God, ſhewed vpon this vngodly King, was indeed a very good motive to pietie. But the Embleme, together with the Temple of *Vulcan* (being perſons the chiefe Temple in that Towne where this Image was erected) mightie occaſion to ſuch a fable; the Deuill helping to change the truth into a lie, that God might be robbed of his honour. Yet that wee may not belie the Deuill, I hold it very likely, that *Seton* finding himſelfe in danger, did call vpon his gods, that is, vpon *Vulcan*, *Serapis*, or any to whom he had moſt deuotion. But ſo had other of his predecessors done in the like need: yet which of them had obtained ſuccour by the like miracle? Surely the *Temes* (euery ſuch of them as moſt were giuen to Idolatrie) would haue bene aſhamed of the confidence which they repoſed in the Charets of *Egypt*, becauſe they were many, and miſe *Horſemen*, becauſe they were very ſtrong; had it bene told them, that *Seton*, in ſtead of ſending thoſe Horſe-men and Charets, was beſeeching *Vulcan* to ſend him and them good lucke, or elſe (for theſe alſo were *Egyptian* gods) addreſſing his prayers to ſome Onyon or Cat. How ſooner it was, doubtleſſe the prophetic of *Eſay* tooke effect, which ſaid, *They ſhall be all aſhamed of the people that cannot profiſe them, nor helpe, nor do them good, but ſhall be a ſhame and alſo a reproch*. Such is commonly the iſſue of humane wiſedom, when reſting ſecure vpon prouidence that it ſelfe hath made, it will no longer ſeem to ſtand in need of God.

Some there are who take *Seton* to haue been ſet downe by *Eufebius*, vnder the name of *Tarachus*

Tarachus the *Ethiopian*, and therefore the twenty yeeres which are giuen to *Tarachus*, they allow to the reign: of *Seton*. Theſe haue well obſerued, that *Tarachus* the *Ethiopian* is mentioned in the Scriptures, not as a King of *Egypt*, but as a friend to that Countie, or at leaſt an enemy to *Sennacherib*, in the war laſt ſpoken of; the *Ethiopians* (as they are enghliſhed) ouer which he reigned, being indeede *Chnſites* or *Arabians*. Hereupon they ſuppoſe ariht, that *Eufebius* hath miſtaken one King for another. But wheras they think, that this *Tarachus* or *Tirhaca* is placed in the roome of *Seton*, & therefore giue to *Seton* the twenty yeeres of *Tarachus*, I hold them to haue erred on the other hand. For this *Ethiopian* (as he is called) began his Reigne ouer *Egypt*, by *Eufebius* his account, after the death of *Sennacherib* and of *Ezekia*, in the firſt yeere of Manaffe King of *Juda*. Therefore he, or his yeeres, haue no reference to *Seton*.

Herodotus forgets to tell how long *Seton* reigned; *Funſius* peremptorily, citing no author, nor alledging reaſon for it, ſets him downe thirty three yeeres; many omit him quite, and they that name him, are not carefull to examine his continuance. In this caſe, I follow that rule which I propounded vnto my ſelfe at the firſt, for meaſuring the reignes of theſe *Egyptian* Kings. The yeeres which paſſed from the ſitt of *Rehoboam*, vnto the fourth of *Euiotikim*, I ſo diuide among the *Egyptians*, that giuing to euery one the proportion allowed vnto him by the Author in whom he is found, the reſt is to be conſerred vpon him whoſe length of reigne is vncertaine; that is, vpon this *Seton*. By this account I finde the thirty three yeeres, that are ſet downe by *Funſius*, to agree very neerely, if not preſſely, with the time of *Seton*'s reigne; therefore I conſorme my owne reckoning to his, though I could be content to haue it one yeere leſſe. The reaſon of this computational I ſhall render more at large, when I arrive at the time of *Psammiticus*, whereupon it hath much dependence, and wherinto the courſe of this Hiftory will ſhortly bring me, the *Egyptian* affaires growing now to be interlaced with the matters of *Juda*, to which it meeteth I returne.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of Manaffe and his Contemporaries.

§. I.

The wickedneſſe of Manaffes. His imprisonment, Repentance, and Death.



Manaffe, the Sonne of *Ezekias*, forgetting the pietie of his Father, and the proſperity which followed him, ſet vp, repaired, adorned, and furniſhed, all the Altars, Temples, and high Places, in which the Diuell was by the *Heathen* worſhipped. Beſides, he himſelfe eſteemed the Sunne, the Moone, and the Starres, with all the Hoſte of Heauen, as gods, and worſhipped them: and of all his acts the moſt abominable was, that he burnt his Sonnes for a Sacrifice to the Diuell *Moloch*, or *Melchor*, in the Valley of *Hinnon*, or *Benihennon*: wherein was kindled the fire of Sacrifice to the Diuels.

He alſo gaue himſelfe to all kinde of Witchcraft and Sorcerie, accompanied and maintained thoſe that had familiar Spirits, and all ſorts of Enchanters: beſides, hee ſhed ſo much innocent blood, as *Jeruſalem* was replenished therewith, from corner to corner. For all his vices and abominations, when he was reprehended by that aged and reuerent Prophet *Eſay* (who was alſo of the Kings race, and as the *Temes* affirme, the Father-in-law of the King) he cauſed the Prophet neere vnto the Fountaine of *Silo* to be ſawne in ſunder, with a wooden ſaw, in the eightieth yeere of his life: a cruelty more barbarous and moſt outrageous than hath bene heard of. The Scriptures indeede are ſilent hereof, yet the ſame is confirmed by *Epiphanius*, *Iſidore*, *Eufebius*, and others, too many to rehearſe, and too good to be ſuſpected. Therefore the Lord brought vpon them the Captaines of the Hoſt of the Kings of *Aſſyria*, which tooke *Manaffe*, and put him in fetters, and bound him in chains, and carried him to *Babel*: Where after he had lien twenty yeeres as a captive, and diſpoyled of all honour and hope; yet to his hearty repentance and continuall

1ſa. 37. 36.
Ezek. 24. 25.
2 Chron. 32. 11.

Eſay 31. 1.

tinuall prayer, the God of infinite mercy had respect, and moued the *Affrians* heart to deliuer him.

It is also likely that *Merodach*, because he loued his father *Ezecrias*, was the easilier persuaded to restore *Manasse* to his liberty and estate. After which, and when he was againe established, remembering the miseries which followed his wickednesse, and Gods great mercies toward him, he changed forme, detested his former foolish and deuillish Idolatry, and cast downe the Idols of his owne erecting, prepared the Altar of God, and sacrificed thereon. He repaired a great part of *Ierusalem*: and dyed after the long reigne of fiftie five yeeres. *Chyrias* and *Snidas* report, that *Manasse* was held in a cage of yron by the *Affrians*: and therein fed with bread of bran and water, which men may beleeue as it shal please their fancies.

§. II.

Of troubles in *Egypt* following the death of *Sethon*. The reigne of *Psammiticus*.

THat the wickednesse of King *Manasses* was the cause of the euill, which fell vpon his Kingdome and Person, any Christian must needs beleeue: for it is affirmed in the Scriptures. Yet was the state of things, in those parts of the World, such, at that time, as would haue inuited any Prince (and did perhaps inuite *Merodach*, who fulfilled Gods pleasure, vpon respect borne to his owne ends) desirous to enlarge his Empire, to make attempt vpon *Juda*. For the Kingdome of *Egypt*, which was become the pillar, whereon the state of *Juda* leaned, about these times was miserably distracted with ciuill dissention, and after two yeeres, ill amended by a diuision of the government betweene twelue Princes. After some good agreement betweene these, eleuen of them fell out with the twelfth of their colleagues, and were all finally subdued by him, who made himselfe absolute King of all. This *Inter-regnum*, or merce *Anarchie*, that was in *Egypt*, with the diuision of the Kingdome following it, is placed by *Diodore*, who omitteth *Sethon*, betwene the reigne of *Sabacus*, and *Psammiticus*: but *Herodotus* doth set the *Arifocratic*, or twelue Gouvernours, immediately before *Psammiticus*, who was one of them, and after *Sethon*.

The occasion of this dissention seemes to haue beene the vncertainty of title to that Kingdome (for that the crown of *Egypt* passed by succession of blood, I haue often shewed) which ended, for a while, by the partition of all among twelue, though things were not settled, vntill one had obtained the Soueraigntie.

These twelue Rulers gouerned fiftene yeeres, in good seeming agreement, which to preferre, they made strait couenant and alliances one with another, being iealous of their estate, because an Oracle had foretold, that one of them should depose all the rest, noting him by this token, that hee should make a drinke-offering, in *Vulcans* Temple, out of Copper goblet. Whilest this vnitie lasted, they ioyned together in raising a Monument of their Dominion, which was a Labyrinth, built nere vnto the Lake of *Meris*; a worke so admirable, that (as *Herodotus*, who beholding it, affirms; no words could giue it commendation, answerable to the statelinessse of the worke it selfe. I will not here set downe that vnperfect description, which *Herodotus* makes of it, but thinke enough to say, that he prefers it farre before the Pyramides, one of which (as he saith) excelled the Temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus*, or any of the fairest workes in *Greece*. *Diodorus* reports this Labyrinth to haue beene the worke of *Marus*, or *Memides*, a King which liued five generations before *Protesus*, that is, before the Warre of *Troy*; and from this Labyrinth (saith he) *Dedalus* took the patterne of that which he made for *Minos* in *Crete*. Who this *Marus*, or *Memides* was, I cannot tell. *Reineccius* takes him to haue beene *Annenemes*, which reigned immediately before *Thnoris*. But this agrees not with *Diodore*: for *Dedalus* & *Minos* were so both dead long before *Annenemes* was King. Belike *Reineccius*, desiring to accommodate the fabulous relations of *Manethon*, *Cheremon*, & others, that are found in *Iosephus*, touching *Amenophis* and his children, to the storie of *Anasis* and *Atifanes* the *Ethiopian*, mentioned by *Diodore*; held it consequent, after he had coniectured *Manethons* *Amenophis*, to be *Diodorus* his *Anasis*; that *Sabon* should be *Atifanes*, and that *Annenemes* should be *Marus*. If in this case I might intrude a coniecture, the times which we now handle are those, about which *Reineccius* hath erred in making search; *Anasis* was *Ansis*, *Atifanes* was *Sabacus*; and *Marus* was one of these twelue Princes, to whom *Herodotus* giues the

to com. App. l.

the honour of building this famous Labyrinth. For *Atifanes* the *Ethiopian* deposed *Anasis*, *Sabacus* the *Ethiopian* deposed *Ansis*; *Atifanes* gouerned well, and was milde in punishing offenders; so likewise was *Sabacus*; *Marus* the next King after *Atifanes* built this Labyrinth; and the next (sauius *Sethon*, whom *Diodore* omits, as hauing not heard of him) that ruled after *Sabacus*, performed the same worke, according to *Herodotus*, who was more likely to heare the truth, as liuing nearer to the Age wherein it was performed. The varietie of names, and difference of times, wherein *Diodore* beleueed the Priests, might be a part of the *Egyptian* vanitie, which was familiar with them, in multiplying their Kings, and boasting of their antiquities. Here I might adde, that the twelue great Hals, Parlours, and other circumstances remembered by *Herodotus*, in speaking of this building, doe helpe to proue, that it was the worke of these twelue Princes. But I haften to their end.

Ara solemn feast in *Vulcans* Temple, when they were to make their drinke-offerings, the Priest forgetting himselfe, brought forth no more than eleuen Cuppes. Hereupon *Psammiticus*, who standing last, had not a Cup, tooke off his brazen Helmet, and therewith supplied the want. This caused all the rest to remember the Oracle, and to suspect him as a Traitor; yet, when they found that it was not done by him vpon set purpose, or illintention, they forbore to kill him, but, being iealous of their estate, they banished him into the marish Countries by the Sea side. This Oracle, and the euent, is held by *Diodore* as credible, which I beleeue to haue beene none other: In the rest *Herodotus* & *Diodore* agree, saying that *Psammiticus* hyrcd Souldiers out of *Caria* and *Ionia*, by whose aide hee vanquish his Companions, and made himselfe sole King.

The yeeres of his reigne, according to *Herodotus*, were fiftie foure; according to *Eusebius* fortie foure; *Mercator*, to reconcile these two, giues fortie foure yeeres to his single reigne, and vnto his ruling, ioynly with the Princes before spokn of. Indeepe hee that was admitted, being a man growne (for he cannot in reason be supposed to haue beene then a yong fellow) into the number of the twelue Gouvernours, must be thought to haue liued vnto extreme age, if he ruled partly with others, partly alone, threecore and nine yeeres. Therefore yeelde rather to *Eusebius*, but will not aduenture to cut five yeeres from *Psammiticus*: though peraduenture *Psammiticus* was not at first one of the twelue, but succeeded (either by election, or as next of blood) into the place of some Prince that dyed, and was ten yeeres companion in that gouernment.

Another scruple there is, though not great, which troubles this reckoning. The yeeres of these *Egyptians*, as we finde them set downe, are more by one, than serue to fill vp the time, betwene the fift of *Rehoboam*, and the fourth of *Iehoiakim*. This may not be. Wherefore either we must abate one yeere from *Sethons* reigne; that was of vncertaine length; or else (which I had rather doe; because *Funitius* may haue followed better authority than I know, or than himselfe alleadgeth, in giuing to *Sethon* a time so neerely agreeing with the truth) we must confound the last yeere of one reigne, with the first of another. Such a supposition were not insolent. For no man can suppose, that all the Kings, or any great part of them, which are set downe in Chronologicall tables, reigned precisely so many yeeres as are prescribed vnto them, without any fractions: it is enough to thinke, that the surplussage of one mans time, supplied the defect of anothers. Wherefore I confound the last yeere of those fiftene, wherein the twelue Princes ruled, with the first of *Psammiticus*; who surely did not fall out with his Companions, fight with them, and make himselfe Lord alone, all in one day.

Concerning this King, it is recorded, that he was the first in *Egypt*, who entertained any strait amitie with the *Greekes*; that he retained in pay his Mercenaries of *Caria*, *Ionia*, and *Arabia*, to whom he gaue large rewards and possessions; and that he greatly offended his *Egyptian* Souldiers, by bestowing them in the left wing of his Armie, whilest his Mercenaries held the right wing (which was the more honorable place) in an expedition that he made into *Syria*. Vpon this difference it is said, that his Souldiers, to the number of two hundred thousand, forsooke their naturall Countrey of *Egypt*, and went into *Ethiopia*, to dwell there: neither could they be reuoked by kinde Messages, nor by the King himselfe, who ouer-tooke them on the way; but when he told them of their Countrey, their Wiues, and Children, they answered, that their weapons should get them a Countrey, and that nature had enabled them to get other wiues and children.

It is also reported of him, That he caused two Infants to be brought vp in such sort, as they might not heare any word spoken; by which meanes, he hoped to finde out, what Nation or Language was most ancient; forasmuch as it seemed likely, that nature would teach the children to speake that language, which men spake at the first. The issue hereof was, that the children cried, *Beccus, Beccus*, which word being found to signifie Bread in the *Phrygian* tongue, serued greatly to magnifie the *Phrygian* antiquitie. *Goropius Becanus* makes no small matter of this, for the honour of his *Low-Dutch*, in which the word *Becker*, signifies (as Baker in English) a maker of bread. He that will turne ouer any part of *Goropius* his workes, may finde enough of this kinde, to perswade a willing man, that *Adam* and all the Patriarks vied none other tongue than the *Low-Dutch*, before the confusion of languages at *Babel*; the name it selfe of *Babel*, being also *Dutch*, and giuen by occasion of this confusion; for that there they began to babble, and talke, one knew not what.

But I will not insist vpon all that is written of *Psammiticus*. The most regardable of his acts was the siege of *Azotus* in *Palestina*, about which he spent nine and twenty yeeres. Neuer haue we heard (saith *Herodotus*) that any Citie endured so long a siege as this *Psammiticus* carried it at the last. This Towne of *Azotus* had beene won by *Tarhis*, a Captaine of *Senacherib*, and was now, as it seemeth, relieued, but in vaine, by the *Babylonians*, which made it hold out so well.

§. III.

What reference these *Egyptian* matters might haue to the imprisonment and enlargement of *Manasses*. In what part of his reigne *Manasses* was taken prisoner.

Here it certainly knowne, in what yeere of his reigne *Manasses* was taken prisoner, and how long it was before he obtained libertie; I thinke we should finde these *Egyptian* troubles to haue beene no small occasion, both of his captiuitie and enlargement: God so disposing of humane actions, that euen they, who intended onely their owne businesse, fulfilled onely his high pleasure. For either the ciuill warres in *Egypt* that followed vpon the death of *Sethon*; or the routing of the Kingdome, as it were, into twelue peeces; or the warre betwene *Psammiticus* and his Collagues; or the expedition of *Psammiticus* into *Syria*, and the siege of *Azotus*, might minister vnto the *Babylonians*, either such cause of hope, to enlarge his Dominion in the South parts; or such necessity of sending an Armie into those parts, to defend his owne, as would greatly tempt him, to make sure worke with the King of *Juda*. The same occasions sufficed also, to procure the deliuerie of *Manasses*, after it was taken. For he was taken (as *Iosephus* hath it) by subtiltie, not by open force, neither did they that apprehended him, winne his Countrey, but onely waste it. So that the *Tewes*, hauing learned wit, by the ill successe of their folly, in redeeming *Azotus*, were like to be more circumspect, in making their bargain vpon such another accident: and the *Babylonians* (to whom the *Egyptian* matters presented more weighty arguments of hope and feare, than the little Kingdome of *Juda* could afford) had no reason, to spend his forces, in pursuing a small conquest, but as full of difficultie as a greater, whereby he should compell his mightiest enemies to come to some good agreement, when by quitting his present aduantage ouer the *Tewes*, he might make his way the fitter into *Egypt*.

Now concerning the yeere of *Manasses* his reigne, wherein he was taken prisoner, or concerning his captiuitie it selfe, how long it lasted, the Scriptures are silent, and *Iosephus* giues no information. Yet I finde cited by *Tornielius* three opinions, the one of *Bellarmin*, who thinks that *Manasses* was taken in the fifteenth yeere of his reigne; the other of the Author of the greater *Hebrew Chronologie*, who affirms, that it was in his twentieth seauenth yeere; the third, of *Rabbi Kimbi* vpon *Ezekiel*, who saith, that he was seauenteen yeeres an Idolater, and liued fifteene yeeres after his repentance. The first of these coniectures is upheld by *Tornielius*, who rejects the second, as more vnp probable, and condemnes the third as most false. Yet the reasons alledged by *Tornielius* in defence of the first, and refutation of the last opinion, are such as may rather proue him to fauour the *Cardinall*, as farre as he may, (for where neede requires, hee doth freely dissent from him) than to haue vsed his accustomed diligence in examining the matter, before

before he gaue his iudgement. Two arguments he brings to maintaine the opinion of *Bellarmin*: the one, that *Amnon* the Sonne of *Manasses*, is said by *Iosephus*, to haue followed the workes of his Fathers youth; the other, that had *Manasses* growne old in his sinnes, it is not like that he should haue continued, as he did, in his amendment vnto the end of his life. Touching the former of these arguments, I see no reason, why the sinnes of *Manasses* might not be distinguished from his repentance in his old age, by calling them workes of his youth, which appeared when he was twelue yeeres old; though it were granted that he continued in them (according to that of *Rabbi Kimbi*) until hee was but fifteene yeeres from death. Touching the second, howsoeuer it be a fearefull thing, to cast off vnto the last those good motions vnto repentance, which we know not whether euer God will offer vnto vs againe; yet were it a terrible hearing, That the sinnes, which are not forsaken before the age of two and fiftie yeeres, shall be punished with small impunitie. But against these two collections of *Tornielius*, I will lay two places of Scripture, whence it may be inferred, as not vnlikely, That *Manasses* continued longer in his wickednesse, than *Bellarmin* hath intimated, if not as long as *Rabbi Kimbi* hath affirmed. In the second Booke of Kings, the cuill which *Manasses* did, is remembered at large, and his repentance vnto the end omitted; so that his amendment may seeme to haue taken vp no great part of his life; the story of him being thus concluded, in the one and twentieth Chapter: Concerning the rest of the acts of *Manasses*, and all that he did, and his sinne that he did, are they not written in the booke of the Chronicles of the Kings of *Juda*? The other place is in the foure and twentieth Chapter of the same Booke, where in rehearsing the calamities with which that Nation was punished in the time of *Iehoiakim*, the great Grand-child of this *Manasses*, it is said, Surely by the commandement of the Lord came this to *Juda*, that he might put them out of his sight, for the finnes of *Manasses*, according to all that he did, and for the innocent blood that he shed (for he filled *Ierusalem* with innocent blood); therefore the Lord would not pardon it. Who so considers well these places, may finde small cause to pronounce it most false, That the repentance and amendment of *Manasses* was no earlier then fifteene yeeres before his death; or most probable, That when he was twenty seauen yeeres old, he repented, and becoming a new man, liued in the feare of God for nine yeeres after. I will no longer dispute about this matter, seeing that the truth cannot be discovered. It sufficeth to say, that two yeeres of ciuill dissension in *Egypt*, fourteene or fifteene yeeres following, wherein that Kingdome was weakened, by partition of the Soueraignty: the warre of *Psammiticus* against his Associates: and foure and twenety yeeres, of the nine and twenety, wherein the siege of *Azotus* continued, being all within the time of *Manasses*, did leaue no one part of his reigne (after the first fifteene yeeres) free from the danger of being oppressed by the *Babylonians*, whose men of warre had continuall occasions of visiting his Countrey. All which I will adde hereto is this; that the fifteenth of *Manasses*, was the last yeere of *Sethon* in *Egypt*, and the one and thirtieth of *Merodach* his reigne; or (accounting from the death of *Asarhaddon*) the twentieth: The seauen and twentieth of *Manasses* was the tenth of the twelue Princes, and the three and fortieth of *Merodach*: his fortieth, was the twenty third of *Psammiticus*, and the fift of *Nabulassar*, the sonne of *Merodach*, in *Babylon*: but which of these was the yeere of his imprisonment, or whether any other, I forbear to shew mine opinion, lest I should thereby seeme to draw all matters ouer-violently to mine owne computation.

This was the first great mastrie that the *Babylonians* had of the Kingdome of *Juda*. For though *Achaz* promised Tribute to *Salmansar*, yet *Ezechias* neuer payed it. True it is, that he hoped to stay *Senacherib*s enterprise against him, by presenting him with three hundred talents of siluer, and thirty of gold, besides the plate which couered the doores and pillars of the Temple.

But *Manasses* being pressed with greater necessity, could refuse no tollerable conditions, that the *Babylonians* would impose vpon him; among which it seemes, that this was one, which was indeede a point of seruitude, that he might not hold peace with the *Egyptians*, whilst they were enemies to *Babylon*. This appears not onely by his forsaking with men of warre all the strong Cities of *Juda* after his returne (which was rather against *Psammiticus*, whose party he had forsaken, than against the *Babylonians*, with whom he had thenceforth no more controuersie) but likewise by that opposition, which *Iosias* made afterwards to *Pharao Neco*, in fauour of *Nabulassar*, which had beene against all reason

reason and policie, if it had not bene his duty by coucnant. Of this I will speake more in conuenient place.

†. IIII.

Of the first and second Messenian Warres, which were in the reines of Ezekia, and Manasses, Kings of Iuda.

NOW concerning such actions as were performed abroad in the world, about the times of Manasses, the most remarkable were the Messenian Warres, which happened in this age, and being the greatest action performed in Greece, betweene the *Troua* and *Persian* Wars, deserue not to be passed ouer with silence.

The first Messenian Warre began and ended in the dayes of Ezekia; the second in the reigne of Manasses: but to auoide the trouble of interrupting our Historie, I haue thought it best, to rehearse them both in this place. Other introduction is needlesse, than to say, that the posteritie of *Hercules*, driving the issue of *Pelops* and the *Achaens* out of their feares, diuided their lands betweene themselves, and erected the Kingdomes of *Lacedaemon*, *Argos*, *Messene*, and *Corinth*; all which agreeing well together a while, did afterwards forget the bond of Kindred, and fought one anothers ruine with bloody Wars; whereof these Messenian were the greatest.

The pretended grounds of the Messenian Warre, are scarce worth remembrance; they were so sleight. Ambition was the true cause of it: wherevith the *Lacedaemonians* were so transported, that any thing serued them as a colour, to accomplish their greedy desires. Yet other matter was alleged; namely, that one *Polychares* a Messenian had slaine many *Lacedaemonians*, for which the Magistrates of *Sparta* desiring to haue him yielded into their hands, could not obtaine it. The Messenians on the other side, excused *Polychares*, for that he was growne franticke, through iniuries received from *Euphares* a *Lacedaemonian*. This *Euphares* had bargained to giue pasture to the Cattell of *Polychares*, and was therefore to receiue part of the increale: but not contented with the gaine appointed, he sold the Cattails, and slaues that kept them, to Merchants; which done, he came with a faire tale to his friend, saying, that they were follen. Whilest the lye was yet scarce out of his mouth, one of the slaues that had escaped from the Merchants, came in with a true report of all. The *Lacedaemonians* being thus deprehended, confessed all, and promised large amends; which to receiue, he carried the Sonne of *Polychares* home with him; but hauing him at home, he villanously slew him. Wherefore the *Lacedaemonians* hauing refused, after long suite made by the wretched Father, to doe him right against this Theefe and Murderer, ought not to picke matter of quarrell, out of those things, which he did in that madnesse, wherein to they themselves had cast him. So said the Messenians, and further offered to put the matter to compromise, or to stand vnto the iudgement of the *Amphictyones*, who were as the generall Counsaile of Greece, or to any other faire course. But the *Lacedaemonians*, who had a great desire to occupie the faire Countie of Messene, that lay close by them, were not content with such allegations. They thought it enough, to haue some shew for their doings, which the better to colourise, reckoned vp many old iniuries, and so without sending any defiance, secretly tooke an oath to hold warre with Messene, till they had mastered it: which done, they seized vpon *Amphisa*, a frontier Towne of that Prouince, wherein they putt all to the Sword without mercy, very few escaped.

Hereupon the Messenians tooke Armes, and were met by the Enemy. A furious battaile was fought betweene them, which ended not vntill darke night, with vncertaine victory. The Messenians did strongly encampe themselves; the *Lacedaemonians*, vnable to force their Campe, returned home. This Warre began in the second yeere of the ninth Olympiad, and ended in the first of the foureteenth Olympiad, hauing lasted twentie yeeres. The two enemy Nations tried the matter, for a while, with their proper forces; the *Lacedaemonians* wasting the inland parts of Messene; and the Messenians, the Sea-coast of *Laconia*. But it was not long ere friends, on both sides, were called in to helpe. The *Arcadians*, *Argiues*, and *Sicyonians*, tooke part with Messene; the *Spartans* had, besides many Subiects of their owne, aide from *Corinth*, and hired Souldiers out of *Crete*. So a second, third, and fourth battaile, were fought, with as great obstinacie as the first; sauing that, in the fourth battaile, the *Lacedaemonians* were enforced

to turne their backs; in the other fights, the victory was still vncertaine, though in one of them the Messenians lost *Euphares* their King, in whose stead they chose *Aristodemus*.

Many yeeres were spent ere all this blood was shed; for pestilent diseases, and want of money to entertaine Souldiers, caused the Warre to linger. And for the same reasons, did the Messenians forsake all their inland Townes, excepting *Ithome*, which was a mountaine with a Towne vpon it, able to endure more than the enemies were likely to doe. But, as some Authours tell vs, the *Lacedaemonians* were so obstinate in this Warre, because of their vow, that hauing absented themselves ten yeeres from *Sparta*, their wiues sent them word, that their Citie would grow vnpeopled, by reason that no children had bene borne them in all that time: Whereupon they sent backe all their ablest young men, promising to accompany the young women, who got to many of them with childe, as they became a great part of their Nation, and were called *Parthenians*. *Diodorus* relates the becominge of these *Parthenians* to a former time. But in processe of this Messenian Warre, when the Diuell in an Oracle had aduised the Messenians to sacrifice a Virgin of the stocke of * *Egyptus*, that so they might be victorious against the *Lacedaemonians*; the lot falling vpon the Daughter of one *Lyciscus*; *Epibolus* the Priest, willing to saue her, said, she was only a fostered childe, and not borne of the wife of *Lyciscus*: which answer giuing delay to the execution of the Maide, *Lyciscus* secretly fled away with her into *Sparta*. Then *Aristodemus*, which afterwards was King, voluntarily offered his owne Daughter: but a young Noble man, being in loue with the Maide, when otherwise he could not preuaile, said openly that he was no Virgin, but that he had deflowered her, and got her with childe: whereupon the Father in a rage ripped vp his innocent Daughters belly, to disproue the Louers slander: at the graue of which Daughter of his, afterwards, falling, by other superstitions, into despair of preuailling against the *Lacedaemonians*, he slew himselfe, to the great hurt of his Countrey, which he loued most dearly. For after his death the Messenians lost their courage, and finding themselves distressed by many wants, especially of victuals, they craued peace, which they obtained in most rigorous conditions. Halfe the yeerely fruites of their Land they were bound to send vnto *Sparta*; and they, with their Wiues, to make piteous lamentations, at the death of enery *Spartan* King; they were also sworne to lucie true subiection to the *Lacedaemonians*; and part of their Territorie was taken from them, which was giuen to the *Asmat*, and such as had followed the *Spartans* in this Warre.

This peace being made vpon so vncertaine termes, was not like to hold long. Yet nine and thirtie yeeres it continued (the Messenians not finding how to helpe themselves) and then broke out into a new and more furious Warre, than the former. The able young men, that were growne vp in the roome of those Messenians whom the former Warre had consumed, began to consider their owne strength and multitude, thinking themselves equall to the *Lacedaemonians*, and therefore scorned to serue such Masters, as had against all right, oppressed their Fathers. The chiefe of these was *Aristomenes*, a noble Gentleman, of the house of *Aegyptus*; who perceived the vniforme desires of his Countrymen, aduancured to become their Leader. He therefore founding the affections of the *Argiues* and *Arcadians*, which he found thoroughly answerable to his purpose, began open warre vpon the State of *Lacedaemon*. This was in the fourth yeere of the three and twentieth Olympiad; when the *Lacedaemonians*, hasted to quench the fire before it should grow too hot, with such forces as they could raise of their owne, without troubling their friends, meaning to deale with their Enemies, ere any succour were lent them. So a strong battaile was fought betweene them, and a doubtfull, saue that the Messenians were pleased with the issue, forasmuch as they had thereby taught their late proud Lords, to thinke them their equals. Particularly, the valour of *Aristomenes* appeared such in this fight, that his people would haue made him their King; but hee, refusing the honour of that name, accepted of the burthen, and became their Generall. Within one yeere another battaile was fought, whereunto each part came better provided. The *Lacedaemonians* brought with them the *Corinthians*, and some other friends to helpe: the Messenians had the *Argiues*, *Arcadians* and *Sicyonians*. This also was a long and bloodie fight; but *Aristomenes* did so behaue himselfe, that finally hee made the Enemies runne for their liues. Of such importance was this victory, that the *Lacedaemonians* beganne to bethinke themselves, of making some good agreement.

But one *Tyrus* an *Athenian* Poet, whom by appointment of an Oracle they had gotten to direct them, re-enforced their spirits with his Verses. After this, *Arifomenes* took by surprize a Towne in *Laconia*, and vanquished in fight *Anaxander* King of *Sparta*, who did set vpon him in hope to haue recovered the boote.

But all these victories of *Arifomenes* perished, in the losse of one battaile, whereof the honour (if it were honour) or surely the profit, fell vpon the *Lacedemonians*, through the treafon of *Aristocrates*, King of *Arcadia*, who being corrupted by the enemies with money, fled away, and left the *Messenians* exposed to a cruell butcherie. The losse was so great, that together with *Andania* their princall Citie, all the townes in *Messene*, standing too farre from the Sea, were abandoned, for lacke of mento to defend them, and the Mount *Era* fortified, whither the multitude, that could not be safe abroad, was conueyed into a place of safetie. Here the *Lacedemonians* found a tedious worke, that held them eleauen yeeres. For besides that *Era* it selfe was a strong peece, *Arifomenes* with three hundred stout Souldiers, did many incredible exploits, that wearied them, and hindered their attendance on the siege. He waisted all the fields of *Messene*, that were in the enemies power, and brake into *Laconia*, taking away Come, Wine, Cattails, and all provisions, necessarie for his owne people; the Slaues and household stuffe hee changed into money, suffering the owners to redeem them. To remedy this mischiefe the *Lacedemonians* made an Edict, that neither *Messene*, nor the adioyning parts of their owne Countie, should be tilld or husbanded; which bred a great tumult among priuie men, that were almost vndone by it. Yet the Poet *Tyrus* appeased this vproare with pleasing Songs. But *Arifomenes* grew so bold, that he not onely ranged ouer all the fields, but aduencured vpon the Townes, surprized, and sackt *Amylea*, and finally caused the enemies to encrease and strengthen their Companies; which done, there yet appeared no likelihood of taking *Era*.

In performing these and other seruises, thrice *Arifomenes* was taken prisoner, yet still he escaped. One escape of his deserves to be remembered, as a thing very strange and maruallous. He had with too much courage aduencured to set vpon both the Kings of *Sparta*; and being in that fight wounded, and felled to the ground, was taken vp senselesse, and carried away prisoner, with fiftie of his Companions. There was a deepe natural Cauce into which the *Spartans* vsed to cast head-long, such as were condemned to dye for the greatest offences. To this punishment were *Arifomenes* and his companions adjudged. All the rest of these poore men dyed with their fells; *Arifomenes* (howeuer it came to passe) took no harme. Yet was it hard enough to be imprisoned in a deepe Dungeon, among dead carcaisses, where he was like to suffe through hunger and stench. But after a while he perceived by some small glimmering of light (which perhaps came in at the top) a Foxe that was gnawing vpon a dead body. Herevpon he bethought himselfe, that this beast must needs know some way, to enter the place and get out. For which cause he made shift to lay hold vpon it, and catching it by the taile with one hand, saued himselfe from biting with the other hand, by thrusting his coate into the mouth of it. So letting it creepe whither it would, he followed, holding it as his guide, vntill the way was too trait for him; and then dismissed it. The Foxe being loose, ran through an hole, at which came in a little light; and there did *Arifomenes* delue so long with his nailes, that at last he clawed out his passage. When some fugitives of *Messene* brought word to *Sparta*, that *Arifomenes* was returned home, their tale sounded alike, as if they had said, that a dead man was reuiued. But when the *Corinthian* forces, that came to helpe the *Lacedemonians* in the siege of *Era*, were cut in peeces, their Captaines slaine, and their Campe taken; then was it easily beleued, that *Arifomenes* was alieue indeede.

Thus eleauen yeeres passed whilest the enemies hovering about *Era*, saw no likelihood of getting it; and *Arifomenes* with small forces did them greater hurt than they knew how to requite. But at the last, a flauie, that had fled from *Sparta*, betrayed the place. This fellow had enticed to lewdnesse the wife of a *Messenian*, and was entertained by her, when her husband went forth to watch. It happened in a rainie-winter-night, that the husband came home vnlooked for, whilest the Adulterer was within. The Woman hid her Paramour, and made good countenance to her husband, asked him, by what good fortune he was returned so soone. He told her, that the storme of foule weather was such, as had made all his fellowes leaue their Stations, and that himselfe had done as the rest

rest did; as for *Arifomenes*, he was wounded of late in fight, and could not looke abroad; neither was it to be feared, that the enemies would stirre, in such a darke rainie night as this was. The flauie that heard these tidings, rose vp secretly out of his lurking hole, and got him to the *Lacedemonian* Campe with the newes. There he found *Emperamus* his Master, commanding in the Kings absence. To him he vttered all; and obtaining pardon for his running away, guided the Armie into the Towne. Little or nothing was done that night. For the Allarme was presently taken; and the extreame darkenesse, together with the noise of winde and raine, hindered all directions. All the next day was spent in most cruell fight, one part being incited, by meere hope of ending a long worke; the other enraged by meere desperation. The great aduantage that the *Spartans* had in numbers, was recompensed partly by the assistance, which women and children (to whom the feare of seruitude had taught contempt of death) gaue to their husbands and fathers; partly by the narrownesse of the streetes and other passages, which admitted not many hands to fight at once. But the *Messenians* were in continuall toyle; their enemies fought in course, refreshing themselves with meate and sleepe, and then returning supplied the place of their wearie fellows, with fresh Companions. *Arifomenes* therefore, perceiuing that his men for want of reliefe were no longer able to hold out, (ashauing bene three dayes, and three nights vexed with all miseries, of labour, watchings, fighting, hunger and thirst, besides continuall raine and cold) gathered together all the weaker sort, whom hee compassed round with armed men, and attempted to breake out through the midst of the enemies. *Emperamus* General of the *Lacedemonians* was glad of this: and to further their departure, caused his Souldiers to giue an open way, leaving a faire passage to these desperate mad-men. So they issued forth, and arrived safe in *Arcadia*, where they were most louingly entertained.

Vpon the first bruit of the taking of *Era*, the *Arcadians* had prepared themselves to the rescue; but *Aristocrates* their false-hearted King, said it was too late, for that all was already lost. When *Arifomenes* had placed his followers in safety, he chose out fue hundred the lustiest of his men, with whom he resolved to march in all secret haste vnto *Sparta*, hoping to finde the Towne secure, and ill manned, the people being runne forth to the spoyle of *Messene*. In this enterprise, if he sped well, it was not doubted, that the *Lacedemonians* would be glad to recouer their owne, by restitution of that which they had taken from others; if all failed, an honourable death was the worst that could happen. There were three hundred *Arcadians* that offered to ioyne with him; but *Aristocrates* marred all, by sending speedy aduertisement thereof, to *Anaxander* King of *Sparta*. The Epistle which *Anaxander* sent backe to *Aristocrates*, was intercepted by some that mistrusted him to whom it was directed. Therein was found all his falsehood, which being published in open assembly, the *Arcadians* stoned him to death, and casting forth his body vnburied, erected a monument of his trecherie, with anote: That the Periuicer cannot deceiue God.

Of *Arifomenes* no more is remaining to be said, than that committing his people to the charge of his Son *Gorgus* and other sufficient Gouvernors, who should plant them in some new seare abroad, he resolved himselfe to make aboade in those parts, hoping to finde the *Lacedemonians* worke at home. His daughters he bestowed honourably in marriage. One of them *Demagetis*, who reigned in the Ile of *Rhodes*, tooke to wife, being willed by an Oracle, to marry the daughter of the best man in *Greece*. Finally, *Arifomenes* went with his daughters to *Rhodes*, whence he purposed to haue trauielled vnto *Arady* the Sonne of *Ogys* King of *Lydia*, and to *Phraortes* King of *Media*; but death prevented him at *Rhodes*, where he was honourably buried.

The *Messenians* were iniured by *Anaxilas* (whose great Grandfather was a *Messenian*, and went into *Italie* after the former warre) being Lord of the *Rhegiens* in *Italie*, to take his part against the *Zancleans* in *Sicilie*, on the other side of the Streights. They did so; and winning the Towne of *Zancle*, called it *Messene*, which name it keeps to this day.

This second *Messenian* warre ended in the first yeere of the twentie eight Olympiade. Longe after which time, the rest of that Nation, who staying at home serued the *Lacedemonians*, found meanes to rebell; but were soone vanquished, and being driuen to *Susake* *Palaponesus*, they went into *Acarnania*; whence likewise, after few ages they

were expelled by the *Lacedæmonians*; and then followed their ancient Countrymen into *Italie* and *Sicilie*; some of them went into *Africa*, where they chose vnto themselves a seat.

It is very strange, that during two hundred and foure score yeeres, this banished Nation retained their name, their ancient customes, language, haired of *Sparta*, & loue of their forsaken Countrey, with a desire to returne vnto it. In the third yeere of the hundred and second Olympiad, that great *Epaminondas*, hauing tamed the pride of the *Lacedæmonians*, reuoked the *Messenians* home, who came flocking out of all quarters, where they dwelt abroad, into *Peloponnesus*. There did *Epaminondas* restore vnto them their old possession, and helpe them in building a faire Citie, which, by the name of the Province, was called to *Messene*, and was held by them euer after, in despite of the *Lacedæmonians*, of whom they neuer from thenceforth stood in feare.

§ V.

Of the Kings that were in *Lydia* and *Media*, while *Manasses* reigned. Whether *Deiocrates* the Mede were that *Arphaxad* which is mentioned in the Booke of *Iudith*. Of the historie of *Iudith*.

ARAYS King of *Lydia*, and *Phraortes* of the *Medes*, are spoken of by *Pausanias*, as reigning shortly after the *Messenian* war. *Arays* succeeding vnto his father *Ogyes*, began his reigne of nine and fortie yeeres, in the second of the five and twentieth Olympiad. He followed the steps of his father, who encroaching vpon the *Ionians* in *Asia*, had taken *Colophon* by force, and attempted *Miletus* and *Smirna*. In like manner *Arays* wan *Priene*, and assailed *Miletus*; but went away without it. In his reigne, the *Cimmerians*, being expelled out of their owne Countrey by the *Scythians*, ouerran a great part of *Asia*, which was not freed from them before the time of *Alxates* this mans Grand-child, by whom they were driuen out. They had not onely broken into *Lydia*, but wan the Citie of *Sardes*; though the Castle or Citadell thereof was defend. against them, and held still for King *Arays*; whose long reigne was vnable, by reason of this great storme, to effect much.

Phraortes was not King vntill the third yeere of the nine and twentieth Olympiad, which was six yeeres after the *Messenian* war ended; the same being the last yeere of *Manasses* his reigne ouer *Juda*.

Deiocrates the father of this *Phraortes*, was King of *Media*, three and fiftie of these five and fiftie yeers in which *Manasses* reigned. This *Deiocrates* was the first that ruled the *Meds* in a strict forme, commanding more absolutely than his Predecessours had done. For they, following the example of *Arhaces*, had giuen to the people so much licence, as caused euery one to desire the wholesome security of a more Lordly King. Herein *Deiocrates* answered their desires to the full. For he caused them to build for him a stately Palace; he tooke vnto him a Guard, for defence of his person; he seldom gaue presence, which also when he did, it was with such austerit, that no man durst presume to spit or cough in his sight. By these and the like ceremonies he bred in the people an awfull regard, and highly vpheld the Maiestie, which his Predecessours had almost letten fall, through neglect of due comportments. In execution of his Royall Office, he did vprightly and feuerly administer iustice, keeping secret spies to informe him of all that was done in the Kingdome. He cared not to enlarge the bounds of his Dominion; by encroaching vpon others; but studied how to gouerne well his owne. The difference found betwene this King, and such as were before him, seemes to haue bred that opinion which *Herodotus* deliueis, that *Deiocrates* was the first who reigned in *Media*.

This was he that built the great City of *Ecbatane*, which now is called *Tauris*; and therefore he should be that King *Arphaxad*, mentioned in the storie of *Iudith*, as also *Ben Merodach*, by the same account, should be *Nabuchodonosor* the *Assyrian*, by whom *Arphaxad* was slaine, and *Holophernes* sent to worke wonders vpon *Phad* and *Lud*, and I know not what other Countreies. For I reckon the last yeere of *Deiocrates* to haue bene the nineteenth of *Ben Merodach*; though others place it otherwise, some earlier in the time of *Merodach Baladach*, some later, in the reigne of *Nabulassar*, who is also called *Nabuchodonosor*.

Herod. lib. 1.

in

In fitting this booke of *Iudith* to a certaine time, there hath much labour bene spent with ill success. The reignes of *Cambyses*, *Darius Hystaspis*, *Xerxes*, and *Ochus*, haue bene sought into, but afford no great matter of likelihood: and now of late y^e times, foregoing the destruction of *Ierusalem*, haue bene thought vpon, and this age that we haue in hand, chosen by *Bellarmino*, as agreeing best with the storie; though others herein cannot speake of such as faime would agree with him. Whilest *Cambyses* reigned, the Temple was not rebuilt, which in the storie of *Iudith*, is found standing and dedicated. The other two *Persian* Kings, *Darius* and *Xerxes* are acknowledged to haue bene very favourable to the Iewes; therefore neither of them could be *Nabuchodonosor*, whose part it they refused to take, and who sent to destroy them. Yet the time of *Xerxes* hath some conueniences, aply fitting this History; and aboue all, the opinion of a few Ancient writers (without whose iudgement the authority of this Booke were of no value) haueing placed this argument in the *Persian* Monarchie, inclines the matter to the Reigne of this vaine-glorious King. As for *Ochus*, very few, and they faintly, entitle him to the buttnesse. Manifest it is, and granted, that in the time of this Historie, there must be a returne from captiuitie lately foregoing; the Temple rebuilt; *Ioachim* High Priest; and a long peace, of three-score and ten yeeres or thereabout, ensuing. All these were to be among the Iewes. Likewise on the other side, we must finde a King that reigned in *Ninutie*, eighteen yeeres at the least; that vanquished and slew a King of the *Meds*, one whom the Iewes refused to assult, one that sought to be generally adored as God, and that therefore commanded all temples, of such as were accounted gods, to be destroyed; one whose Viceroy or Captaine General knew not the Iewish Nation, but was faine to learne what they were of the bordering people.

Of all these circumstances, the Priesthood of *Ioachim*, with a returne from Captiuitie, are bound concurring, with either the time of *Manasses* before the destruction of *Ierusalem*, or of *Xerxes* afterward: the rebuilding of the Temple while before, and the long peace following, agree with the reigne of *Xerxes*; the rest of circumstances requisite, are to be found all together, neither before, nor after the Captiuitie of the Iewes, and dissolution of the Citie. Wherefore the briefe decision of this controuersie is, That the Booke of *Iudith* is not Canonically. Yet hath *Tornielius* done as much, in fitting all to the time of *Xerxes*, as was possible in so desperate a case. For he suppoeth, that vnder *Xerxes* there were other Kings, among which *Arphaxad* might be one (who perhaps restored and re-edified the Citie of *Ecbatane*, that had formerly bene built by *Deiocrates* and *Nabuchodonosor* might be another. This granted, he addes, that from the twelfth yeere to the eighteenth of *Nabuchodonosor*, that is five or six yeeres, the absence and ill fortune of *Xerxes*, in his *Grecian* expedition (which he suppoeth to haue bene so long) might giue occasion vnto *Arphaxad*, of rebelling: and that *Nabuchodonosor* hauing vanquished and slaine *Arphaxad*, might then seeke to make himselfe Lord of all, by the Armie which he sent forth vnder *Holophernes*. So should the Iewes haue done their dutie, in adhering to *Xerxes* their Soueraigne Lord, and resisting one that rebelled against him; as also the other circumstances rehearsed before, be well applied to the argument. For in these times, the affaires of *arie* were agreeable to the Historie of *Iudith*, and such a King as this supposed *Nabuchodonosor*, might well enough be ignorant of the Iewes, and as proud as we shall neede to thinke him. But the silence of all Histories, takes away beliefe from this coniecture: and the supposition it selfe is very hard, that a rebell, whose King was abroad, with an Armie consisting of scauenteene hundred thousand men, should presume so farre, vpon the strength of twelue hundred thousand foot, and twelue thousand Archers on horsebacke, as to thinke that he might doe what he list, yea that there was none other God then himselfe. It is indeede easie to finde enough that might be said against this deuice of *Tornielius*: yet if there were any necessity, of holding the booke of *Iudith* to be Canonically, I would rather chooseto lay aside all regard of prophane Histories, and build some defence vpon this ground; than, by following the opinion of any other, to violate, as they all doe, the text it selfe. That *Iudith* liued vnder none of the *Persian* Kings, *Bellarmino* (whose worke I haue not read, but finde him cited by *Tornielius*) hath proued by many arguments. That she liued not in the Reigne of *Manasses*, *Tornielius* hath proued very substantially, shewing how the Cardinal is driuen, as it were to breake through a wall, in saying that the text was corrupted, where it spake of the destruction of the Temple foregoing her time. That the Kings *Arphaxad* and *Nabuchodonosor*,

chodonsor, found out by *Tornellius*, are the children of meece fantasie, it is so plaine that it needes no prooffe at all. Wherefore we may truly say, that they, which haue contended about the time of this Historie, being well furnished of matter, wherewith to confute each other, but wanting wherewith to defend themselves (like naked men in a stone field) haue chafed *Holofernes* out of all parts of time, and left him and his great expedition, *Extra anni solisque vias*, in an age that neuer was, and in places that were neuer knowne.

Judith c. 2. ver.
23. & 25.

Surely, to finde out the borders of Iapheth, which were towards the South, and over against *Arabia*; or the Countries of *Phud* and *Lud*, that lay in *Holofernes* his way; I thinke it would as much trouble Cosmographers, as the former question hath done Chronologers. But I will not busie my selfe herewith; hauing already so farre digressed, in shewing who liued not with *Manasses*, that I thinke it high time, to returne vnto mine owne worke, and rehearse what others I finde, to haue had their part, in the long time of his Reigne.

§. VI.

Of other Princes and actions that were in these times.

THE first yeere of *Manasses* was the last of *Romulus*, after whose death, one yeere the *Romans* wanted a King. Then was *Numa Pompilius* a *Sabine* chosen a peaceable man and seeming very religious in his kinde. He brought the rude people, which *Romulus* had employed onely in warres, to some good ciuilitie, and a more orderly fashion of life. This he effected by filling their heads with superstition, as perswading them, that he had familiaritie with a Nymph called *Egeria*, who taught him a many of Ceremonies, which he deliuered vnto the *Romans* as things of great importance. But all these deuices of *Numa* were, in his owne iudgement, no better then meece delusions that serued onely as rudiments to bring the savage multitude of theues and out-laws, gathered into one body by *Romulus*, to some forme of milder discipline, then their boisterous and wilde natures was otherwise apt to entertaine. This appeared by the Bookes that were found in his graue, almost fixe hundred yeeres after his death, wherein the Superstition taught by himselfe was condemned as vaine. His graue was opened by chance, in digging a piece of ground that belonged to one *L. Petilius* a Scribe. Two Coffines or Chests of stone were in it, with an inscription in Greeke and Latine letters, which said, That *Numa Pompilius* the sonne of *Pompo*, King of the *Romans* lay there. In the one Coffin was nothing found; his body being vterly consumed. In the other were his Bookes, wrapped vp in two bundels of waxe; of his owne confutations seauen, and other seauen of Philosophie. They were not onely vncorrupted, but in a manner fresh and new. The Pretour of the Citie desiring to haue a sight of these Bookes, when he perceived wherunto they tended, refused to deliuer them backe to the owner, and offered to take a solemne oath that they were against the Religion then in vse. Hereupon the Senate, without more ado, commanded them more openly burnt. It seemes that *Numa* did meane to acquite himselfe vnto wiser ages, which he thought would follow, as one that had not bene so foolish as to beleeue the Doctrine wherein he instructed his owne barbarous times. But the peysson wherewith he had infected *Rome*, when he sat in his Throne, had not left working, when he ministred the Antidote out of his graue. Had these Bookes not come to light, vntill the dayes of *Tully* and *Caesar*, when the mist of ignorance was somewhat better disscuffed; likely it is that they had not onely escaped the fire, but wrought some good (and peraduenture generally) effect. Being as it was, they serued as a confutation, without remedy, of Idolatry that was inueterate.

Numa reigned three and fortie yeeres in continuall peace. After him *Tullus Hostilius* the third King was chosen, in the fixe and fortieth of *Manasses*, and reigned two and thirtie yeeres, busied, for the most part in warre. Hee quarrelled with the *Athens*, who met him in the fildes; but in regard of the danger, which both parts had cause to feare, that might grow vnto them from the *Thuscanes*, caused them to be hinke themselves of a course, whereby without effusion of so much blood, as might make them too weake for a common enemie, it might be decided, who should conquer, and who obey.

There

There were in each Campe three Brethren, Twins borne at one birth (*Diomysius* sayes that they were Cosen Germans) of equall yeeres and strength, who were appointed to fight for their severall Countries. The end was, that the *Horatii*, Champions for the *Romans*, got the victory, though two of them first lost their liues. The third *Curatij* that fought for *Alba* (as *Liuius* is it) were all alive, and able to fight, yet wounded, when two of their opposites were slaine; but the third *Horatius*, pretending feare, did runne away, and thereby drew the others, who by reason of their hurts, could not follow him with equall speed, to follow him at such distance one from another, that returning vpon them, he slue them, as it had bene in single fight, man after man, ere they could ioyne together and set vpon him all at once. *Diomysius* reports it somewhat otherwise, telling very particularly, what wounds were giuen and taken, and saying, that first one of the *Horatii* was slaine, then one of the *Curatij*, then a second *Horatius*, and lastly the two *Curatij*, whom the third *Horatius* did cunningly seuer the one from the other, as is shewed before.

This is one of the most memorable things in the old *Roman* Historie, both in regard of the action it selfe, wherein *Rome* was laid, as it were in a wage, against *Alba*, and in respect of the great increase which thereby the *Roman* State obtained. For the Citie of *Alba* did immediately become subiect vnto her owne Colonie, and was shortly after, vpon some treacherous dealing of their Gouvernour, vterly razed, the people being remoued vnto *Rome*, where they were made Citizens. The strong Nation of the *Latines*, whereof *Alba*, as the mother Citie, had bene chiefe, became ere long dependant vpon *Rome*, though not subiect vnto it, and diuers petty States adiacent, were by little and little taken in: which additions, that were small, yet many, I will forbear to rehearse (as being the words of sundrie ages, and few of them remarkable considered apart by themselves) vntill such time as this fourth Empire, that is now in the infancie, shall grow to be the maine subiect of this Historie.

The tenth yeere of *Hippomenes* in *Athens*, was current with the first of *Manasses*. Also the three last Gouvernours for ten yeeres, who followed *Hippomenes*, were in the same Kingtime. Of these I finde onely names, *Leocrates*, *Abxander*, and *Erixius*. After *Erixius* 30 yearly Rulers were elected.

These Gouvernours for ten yeeres, were also of the race of *Medon* and *Codrus*, but their time of rule was shortened, & from the time of life reduced vnto ten yeeres; it being thought likely that they would gouerne the better, when they knew that they were afterwards to liue private men vnder the command of others. I follow *Diomysius* of *Halicarnassus*, in applying their times vnto those yeeres of the Olympiads, wherein the Chronological table, following this worke, doth set them. For he not onely professeth himselfe to haue taken great care in ordering the reckoning of times; but hath noted alwaies the yeeres of the *Greeks*, how they did answere vnto the things of *Rome*, throughout all the continuance of this Historie. Whereas therefore hee placeth the building of *Rome*, in the first 30 yeeres of the seventh Olympiad, and affirms, that the same was the first yeere of *Charops* gouernement in *Athens*; I hope I shall not need excuse, for varying from *Pausanias*, who sets the beginning of these *Athenians* somewhat sooner.

In the Reigne of *Manasses* it was, that *Midus*, whom the Poets fained to haue had Affes eares, held the Kingdome of *Phrygia*. Many fables were deuiled of him; especially that hee obtained of *Bacchus*, as a great gift, that all things which hee should touch, might immediately be changed into Gold: by which meanes hee had like to haue bene starved (his meate and drinke being subiect to the same transformation) had not *Bacchus* deliuered him from this miserable facultie, by causing him to wash himselfe in the River *Phallos*, the streame wherof hath euer since, forsooth, abounded in that precious Metall. Finally, it is said hee died by drinking Bulls blood; being inuaded by the *Scythians*.

In this age flourished that *Antimachus*, who (saith *Plutarch* in the life of *Romulus*) observed the Moones Eclipse at the foundation of *Rome*.

The *Milesius*, or, (as *Ensebius* hath it) the *Athenians* having obtained some power by Sea, founded *Micicratia* a City on the East of *Aegypt*. *Psammetichus* herein seemes to haue assisted them, who vsed all meanes of drawing the *Greekes* into *Aegypt*, accounting them his surest strength. For neither *Miletus* nor *Athens* were now of power sufficient to plant a Colonie in *Aegypt* by force.

About

Plut. & Euseb.

About this time *Archias* with his companion *Miscellus*, and other *Corinthians* founded *Syracuse* in *Sicily*, a Citie in after-times exceeding famous.

* Whence in

Strabo there is

from *Affricus*

a part of Pro-

pontos where

this Citie stand-

eth. *Paul. 1. 3.*

Strabo 1. 6.

Justin. 3.

Paul. 1. 10.

The Citie of *Nicomedia* sometime * *Atacus*, was enlarged and beautified in this age by *Zipartes* natiue of *Thrace*. *Sybilla* of *Samus*, according to *Pausanias*, liued much about this time.

About these times also was *Croton* founded vpon the Bay of *Tarentum* by *Miscellus*, the companion of *Archias* that built *Syracuse*. *Strabo* makes it somewhat more ancient: and so doth *Pausanias*.

About the same time the *parthenians* being of age, and banished *Lacedemon*, were conducted by *Phalantus* into *Italie*: where it is said they founded *Tarentum*: but *Tullius* and *Pausanias* finde it built before, and by them conquered and amplified: and about the same time *Manasse* yet liuing, the Citie *Phaselis* was founded in *Pamphylia*, *Cela* in *Sicily*, *Interamne* in the Region of the *Vmbri*, now *Vrbis* in *Italie*. About which time also *Chalcidion* in *Asia*, once against *Byzantium* (now *Constantinople*) was founded by the *Megarses*: who therefore were vpbraided as blinde, because they chose not the other side of *Bosphorus*. It were a long worke to rehearse all that is said to haue beene done in the fine and fiftie yeeres of *Manasses*: that which hath already beene told is enough: the rest being not greatly worth remembrance, may well be omitted, referuing only *Ben Merodach*, and *Nabulassar*, to the businesse that will shortly require more mention of them.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of the times from the death of *Manasses* to the destruction of *Ierusalem*.

§. I.

Of *Ammon* and *Iosias*.



Ammon the sonne of *Manasse*, a man no lesse wicked than was his Father before his conuersion, restored the exercise of all sorts of Idolatrie: for which God hardened the hearts of his owne seruants against him: who slew him after hee had reigned two yeeres. *Philo*, *Eusebius*, and *Nicephorus* giue him ten yeeres, following the *Septuagint*.

Iosias succeeded vnto *Ammon*, being but a child of 8. yers olde, he began to seeke after the God of *Dauid* his Father: and in his twelfth yere he purged *Iuda* and *Ierusalem* from the high places, and the groves, & the carued and molten Images: and they

brake downe in his sight the Altars of *Baalim*: He caused all the Images as well those which were grauen, as molten, to be stamp to powder, and srewed on their graues that had erected them, and this he commanded to be done throughout all his Dominions. He also slew those that sacrificed to the Sunne and Moone, and caused the Chariots and Horses of the Sunne to be burnt. Of *Iosias* it was prophesied in the time of *Ieroboam* the first, when he erected the Golden Calfe at *Bethel*, that a child should be borne vnto the house of *Dauid*, *Iosias* by name, and vpon thee (saied the Prophet speaking to the Altar) shall he sacrifice the Priests of the high places, that burne incense vpon thee: a prophecy verie remarkable.

In the eighteenth yere of his reigne, heerebuilt and repaired the Temple, at which time *Helkiah* the Priest found the Booke of *Moses*, called *Deuteronomy*, or, of the Law, which he sent to the King: which when he had caused to be read before him, and considered of the seuerer commandements therein written, the prosperitie promised to those that obserue them, and the sorrow and extirpation to the rest, he rent his garments, and commanded *Helkiah*, and others, to aske counsell of the Prophetesse *Huldah*, or, *Olda*, concerning the Booke, who answered the messengers in these words: Thus saith the Lord. Behold, I will bring euill vpon this place, and vpon the inhabitants thereof, even all the euill that are written in the Booke, which they haue read before the King of *Iuda*, because they have forsaken

foraken mee, and burnt incense to other gods. Onely for the King himselfe, because he was a louer of God and his Lawes, it was promised that this euill should not fall on *Iuda* and *Ierusalem* in his dayes, but that he himselfe should inherite his graue in peace.

Iosias assembled the Elders, caused the Booke to be read vnto them, made a couenant with the Lord, and caused all that were found in *Ierusalem* and *Beniamin* to doe the like, promising thereby to obserue the Lawes and commandements in the Booke contained.

The execution done by *Iosias* vpon the Altar, idols, monuments, and bones of the false Prophets, at *Bethel*, argueth his Dominion to haue extended vnto those Countreies, so that had beene part of the Kingdome of the ten Tribes. Yet I doe not thinke, that any victorie of *Iosias* in warre got possession of these places; but rather that *Ezekias*, after the flight and death of *Senacherib*, when *Merodach* opposed himselfe against *Asarhaddon*, did vnder the advantage which the faction in the North presented vnto him, and laid hold vpon so much of the Kingdome of *Israel*, as he was able to people. Otherwise also it is not improbable, that the *Babylonian* finding himselfe vnablero deale with *Psammiticus* in *Syria* (as wanting power to raise the siege of *Azotus*, though the Towne held out nine and twenty yeeres) did giue vnto *Manasses*, together with his libertie, as much in *Israel* as himselfe could not easily defend. This was a good way to breake the amitie that the Kings of *Iuda* had so long held with those of *Egypt*, by casting a bone betwene them, and withall by this benefit of enlarging their Territorie with addition of more than they could challenge, to redeeme the friendship of the *Lewes*, which had bene lost by injuries done, in seeking to bereaue them of their owne. When it is said, that *Manasses* did after his deliuerance from imprisonment, put Captaines of warre in all the strong Cities of *Iuda*, it may be that some such businesse is intimated, as the taking possession, and fortifying of places deliuered into his hands. For though it be manifest that he tooke much paines, in making *Ierusalem* it selfe more defensible; yet I should rather beleuee, that hee, hauing already compounded with the *Babylonian*, did fortifie himselfe against the *Egyptians*, whose side he had forsaken, than that he travelled in making such provisions, only for his mindes sake. The earnestnesse of *Iosias* in the King of *Babel* his quarrell, doth argue, that the composition which *Manasses* had made, with that King or his Ancestor, was vpon such friendly termes, as required not onely a faithfull obseruation, but a thankfull requital. For no perswasions could suffice to make *Iosias* sit still, and hold himselfe quiet in good neutralitie, when *Pharao Neco* King of *Egypt* passed along by him, to warre vpon the Countreies about the Riuer of *Euphrates*.

The last yeere of *Iosias* his reigne it was, when as *Neco* the sonne of *Psammiticus*, came with a powerfull Armie towards the border of *Iudea*, determining to passe that way, being the neereft toward *Euphrates*, cyther to strengthen the passages of that Riuer, about *Carchemish*, or *Cercusium*, for the defence of *Syria* (as long after this, *Diolestan* is said by *Ammianus Marcellinus* to haue done,) or perhaps to invade *Syria* it selfe. For it seemeth that the trouble of *Psammiticus* had not bene idly consumed about that one Towne of *Azotus*, but had put the *Egyptians* in possession of no small part of *Syria*, especially in those quarters, that had formerly belonged vnto the *Adades* Kings of *Damasco*.

Neither was the industrie of *Neco* lesse than his Fathers had bene, in pursuing the warre against *Babel*. In which war, two things may greatly haue auailed the *Egyptians*, and aduanced their affaires and hopes: the extraordinary valor of the mercenary *Greeks*, that were far better Souldiers than *Egypt* of it selfe could afford; and the danger wherein *Assyria* stood, by the force of the *Medes*, which vnder the command of more absolute Princes, began to feele it selfe better; and to shew what it could doe. These were great helps, but of shorter endurance than was the warre; as in place more conuenient shall be noted. At the present it seemes, that either some preparation of the *Chaldeans* to reconquer, did enforce, or some disability of theirs to make resistance, did inuite the King of *Egypt*, into the Countreies bordering vpon *Euphrates*; whither *Pharao Neco* attended with a mighty Armie.

These two great Monarchs, hauing their swords drawne, and contending for the Empire of that part of the World, *Iosias* aduised with himselfe to which of these hee might aduere, hauing his Territorie set in the mid-way betwene both, so as the one could not invade the other; but that they must of necessitie tread vpon the very face and bodie of his Countreie; Now though it were so that *Neco* himselfe desired by his Embassadors, leaue

2. King. 22.
2. Chron. 35.2. King. 22.
2. Chron. 34.

1. King. 13.

2. Chro. 34. 24.

2. King. 21. 15.
2. Chron. 34.

2. Chro. 33. 14.

2. Chro. 35. 20.

2. Chron. 35.

leau to passe along by *Iudæa*, protesting that hee directed himselfe against the *Assyrians* onely, without all harmefull purpose against *Iosias*; yet all sufficed not, but the King of *Israel* would needs fight with him.

Many examples there were, which taught, what little good the friendship of *Egypt* could bring to those that had affiance therein: as that of *Hofea* the last King of *Israel*, who when he fell from the dependance of the *Assyrian*, and wholly trusted to *Sabacus*, or *Son* King of *Egypt*, was vterly disappointed of his hopes, and in conclusion lost both his life and estate, which the *Assyrian*, so rooted vp and tare in pieces, as it could neuer after be gathered together or replanted. The calamities also that fell vpon *Iuda* in the thirteenth and fourteenth yeeres of *Ezekia*, whilst that good King and his people relied vpon *Setbon*; and more lately, the imprisonment of *Manasses*, were documents of sufficient prooffe, to shew the ill assurance, that was in the help of the *Egyptians*, who (neere neighbors though they were) were alwaies vnrady, when the necessities of their friends required their assistance. The remembrance hereof might bee the reason why *Neco* did not seeke, to haue the *Sewes* renew their ancient league with him, but onely craved that they would be contented to sit still, and behold the pastime betweene him and the *Assyrians*. This was an easie thing to grant; seeing that the countenance of such an Armie as *did*, soone after this, our face *Nabulassar* vpon his owne borders, left vnto the *Sewes*, a lawfull excuse of feare, had they forborne to giue it any checke vpon the way. Wherefore I beleue, that this religious and vertuous Prince *Iosias*, was not stirred vp onely by politike respects, to stop the way of *Neco*; but thought himselfe bound in faith & honor, to doe his best in defence of the *Babylonian* Crowne; whereunto his Kingdome was obliged, either by couenant made at the enlargement of *Manasses*, or by the gift of such part as he held in the Kingdome of the ten Tribes. As for the Princes and people of *Iuda*, they had now a good occasion to shew, both vnto the *Babylonians*, of what importance their friendship was, and to the *Egyptians* what a valiant Nation they had abandoned, and thereby made their enemy.

Some thinke, that this action of *Iosias*, was contrarie to the aduice of *Ieremie* the Prophet; which I doe not finde in the Prophecie of *Ieremie*, nor can finde reason to beleue. Others hold opinion, that he forgot to aske the counsell of God: and this is very likelie; seeing hee might beleue, that an enterprize grounded vpon fidelitie and thankfulness due to the King of *Babel*, could not but be displeasing vnto the Lord. But the wickedness of the people (in whom the corruptions of former times had taken such roote, as all the care of *Iosias* in reforming the Land, could not plucke vp) was questionlesse farre from harkening how the matter would stand with Gods pleasure, and much farther from enquiring into his secret will, wherein it was determined, that their good King, whose life stood betweene them and their punishment, should now be taken from among them, and that in such sort, as his death should giue an entrance to the miseries ensuing. So *Iosias* leauing all the strength he could make, neere vnto *Megiddo*, in the halfe Tribe of *Manasses*, encountered *Neco*; and there heereceiued the stroke of death, which lingring about him till hee came to *Ierusalem*, brought him to the Sepulchers of his Ancestors. His losse was greatly bewailed of all the people and Princes of *Iuda*, especially of *Ieremie* the Prophet: who inserted a sorrowfull remembrance thereof in his booke of Lamentations.

6. II.

Of Pharao Neco that fought with Iosias: Of Iehozahaz and Iehoiakim kings of Israel.

OF these warres, and particularly of this victorie, *Herodotus* hath mention, among the acts of *Neco*. He tells vs of this King, that he went about to make a channell, whereby Ships might passe, out of *Nilus* into the Red sea. It should haue reached about an hundred miles in length, and beene wide enough for two Gallies to row in front. But in the middle of the worke, an Oracle foretold that the Barbarians should haue the benefit of it, which caused *Neco* to desist when halfe was done. There were consumed in this toyelome businesse twelue hundred thousand *Egyptians*; a losse great enough to make the King forsake his enterprize, without troubling the Oracle for admonition. Howsoever it were, he was not a man to be idle; therefore hee built a Fleet,

and leaued a great Armie, wherewith he marched against the King of *Babel*. In this expedition hee vied the seruice, as well of his Nauie, as of his land-forces; but no particular exploits of his therein, are found recorded, saue onely this victorie against *Iosias*, where *Herodotus* calls the place *Magdolis*, and the *Sewes* *Syrians*; which is a small error, seeing that *Iudæa* was a Province of *Syria*, and *Magdolis* or *Magdala* is taken to haue bene the same place (though diuerly named) in which this battell was fought. After this, *Neco* took the Citie of *Cadytis*, which was perhaps *Carchemish*, by *Euphrates*, and made himselfe Lord, in a manner, of all *Syria*, as *Iosephus* witnesseth.

Particularly we finde, that the *Phœnicians*, one of the most powerfull Nations in *Syria*, were his Subjects, and that by his command they surrounded all *Africa*, setting saile from the gulf of *Arabia*, and so passing along all the Coast, whercon they both landed, as need required, and sowed corne for their sustentance; in that long voyage which lasted three yeeres. This was the first Nauigation about *Africa*, wherein that great Cape, now called *Of good hope*, was discovered; which after was forgotten, vntill *Vasco de Gama* the Portugall found it out, following a contrarie course to that which the *Phœnicians* held; for they, beginning in the East, ranne the way of the Sunne, South and then Westward, after which they returned home by the pillars & streights of *Hercules* (as the name was then) called now the streights of *Gybraltar*, hauing *Africke* still on the right hand: but the *Portugalls*, beginning their voyage not farre from the same streights, leaued *Africke* on the Larboard, and bend their course vnto the East. That report of the *Phœnicians*, which *Herodotus* durst not beleue, how the Sun in this iourne was on their right hand, that is, on the North side of them, is a matter of necessarie truth; and the obseruation then made hereof, makes me the better to beleue, that such a Voyage was indeed performed.

But leauing these discourses of *Neco* his magnificence, let vs tell what hee did, in matters more importing his Estate. The people of *Iuda*, while the *Egyptians* were basie at *Carchemish*, had made *Iehozahaz* their King, in the roome of his father *Iosias*. The Prophet *Ieremie* calls this new King *Shallum*, by the name of his younger brother; alinding perhaps to the short Reigne of *Shallum* King of the tenne Tribes: for *Shallum* of *Israel* reigned but one moneth; *Iehozahaz* no more than three. He was not the eldest son of *Iosias*:

Wherefore it may seeme that he was set vp as the best affected vnto the King of *Babel*; the rest of his house being more inclined to the *Egyptian*, as appears by the sequelle. An Idolater he was, and thrived accordingly. For when as *Neco* had dispatched his businesse in the North parts of *Syria*, then did he take order for the affaires of *Iudæa*. This Countie was now so farre from making any resistance, that the King himselfe came from *Riblah* in the Land of *Hamath*, where the matter wen so ill on his side, that *Neco* did cast him into bonds, and carry him prisoner into *Egypt*, giuing away his Kingdome to *Eliakim* his elder brother, to whom of right it did belong. The Citie of *Riblah*, in after times called *Amichia*, was a place vnhappy to the Kings and Princes of *Iuda*, as may bee obserued in diuers examples. Yet heere *Iehoiakim*, together with his new name, got his Kingdome; an ill gaine, since hee could no better vse it. But how-euer *Iehoiakim* thrived by the bargain, *Pharao* sped well, making that Kingdome Tributarie, without any stroke stricken, which three moneths before was too stout to giue him peace, when hee desired it. Certaine it is, that in his march outward, *Neco* had a greater taskelying vpon his hands, than would permit him to waste his forces vpon *Iudæa*: but now the reputation of his good successe at *Megiddo*, and *Carchemish*, together with the dissention of the Princes *Iosias* his sonnes (of whom the eldest is probably thought to haue stormed at the preferment of his younger brother) gaue him power to doe, euen what should please himselfe. Yet hee did forbear to make a conquest of the Land; perhaps vpon the same reason, which had made him so earnest, in seeking to hold peace with it. For the *Sewes* had suffered much, in the *Egyptians* quarrell, and being left by these their friends, in time of need, vnto all extremities, were driuen of necessitie to forsake that partie, and to ioyne with the enemies; to whom if they shewed themselves faithfull, who could blame them? It was therefore enough to reclaime them; seeing they were such a people as would not vpon euery occasion shift side, but endure more, than *Pharao*, in the pride of his victories, thought that any henceforth should lay vpon them: so good a Patron did hee meane to be vnto them. Neuerthelesse hee laid vpon them a Tribute, of an hundred Talents of siluer, and one Talent of gold; that so hee might both reape at the present, some fruit of his paines taken, and leaued vnto them some document in the future, of greater

greater punishment than verball anger, due to them, if they should rebell. So he departed, carrying along with him into *Egypt* the vnfortunate King *Iehoahaz*, who died in his Captiuitie.

The reigne of *Iehoahaz* was included in the end of his Fathers last yeere; otherwise it would hardly be found, that *Iehoiachim*, his successeur, did reigne tenne whole yeeres, whereas the Scriptures giue him eleuen, that are current and incomplete. If any man will rather cast the three moneths of this short reigne, into the first yeere of the brother that into the fathers last; the same arguments that shall maintaine his opinion, will also proue the matter to be vnworthy of disputation; and so I leaue it.

Iehoiachim in impietie was like his brother, in faction hee was altogether *Egyptian*, 28.10 hauing received his Crowne at the hand of *Pharao*. The wickednesse of these last Kings, being expressed in Scriptures none otherwise, than by generall words, with reference to all the euill that their Fathers had done; makes it apparent, that the poyson wherewith *Ahaz* and *Manasses* had infected the Land, was not so expelled by the zealous goodnesse of *Iosias*, but that it still cleaued vnto the chiefe of the people, *Tea vnto the Priests also*; and therefore it was not strange, that the Kings had their part therein. The Royall authoritie was much abated by the dangers wherein the Countrey stood, in this troublesome age: the Princes did in a manner what they listed; neither would the Kings forbear to professe, that they could denie them nothing. Yet the beginning of *Iehoiachim* had the countenance of the *Egyptian* to grace it, which made him insolent and cruel, as wee finde by that example of his dealing with *Vria* the Prophet: though hee retained so the Princes doe appeare to haue bene instigators. This Holy man denounced Gods iudgements against the Citie and Temple, in like sort as other Prophets had formerly done, and did in the same age. The King with all the men of power, and all the Princes, hearing of this, determined to put him to death. Heereupon the poore man fled into *Egypt*: but such regard was had vnto *Iehoiachim*, that *Vria* was deliuered vnto his Embassadour, and sent backe to the death; contrarie to the custome vsed, both in those dayes, and since among all ciuill Nations, of giuing refuge vnto strangers, that are not held guilty of such inhumane crimes, as for the generall good of mankind should be exempted from all priuiledge.

It concerned *Pharao* to giue all contentment possible to *Iehoiachim*: for the *Assyrian* *Lyon*, that had not stirred in many yeeres, began about these times, to roare so lowd vpon the banks of *Euphrates*, that his voyce was heard vnto *Nilus*, threatening to make himselfe Lord of all the Forrest. The causes that hitherto had withdrawne the house of *Merodach*, from opposing the *Egyptian* in his conquest of *Syria*, require our consideration in this place; before wee proceed to commit them together at *Charchemish*, where shortly after this, the glory of *Egypt* is to fall.

§. III.

Of the Kings of Babylon and Media. How it came to passe that the Kings of Babel could not giue attendance on their businesse in Syria: which caused them to lose that Province.

Merodach the sonne of *Baladan*, who taking the aduantage that *Sennacherib* misaduentured and death, together with the dissension betwene his children presented, made himselfe King of *Babylon*, was eleuen yeeres troubled with a powerfull Enemy *Asarhaddon* the sonne of *Sennacherib*, reigning ouer the *Assyrian* in *Ninive*; from whom whilst hee could not any other way diuert his cares, hee was faine to omit all businesse in *Syria*, and (as hath bene formerly shewed) to make ouer vnto *Ezekia*, some part of the Kingdome of the tenne Tribes. From this molestation, the death of *Asarhaddon* did not only set him free, but gaue vnto him some part of *Assyria*, if not (as is commonly, but lesse probably thought) the whole Kingdome. How greatly this was to the liking of the *Assyrians*, I will not heere stand to enquire: his long reigne following, and his little intermeddling in matters of *Syria*, make it plaine, that he had work enough at home, either in defending or in establishing that which hee had gotten. *Isephus* giues him the honour of hauing wonne *Ninive* it selfe; which wee may beleue, but surely hee did not hold it long. For in the times soone following, that great Citie was free, and vanquished *Phraortes* the *Median*. Perhaps it yielded vpon some capitulation: and

and refused afterwards to continue subiect, when the Kings being of the *Chaldean* race, preferred *Babylon* before it.

Some thinke that this was the *Assyrian* King, whose Captaine tooke *Manasses* prisoner, but I rather beleue those that hold the contrarie; for which I haue giuen my reasons in due place. To say truth, I finde little cause why *Merodach* should haue looked into those parts, as long as the *Jewes* were his friends, and the *Egyptians*, that aligned the Northern Empire, held themselves quiet at home, which was vntill the time of *Psammiticus*, about the end of this Kings Reigne, or the beginning of his sonne.

Ben Merodach the son and successeur of this King, is not mentioned in the Scriptures; yet is named by good consent of Authors, and that speak little of his doings. The length of his Reigne is gathered by inference to haue bene one and twentie yeeres, for so much remaineth of the time that passed betwene the beginning of his Fathers and his Newtes Reignes (which is a knowne summe) deducting the yeeres of his Father, and of his sonne *Nabulassar*. This (as I take it) was he that had *Manasses* Prisoner and released him. Hee spedde ill in *Syria*; where *Psammiticus*, by the vertue of his Mercenary *Greeks*, did much preuaile. This may haue bene some cause that he released *Manasses*, and did put into his hands some part more of the Kingdome of *Samaria*: which is made probable by circumstances alleged before.

Nabulassar that reigned in *Babylon* after his Father *Ben Merodach*, had greater businesse in his owne Kingdome, than would permit him to looke abroad: inso much as it may be thought to haue bene a great negligence or ouer-sight of *Psammiticus* and *Neco*, that they did not occupie some good part of his Dominions beyond *Euphrates*. For it was in his time, that *Phraortes* King of the *Medes* invaded *Assyria*, and besieged *Ninive*; from whence he was not repelled by any force of *Nabulassar*, but constrained to remoue by the coming of *Scythians*, who in these ages did ouer-flow those parts of the World, laying hold vpon all, that they could master by strong hand. Of these *Scythians*, and the Lordship that they held in *Asia*, it is conuenient that I speake in this place, shewing briefe before-hand, how the *Medes*, vpon whom they first fell, were busied in the same times with hopes of conquering *Assyria*.

Phraortes, the sonne of *Deioces*, King of the *Medes*, hauing by many victories enlarged his Dominions, conceiued at length a faire possibilitie of making himselfe Lord of *Ninive*.

The Citie (as *Herodotus* reports it) hauing bene a Soueraigne Ladie, was not forsaken of all her dependants; yet remained in such case, that of her selfe she was well enough.

This makes it plaine, that howsoever *Merodach* had gotten possession of this imperiall seat, and made it subiect as was the rest of the Countrey; yet it found the means to set it selfe at libertie: as after this againe hee did, when it had bene regained by *Nabulassar* his Grand-child.

Sharpe warre, and the very noueltie of suddaine violence, vsed to disunay any State or Countrey, not inured to the like: but custome of danger hardeneth euen those that are vnwarlike. *Ninive* had bene the Palace of many valiant Kings lately reigning therein; it had suffered, and resisted, all the furie, wherewith either Domesticall tumults betwene the sonnes of *Sennacherib*, or foreign warre of the *Babylonians*, could afflicke it: and therefore it is the lesse wonderfull, that *Phraortes* did speed so ill in his iourney against it. Hee and the most of his Armie perished in that expedition: whereof I finde no particular circumstances (perhaps hee vnderualued their forces, and brought a lesse power than was needfull.) It is enough, that herein we may beleue *Herodotus*.

Cyaxares the sonne of *Phraortes*, a brauer man of warre than his Father, wan as much of *Asia* the lesse, as lay Eastward, from the River of *Euphrates*; he fought reuenge vpon the *Assyrians* for the death of his Father, and besieged *Ninive* it selfe, hauing a purpose to destroy it. I rather beleue *Eusebius*, That hee tooke the Citie, and fulfilled his displeasure vpon it, than *Herodotus*, That the *Scythian* Armie came vpon him whilst hee lay before it. For where equall authorities are contradictorie (as *Eusebius*, though far later than *Herodotus*, yet hauing seen other Authors that are now lost, it is to be valued according to his great reading) where doe I hold it best, to yeeld vnto the best likelihoods.

To thinke that the *Scythians* came vpon *Cyaxares*, whilst he lay before *Ninive*, were to accuse him of greater improuidence, than ought to bee suspected in one commended as a good Souldier. But to suppose that he was faine to leaue the Towne, when a Warre

so dangerous fell vpon his owne Countrey, doth well agree both with the condition of such businesse as that *Scythian* expedition brought into those parts, and with the State of the *Chaldean* and *Assyrian* affaires ensuing.

The destruction of this great Citie is both foretold in the Booke of *Tobit*, and there set downe as happening about these times, of which Booke whosoever was the Author, he was ancient enough to know the storie of those ages, and hath committed no such error in reckoning of times, as should cause vs to distrust him in this. As for the Prophecie of *Nabum*, though it be not limited vnto any certaine tearme, yet it appears to haue taken effect, in the final destruction of *Ninive* by *Nabuchodonosor*, according to the common opinion. For the Prophet hath mention of a Conquest of *Egypt*, foregoing to this calamitie, whereof we will speake in due place. Some that ascribe more authoritie then the reformed Churches yeeld, to the Booke of *Tobit*, are carefull, as in a matter of necessitie, to affirme, that about these times, *Ninive* was taken; but they attribute (conjecturally) the victorie ouer it, to *Ben Merodach*: a needlesse coniecture, if the place of *Eusebius* be well considered. Yet I hold it probable, that *Nabulassar* the son of *Ben Merodach*, did seize vpon it, and place a King or Viceroy therein, about such time as the Countrey of *Assyria* was abandoned by *Cyaxares*, when the *Scythian* Warre ouerwhelmed *Media*. For then was the Conquest wrought our readie to his hand; the swelling spirits of the *Ninivites* were allayed, and their malice to *Babylon* so much aswaged, that it might be thought a great fauour, if *Nabulassar*, appointing vnto them a peculiar King, tooke him and them into protection: though afterwards to their confusion, this vanishing full people and their King, rebelled againe, as shall be shewed in the Reigne of *Nabuchodonosor*.

§. IIII.

The great expedition of the *Scythians*, who ruled in *Asia* eight and twentie yeeres.

†. I.

The time of this expedition.

NOW that I haue shewed what impediment was giuen by the *Assyrians* and the *Medes*, to the *Babylonians*, who thereby were much disabled to performe any action of worth vpon the *Aegyptians* in *Syria*; it is time that I speake of that great *Scythian* expedition, which grievously afflicted not onely the *Babylonians*, but the *Medes* and *Lydians*, with the Countreys adiacent, in such wise, that part of the trouble dounded euen to the *Aegyptians* themselves. Of the *Scythian* people in generall, *Herodotus* makes very large discourse, but interlaced, as of matter ill knowne, with many Fables; of this expedition he tels many particulars, but ill agreeing, with consent of time. Concerning his fabulous reports, it will be needlesse to recite them, for they are farre enough distant from the businesse in hand. The computation of times which by inference out of his relations, may seeme very strange, needeth some answer in this place: lest otherwise I should eyther seeme to make my selfe too bold with an Authour, inditing him after a manner different from his owne tale; or else to be too forgetfull of my selfe, in bringing to act vpon the Stage, those persons, which I had already buried. Eight and twentie yeeres, he saith, that the *Scythians* reigned in *Asia*, before *Cyaxares* deliured the Countrey from them. Yet he reports a warre betwene *Cyaxares* and *Halyattes* the *Lydian*, as foregoing the siege of *Ninive*; the siege of *Ninive* being ere the *Scythians* came. And further he tels, how the *Scythians*, hauing vanquished the *Medes*, did passe into *Syria*, and were encountred in *Palestina* by *Psammiticus* King of *Egypt*, who by gifts and entreatie procured them to depart from him. These narrations of *Herodotus* may, every one of them, be true; though not in such order of time, as hee hath marshalled them. For *Psammiticus* was dead before *Cyaxares* began to reigne: and *Cyaxares* had spent halfe of his fortie yeeres, ere *Halyattes* was King of *Lydia*; so that hee could not, after those *Lydian* Warres, reigne eight and twentie yeeres together with the *Scythians*. It is true, that *Eusebius* doth also call *Psammitis* the sonne of *Plarao Neco*, by the name of *Psammiticus*; and this King *Psammitis* may, by some strained coniecture, be thought to haue bene he that met with the *Scythians*: for hee liued with

with both *Cyaxares* and *Halyattes*. But *Eusebius* himselfe referres all that businesse of the *Scythian* irruption into *Palestina*, to *Psammiticus* the Father of *Necho*, whom hee leaues dead before the Reigne of *Halyattes*. Therefore I dare not relye vpon *Herodotus*, in this matter, otherwise than to beleuee him, that such things were in these ages, though not in such order as he sets them downe.

It remains, that I collect as well as I can, those memorials which I finde of this expedition scattered in diuers places: a worke necessarrie, for that the greattackle of this action was such, as ought not to be omitted in a generall Historie; yet not easie, the consent of those that haue written thereof, being nothing neere to vniformitie.

I haue noted before, that in the Reigne of *Ardys* King of *Lydia*, the *Cimmerians* ouer-ran the Kingdome, and were not expelled, vntill *Halyattes* the Nephew of *Ardys* got the vpper hand of them. In these times therefore of *Ardys*, *Sabattes*, and *Halyattes*, are we to finde the eight and twentie yeeres, wherein the *Scythians* reigned ouer *Asia*. Now forasmuch as *Psammiticus* the *Egyptian* had some dealings with the *Scythians*, euen in the height of their prosperitie, wee must needs allow more than one or two of his last yeeres vnto this their Dominion. But the beginning of *Halyattes* his Reigne in *Lydia*, being three and twentie yeeres compleat after the death of *Psammiticus*, leaues the space very scant, eyther for the great victories of the *Scythians*, necessarily supposed before they could meete the *Egyptian* in *Syria*, or for those many losses, which they must haue receiued ere they could be driuen quite away. To increase this difficultie, the victorious Reigne of *Nabuchodonosor* in *Babylon*, is of no small moment. For how may we thinke it possible, that hee should haue aduentured the strength of his Kingdome against the *Aegyptians* and *Jewes*, had he stood in daily feare of losing his owne; to a more mighty Nation, that lay vpon his necke? To speake simply as it appears to me; the victories ascribed to *Cyaxares* and *Halyattes* ouer these warlike people, were not obtained against the whole body of their Armie, but were the defeatures of some troopes, that infected their feuerall Kingdomes; other Princes, and among these, *Nabulassar* hauing the like success, when the pleasures of *Asia* had mollified the courages of these hardie Northern Laddes. Wherefore we may probably annexe the eight and twentie yeeres of the *Scythians* rule, to as many almost the last of *Nabulassars* Reigne, in compass whereof their power was at the greatest. This is all that I can say of the time, wherein *Asia* suffered the violence of their oppressors.

†. II.

What Nations they were that brake into *Asia*; with the cause of their Iournie.

TOUCHING the expedition it selfe, *Herodotus* tells vs, that the *Cimmerians* being driuen out of their Countrey by the *Scythians*, invaded and wasted some part of *Asia*; and that the *Scythians* not contented with hauing wonne the land of the *Cimmerians*, did follow them, I know not why, into farre remoued quarters of the world, so (as it were by chance) falling vpon *Media* and *Egypt*, in this pursuit of men that were gone another way into *Lydia*. Heerby wee may gather that the *Cimmerians* were an odious and base people; the *Scythians*, as mischieuous and foolish; or else *Herodotus*, and some other of his Countreymen, great slanderers of those, by whom their Nation had bene beaten, and *Tonia*, more than once, grievously ranackt. The great valour of the *Cimmerians* or *Cimbrians* is so well knowne, and their many Conquests so well testified in Histories of diuers Nations, that the malice of the *Greekes* is insufficient to staine them with the name of Cowards. These were the posteritie of *Gomer*, who peopled the greatest part of our Westerne World; and whose re-flow did ouerwhelm no small portion of *Greece* and *Asia*, as well before and after, as in the age whereof we doe now enreat. Here that would more largely informe himselfe of their originall and actions, may peruse *Goropius Becanus* his *Armenica*; of many things in which Booke, that may be verified, which the learned *Ornelius* is said to haue spoken, of all *Goropius* his workes, that it is easie to laugh at them, but hard to confute them: There wee finde it prooued, by such arguments and authorities, as are not lightly to be regarded, that the *Cimmerians*, *Scythians* and *Sarmatians*, were all of one Linage and Nation; howsoever distinguished in name, by reason of their diuers Tribes, professions, or perhaps dialect of speech. *Homer* indeed hath mention of the *Cimmerians*; whose Countrey whether he placeth in the West, as neere vnto the

Ocean and bounds of the Earth, or in the North, as being farre from the Sunne, and couered with eternall darknesse; certaine it is that he would haue them neere neighboursto Hell: for he had the same quarrell to them, which *Herodotus* had, and therefore belike would haue made them seeme a kinde of *Goblins*. It was the manner of this great Poet (as *Herodotus* writing his life affirms) to insert into his workes the names of such as lived in his owne time, making such mention of them, as the good or ill done by them to himselfe deserved. And for this reason it is proued by *Eusebius*, that the *Cimmerians* were so disgraced by him, because they had wasted his Countrey. Perhaps that inuasion of *Phrygia* by the *Amazons*, whereof *Homer* puts a remembrance into *Præm*us his discourse with *Helen*, was the very same, which *Eusebius* north to haue happened somewhat before the age of *Homer*, at whattime the *Cimmerians* with the *Amazons*, together inuaded *Asia*.

This is certaine, that both the *Amazons* and the *Cimmerij* (who in after-times were called *Cimbri*) did often breake into *Greece* and *Asia*, which though it bee not in expresse termes written, that they did with ioynt-forces, yet seeing they inuaded the selfe-same places, it may well be gathered, that they were companions. One iourney of the *Amazons* into *Greece*, mentioned also by *Eusebius*, was by the streights of the *Cimmerians*, as we finde in *Diodore*, who further telleth vs, that the *Scythians* therein gaue them assistance. The same Authour, before his entrie into those discourses of the *Amazons*, which himselfe acknowledgeth to be fabulous, doth report them to haue bene viues to the *Scythians*, and no lesse Warre-like than their Husbands; alleading the example of that Queene who is said to haue slaine the great *Persian Cyrus*. That it was the manner of the *Cimbri* to carry their wiues along with them to the Warres, and how deperate the courage was of those Women; the terrible descent of them into *Italy*, when *Marius* the *Roman* ouerthrew them, giues prooffe sufficient. I will not here enter into a discourse of the *Amazons*; another place will giue mee better leisure to speake of them: but seeing that they are noted by diuers Historians to haue belonged vnto the *Cimmerians*, to the *Scythians*, and to the *Sarmatians*, we may therefore the better approve *Goropius* his conclusion, That these three Nations were one, at least that they were neere allies.

Now as concerning the expulsion of the *Cimmerians* by the *Scythians*, it appears to haue bene none other than the sending a Colonie of them forth into *Asia*, with an Armie of *Scythians* to helpe them, in purchasing a new seate, and establishing the plantation.

The *Sarmatians* also were companions in this iourne. For the Citie of *Novograd* in *Russia* (which Countrey is the same that was called *Sarmatia*) stood in their way homewards, as shall anon be further shewed. So that all the North was vp in Armes: and therefore it is no maruell though many Countreies felt the weight of this great inuasion. Such another voyage was that, which the same people made fise hundred yeres and more after this, when they were encountered by the *Romans*. For they issued from the parts about the Lake *Meotis*: they were then likewise assisted (saith *Plutarch* in the most likely report of them) by the *Scythians* their neighbours; they had in their Armie about three hundred thousand fighting men, besides a huge multitude of women and children; they wandered ouer many Countreies, bearing all downe before them; and finally, thinking to haue sedled themselves in *Italy*, they diuided their Companie, for the more easie passage thither, and were consumed in three terrible battalies by the *Roman* Consuls. Meere necessity enforced these poore Nations, to trouble the World, in following such hard adventures: For their Countrey, being more fruitfull of men than of sustenance, and shut vp on the North side with intollerable cold, which denied issue that way to their over-swelling multitudes; they were compelled to discharge vpon the South, and by right or wrong to driue others out of possession, as hauing due to all that they had power to get, because they wanted all, that weaker, but more ciuill, people had. Their surdie bodies, patient of hunger, cold, and all hardnesse, gaue them great aduantage ouer such as were accustomed vnto a more delicate life, and could not bee without a thousand superfluities. Wherefore most commonly they preuailed verie farre; their next neighbours giuing them free passage, that they might the sooner be ridde of them; others giuing them, besides passage, victuals and guides to conduct them to more wealthie places; others hiring them to depart with great presents; so as the

the further they went on, the more pleasant Landsthey found, and the more effeminate people.

†. III.

Of the *Cimmerians* warre in *Lydia*.

The first Companie of these, consisting for the most part of *Cimmerians*, held the way of the *Euxine* Seas, which they had full on the right hand, leauing on the other side, and behind them, the great Mountaines of *Caucasus*. These having passed through the Land of *Cholchis*, that is now called *Mengrelli*, entered the Countrey of *Pontus*; and being arrived in *Paphlagonia*, fortified the Promontorie whereon *Sinope*, a famous Harboure Towne of the *Greekes*, was after built. Here it seemes that they bestowed the weakest and most vnseruiceable of their traine, together with the heauiest part of their cariages, vnder some good gard: as drawing neere to those Regions, in conquest whereof they were to trie the vnmortall hazard. For in like sort afterwards did the *Cimbri* (of whom I haueeuen now) dispose of their impediments, leauing them in a place of strength, where *Antarpe* now stands, when they drew neere vnto *Gaul*, vpon which they determined to aduenture themselves in the purchase. From *Synope*, the way vnto *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, and *Ionia*, was faire and open to the *Cimmerians*, without any ledge of Mountaines, or any deepe Riuers at all to stay their march: for *Tris* and *Haly* they had alreadye passed.

What battells were fought between these inuaders and the *Lydians*, and with what variable success the one or other part wanne and lost, I finde not written, nor am able to coniecture. This I find, that in the time of *Ardis*, the *Cimmerians* got possession of *Sardes* the capital Citie of *Lydia*; only the Castle holding out against them. Further I obserue, that whereas *Herodotus* tells of the acts performed by *Gyges* and *Ardis* Kings of *Lydia*, before this inuasion, and by *Halyattes* and *Craesus* in the times following; all that *Ardis* did against the *Cimmerians*, and all, saue burning the *Milefians* Corn fields, that was done in twelue yeres by *Sadiattes* his Son (who perhaps had his hands so full of this goodnesse, that hee could turne them to nothing else) is quite omitted: whereby it may seeme, that neither of the two did any thing worthe of remembrance in those wars, but were glad enough that they did lose all.

Certainly the miseries of warre are neuer so bitter and many, as when a whole Nation, or great part of it, forsaking their owne seates, labour to root out the established possessors of another Land, making roome for themselves, their wiues and children. They that fight for the masterie, are pacified with tribute, or with some other seruices and acknowledgements, which had they bene yielded at the first, all had bene quiet, and no sword bloodied. But in these migrations, the assailants bring so little with them, that they need all which the defendants haue, their Lands and Cattell, their houses and other goods, euen to the cradles of the sucking infants. The mercilesse tearmes of this controuersie arme both sides with desperate resolution: seeing the one part must either winne, or perish by famine; the other defend their goods, or lose their liues without redemption. Most of the Countreies in *Europe* haue felt examples thereof; and the miserie Empire of *Rome* was ouerthrowne by such inuasions. But our Ile of *Brittaine* can best witness the diuersitie of Conquests; hauing by the happy victorie of the *Romans*, gotten the knowledge of all Ciuill Arts, in exchange of liberie, that was but slenderly instructed therein before; whereas the issue of the *Saxon* and *Danish* Warres, was, as were the causes, quite contrarie. For these did not seeke after the Dominion onely, but the entire possition of the Countrey, which the *Saxons* obtained, but with so horrible cruetie, eradicating all of the *British* Race, and desacing all memoriall of the ancient inhabitants through the greater part of the Land. But the *Danes* (who are also of the *Cimmerian* blood) found such end of their enterprize, as it may seeme that the *Cimmerians* in *Lydia*, and *Scythians* in the higher *Asia*, did arriue vnto. So that by considering the proceesse of the one, we shall the better conceiue the fortune of the other. Many battalies the *Danes* wonne, yet none of such importance, as sufficed to make them absolute Conquerours: Many the *Saxons* wonne vpon the *Danes*, yet not so great, as could driue them quite away, and backe from hence, after they had gotten fine footing. But in course of time, the long continuance euen of vtter enmitie, had bred such acquaintance

betweene them, as bowing the natures of both these people, made the one more pliant vnto the other. So their disagreeable qualities, both ill and good, being reduced into one milde temper, no small number of the *Danes* became peacable cohabitants with the *Saxons*, in *England*, where great slaughter had made large roome; others returning home, found their owne Countrey wide enough to receiue them, as hauing disburthened it selfe of many thousands, that were sent to seeke their graues abroad. And such (as I thinke) was the end of the *Cimmerian* warre in *Lydia*; whereunto though some victorie of *Halyattes* may haue hastened the conclusion, yet the wearisome length of time seemes to haue done most, in compelling them to desire of rest. I know not why I should feare to adde heereunto my further coniecture; which is, that the matter was so compounded to betwene the *Cimmerians* and *Halyattes*, that the Riuer of *Halys* should diuide their Territories. For *Halys* was henceforth the border of the *Lydians*, and on the Eastern side of the Riuer was the Countrey of the *Amazons*, that is indeed, of the *Cimmerians* and other *Scythian* people; whose wiues and daughters these warlike women are supposed to haue bene.

And hereunto the quarrell ensuing, betwene *Halyattes* and *Cyaxares* the *Mede*, hath very good reference. For *Halyattes* (as is said) fought in defence of certaine *Scythians*, vpon whom the *Median* sought reuenge. And it stands with reason, that the *Lydians* and *Cimmerians*, being much weakened with mutuall slaughters, should haue ioyned in a league of mutuall defence for their common safetie: though otherwise it had bene dangerous to *Halyattes*, if hee had permitted the *Median* to extend his Kingdome so farre Westward, whatsoeuer the pretences might be, of taking reuenge vpon such as had spoiled each of their Countreys. As for that occasion of the Warre betwene these two Kings, which *Herodotus* relates, I finde it of little waight, and lesse probability. He tells of *Scythians*, that being chased out of their Countrey by faction, came vnto *Cyaxares*; who committed vnto them certayne Boyes, to bee instructed in the *Scythian* tongue, and feate of Archerie. Now it so fell out (saith he) that these *Scythians* being much to hunt, and commonly bringing home somewhat with them, did neuerthelesse other-whiles misse of their game, and come home as they went. Hereupon the King being froward and cholerick, bitterly reuiled them; and they, as impatient as hee, killed one of the Boyes that was vnder their charge, whom dressing like Venison, they presented vnto him; which done, they fledde vnto *Halyattes*. This *Herodotus* deliues, as the ground of a Warre that lasted sixe yeeres betwene the *Medes* and *Lydians*; the one King demanding these Fugitiues to be deliuered into his hand, the other refusing to betray such men as were become his suppliants. To this I will say no more, than that I see no cause that might induce the *Scythians*, to retake themselves to either of these Kings, vnto whom their Nation had wrought so much displeasure. Particularly they had reason to distrust *Cyaxares*, for the treacherie that he shewed in the massacring of their Countrey men, that were in his Kingdome; of whom it is now meet that we should speake.

†. IIII.

The warre of the *Scythians* in the higher *Asia*.

As the *Cimmerians* held their course Westerly, along the shores of the *Euxine* Sea: so the *Scythians* and *Sarmatians* took the other way, and hauing the *Caspian* Sea on their left hand, passed betwene it and *Caucasus* through *Albania*, *Colchene*, and other obscure Nations, where now are the Countreys of *Seruan* and *Georgia*, and so they entered into *Media*. The *Medes* encountered them in Armes; but were beaten, and thereupon glad to come to any agreement with them. This was in the time of *Phraortes*, whilst *Psammithicus* reigned in *Aegypt*. If it were in the sixth yeere of *Nabulassars* Reigne over *Babylon* (supposing him to haue reigned five and thirtie; otherwise we must allow to *Ben Merodach* what we take from him) then doe the eight and twenty yeeres of their Dominion end, one yere before the great *Nabuchodonosor* was King; so giuing him good leaue to provide securely, for the inuasion of *Syria*, which expedition hee began while his Father yet liued, as *Iosephus* out of *Berosus* relates the Historie.

Now the *Medes*, desirous to saue themselves as well as they might, from this terrible Nation, which when they had no lust to a second triall of the sword, refused not to under-

goe

goethe burthen of a Tribute, but thought nothing dishonourable, that would serue to remove these troublesome guests into some other lodging. On the other part, the *Scythians* finding still the Countreys pleasant and better, the further that they marched into the South, did suffer themselves to be perswaded, that a little more trauaile, would adde a great deale more to their content. For they relied so much vpon their owne valour, that they feared no resistance; and being the brauest men, they thought it reason that they should dwell in the best Region. That *Phraortes* perswaded them into *Aegypt*, I doe not thinke: *Babylon* was neere enough; whether if he could send these Locusts to graze, then should hee not his vnfriendly Neighbours haue cause to laugh at his misfortune. What shift *Nabulassar* made with them, or that at all he had any dealings with them, I doe not reade. But it is well known, that his Dominions lay in the midst betwene *Media* and *Aegypt*, as also, that they made all those parts of *Asia* Tributarie; wherefore we may very well beleue, that they watered their horses in his Riuers, and that he also was content to giue them provender.

Psammithicus hearing of their progresse (like the ielous Husband of a faire Wife) tooke care that they might not looke vpon *Aegypt*; lest the sight thereof should more easily detaine them there, than any force or perswasion, that he could vie, would send them going. Therefore he met them in *Syria*, presuming more on the great gifts which he meant to bestow vpon them, than on his Armie that should keepe them backe. *Aegypt* was rich; and halfe the riches had not bene ill spent in sauing all. Yet *Psammithicus* tooke the most likely course, whereby to make his part good against them by strong hand, in case they had bene so obstinate as to refuse all indifferent composition. For he lay close vpon the edge of the Wilderness in *Gaza* (as I take it) the Southermost border of *Palestina*; whence he neuer aduanced to meete with the *Scythians*; but gaue them leaue to feede as much of the scalding Sunne-beames, ill agreeing with their temper, as all the length of *Syria* could beat vpon them. When they were come as farre as *Ascalon*, the next Citie to *Gaza*, then did he assaile them with goodly words, accompanied with gifts, which were likely to worke so much the better, by how much the worse they were pleased with the heat of a Climate so farre different from their owne. *Psammithicus* had so his backe a vast wilderness, ouer the scorching sands whereof, the *Scythians* more pained of cold and wet, than of the contrary distempers, could ill haue endured to pursue him, through vnknowne wayes, had they fought with him and prevailed: especially the Kingdome of *Aegypt* being ready to entertaine him with reliefe, and them with new trouble at the end of their wearie iourney. Wherefore they were content to be intreated, and taking in good part his courteous offers, returned back to visite their acquaintance in the high Countreys. The *Aegyptian* King (besides that he preferred his owne Estate from a dangerous aduerture, by hyring this great Armie to depart from him) found all his Cost well repayed in the processe of his warres in *Syria*, where the Nations beyond *Euphrates* had no power to molest him, being more than euer troubled themselves with the returne of their oppressors. For the *Scythians*, resolving now to seeke no further, began to demand more than the Tribute formerly imposed. And not contented to seeke the Naturals with grievous exactions, they presumed to lye at discretion vpon the Countrey, taking what they listed from the Owners; and many times (as it were) to saue the labour of taking often) taking all at once. This Tyrannous Dominion they long vsed ouer the higher *Asia*, that is, ouer the Countreys lying betwene the *Caspian* and *Red* Seas; and betwene *India* and *Asia* the lesse. Happy it was for the poore people, that in so large a space of ground, there was roome enough for these new comers; otherwise the calamitie that fell, as it were by chance, vpon those priuate men, to whose wealth any *Scythian* did beare a fancie, would haue lighted in generall vpon all at once, leaving few aliue, and none able to relieue their followers. Yet it seems that the leauest burthen lay vpon *Media*, for it was a fruitful, Countrey not farre from their owne home, and lay vnder a Climate well agreeing with the constitution of their bodies; thereto so it was that they had the fatal blow, by which their insolent Rule was taken from them.

Cyaxares King of the *Medes*, who in this extremity was no better then a Rent-gatherer for the *Scythians*, perceiving that his Land lay vninured and waste, through the negligence of his people, that were out of heart by daily oppressions, and that the matter could not be remedied by open force, resolved to proue what might be done by stratagem.

Herod. lib. 1.

stratagem. The managing of the businesse is thus delinced in briefe; That he, and his Medes, feasted the better part of the Scythians, made them drunke, and slew them, recovering hereby the possession of all that they had lost.

Such another slaughter was committed vpon the Danes in England; but it was reuenged by their Countreymen, with greater cruelty than euer they had practised before. That the Scythians, which escaped this bloody feast, made any stirre in Media, I doe not finde; neither doe I reade that either in reuenge hercof, or vpon other pretence, the Medes were troubled by inuasion from Scythia in time following.

This is the more strange, for that the Armie returning home out of Media, was very strong, and encountered with opposition (as Herodotus reports it) no lesse than it had found abroad. Wherefore it may be, that the deuice of Cyaxares to free his Countrey, tooke good effect, with lesse blood-shed than hath beene supposed. For if he surpris'd all the chiefe of them, it was no hard matter to make a good composition. Many of them doubtlesse in eight and twenty yeeres had so well seled themselves, that they were desirous of rest, and might be permitted, without any danger, to remaine in the Countrey, many of whom I shall speake anon) hauing done what they could in the businesse, for which they came forth, were willing to returne home, with what they had gotten; such as were not pleased with either of these two courses, might goe ioyned with the Cimmerians in Lydia, or seek their fortunes in other Prouinces, among their owne Companions. Whereas all the Families of the North are said to haue beene with Nabuchadnezzar, it may be vnderstood, that a great part of the Scythians, vpon hope of gaine, or desire to keepe what they had already gained, were content to become subiect vnto Nabuchadnezzar: mens loue of their wealth being most effectually, in taming the more vniuersall loue of inordinate liberty. This is certaine, that Nabuchadnezzar, as euer after, so in his first beginning of warre, did beate the Egyptians, who in ages foregoing had beene accustomed to deale with the Babylonians after another fashion: and this new successe of that King may be imputed, in regard of humane meanes, to such addition as this of new forces.

Of the Scythian Armie returning out of Media, diuers Authors report a Storie, which confirms me in the opinion, that this Companie went forth to assist their kindred and friends, in acquiring a new seate, and establishing their plantation. For these had left their wiues behinde them; a good argument to proue that they meant to come againe. The Scythian women, to comfort themselves in their husbands absence, became bed-fellows to their slaues. These got a lusty brood of youths, that were loath to be troubled with Fathers in Law, and therefore prepared to fight with them at their returne. If they were onely the children of slaues, which compounded an Armie (as Herodotus would haue it, who telvs, that the Scythians were wont to pull out all their bond-mens eyes) it must needs be that they were very Boyes, or else that the Women did very little while continue chaste. Wherefore I rather beleue that tale as it is told by the Russes themselves, who agreeing in the rest with the consent of Histories, make that report of their Ancestors returning homewards, which I will set downe, as I finde it in Master Doctour Fletcher his exact discourse of the Russe Common-wealth. They vnderstood by the way, that their Chieftaynes, or Bond-slaues whom they left at home, had in their absence possessed their Townes, Lands, Houses, Wiues, and all. At which newes being somewhat amazed, and yet disdaining the Villanie of their seruants, they made the more speede home: and so not farre from Nauograd met them in warlike manner marching against them. Whereupon aduising what was best to be done, they agreed also to set vpon them with no other sort of weapon but with their horse-shipt (which as their manner is, euery man rideth withall) to put them in remembrance of their seruile condition, thereby to terrifie them, and abate their courage. And so marching on, and slaying all together with their whips in their hands, they gaue the onset: which seemed so terrible in the eyes of their Villaines, and strooke such a sense into them of the smart of the whip, which they had felt before, that they fled all together like Sheepe before the Druiers. In remembrance of this victorie, the Nauogradians euer since haue stamped their Coine (which they call a Dingo, Nauogradskoy, currant through all Russia) with the figure of a Horseman shaking a whip aloft in his hand. It may seeme, that all the women of that Countrey, haue sared the worse euer since, in regard of their vniuersall fault: for such a Padkey or whip, as terrified those slaues, curiously wrought by her selfe, is the first present that the Moscovian Wife, euen in time of wooing, sends to him that shall be her husband, in token of subiection; being well

Herod. lib. 4.

Cicero 2.

Rus. Comment. Chap. 4.

well assured to feele it often on her owne loines. But this was a Document vnto the Scythians, or rather Sarmatians (for Nauograd stands in the Countrey that was called Sarmatia) to beware of absenting themselves any more so long from their Wiues; which afterwards, I finde not that they did.

Thus much I thought good to set downe of the Scythian expedition, not onely because it is the most memorable act performed abroad by that Nation, famous in Histories, and terrible to many Countreies; but for that it appears to haue beene a great cause, of the Egyptians prevailing hitherto in Syria, and about Iudaea, which continues yet a while the centre of our discourse.

§ V.

Of Princes living in diuers Countreies, in these ages.

Having thus farre digressed from the matters of Iuda, to auoide all further occasion of doing the like, I will here insert a note of such Kings and men of marke, as were betweene the death of Manasses, and the ruine of Ierusalem. Of the Egyptians, Babylonians, Medes, and Lydians, I haue spoken as much as I thought needefull. In Rome, Tullius Hostilius held the Kingdome, vntill the one and twentieth yeere of Iulius; at which time Ancus Martius succeeding, reigned foure and twenty yeeres. After him L. Tarquinius Priscus, a new-come stranger, but very rich, preuailed so farre by his graciousnesse among the people, that he got the kingdome to himselfe, disappointing the sonnes of Ancus, our whom he was Tutor. He began in the fourth yeere of Numa, and reigned eight and thirtie yeeres. In this time it was, namely, in the second yeere of the thirtieth Olympiad, that the Lacedaemonians, bethinking them how to beaueged of the Arcadians, who gaue succour to the Messenians against them in the former warre, entred their Territorie, tooke the Citie of Phigalia or Phialia, from whence their Garisons were soone after beaten out. Cyphelus expelling the race of the Bacidae, made himselfe Lord of Corinth about these times, and gouerned it in peace thirtie yeeres, leaving for successeur his sonne Perian der, one of the Icaean Sages, but a cruel Tyrant: vnto whom other vile acts, flew his owne wife, and afterwards, as in her honour, stripped all the Corinthian women stark naked, burning their apparell, as an acceptable offering to her Ghost. Hereby we may perceiue; that the wisdom of the Greekes was not excellent in those dayes; when such a one as this could be admired as excellent all the Countrey.

In these times also were Zaleucus and Draco, famous Lawgiuers, the one among the Locrians in Italie, the other in the Citie of Athens. The Lawes of Draco were so rigorous, that he was said to haue writtten them with blood: for he rewarded euery small offence with death. Wherefore his Constitutions were soone abrogated, and power giuen to Solon, by the Athenians, to make new in their stead. But the Lawes of Zaleucus were very mild. He forbade any Gentlewoman to walke abroad with more than one Bond-woman attending on her, *unless it were when she was drunke*, or to goe forth of the Towne by night, unless it were a some sweet-hearts bed; or to dresse her selfe vp in immodest brauery, unless it were to inuigle a louer. By which pleasant Ordinances, he effected his desire: for none would seeme, in breaking the Statutes, to be in such case as challenged the dispensation. It is noted in this man as a singular example of iustice, that when his owne son had committed adulterie, and was therefore to lose both his eyes, he did not cause him to be pardoned, but gaue one eye of his owne to saue the yong man (who also lost one) from vtter blindness.

I shall not henceforth neede, so farre to wander, as hitherto I often haue done, in supposing of actions collateral to the Historie, for inserting them in their order of time. The Chaldeans will soone fall vnder the Persians; ere long, encounter with the Greekes; the Greekes, with the Romans; the Romans, with many Nations. Concerning all these, as they shall successively present themselves, in their flourishing Estate; it will be enough to recapitulate the most memorable accidents, that befall them in their Minoritie. But in the long space of more than thirtie hundred yeeres, which passed betwene the calling of Abraham, and the destruction of Ierusalem, wee finde little matter, wherein the History of Israel had any dealing with other Nations, than the very neere borders. Yet reade we of many Kingdomes, that in these many ages were erected, and

and throwne downe; as likewise, many memorable acts were performed in Greece and elsewhere, though not following one another at any neere distance; all which must have bene quite omitted, or else referred vnto a very vnreasonable rehearfall, had they not bene disposed in this method, whereof he that will not allow the conueniency, may pardon the necessity.

§. VI.

The oppression of Iudaea, and destruction of Ierusalem by the Chaldeans.

NOW to returne to the *Iewish* Storye, from whence we haue so farre digressed. In the third yeere of *Iehoiakim*, *Nabuchodonosor* the second, his Father yet liuing, married *Iudaea* with a great Armie, who besieging and forcing *Ierusalem*, made *Iehoiakim* his Vassall in despite of *Necho*, that had established him King, and rooke with him for pledges *Daniel*, being as yet a childe, with *Ananias*, *Misael*, and *Azarias*. All hee tooke a part of the Church treasures, but stayed not to search them thoroughly; for *Necho* hastned to the succour of *Iehoiakim*, hoping to finde *Nabuchodonosor* in *Iudaea*: where in this great *Babylonian* had no disposition to hazard himselfe and his Armie, it being a Countrey of an euill affection towards him, as also farre off from any succour or sure place of retreat. If he had, as may be supposed, any great strength of *Scythian* horse-men in his Armie; it was the more wisely done of him, to fall backe, out of the rough, mountainous, and ouer-hot Countrey, into places that were more euen and temperate. But besides all these reasons, the death of his father, happening at the same time, gaue him iust occasion to returne home, and take possession of his owne Kingdome, before he proceeded further in the second care, of adding more vnto it. This he did at a reasonable good leisure: for the *Egyptian* was not ready to follow him so farre and to bid him battaile, vntill the new yeere came in: which was the fourth of *Iehoiakim*, the first of *Nabuchodonosor*, and the last of *Necho*. In this yeere the *Babylonian* lying vpon the Banks of the *Euphrates* (his owne Territorie bounding it on the North-side) attended the arrival of *Necho*. There, after a resolute contention for victory, *Necho* was slaine, and his Armie remaining forced to saue it selfe, which full ill it did, by a violent retreat. This victorie of *Nabuchodonosor* so well pursued, as he recovered all *Syria*, and whatsoever the *Egyptians* held out of their proper Territorie towards the North. The *Egyptians* being in this conflict beaten, and altogether for the present discouraged, *Iehoiakim* held himselfe quiet, as being friend in heart vnto the *Egyptian*, yet hauing made his peace with the *Chaldean* the yeere before; who contented with such profit as he could then readily make, had forborne to lay any Tribute vpon *Iuda*. But this coole reseruednesse of *Iehoiakim*, was on both sides, taken in ill part. The *Egyptian* King *Psammis*, who succeeded vnto *Necho*, began to thinke vpon restoring *Iehobabaz*, taken Prisoner by his Father, and seeing him vp, as a Domestickall Enemy, against his vngratefull brother. Against all such accidents, the *Iudean* had prepared the vsuall remedy, practised by his fore-fathers: for he had made his owne sonne *Iechonias* King with him long before, in the second yeere of his owne Reigne, when the Boy was but Eight yeeres old. As for this rumour of *Iehobabaz* his returne; the Prophet *Ieremie* foretold, that it should proue idle, saying: *he shall not returne thither, but he shall dye in the place whither they haue led him captiue, and shall see this Land no more.* The *Egyptians* indeede, hauing spent all their Mercenarie forces, and receiued that heauie blow at *Carchemish*, had not remaining such proportion of sharpe Steele, as of faire gold, which without other helpe, is of little effect. The valour of *Necho* was not in *Psammis* *Aries* who reigning after *Psammis*, did once aduencure to shew his face in *Syria*; but after a bigge looke, he was glad to retire, without aduentering the hazard of a battaile. Wherefore this decaying Nation fought onely with braue words, telling such frivolous tales, as men that meane to doe nothing, vse of their glorious acts fore-past, against *Iosias* and *Iehobabaz*. In this case it was easie for *Iehoiakim* to giue them satisfaction, by letting them vnderstand the sincerity of his affection towards them, which appeared in time following. But *Nabuchodonosor* went to worke more roundly. He sent a peremptory message to *Iehoiakim*, willing him not to stand vp on any nice points, but acknowledge himselfe a Subiect, and pay him Tribute: adding hereunto such fearefull threats, as made the poore *Iudean* lay aside all thought of *Pharaoh*, and yeeld to doe, as the more mighty would haue him. So hee continued in the

a Chron. 36. 9.

Ier. 22. 11. 12.

Ier. 22. 11. 12.

the obedience of *Nabuchodonosor* for three yeeres. At this time *Ieremie* the Prophet cried out against the *Iewes*, putting them in minde that he had now three and twenty yeeres exhorted them to repentance, but because they had stopt their eares against him, and the rest of the Prophets, he now pronounced their captiuitie at hand, and that they should endure the yoke of bondage full seauenty yeeres. The same calamitie he threatned to all the neighbouring Nations, to the *Egyptians*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Assyrians*, and the rest, foretelling that they should all drinke out of the *Babylonian* Pitcher, the wine of his furie, whom they had forsaken and after the seauenty yeeres expired, that the *Babylonians* themselves should taste of the same cup, and be viterly subuerted by the *Medes*, and *Peresians*. The *Iudeans* permitted to returne againe into their owne fields and Cities. The first imprisonment of the Prophet *Ieremie* seemes to haue bene in the fourth yeere of this *Iehoiakim*, at which time *Baruch* the Scribe wrote all his Prophecies out of his mouth, whom he sent to read them vnto the people, and afterward to the Princes, who offered them to the King: but fearing the Kings furie, they had first set *Ieremie* at liberty, and aduised him and *Baruch* to hide themselves.

Iehoiakim, after he heard a part of it and perceiued the ill newes therein deliuered, made no more ado, but did cut the Booke in pieces and cast it into the fire. All which *Ieremie* caused to be new written, with this addition; that the dead body of *Iehoiakim*, should be cast out, exposed in the day to the heat, and in the night to the frost, and there should be none of his seede to sit on the Throne of *David*.

Time thus running on, while *Iehoiakim* rested secure of all danger, as Tributary to the *Babylonian*, yet well thought of by the *Egyptian*; the mightie Citie of *Tyre* opposed it selfe against the *Chaldean* forces; and vpon iust confidence of her owne strength, despised all preparation that could be made against her. Now so farre as the tearme of seauenty yeeres was prescribed vnto the desolation, as well of *Tyre*, as of *Ierusalem*, & other Townes and Countreys; it is apparent, that they which refer the expugnation of this Citie vnto the nineteenth yeere of *Nabuchodonosor*, haue sure authority for their warrant. Whereupon likewise it follows of necessity, that the siege thereof began in the seauenth of his Reigne, as hauing lasted thirteene yeeres.

Here I will take leaue to intrude a briefe note, concerning the seuerall beginnings that are reckoned of this great Prince his Rule, whereupon hath risen much disputation. The third yeere of *Iehoiakim*, was the last of *Nabulassar*, who being deliuered from other cares, tooke notice of such as had revolted from him vnto *Pharaoh Necho*, and sent this Noble Prince, his sonne, with an Armie into *Syria*, to reclaime them. In this expedition was *Daniel* carried away, who therefore makes mention of the same yeere. The yeere next following, being the fourth of *Iehoiakim*, was the first of *Nebuchadnezar*; which *Ieremie* affirmeth in expresse words; and from this we reckon all his time and actions that follow. In his three and twentieth yeere he conquered *Egypt*; and then began to reigne as a great Monarch, finding none that durst offend him. The second from this yeere it was, wherein he saw that vision, of the Image consisting of sundry Metals; which did prefigure the succession of great Kingdomes, that should rule the Earth, before the coming of Christ. I will not stand to dispute about this, which is the best conclusion that I finde, of long disputations: but returne vnto the siege of *Tyre*, which began in the seauenth of his Reigne.

The Citie of *Tyre* couered all the ground of an Island, that was diuided from the maine, by a deepe and broad channell of the Sea. The *Chaldeans* had no Fleet, and were no Sea-men; the *Tyrans*, in multitude of goodly Ships, and skill to vse them, excelled all other Nations; and euery winde, from one part or other, brought needefull provisions into the Citie. Wherefore neither force, nor famine could greatly hurt the place; whereof neuertheless the iudgements of God (denounced against it by *Esaie*, *Ieremie*, *Ezechiel*, &c.) had threatned the destruction; and the obstinate resolution of *Nabuchodonosor*, had fully determined to performe it. This high-minded King, impatient of resistance, vnder tooke a vast peece of worke, euent to fill vp the Sea, that parted the Island from the Continent. The Citie of old *Tyrus*, that stood opposite to the new, vpon the firme Land; and the mooraine of *Libanus* neere adioyning that was laden with *Cedars*, and abundance of other trees, might furnish him with materials. Thirteene yeeres were spent in this laborious, and almost hopelesse business: Which needeth not seeme strange; for *Alexander* working vpon that foundation which was remaining of *Nabuchodonosors* Piers; and being

Esaie 23. Ierem. 25. Ezech. 26.

being withall assisted by a strong Fleet, was yet sixteen moneths ere he could make way into the Citie. Wherefore, if the raging of the Sea was able to carry away that where-with Alexander laboured to couer a shelue; with much more violence could it ouerturne, and as it were consume, the worke of Nabuchodonosor, who laid his foundations in the bottome of the deepe, struuing as it were, to fill the empty belly of this Cormorant, where-as the Macedonian did onely stop the throat of it. Euery man knowes, God could haue furthered the accomplishment of his owne threats, against this place (though it had not pleased him to vse, either miracle, or such of his more immediate weapons, as are Earth-quakes, and the like) by making at least the Seas calme, and adding the fauourable concurrence of all second helps. But so it pleaseth him oftentimes, in chastising the pride of man, to vse the hand of man; euen the hand of man struuing, as may seeme, against all resistance of nature and fortune. So in this excessive labour of the Chaldeans, *Euery head was made bald, and euery shoulder was made bare.* Yet Nabuchodonosor would not giue ouer till he was master of the Towne.

Ezek. 29.

Iosaph. Antig.
Iud. 10. 17.

When he was entred vpon this desperate seruice; whether it were so, that some losse receiued, some murinie in his Armie, or (which is most likely; and so Iosaphus reports) some glorious rumours of the Egyptians, gaue courage to his euill willers; Iehoiakim denounced his subiection, and began to hope for the contrary of that which quickly fellow. For Nabuchodonosor gaue him no leisure to doe much hurt: but with part of his Armie marched directly into Iudea; where the amazed King made so little resistance, that the Egyptians hauing left him, as it were in a dremage, that he entred Ierusalem and layed hands on Iehoiakim: whom he first bound and determined to send to Babylon, but changing counsell, he caused him to be slaine in the place, and gaue him the Sepulcher of an Asse, to be deuoured by beasts and rauinous birds, according to the former Prophecies: leauing in his place, Iehoiakim or Iechonias his sonne; whom after three moneths and ten dayes, Nabuchodonosor remoued, and sent prisoner to Babylon, with Ezekiel, Mar docheus, and Iedech, the high Priest. The mother of Iechonias, together with his seruants, Eunuchs, and all the ablest men, and best Artificers of the Land, were also then carried away Captiues. This Iechonias, following the counsell of Ieremie the Prophet, made no resistance, but submitted himselfe to the Kings will: wherein he both pleased God, and did that which was best for himselfe; though at the present it might seeme otherwise, to such as considered the euill that befall him, rather then the greater euill that he thereby auoided. This onely particular act of his is recorded, which was good. But it seemes that he was partaker, at least, of his Fathers faults, if not an instigator: which was the cause, that his submitting himselfe to Gods pleasure did not preferue his Estate: for so we reade in generall words, that he did euill in the sight of the Lord, according to all that his Father had done. In his stead Nabuchodonosor established Mathania his Vncle in the Kingdome of Iuda, and called him Zedechias, which is as much to say, as the Justice of God. For like as Neco, King of Egypt, had formerly displaced Iehouahaz, after his Father Iosias was slaine, and set vp Iehoiakim, the sonne of another mother; so Nabuchodonosor slue Iehoiakim, who depended on the Egyptians, and carrying his sonne Iechonias Prisoner to Babel, gaue the Kingdome to this Zedechias, that was whole Brother to that Iehouahaz, whom Neco tooke with him into Egypt. From Zedechias he required an oath for his faithfull obedience, which Zedechias gaue him, and called the liuing God to witness in the same, that he would remaine assured to the Kings of Chaldees.

In the first yeere of Zedechias, Ieremie saw and expounded the Vision of the ripe and rotten Grapes, the one signifying those Iudeans that were carried away captiue, the other those that stayed, and were destroyed.

In the fourth of Zedechias, Ieremie wrote in a Booke all the euill that should fall vpon Babylon, which Booke or scrole he gaue to Sheraia, when he went with the King Zedechias to Babylon, to visit Nabuchodonosor; willing him first to reade it to the Captiue Iewes, and then to binde it to a stone, and cast it into Euphrates, pronouncing these words: *Thus shall Babel be drowned, and shall not rise from the euill that I will bring vpon her.* This iourne of Zedechias to Babel is probably thought to haue bene in way of visitation, carrying some presents. But I further thinke, that hee had some suite there to make, which his Lordly Master refused to grant, and sent him away discontented. For at his returne all the bordering Princes sent Messengers to him, inciting him (as it seemes) to those vniquit courses, from which Ieremie dehorted both him and them. The Prophet, by Gods appoint-

Ier. 27.

ment, made bonds and yokes; one of which he wore about his owne necke, others he sent vnto the five Kings, of Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, and Zidon, by those Messengers which came to visit Zedechias: making them know, that if they & the Kings of Iuda abode in the obedience of Babylon, they should then possesse and enioy their owne Countreies; if not, they should assuredly perishe by the sword, by fire, and by pestilence.

He also fore-told them, that those Vessels, which as yet remained in Ierusalem, should also be spoiled after the rest, and at length they should be restored againe.

The same yeere Ananias, the false Prophet,ooke off the wooden Chaine which Ieremie wore, in signe of the Captiuitie of the Iewes, and brake it: Vaunting, that in like manner, after two yeeres, God would breake the strength of Babel, and the yoke which he layed on all Nations; restore Iechonias, and all the Iewes, with the Vessels and riches of the Temple, and giue an end to all these troubles. But Ieremie in stead of his wooden Yoke wore a Coller of yron: and in signe that Ananias had giuen a deceitfull and false hope to the people, he fore-told the death of this cold Prophet, which seized vpon him in the second month. After this, when Zedechias had wauered long enough betwene Faith and Passion, in the eight yeere of his Reigne he practised more seriously against Nabuchodonosor, with his Neighbours, the Edomites, Ammonites, Moabites, Tyrians, and others that were promised great aides of the Egyptians: in confidence of whose resistance, he determined to shake off the Babylonian yoke. Hereof when Nabuchodonosor had knowledge, he marched with his Armie in the dead of Winter, toward Ierusalem, and besieged it. Ieremie perswaded Zedechias to render the Citie and himselfe: but being confident of the helpe from Egypt, and being perswaded by his Counsellors, and false Prophets, that it was vnpossible that the Kingdome of Iuda should be extirpate, vntill the coming of Silo (according to the Prophecies of Iacob) he despised the words of Ieremie, and imprisoned him. For Ieremie had told the King that the Citie should be taken and burnt; that the King should not escape, but be taken Prisoner, and brought to the presence of Nabuchodonosor; that he should not perishe by the sword, but being carried to Babel, die his naturall death.

Ierusalem, being the following yeere, surrounded by Nabuchodonosors Armie; the King of Egypt, Pharas Hophra, according to Ieremie (Herodotus calleth him Apries) entred the border of Iuda, with his Armie, to succour Zedechias, of whose reuolt he had bene the principall Author. But Ieremie gaue the Iewes faithfull counsell, willing them not to haue any trust in the succours of Egypt: for he assured them, that they should reuene againe, and in no sort relieue them. And it fell out accordingly. For when the Chaldeans remoued from Ierusalem to encounter the Egyptians, these vaunting Patrons abandoned their enterpise, and taking Gaza in their way homeward, returned into Egypt, as if they had already done enough; leauing the poore people of Ierusalem to their destitute millicies.

In the meane while the Iewes, who, in their first extremity, had manumitted their Hebrew Bond-men (as Gods Law required at the yeere of Jubile) and made them free, thereby the better to encourage them to fight; did now vpon the breaking vp of the Chaldean Armie, repent them of their Charitie: and thinking all had bene at an end, held them perforce to their former slauerie. But the Chaldees being returned to the siege, the Prophet Ieremie, when the State of Ierusalem began now to groiue to extremity, counselled Zedechias to render himselfe vnto them; assuring him of his owne life, and the safetie of the Citie, if he would so doe. But his obstinate heart conducted him to that wretched end, which his neglect of God, and his infidelity and periturie, had provided for him.

Three and twenty Moneths (as some doe reckon it) or according to Iosaphus eightene, the Babylonian Armie lay before Ierusalem, and held it exceeding straitly besieged. For they built forts against it round about, or (as P. Martyr hath it) extruxerant contra eam turres, remigumque per circumum: They surrounded the Citie with wooden Towers, so as the besieged could neither fallly out, nor receiue into the Citie any supply of men or victuals. Iosaphus reports, that they ouer-topped the Walls, with high Towers raised vpon mounds; from which they did so beat vpon the Wall with their Engines, that the defendants were compelled to forsake their stations. Now although it were so that the besieged also raised Counter-buildings, like vnto these; yet the great King of Babel, who commanded all the Regions thereabouts, and had the Woods and Riuers

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to obey him, found means to ouer-throw all the Citizens endeours; and to beat down as fast from without, as they raised from within; the body and foundation of his owne workes being guarded, by the Walls of *Ierusalem* interposed; and theirs within, layed open to their enemies disturbance. Besides, both famine and pestilence (which commonly accompany men streightly besieged) grew on fast vpon them, whereby, when the number, strength, and courage of the *Iewes* failed, the *Chaldeans* made a breach, and forcing an entry, their Princes did fear themselves, as Lords of the Towne, in the middle gace. *Zedechias* beholding this vncomfortable fight, and finding no remedy of the danger present, lost both his courage and his hope at once; and shifted himselfe together with his Wiues, Children, Princes, and principall Seruants, out of the Citie, by away vnder ground; leaving his amazed and guidelesse people, to the mercilesse fowles of their enemies. Thus he, who, when *Ieremie* the Prophet perswaded him to render himselfe, despised both the counsell of God, and the force of *Nabuchodonosor*; vied now the remedy, which *Wolphins* truly teameth: *triste, turpe, et infelix: Wofull, shamefull, and unfortunate.*

*Ioseph. Antiq.
lib. 6. 11.*

By this secret subterranean vault, *Zedechias* making his stealth, recovered (by the helpe of the darke night) the Plaines or Desarts of *Iericho*: but by reason of the trainge, that followed him and his, (euery one leading with him those whom they held most deare vnto them) he was easily traced and pursued. How great soeuer the company was that attended on him, yet, as *Iosephus* reports it, they on whose fidelity he most reposed himselfe, no sooner beheld the *Chaldeans* approach, but they all abandoned his defence, and thrust themselves into the Desarts as they could. For whom God had forsaken, no man followed, but the Ministers of his vengeance, by whom *Zedechias* being made Prisoner, with his Children, and Princes, he was conueighed to *Rebla* or *Reblath* a Citie (as some thinke) of *Nephthalim*, where *Nabuchodonosor* then lay, as a place indifferent betwene *Ierusalem* and *Tyre*, with both which at one he had to doe.

Now after *Nabuchodonosor* had layed before *Zedekias* the many graces and benefits conferred vpon him, together with the notable falsehood and periurie, wherewith he had required them; he commanded his Children, Princes, and Friends, to be slaine before his face. This being done, to the end that so lamentable a spectacle should be the last, that euer he should behold in the World, he caused his eyes to be torne out of his head, and so carried him in a slauish manner to *Babel*, where he consumed the rest of his wretched life in perpetuall imprisonment. Herein this most maruailous Prophecie of *Ezechiel* was performed: *Adducam eum in Babylonem & ipsam non ridebit. I will bring him into Babylon, and he shall not see it.*

Ezech. 12.

Thus in the Eleuenth and last yeere of *Zedekias*, which was the eighteenth of *Nabuchodonosor*, the *Chaldeans* entered the Citie by force, where sparing no sex nor age, they committed all to the sword that they therein found,

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In the yeere next following, *Nabuzaradan*, Generall of the Armie, burnt the Kings Palace, and the rest of *Ierusalem*: and after this fire had lasted from the seauenth to the tenth day, he also burnt the Temple of God to the ground, when it had stood foure hundred thirtie and one yeeres.

2 Kings. 25.

After this, vpon a second search, *Nabuzaradan* (not yet fatiated with blood) commanded seauenty and two others to be slaughtered, which had hidden themselves from the first furie, to wit, the chiefe and the second Priest, two Commanders of *Zedechias* his men of Warre, sue of his House-hold seruants, and others to that number; carrying away to *Babylon* the ablest of the people throughout all *Iudea*; and leaving the poorest labouring soules, with some that followed the partie of *Nabuchodonosor*, to till the ground: ouer whom he left Gouvernour, *Godolia* the Nephew of that *Saphan*, whom *Iosias* had formerly employed in the reformation of Religion, who is, for his iustice and equitie, by *Iosephus* highly commended. This man, a *Iewe* by Nation, left *Zedechias* as it seemeth, in the beginning of the warre: and by *Ieremies* desire to liue with him, it appeareth that he had embraced the same aduice, which the Prophet gaue vnto *Zedechias*; which was, to submit himselfe altogether to the *Babylonian*, who being ordained by God to exercise his iustice, was therefore resistlesse. The Prophet *Ieremie* being left to his owne choice, either to liue in *Chaldea*, or elsewhere, he made election of *Godolia*, to whom he was recommended; who not onely embraced *Ieremie*, but gaue comfort to all the other *Iewes*, that were left vnder his charge, promising them fauour & liberty,

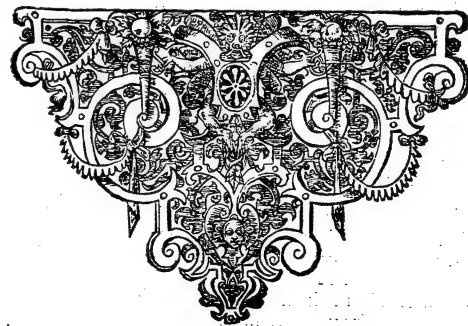
long as they remained obedient Subjects to *Nabuchodonosor*, by whom he was established Prouinciall Gouvernour of his owne Nation.

But ere that yeere was expired, a Prince of the late Kings house (who during the siege of *Ierusalem* had kept himselfe out of the storme, with *Balis* King of the *Ammonites*) being followed by ten other chosen men, while *Godolia* feasted them in *Maspha* or *Mispha*, the Citie of his residence, trayterously slue him, together with diuers *Chaldeans* and *Iewes* that accompanied him. This done, he made an escape, and in his way encountering with eightie persons, repairing towards *Godolia* with presents, he slue the most of them, and spared the rest, because they promised to discover vnto him some Treasures hidden in the fields during the warre. He also tooke with him a Daughter of *Zedechias*, committed to the care of *Godolia* by *Nabuchodonosor*. This practice and intent of *Ismael* had bene formerly discovered vnto *Godolia* by *Iohanan*, one of the Leaders of the few remaining *Iewes*; but *Godolia* was incredulous.

Iudas being now left without a Gouvernour (for *Ismael* durst not take it vpon him, but retired himselfe, or rather fled as fast as he could to the *Ammonites*) the residue of the *Iewes*, fearing the reuenge of the *Chaldeans*, resolved to flye away into *Egypt*, and besought *Ieremie* to aske counsell of God for them: who readily made them answere, that if they remained in *Iudea*, God would prouide for them, and shew them mercy; but if they sought to saue themselves in *Egypt*, that they should then vndoubtedly perish. Notwithstanding this aduice, the *Iewes* held their determination; and despising the Omnipotence of God, and contrayning *Ieremie* and *Baruch* to accompanie them, they traualled into *Egypt*, and inhabited by the permission of *Pharao*, neere vnto *Taphnes*: where, when *Ieremie* often reprehended them for their Idolatrie, foretelling both the destruction of themselves, and the *Egyptians* also, he was by these his owne hard hearted and vngratefull Countreimen, stoned to death; and by the *Egyptians*, who greatly reuenced him, buried neere the Sepulchre of their owne Kings.

Finis Libris secundi.

Hhh 2





THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD:

Intreating of the Times from the destruction
of Ierusalem, to the time of PHILIP of
MACEDON.

THE THIRD BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Of the time passing betwene the destruction of Ierusalem, and the fall
of the Assyrian Empire.

§. I.

Of the connexion of Sacred and prophane Historie.



THE course of Time; which in prophane Histories might rather be discerned through the greatest part of his way, hitherto passed in some out-worne foot-steps, than in any beaten path, hauing once in Greece by the Olympiads, and in the Easterne Countries by the accompt from Nabonassar, and left surer marks, and more applicable to actions concurrent, than were the warre of Troy, or any other token of former date; begins at length in the ruine of Ierusalem to discover the connexion of antiquitie fore-spent, with the storie of succeeding ages. Manifest it is, that the originall and progresse of things could ill be sought in those that were ignorant of the first creation: as likewise that the affaires of Kingdomes and Empire afterwards growne vp, are not to be found among those, that haue now no state nor policie remaining of their owne. Hauing therefore pursued the storie of the world vnto that age, from whence the memorie of succeeding accidents is with little interruption of fabulous discourse denied vnto vs, I hold it now conuenient briefly to shew, by what means and circumstances the Historie of the Hebrewes, which of all other is the most ancient, may be conioyned with the following times, wherein that Image of sundry metalls discovered by God vnto Nebuchadnezzar, did reigne ouer the earth, when Israel was either none, or an vnregarded Nation.

Herein I doe not hold it needfull, to insist vpon those authorities, which giue, as it were by heare-say, a certaine yeere of some old Assyrian King vnto some action or event, whereof the time is found exprest in Scripture: for together with the end of Ninus his

line in Sardanapalus, if not before, all such computations were blotted out; the succession of Belochus and his issue dur occupied the kingdom afterwards, depending vpon the vncertaine relations of such, as were neither constant in assigning the yeeres of his beginning, nor of credit enough for others to relye vpon. Let it therefore suffice, that the consistent and harmonie, which some haue found in the yeeres of those ouer-worne Monarchs, doth preserve their names, which otherwise might haue beene forgotten. Now concerning the latter Kings of that Nation, howlouer it be true that we finde the names of all or most of them in Scriptures, which are recorded by prophane Historians, yet hereby could we onely learne in what age each of them liued, but not in what yeere his reigne began or ended, were it not that the reigne of Nebuchadnezzar is more precisely applied to the times of Zebotakim and Zedekias. Hence haue we the first light whereby to discover the meanes of connecting the sacred and prophane Histories. For vnder Nebuchadnezzar was the beginning of the captiuitie of Iuda, which ended when 70. yeeres were expired; and these 70. yeeres tooke end at the first of Cyrus, whose time being well knowne, affords vs meanes of looking backe into the ages past, and forwards into the race of men succeeding. The first yeere of Cyrus his reigne in Persia, by generall consent, is ioyned with the first yeere of the 55. Olympiads, where, that he reigned three and twentie yeeres before his Monarchie, and seauen yeeres afterwards, it is apparent, and almost out of controuerfie. Giuing therefore foure hundred and eight yeeres vnto the distance betweene the fall of Troy, and the instauration of the Olympiads by Iphitus, we may easily arrive vnto those antiquities of Greece, which were not merely fabulous. As for Princes ruling the whilest in sundry parts of the world, S. Augustine and others may be trusted in setting downe their times, which they had by Tradition from authors of wel-approved faith and industrie.

From Cyrus forwards, how the times are reckoned vnto Alexander, and from him to the battale of Actium, it were (peraduenture) in this place impertinent to set downe. But seeing that the beginning and end of the Babylonian captiuitie are marks whereby we are chiefly directed, in passing from the first vnto the latest yeeres of the world, through any storie, with least interruption; it is very expedient that we take some paines to informe you seriously of the 70. yeeres, during which it continued, euen from Nebuchadnezzar vnto Cyrus.

§. II.

A briefe rehearsal of two opinions, touching the beginning of the captiuitie: with an answer to the censures of Porphyrie, in weighing against S. Matthew, and Daniel, upon whom the later of these opinions is founded.

Any Commentators, and other Historians, &c Chronologers finde, that the captiuitie then began, when Iechonias was carried prisoner into Babylon, cleauen yeeres before the finall destruction of Ierusalem vnder Zedekias. This they proue out of diuers places in Ezekiel, especially out of the fourteenth chapter, where he makes a plaine distinction betweene the beginning of the Captiuitie, and vnter destruction of Ierusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, in these words: *In the five and twentieth yeere of our being in captiuitie, in the beginning of the yeere, in the tenth day of the moneth, in the fourteenth yeere after that the Citie was smitten.* In which words he begetteth the captiuitie in plaine termes, eleuen yeeres before the Citie was destroyed. Berosus is of opinion that it began in the first of Nabuchodonosor, and the fourth of Ioakim, which he endeouours to proue out of the second of Chronicles, but more especially out of Saint Matthew, and Daniel, whose words afford matter of disputation, but serue not to make good so much as Berosus would enforce. That place of S. Matthew, and the whole booke of Daniel, haue multiplied occasion of scoffing and railing at the Christian religion to that wretched man Porphyrie, who, not vnderstanding how the sonnes of King Josias were called by diuers names, as Epiphanius hath shewed at large, thought that the Apostle had spoken he knew not what in reckoning the sonnes, or, according to some translations, the Sonne and Nephewes of that good King, begotten about the time of the captiuitie. Vpon Daniel also the same Porphyrie doth spend the twelfth of his malicious bookes written against the Christians, affirming that these prophecies and visions remembered by Daniel, were written long after his death, and at, or neere the time

of *Antiochus Epiphanes*. This fond supposition of his, *Eusebius*, *Apollonius*, and others, haue sufficiently answered. For the seauenty Interpreters, who conuerted the old Testament about an hundred yeeres before *Epiphanes*, did also turne this booke of *Daniel* out of *Hebrew* into *Greeke*, as a part of Scripture receiued. And were there no other argument to confound *Porphyry*, than that of *Alexander Macedon*, it were sufficient, who liued diuers yeeres before *Antiochus Epiphanes*. For *Iaddus* the high Priest shewed that great Conqueror, when he came towards *Ierusalem* to haue destroyed it, this booke of *Daniel*, wherein he beheld his owne glory foretold, as the same was plainly expounded vnto him; which not onely stayed his hand from the harme of that Citie and people, but his assurance and resolution was so confirmed and strengthened thereby, as despising all future perill and resistance, he conquered *Darius*, and the Easterne Empire in a shorter time than *Nabuchodonosor* had done one Citie, to wit, *Tyre* in *Phoenicia*.

It is true indeede that the *Jewes* themselues giue lesse authoritie to *Daniel*, than to *Moses* and the *Prophets*, accounting his booke among those which they call *Cetaphim*, or *Hagiographa*, or holy Writings, which they say *Esdra*s and the Seniors of the Synagoge compiled after their returne from *Babylon*. But first, that the booke of *Daniel* (I meane so much as is found in the *Hebrew*) is Canonically: secondly, that it was written by *Daniel* himselfe, and not by *Esdra*s and the Seniors; we may assure our selues by testimonie of Councels, and Fathers. For in the Councell of *Laodicea* held about the yeere of our Lord 368. after the death of *Iouinianus* the Emperour, and after the *Nicene* Councell three and forty yeeres, this booke of *Daniel* was receiued, verified and confirmed among the other Canonically Scriptures, as in the *Epitomie* of the same Councell it may be seene; and so doth *Meliton* the most ancient Bishop of *Sardis* number it, witness *Eusebius* in his Ecclesiasticall history, the fourth booke, and fiftie and twentieth chapter: so doth the same Author in the Catalogue of Canonically bookes vpon *Origen*, so doth *Eusebius* in his Preface vpon the Psalmes, and *Epiphanius* in his booke of Waights and Measures, &c. To these I may adde Sainr *Hierome*, *Gregorie Nazianzene*, and others. For the *Hagiographa* bookes or holy Writings, the *Jewes* and *Rabbines* reckon to be these, *Daniel*, *Psalmes*, *Psalteries*, *Iob*, *Canticles*, *Ruth*, *Lamentations*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Heister*, *Esdra*, *Nehemiah*, and the *Chronicles*. And that it was *Daniel*, and not *Esdra*s, that wrote this booke, Gods commendment vnto him by his Angell, to scale vp the same to the time appointed, is an vnderstandable testimonie. Yea that which exceedeth all strength of other prooue, our Sauour Christ who citeth no Apocryphall Scripture in *Matthew* and *Marke* allegeth *Daniel* the Prophet, to wit, the last verse of his ninth chapter. Further, in the fift of *Iohn*, Christ distributeth the risen from the dead, as in *Daniel* the twelfth verse the second. Sainr *Paul* describeth *Antichrist* out of *Daniel*, and the Reuelation is wholly an interpretation of *Daniel*s visions.

§. III

That the 70. yeeres of captiuitie are to be numbered from the destruction of *Ierusalem*; not from the migration of *Iechonia*.

Being thus farre digressed, in maintaining that authority, which must often be cited in the present argument, it is now conuenient, that we returne vnto the differences of opinion, concerning the beginning of these 70. yeeres. Neither will I stand to trouble my selfe and others with laying open the grounds or weaknesse of that which *Eusebius* and some few namelesse Authors, haue sometimes held in this point, which is lately reuiued by *Berosaldus*; but will forth-wich enter into consideration of that opinion, which many both ancient and late Writers haue so earnestly maintained, that it wants not much of being common.

Four Kings of *Iuda* were carried away captiues to *Babylon*: First, *Manasses*; then *Iehoiakim*, and with him among others, *Daniel* the Prophet: thirdly, *Iechonias*, and with him *Ezekiel*: lastly, *Zeackias*, at which time the Citie and Temple were destroyed. To the first of these captiuities the beginning of the 70. yeeres is referred by none that I haue read; to the second, by few and with weakie prooue; to the third, by very many and with much confidence. For besides those places of *Ezekiel* already cited, there is a strong argument gathered

gathered out of *Ieremie*, which may seeme to make the matter plaine. For the Prophet in comforting the people that were carried away with *Iechonias*, vseth these words: Thus saith the Lord, after 70. yeeres be accomplished at *Babel*, I will visit you, and perform my good promise towards you, and cause you to returne to this place.

But it stands indeed with little reason that we should seeke the interpretation of a prophetic out of circumstances, when the prophetic is such as doth sufficiently expound itselfe. *Ieremie* had already, in the fourth yeere of *Iehoiakim*, denounced the iudgement of God against the Land, for the finnes and impenitencie of that obstinate people, in these words: Behold, I will send and take to me all the families of the North, saith the Lord, and *Nebuchadnezzar*, the King of *Babel*, my seruant; and will bring them against this Land, and against the inhabitants thereof, and against all these Nations round about, and I will destroy them, and make them an astonishment, and an hissing, and a continual desolation. Moreover, I will take from them the voyce of mirth, and the voyce of gladnesse, the voyce of the Bridegrome, and the voyce of the Bride, the noise of the mill-stones, and the light of the candle, and this whole Land shall be desolate, and an astonishment, and these Nations shall serue the King of *Babel* 70. yeeres. And when 70. yeeres are expired, I will visit the King of *Babel*. Here we see prescribed vnto the captiuitie the terme of 70. yeeres, which were to commence, neither when the prophetic was uttered; nor when *Iehoiakim*, who then reigned, was taken by *Nebuchadnezzar*; nor yet in the time of *Iechonia*; but with the utter desolation of the Citie, whereof *Ieremie* did againe giue notice to those that were already in *Babylon*, at such time as he sent them the comfort of deliuerance before rehearsed. And so did the people vnderstand this prophetic, in those times when they saw it accomplished, beginning the 70. yeeres at the time of the desolation, as manifestly appears in the end of the Historie of *Iuda*, where it is said thus: They burnt the house of God, and brake downe the wall of *Ierusalem*, and burnt all the Palaces thereof with fire, and all the precious vessels thereof to destroy all: And they that were left by the sword, carried be away to *Babel*, and they were seruants to him and to his sonnes, vntill the Kingdome of the Persians had rule, to fulfill the word of the Lord by the mouth of *Ieremie*, until the Land had her fill of her Sabbath: for all the daies that she lay desolate, shee kept Sabbath, to fulfill 70. yeeres. But in the 70. yeere of *Cyrus* King of Persia (when the word of the Lord, spoken by the mouth of *Ieremie*, was fulfilled) the Lord stirred up the spirit of *Cyrus*. Wee seldome find one piece of Scripture so precisely and plaine expounded by another, as in this prophetic, to haue afterwards bene the subiect of alteration. For one can hardly deuise, how cyther the desolation could haue bene expressed more sensibly than it was by the Prophet, or the event of the prophetic haue bene more exactly set downe, than it was in the place now last of all cited. If it be requisite that we bring more prooue in so euident a case, the ninth Chapter of *Daniel* yeelds testimonie sufficient, vnto this expedition of *Ieremie* his prophetic, that *Ierusalem* was to lie waste 70. yeeres. For in the first yeere of *Darius*, the Mede, which was the last of the 70. *Daniel* obtained of God the deliuerance that had bene promised by prayer, which hee made vpon consideration of the time that was expired: as he telleth in these words: In the first yeere of his reigne, I *Daniel* vnderstood by Dan. 9. 2. bookes the number of the yeeres, whereof the Lord hath spoken vnto *Ieremie* the Prophet, that he would accomplish 70. yeeres in the desolation of *Ierusalem*. So that howsoeuer the time of *Daniel* his owne captiuitie be reckoned from the taking of *Iehoiakim*, and that the people carried away with *Iechonia*, did accompt, as well they might, the yeeres of their owne captiuitie; yet with the generall desolation of the Countrey, wherein were few or none of the *Iשראלites* left remaining to inhabite, beganne in the nineteenth yeere of *Nabuchodonosor* for the great captiuitie, which by Gods appointment continued vnto the end of seuen-ty yeeres.

This I will not further seeke to prooue, by the authoritie of *Iosephus* and others affirming the same; for as much as that which already hath bene produced, is enough to satisfie any man that hath not fully determined to hold the contrarie.

§. IIII.

§. IIII.

Sundrie opinions of the Kings which reigned in Babylon during the 70. yeeres.

WHAT Kings reigned in *Babylon*, during these seuentie yeeres of the captiuitie, and how long each of them did weare the Diademe, it is a matter of no great importance to know, for as much as neither their acts were notable in the age wherein they liued, nor the length of their reignes, any way helpfull to the concordance of times, fore-going or succeeding. The conquests recounted by *Xenophon* of *Syria*, *Arabia*, (or rather some part of it) *Hircania*, *Bactria*, and perhaps of some other Countries, to may seeme fruits of the victories obtained by *Nebuchadnezzar* the Great (or by some of his Ancestors) in the former part of his life, before he betooke himselfe to ease, and to the sumptuous building of his great *Babel*, for the house of his Kingdome, and for the honour of his Maiestie, where it may seeme that hee and his Heires kept a great state, and did very little. The idle behauiour of the *Assyrian* Souldiers, in such skirmishes as afterwards they had with the *Medes*, doth argue no lesse. For whereas vnder *Nebuchadnezzar*, they were so stout and indurrious, that (to omit other proofes) they attempted, and finished, that hardie piece of worke, of winning the strong Citie of *Tyre*, by ioyning vnto it the continent, filling vp the deepe and broad channell of the Sea, diuiding it from the maine with a mole, or peece of earth, and other matter, the reparation whereof, when the Sea had washed it away, was the very greatest of *Alexander* the workes; in the times following, they became timorous, that they durst not approach neerer to the enemie than their bowes would carrie, but were readie to turn their backs, as soone as anie, though inferiour in numbers, aduenturing within the distance offered to charge them.

Now as their actions from the end of *Nebuchadnezzars* warres, till the ruine of their Empire, were not worthy to be recorded; so was the distinction of their times, and reigne of their severall Kings, unworthy of the great labour that hath in vaine bene taken in that businesse. For when it is granted, that the captiuitie of *Juda*, ending with that Empire, lasted 70. yeeres, wee may as reasonably forbear to search into the particular continuance of two or three stothful Kings, as we are contented to be ignorant of the ages of the *Patriarchs*, and their children living in the *Egyptian* seruitude; resting satisfied in both with the generall assured summe.

Yet for as much as many haue travelled in this businesse, vpon desire (as I take it) to approue the beginning and end of the 70. yeeres, not onely by the reignes of other Princes, ruling else-where, but by the times of the *Assyrians* themselves: I will not refuse to take a little paines in collecting their opinions, and shewing what I thinke, may best be held for likely, if the certaine truth cannot be found.

The opinions are many, and greatly repugnant, both in recounting the Kings themselves, and in setting downe the yeeres of their severall reignes. The first (as I take it) the surest, is theirs, who meerly follow the authoritie of the Scriptures, without borrowing any helpe from others. These name onely three Kings, *Nabuchadnezzar*, *Eulmerodach*, and *Balthasar*. Neither haue they onely the silence of *Daniel*, who names none other to be their warrant, but the prophetic of *Ieremie* precisely, and in a manner purposely teaching the very fame. For *God*, by the mouth of that Prophet, shewing that he being absolute Lord of all, would dispose of all according to his owne will, and making it known that he had put some Countries here named, into the hands of the King of

Babel, saith thus: *And all Nations shall serue him, and his Sonne, and his Sonnes Sonnes, until the very time of his Land come also; then many Nations and great King shall serue themselves of him.* These words expressing the continuance of the *Chaldean* Empire, and number of the Kings, will hardly be qualified with any distinction. But indeed I finde no other necessity of qualification to be vsed heerein, than such as may grow out of mens desire to reconcile the Scriptures vnto profane authors. And this desire were not vniust, if the consent of all histories were on the one side, and the letter of the holy Text were on the other side.

But contrariwise, the Authors which are cited in this case, are so repugnant one to the other, and the proofes of their different reports are so slender and vninsufficient, that the succession of these Princes, had it not bin thus deliuered in Scriptures, but only let down by some

some Author of equal credit with the rest, might very well haue found and deferred as good belife, as any of those things which they haue deliuered in this point. For some therefore, who following *Iosephus*, deriue that Empire, as by descent from father to son, through five generations; beginning with *Nabuchodonosor* the great, and giuing to him 43. yeeres; to *Eulmerodach* 18. to *Niziglar* the sonne of *Eulmerodach* 30. to *Labosardach* the sonne of *Niziglar* 9. moneths, and lastly to *Balthasar* (whom *Iosephus* intimates to be of the race of *Nabuchodonosor*, without naming his father) 17. yeeres. And this opinion (saue that he forbears to reckon the yeeres, and plainly calls *Balthasar* the sonne of *Labosardach*) Saint *Hierome* doth follow, alledging *Berosus* and *Iosephus* as a sectator of his Authors; though *Berosus* as he is cited by *Iosephus*, report the matter farre otherwise. For hee tells vs that *Eulmerodach* the sonne of *Nabuchodonosor* did reigne but two yeeres, being for his wickednesse and lust, slaine by his sisters husband *Niziglossoroor*, who occupied the kingdome after him foure yeeres; and left it to his owne sonne *Labosardach*; who being an ill-conditioned boy, was at the end of nine moneths slaine by such as were about him, and the kingdome given to one *Nobonidus*, who held it by the election of the Conspirators, and left it vnto *Cyrus* after 17. yeeres. This relation ill agrees with that of *Iosephus*, and both of them as bad with the Scriptures, in number eyther of yeeres, or of generations; yet the particularities which they handle, haue procured vnto them some authority, so that the names which they haue inserted, are taken as it were vpon trust. There is a third opinion which makes the three last kings brethren, and some of *Eulmerodach*; and this may well enough agree with the Scripture: though I had rather beleue *Xenophon*, who saith that the last King of *Babylon* was immediate successeur to his father. But whereas the Author of the Scholasticall Historie, who is founder of this opinion, placeth betwene him that tooke *Ierusalem*, and *Eulmerodach* another *Nabuchodonosor*: plain enough it is that he hath, out of any Historie sacred or profane, as little warrant to guide him, as we haue reason to follow him. *Eusebius*, *Sulpicius Severus*, and *Theodoret*, vpon better ground, haue supposed, that *Eulmerodach* and *Balthasar* were brethren and sonnes of the great *Nabuchodonosor*. This is built on the fifth chapter of *Daniel*, wherein *Balthasar* (for of *Eulmerodach* there is none that euer doubteth) is often called *Nabuchodonosor* his sonne. And so common grew this explication, that *Hierome* called it the vulgar opinion. But the place of *Ieremie* before cited, proues that *Balthasar* was not the sonne indeed, but the grand-child of that great conquerour, though by the phrase very common in Scriptures, and familiar in those *Eastern* languages, he was called the sonne.

Annius his *Metasthenes* hits very rightly the seuentie yeeres of captiuitie, giuing to *Nabuchodonosor* 45. yeeres, to *Eulmerodach* 30. yeeres, and to the three sonnes of *Eulmerodach*, nephews of *Nabuchodonosor* foureteen yeeres; that is, to *Reg-Assar* the eldest for three yeeres, to *Lab-Assar* the second sonne fixe yeeres, and to *Balthasar* the third sonne fixe.

To this accompt agreeing with the Scriptures, both in the whole summe of yeeres, and in the number of generations, I haue sometime subscribed, as not daring to reiect an appearance of truth, vpon no greater reason than because the Author was of *Annius* his opinion. Yet could I not satisfie my selfe herein; both for that none of the Ancient, and few such of the moderne Writers as deserue to be regarded, haue consented with this *Metasthenes*; and for that in making *Balthasar* succeed vnto his brother in the kingdome, and not vnto his father, he is wholly against *Xenophon*, whose Historie of the elder *Cyrus* in his *Assyrian* warre I can not slightly value in many respects, and especially because it is very agreeable to the Scriptures, in the taking of *Babylon*, while the king was at his drunken feast.

Seeking therefore diligently into all circumstances that might giue any light in this obscurity, I found manifest proofe, that the time allotted vnto *Balthasar*, by *Annius* his *Metasthenes*, was farre short of the truth, which is enough to render all suspected that he hath said in distributing what part of the 70. yeeres he pleased amongst the rest. For in the third yeere of *Balthasar*, *Daniel* saw a vision, after which he was sicke certaine dayes, but when he rose vp; he did the Kings businesse: from which businesse, that he did afterwards withdraw himselfe, and liue retired, so long that he was forgotten in the Court; it appeares plainly, both by the many words which the old *Queene* vsed to set out his sustentencie, and by the Kings asking of him, when hee came into his presence, whether hee were

Daniel. 5. 11
12. 13.
Dan. 2. 4. 24


were *Daniel*. Now to thinke that a man of such action and place as *Daniel* had held, could in two yeeres haue bene worne out of remembrance, were in my iudgement a very strange conceit, which rather than I would entertaine, I can well be contented, to thinke the whole storie (thus related) a part of *Annius* his impostures.

Out of these reports of *Iosephus*, *Berosus*, and others, many new opinions are framed, by coniectures of late Writers. For the endurance of the captiuitie being 70. yeeres, and these yeeres extending vnto the first of *Cyrus*, in which course of time *Nebuchadnezzar*, his sonne and grand-child, must haue reigned; it hath seemed needfull to supply the yeeres of these three descents, by inserting some, whose reignes might fill vp the whole continuance of the captiuitie, with which the time allotted by *Berosus* and others, to *Eulmerodach* and *Balthasar*, ioyned vnto the yeeres following the nineteen of *Nebuchadnezzar*, (wherein *Ierusalem* was laid desolate) are nothing euen.

Therefore *Mercator* and others following him, fashion the yeeres of *Eulmerodach* in this sort. They say, that the 18. yeeres giuen to him by *Iosephus* in the tenth of his Antiquities, should be read and numbered 28. yeeres, and the two yeeres that *Berosus* hath allowed to *Eulmerodach* should be written 23. in the first number the figure of (1) is mistaken for the figure of (2) and in the later there should haue been added the figure of (3) to that of (2:) this granted (to wit) that *Eulmerodach* reigned 28. yeeres, whereof five together with his father, and 23. after his death, and the same number of 23. added to the 25. which *Nabuchodonosor* liued after the destruction of *Ierusalem*, make 49; then 21. yeeres of *Niglissar* according to *Berosus*, 9. moneths of *Labassardach* his sonne, and 17. yeeres of *Labonidus* or *Balthasar*, make vp the number of 70. yeeres to the first of *Cyrus*. But whether by error in figures, or in words, the numbers be utterly mistaken in all copies extant; vpon how weak a foundation doe they build, who hauing nothing to helpe them, saue only the bare names of two vnkowne Kings, found in Authors manifestlie corrupted, and such as if they had bene entirely extant, were not worthy, to haue the place of *Ieremie* called into dispute, in regard of their authoritie?

§ V.

A more particular examination of one opinion touching the number, persons, and reignes of the Babylonian Kings.

 Their suppositions, little different in substance from this of *Mercator*, I purpose lie forbear to rehearse, as falling vnder the same answer. That of *Ioseph Scaliger* I may not forget, as deseruing to be considered apart from the rest. He giues to *Nebuchadnezzar* 44. yeeres, to *Eulmerodach* two, to *Belsazer*, five: and to *Rebonidus* 17. So that from the 19. of *Nabuchadnezzar*, in which *Ierusalem* was destroyed, vnto the time of *Cyrus* hee accounteth onely 59. yeeres; beginning (as many doe) the captiuitie 11. yeres sooner, from the transportation of *Iechonia*. But herof enough hath bene said already. That which wee are now to consider, is his distribution of the time running between the 19. of *Nabuchadnezzar*, and the fall of the Chaldean Empire: wherein if he haue erred, then is all further inquisition fruitiuous.

Concerning the length of *Nabuchadnezzar*'s reigne, I shall hereafter vpon better occasion deliuer my opinion. The time which he giues to *Eulmerodach*, is very short, and more precisely agreeing with *Berosus* than with the Scriptures. For we finde in *Ieremie*, that this *Eulmerodach* in the first of his reigne, shewing all fauour to *Iechonia*, did among other things take order for him at his table, and that he did continually eat bread before him all the dayes of his life. His portion was a continuall portion giuen him of the King of *Babel*, every day a certaine, all the dayes of his life vntill he died. The very sound of these words (which is more to be esteemed, than the authority of *Berosus*, were he perfectly extant) imports a farre longer time than two yeeres, wherein *Iechonia*, vnder this gentle Prince, enioyed the comfort sent by God, whose commandment he had obeyed in yielding himselfe to *Nabuchadnezzar*. Indeede how long *Iechonia* did liue, it cannot be proued; but plain it is hereby, that all his remaining dayes he did eate bread before this King. Now that he liued not so short a while after this as 2. yeeres, it is more than likely, for he was but 55. yeeres old when he was set at liberty, hauing bin 37. yeeres in the prison, wherein he was cast at the age of 18. yeeres; after which time it seemes plain that he begat *Salathiel*, as well by the age of *Zorobabel*, who is said to haue bene but

Ierem. 52. 24.
33. 27. 34.

but a young man, and one of *Darius* his Pages three score yeeres after this, as by other circumstances of his imprisonment it selfe.

Of *Belsazer*, to whom *Scaliger* giues the next five yeeres, naming him also *Laborodach*, I should wonder why hee calls him *Nebuchadnezzar*'s daughters sonne, were it not that herein I finde him very carefull to helpe out *Berosus*, by shifiting in his *Niriglossar*, as husband to *Nabuchadnezzar*'s daughter, and Protector of his sonne foure of these yeeres; by which means there remains about one yeere to *Belsazer* alone, agreeing merely with the nine moneths assigned by *Berosus* to the sonne of *Niglissar*. But *Ieremie* hath told vs that it was to *Nebuchadnezzar*, and to his son, and to his sons son (not to his daughters sonne) that the Empire was promised: which difficultie if *Scaliger* could not helpe, it was well done of him, to passe it ouer with silence.

Nabonidus the last of these (whom others, desirous to reconcile *Berosus* to the Scriptures) haue iudged to be all one with *Balthasar*, is by *Scaliger* thought to be *Darius* of the *Medes*. But herein *Scaliger* is no firme *Berosian*: for *Berosus* makes him of the same stocke or race a *Babylonian*. I speake not this to disgrace the traualle of that most learned man (for it highly commends his diligence and iudgement, that he was not so wedded to any author, as affected with the loue of truth) but to shew that hee himselfe hauing in some points disliked those Writers, whom in generall he approacheth, might with greater reason haue wholly reformed them by the Scriptures, wherein can be no error. Two things there are which chiefly did breed or confirme this opinion in *Scaliger*, that he whom *Berosus* calls *Nabonidus*, was the same whom *Daniel* had called *Darius* of the *Medes*: First, the phrase of Scripture, which signifies vnto vs, that *Darius* tooke the kingdome, not saying that he wanne it by force of armes: Secondly, a fragment of *Megasthenes* found in *Eusebius*, wherein this *Nabonidus* is called the *Median*. Touching the word of the Originall, or of the Greeke translation, which expresse no force of armes, doth only signifie, that *Darius* tooke or receiued the kingdome: I see no reason why wee should thereupon inferre, that the next King entred by Election: seeing *Daniel* relateth not the meanes and circumstances of *Balthasar*'s death, but only the swift accomplishment of his owne prophetic. Neither could it indeede haue properly bene said (if *Daniel* had cared to vse the most expresse termes) that *Darius* of the *Medes* breaking into the Citie, did winne the kingdome; seeing this was performed by *Cyrus* in the absence of *Darius*, though by his forces, and to his vse. Now concerning the fragment of *Megasthenes*, true it is, that in *Eusebius* his workes printed at *Basile*, in the yeere 1559. I finde onely thus much of *Megasthenes*, cited out of *Alpheus*; That *Nabuchodonosor* was more valiant than *Hercules*; that he subdued all *Lybia*, and the rest of *Asia* as farre as to the *Armenians*; and that as the *Chaldeans* report, being returned into his kingdome, and rapt with a diuine furie, he cried with a loud voyce: O *Babylonians*, I foretelle ye of a great calamitie, that shall come vpon you, which neither *Bel*, nor any of the gods shall auert: There will come a Persian, halfe an *Asse*, that shall bring slavery vpon yee: and that, this and the like when he had spoken, hee was translated. Of all this I belecue little or nothing, sauing that *Nabuchodonosor* knew beforehand, that his Empire should be translated, as *Daniel* had foretold, from the golden head, to the silver breft. But that hee wanne all *Africa* or *Lybia*, I doe hold it neither true nor probable.

If *Scaliger*'s copy of *Eusebius* were the more perfect, out of which *Megasthenes* tells vs that *Nabuchodonosor* wanne both *Africa* and *Spaine*, I belecue the fragment so much the lesse: and am as little moued with the authoritie of it, where it calls a *Median* the pride and confidence of the *Assyrians*; as where it tells of *Nebuchadnezzar* his owne vanishing away. Indeede that same title of halfe an *Asse*, by which he calleth *Cyrus*, makes me to suspect the fable as cunningly forged out of *Apollo* his Oracle, wherein hee termeth him a *Mule*, because his parentage was more noble on the mothers side, than on the fathers; as *Vinles* are begotten by *Asses* vpon *Mares*. And thus much in answer of the two principall foundations whereon this opinion is built. As for the concinnitie and coherence which it had within it selfe, I easily allow it. But this proues nothing, for mere fictions haue not wanted these commendations: neither can any man beleue that one so iudicious, industrious and deeply learned as *Ioseph Scaliger*, would ouer-shoot himselfe in setting downe repugnancies.

It now remaineth to examine the agreement of this with the Scriptures, from which there is no appeal. And herein it seemes that *Scaliger*, well knowing his own sufficiency, hath

hath beene little carefull to satisfie men that would frame Arguments against him. For if the prophetic of *Daniel* were true, that the Kingdome of *Balthasar* was diuided, and giuen to the *Medes* and *Persians*, either we must thinke that *Darius* of the *Medes* was not *Nabonidus*, or else wee must bethinke our selues what *Persias* it might be that shared the kingdome with him. For it is not more certaine, that *Balthasar* lost his life and Kingdome, than that his Kingdome was diuided and giuen to the *Medes* and *Persians*. Neither did the *Medes* and *Persians* fall out and fight for it, as by supposing *Nabonidus* to haue bene *Darius*, they should be thought to haue done; but these two Nations did compound the body of that Empire, and were accounted as Lords ouer all the subiect Provinces, in so much that the Greeke Historians did commonly call those warres which *Darius*, and after him *Xerxes*, made vpon *Greece*, The warres of the *Medes*. Yea cleare this point, euen *Daniel* himselfe remembles that King, with whom *Alexander* fought, vnto a Rame with two hornes, calling him the King of the *Medes* and *Persians*. Wherefore the whole Nation of *Chronologers* were not to haue bene condemned by *Ioseph Scaliger*, for maintaining vpon such good grounds, that *Darius* of the *Medes*, was partner with *Cyrus* in his victories, and not a *Chaldean King* by him fabled. Neither was *Iosephus* to be the lesse regarded, for affirming that *Balthasar* was destroyed by *Darius* of the *Medes*, and his nephew *Cyrus*, though heerein he varied from *Berosus*, and others, whose authority elsewhere he gladly citeth. For *Iosephus* had reason to beleue any mans faith or knowledge of those times, halfe so well as *Daniel* whom I beleue that he vnderstood as farre as was needfull in this case. Lawfull it was for him to allage all Authors that had any mention, though vnperfect, of the same things that were contained in the writings of the *Hebrews*, to whose histories thereby hee procured reputation in the *Roman* world, where they were strangers, and might seeme fabulous. Euen so doe *Eusebius*, and other Writers, willingly embrace the testimonies of heathen bookes making for the truth in some particulars; yet will they not therefore be in generall by the selfe same *Ethnicke* Philosophers, but leaue them where they are against the truth; as *Iosephus* in this case hath left *Berosus*. And thus much I thought it meete say of *Scaligers* opinion in this point; holding neuerthelesse in due regard his learning and iudgement, which if in some things it had not failed, the miracle had then beene very great.

§. VI.

What may bee held as probable of the Persons and Times of Nabuchodonosor his successors.

IT now remains that I freely acknowledge mine owne weaknesse, who cannot finde how the 70. yeeres of captiuitie are to bee diuided among them which reigned in *Babylon*, though I finde that the distribution made of them, in such a wise as already is rehearsed, be ill agreeable to the holy Scriptures. Wherefore I may truly say with *Petrus*, that we ought liberally to pardon those whose feet haue failed them in the slipperie wayes of *Chronologie*, wherein both learning and diligence are subiect to take a fall at one time or other, by ignorance, forgetfulnesse, or heedlesse reckoning. Yet will I aduenture to deliuer my opinion, wherein the iudgement of *Lyra* and others (holding those onely to haue reigned ouer *Chaldeans*, whose Names are found in the Scriptures) appears more conformable to reason and account of time, than any of the other Sentences or Coniectures before rehearsed. Not that I will take vpon mee to defend *Lyra* his Coniectures, when hee supposeth by *Nebuchadnezar* and *Balthasar* to bee meant the same persons which are called in Scriptures *Eulmerodach* and *Balthasar* (for this can by no good colour be maintained,) but onely to shew that the Kings by him cited, are likely to haue occupied the whole time of seuentie yeeres. First therefore let vs consider the reigne of *Nabuchadnezar*, in whose eighteenth yeere *Ierusalem* was taken and sacked, but in his nineteenth layd vnto vnder the desolate.

Most of Writers haue giuen to him 43. yeeres of reigne, following therein *Berosus*. There are who haue added one yeere more; and some haue made it vp 45. To dispute about the certaintie were needlesse: for in shewing by what length of time the Scriptures measure him, we shall shew the certaine truth.

Manifest

Manifest it is, that the 19. yeere of *Nebuchadnezar*, is ioyned with the 11. of *Zedekia*; as also that his eight yeere, was the first yeere of *Iechonia* his captiuitie; the reigne of *Ze-*
dekia occupied all the meane space being of 11. yeeres. This is generally agreed vpon, so that it needes no further proofes: As for the beginning of his succesor *Eulmerodach*, it was in the seuen and thirtieth yeere of *Iechonia* his captiuitie; so that *Nebuchadnezar* after his 8. yeere (which was the first of *Iechonia* his bondage) reigned 35. whole yeeres; and peraduenture a good part of the fixe and thirtieth, forasmuch as *Iechonia* was enlarged with so great fauour, not vntill the end of the yeere. Subtracting therefore out of these foure and forty, which *Nebuchadnezars* reigne did well-neere occupie, those eight yeeres of his which passed away before the captiuitie of *Iuda*, and ruine of the city; we haue remaining fixe and twenty yeeres of the seuentie, that were almost wholly spent when his sonne began to reigne.

It is now to be considered how the remainder of the seuentie yeeres were diuided betweene the Kings ruling in *Babylon* vntill the first of *Cyrus*. A question more difficult (as I said before) than greatly needfull: the whole summe being certaine, and the distinction of times affording no benefit in knowledge of their actions, who were slothfull Princes. Neither can any man the more iustly suspect the beginning or end of the whole 70. yeeres, for that the distribution of some part of them is only coniectural; seeing that none who giues any other termes to their beginning or end, hath refused to follow both vnkliely and desperate coniectures in diuiding them. I will therefore bee bold to doe as others haue done; knowing well before-hand, that whosoever shall discouer my error, must do me the pleasure (which I could rather wish in a case more materiall) of making me to vnderstand the truth.

Of the foure and forty yeeres remaining in accompt of *Nebuchadnezars* death, wee are to take away the last, which was the first of *Darius* the *Mede*, and then hauing authoritie good enough to warrant vs from blame of presumption, in giuing vs seuentie yeeres to *Balthasar*, we finde left in our hands to bestow vpon *Eulmerodach* fixe & twenty yeeres. Of the yeere belonging vnto *Darius* the *Mede*, I haue already spoken what I thought sufficient, in deliuering my opinion of the beginning and continuance, of this Captiuitie. That *Balthasar* did reigne seuentie yeeres, we haue the authority of *Iosephus*, before cited in expresse words; Wee haue also the generall consent of all, or the most late Writers, interpreting *Berosus* his *Nabonidus*, who reigned so long, and *Balthasar* to haue bene one. But nothing moueth mee so much to beleue this Tradition, as first those euident places in *Daniel*, shewing that in the third yeere of *Balthasar* hee followed the Kings businesse, and yet was forgotten ere the end of his reigne, (a proofe sufficient of no few yeeres, passing vnder this man, especially seeing it is no where found that *Daniel* his employments tooke end either that yeere or the next.) Secondly, the consideration of *Cyrus* his warres against the *Assyrians*, which beginning with the death of this mans father, and being alwaies prosperous, could hardly haue occupied any longer time, though wee make large allowance to his deeds in the lower *Asia*, which fell out in the middle-way: I haue already shewed, that there appears in the Scriptures likelihood enough to make it credible, that the reigne of *Eulmerodach* was not short: and that men of great iudgement haue found it most probable, that he was a King three & twenty yeeres. More, I thinke, they would haue allowed him, had not the desire of satisfying *Berosus* caused them to rest content with this. And surely it were greatly to bee wished, that bookes of such antiquitie, as those of *Berosus*, were extant without corruption; a great light (no doubt) they would yeeld in many darke passages of Antiquitie. I will yett conesse, that were his workes neuer so excellent; and in all things else vnquestionably true, I would not therefore condescend vnto him in some one point, wherein the Scriptures were his open enemie. How much lesse ought I obey a broken fragment of his, containing onely seuen or eight lines, and part euen of the title corrupted, as they beleue that follow him in the rest: The Scriptures haue told vs that God gaue the Empire to *Nebuchadnezar*, to his sonne, and to his sonnes sonne: How long each of them held it, wee finde not expresse, yet would we gladly know it of *Berosus*, or of any other that would teach vs; provided alwaies, that helping vs in a particularitie, hee destroyed not thereby the generall truth. More words are needlesse. It is enough to say with others, that *Berosus* or *Iosephus* who cited him, hath been wronged by the carelesse of Scribes; and that it was as easie for those Scribes to erre in writing two

for fixe and twentie, as for three and twentie, or perhaps more easie. For the omission of the second figure, was as likely the one way as the other; and the Character 5, signifying 6, hath a neerer resemblance of 3 than stands for 2. than hath 7, which is vied for 3. So that the numerall notes 3 5. expressing 26. were not safe enough from being mistaken in the true copie, and might be altered, as ill written, if some crooked hand, or other mischance not vnusuall, had omitted the first stroke of the former letter, or added a dash to the latter, which might cause them to seeme not two different figures, but one a correction of the other, which how it could be supposed in standing for 23. I doe not well perceiue. As for the Arithmetical figures now in vse, they were long after the time of *Iosephus* brought in by the *Arabians*, and therefore doe not appertaine vnto this businesse; vnlesse wee should ghesse that his workes were corrupted in that vnlearned age, which following the *Saracen* conquest, was little occupied in the studies of humanitie, but in a sort wholly giuen ouer to the doctrine of *Aristotle*. If this will serue to make *Berosus* our friend, so let it be; if not, I will not purchase the fauour of his authoritie, by forsaking *Ieremie* and *Daniel*, when they seeme to be his opposites.

§. VII.

Of the victories which Nabuchodonosor obtained betwene the destruction of Ierusalem, and conquest of Egypt.

With what actions this time of 70. yeres was entertained by the *Babylonian* Kings, few haue written, or little is remaining in record. Which may peradventure haue beene some cause that the time it selfe was, and is yet sought to be abridged, as not hauing left sufficient matter to witness the length of it. But by such an argument we might as well deny to many people euen their being. For eury Nation (know not whom I should except) betwene the beginning and last end of it, hath in some short full age rather dreamt away the time, than spent it. It is therefore no marvell, if the posteritie of *Nabuchodonosor*, finding all things readie to their hand, which their hears could haue desired, betooke themselves to their ease and pleasures, thinking perhaps, like the prodigall sonnes of greedie fathers, their owne wisdome greater, which knew how to enioy, than that of their Ancestors, which wearied away their daies in the restless trauell of purchasing: Though indeed the reigne of *Nabuchodonosor* was diuided, that his youthfull and strongers yeeres hauing beene exercised in victorious armes, no small part of his life was remaining to be spent in establishing what was gotten, and gathering the fruit of his worthie labours past. The nineteenth yeere of his reigne it was, when destroying vnterly the great and mightie Citie of *Ierusalem*, hee enriched himselfe with abundance of spoyle, and terrified all that would offer to resist him, by that fearefull example. From that time forward, hee, vntill his three and twentieth yeere, laboured in the conquest of those adioyning Regions, which *God* had expouled vnto his sword, and commanded to weare his yoke; namely, the *Edomites*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Tyrians*, *Sidonians*, and *Aegyptians*; though some of these were already become his followers, and serued vnder him, when *Ierusalem* was beaten downe and burnt. But the *Tyrians*, whose Citie was founded on an Iland, safe enough from any danger of a Land-armie, and whose fleet was so strong, that they needed not to feare any enemy at sea, were neither danted with the fall of their neighbour Cities, nor with the obstinate resolution of this mighty Prince, employing all his power to their subuersion.

That the Citie of *Tyre* was rather well pleased, than any way discouraged with the fall of *Ierusalem* (which had held the same course that *Tyre* did, and endured all that might bee in the same quarrell against the common enemy) it appears by the words which *Ezechiel* condemneth as the common voyce of *Tyre*; *Aha, the gate of the people is broken, it is turned vnto me; for seeing thee is desolate, I shall be replenished*. Yet at length, euen in the nineteenth yeere of *Nabuchodonosor*, that great worke of his, whereof we haue already spoken, began to appeare about the waters, and threaten them with inevitable mischiefe.

But those prophecies of *Ieremie* and of *Esay*, which appoint vnto this desolation of *Tyre* the same terme of 70. yeeres, that was prescribed vnto the reigne of the *Chaldeans*; doe plainly

plainly shew, that shee followed *Ierusalem*, the same nineteenth yeere of *Nabuchodonosor*, in the same, or a very like fortune. The particularities, which doubtlesse were memorable in the issue of so great and laborious a siege, are in a manner vtterly lost. Thus much we finde; That the Citizens perceiving the Towne vnable to hold out, embarked themselves, and fledde into the Isle of *Cyprus*. Neuertheless it seemes that this exaction serued only the principall men, who escaping with their goods, abandoned the poore sort vnto the enemies furie. For not onely such people of *Tyre* as dwelt on the Continent (who are called her Daughters in the field) were put to the sword; but the like execution was done in the streets, into which, with excessive labour, the *Affirian* made way for his Horses and Chariots. Thus *Nabuchodonosor* caused his Armie to serue a great seruice against *Tyre*, wherein eury head was made bald, and eury shoulder was made bare, yet had hee no wages, nor his Armie; but was faine to rest contented with the Honour of hauing destroyed that Citie, which in all mens iudgements had beene held invincible.

The destruction of these two great and powerfull Cities, hauing made the name of the *Chaldeans* dreadfull in the eares of all the Nations thereabout, *Nabuchodonosor* sought the advantage of that reputation which he had obtained by victories already gotten, to the getting of more, and more profitable, with lesse paine. The Kingdom of *Aegypt* was the mark at which he aimed; a Country so abounding in all riches and pleasures, that it might well haue tempted any Prince, finding himselfe strong enough to seeke occasion of quarrell against it; and so farre an enemy to the Crowne of *Babylon*, that had it beene poorer, yet either it must haue beene subdued, or the conquest of *Syria* could ill haue bene established. Neuertheless it was needfull, that before hee entred into this businesse, the Countries adiacent should be reduced into such termes, that either they should wholly stand at his deuotion; or at least be vnable to worke him any displeasure. And herein the decree of *God* concurred, as in all prosperous enterprises, with reason of state. For the people of *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Edom*, *Damascus*, *Kedar*, *Hazar*, and other adioyning Regions, whom *God* for their finnes had condemned to fall vnder the *Babylonian* swords, were such, as regarding onely their owne gaine, had some of them, like *Ramens*, followed the *Chaldean* Armie, to feed vpon the carcases that fell by the crueltie thereof; others taking aduantage of their neighbours miseries, occupied the Countries which were by his victories belonging to *Nabuchodonosor*; all of them thinking, that when the *Affirian* had satisfied his furie, he should be faine to forsake those desolate parts, and leaue the possession to those that could lay hand vpon it. Particuarly the *Edomites* and *Philistines* had shewed much malice to the *Temes* when their Citie was taken. What good seruice they had done to the *Chaldeans*, I finde not; if they did any, it is likely to haue beene with reference to their owne purposes, wherein they were disappointed. The *Ammonites* were not contented to reioyce at the fall of *Ierusalem*, but presently they entered vpon the Country of *Gad*, and tooke possession, as if not the *Affirians*, but they, had subdued *Israel*. Neither can I perceiue what other ground that practice had of *Baal* King of the *Ammonites*, when he sent *Ismael*, a Prince of the blood of *Israhel*, to murder *Gedalia*, whom the King of *Babel* had left Governour ouer those that remained in *Israel*, and to carry captiue into the *Ammonites* Countrie the people that abode in *Misepab*, than a desire of embroiling *Nabuchodonosor* with so many labours at once, as should make him retire into his owne Country, and abandon those wasted Lands to himselfe and others, for whom they lay conueniently. Such or the like policie the *Moabites* did exercise; whose pride and wrath were made frustrate by *God*, and their dissimulation condemned, as not doing right.

All these Nations had the art of raucning, which is familiar to such as liue or border vpon deserts; and now the time afforded them occasion to shew the vttermost cunning of their theuifish wits. But *Nabuchodonosor* did cut asunder all their deuices by sharpe and suddaine warre, ouerwhelming them with vnexpected ruine, as it were in one night; according to the prophecies of *Esay*, *Ieremie*, and *Ezekiel*, who fore-told, with little difference of words, the greatnesse and swiftnesse of the miserie that should come vpon them. With which of them hee first began, I finde not; it seemes that *Moab* was the last which felt his hand: for so doe many good Authors interpret the prophecie of *Esay*, threatening *Moab* with destruction after three yeeres, as hauing reference to the third yeere following the ruine of *Ierusalem*; the next yeere after it being spent in the *Aegyptian* expedition.

expedition. This is manifest, that all the principall Townes in these Regions were burnt, and the people slaine, or made slaues, few excepted, who being preferred by slight, had not the courage to returne to their habitations ouer-hastily, much lesse to attempt any thing against *Nabuchodonosor*, but liued as miserable out-lawes, or at least oppressed wretches, vntill the end of the seuentie yeeres, which God had prescribed vnto the desolation of their Countries, as well as of the Land of *Iuda*.

§. VIII.

That *Egypt* was conquered, and the King therein reigning slaine by *Nabuchodonosor*, contrary to the opinion of most Authors: who following *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, relate otherwise.

NHen by a long course of victorie *Nabuchodonosor* had brought into subiection all the Nations of *Syria*, and the bordering *Arabians*, in such wise, that none was mie to himselfe, nor friend of the *Egyptian*, was left at his backe, that might giue impediment vnto his proceeding, or take aduantage of any misfortune, then did he forth-with take in hand the conquest of *Egypt* himselfe, vpon which those other Nations had formerly bene depending. Of this expedition, and the victorious issue thereof, the three great Prophets, *Esay*, *Ieremie*, and *Ezechiel*, haue written so plainly, that I hold it altogether needlesse to looke after more authoritie, or to cite for proofe halle of that which may be alleaged out of these. Neuerthelesse, wee finde many good and Authors, who following *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, are well contented to frame these Prophecies with vnreasonable diligence vnto such a sence, as giues to *Nabuchodonosor* little more than the honour of hauing done some spoyle in *Egypt*, omitting the conquest of that Land by the *Babylonian*, and referring the death of *Apries* or *Hophra* to a chance long after following, which had no coherence with these times or affairs. So preposterous is the delight which many men take in the meanes and second helpe conducing to their purpose, that oftentimes they doe preferre the Commentator before the Author; and to vphold a sentence, giuing testimonie to one clause, doe careleslie ouerthrow the historie it selfe, which thereby they sought to haue maintained. The reports of *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, concerning the Kings of *Egypt*, which reigned about these times, are already rehearsed in the former booke: but that which they haue spoken of *Apries*, was purposely referred vnto this place. *Herodotus* doth affirme that he was a very fortunate King, but wherein he telleth not; (vnlesse we should vnderstand that he was victorious in the Warre, which he is said to haue made vpon *Tyrus* and *Sidon*) that he reigned fiftie and twenty yeeres, and was finally taken and put to death by his owne Subjects; who did set vp *Amasis*, as King, which preuailed against him. The rebellion of the *Egyptians* he imputeth to a great losse which they received in an expedition against the *Cyrenians*, by whom almost their whole Armie was destroyed. This calamitie the people of *Egypt* thought to be well pleasing to their King, who had sent them on this dangerous expedition, with a purpose to haue them consumed, that so he might with greater securitie reigne ouer such as staid at home. So they who escaped, and the friends of such as were slaine, rebelled against *Apries*, who sent *Amasis* to appease the tumult; but *Amasis* became Captaine of the rebels, and was by them chosen King. Finally, the whole Land consented vnto this new Election; whereby *Apries* was driuen to trust vnto his forraigne Mercenaries, the *Ionians* and *Carians*, of whom he kept continually in readinesse thirty thousand good Souldiers that fought valiantly for him, but were at length vanquished by the great number of the *Egyptian* forces, amounting vnto two hundred and fiftie thousand, which were all by birth and education men of Warre. *Apries* himselfe being taken prisoner, was gently intreated by *Amasis* for a while, vntill the *Egyptians*, exclaiming vpon him, as an extreme enemy to the Land, got him deliuered into their hands, and strangled him, yet they gave him honourable buriall. Such is the report of *Herodotus*, with whom *Diodorus Siculus* doth needrely agree, telling vs that *Apries* did vanquish the *Cyprians* and *Phoenicians* in battell at Sea, tooke by force and demolished *Sidon*, wanne the other townes of *Phoenicia*, and the Isle of *Cyprus*, and finally, perished as is before rehearsed, when hee had

Herod. lib. 2. c. 4.

Diodor. Sic. lib. 1. c. 2.

had reigned two and twentie yeeres. This authoritie were enough (yet not more than enough) to informe vs of *Apries* his historie, if greater authoritie did not contradict it. But the destruction of *Egypt* by the *Babylonian*, foretold by the Prophets, which hath no coherence with these relations, hath greater force to compell our beliefe, than haue the traditions of *Egyptian* Priests (which the *Greeke Historians* followed) and greater probabilities to perswade those that looke onely into humane reasons. For *Esay* prophesied long before of the shamefull captiuitie of the *Egyptians*, whom the King of *Asshur* should carry away naked, yong and old, in such wise, that the *Iewes*, who fled vnto them for deliuerance from the *Assyrian*, should be ashamed of their owne vaine confidence in men so vnable to defend themselves.

But *Ezekiel* & *Ieremie*, as their prophecies were nearer to the time of execution, so they handled this Argument more precisely. For *Ezekiel* telleth plainly, that *Egypt* should be giuen to *Nebuchadnezzar*, as wages for the seruice which he had done at *Tyre*: Also he recometh particularly all the chiefe Cities in *Egypt*, saying, That these by name should be destroyed, and goe into captiuitie, yea, that *Pharaoh* and all his armie should be slain by the sword. Wherefore it must needs be a violent exposition of these Prophecies, which by applying the issue of such threatnings to an insurrection and rebellion, concludes all, without any other alteration in *Egypt*, than change of the Kings person, wherein *Amasis* did succceed vnto *Apries*, by force indeed, but by the vniforme consent of all the people. Certainly, if that notable place of *Ieremie*, wherein hee foretelleth howe the *Iewes* in *Egypt* should see *Pharaoh Hophra* deliuered into the hand of his enemies, as *Zedekia* had bene, were to be referred vnto the time of that rebellion, whereof *Herodotus* hath spoken, as the general opinion hath ouer-ruled it; then was it vainely done of the same Prophet (which God forbid that any Christian should thinke, seeing hee did it by the appointment of God himselfe) to hide in the clay of a Brickell, those very stones, vpon which the throne of *Nabuchodonosor* should bee set, and his paullion spreadde. Yea then was that prophesie no other than false, which expresse the end of *Pharaoh* thus: Behold, I will visite the common people of *No*, and *Pharaoh*, and *Egypt*, with their gods and their kings, euen *Pharaoh*, and all that trust in him: I will deliuer them into the hands of those that seeke their liues, and into the hand of *Nebuchadnezzar*, King of *Babel*, and into the hands of his seruants. The cleareness of this prophesie being such as could not but refuse that interpretation of many other places, which referred all to the rebellion of *Amasis*, it caused me to wonder what those Commentators would say to it, who are elsewhere so diligent in sifting all to the *Greeke Historians*. Wherefore looking vpon *Iunius*, who had in another place taken the enemies of *Pharaoh Hophra* to be *Amasis*, and his followers, I found him heere acknowledging that the *Egyptian* Priests had notably deluded *Herodotus* with lies, coyned vpon a vaine glorious purpose of hiding their owne disgrace and bondage. And surely it may well bee thought, that the historie of *Nebuchadnezzar*, was better knowne to the *Iewes*, whom it concerned, than to the *Greekes*, that scarcely at any time heard of his name. Therefore if we can see why we should not rather belecue *Iosephus*, reporting that *Nabuchodonosor* in the three and twentieth yeere of his reigne, and the fift yeere of the destruction of *Ierusalem*, did conquer *Egypt*, kill the King thereof, and appoint another in his stead, than *Herodotus* or *Diodorus*, who being mere strangers to this businesse, had no great reason to labour in searching out the truth, but might rest contented with any thing that the Priests would tell them. Now if setting aside all aduantage of authoritie, we should onely consider the relations of *Iosephus*, and of the *Greeke Historians*, as either of them might be verified of it selfe by apparant circumstances, without reflecting vpon the *Iewes* Prophets, or *Egyptian* Priests; me thinkes the death of *Apries* can no way be approued as haue bene wrought by consent of the people, but affords great matter of suspition; yea, though no man had opposed the reports of *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*. For the great loue and honor which the *Egyptians* did beare vnto their Kings, is notorious by the vniforme testimonie of all others that haue handled the matters of that Countrey, as well as by the report of *Diodorus* himselfe. How then can wee thinke it probable, that *Apries* hauing wonne great victories, did for one onely losse fall into the hatred of all his people, or which may serue to perswade vs, that a King of *Egypt* would seeke, or so demean himselfe, that he might be thought to seek the destruction of his naturall subjects? As for that armie of thirtie thousand souldiers, *Carians* and *Ionians*, which the King

Esa. 42. 25. 4. 5. 6.

Ezech. 29. 12. 20. 17. c. 30. 2. 3. 4. 5.

Ierem. 44. 30. 1. c. 43. 10.

Ierem. 46. 15. 25. 26.

Iun. in Ierem. 6. 44. vers. 30.

Iosephus 1. c. 10. lib. 1. c. 10.

of *Aegypt*, whom *Amasis* tooke prisoner, is said to haue kept for his defence: doth not argue that he was a forrainer, and one that armed himselfe against the *Aegyptian*, willing them few and weak, rather than any of the *Pharaohs*, who accounted the force of the Country, as assuredly their owne, as the strength of their owne bodies: It were more tedious then any way needfull, to vie all Arguments that might be alledged in this case. The very death of this supposed *Apries*, which the clamours of the people obtained of *Amasis*, who sought to haue kept him alieue, doth intimate that hee was some forren Gouverneur, not a naturall Prince; otherwise the people would haue desired to save his life, and *Amasis* to take it quickly from him. I will not labour any further to disprove that opinion, whereunto I should not haue yeilded, though it had stood vpon great appearance of truth, considering that the voice of Truth it selfe cries out against it; but leaue the circumstances, prouing the Conquest of *Aegypt* by *Nabuchodonosor*, to be obserued, where due occasion in course of the storie following shall present them.

§ IX.

How Aegypt was subdued and held by Nabuchadnezzar.

IT is a great losse, that the generall Historie of the Word hath suffered, by the spoile and waste which Time hath made of those Monuments, that should haue preferred the memorie of such famous actions as were accomplished by this mightie Prince *Nabuchodonosor*; wherein, whether his Vertue, or Fortune were greater, it is now vncertaine. That his Victories following the Conquest of *Syria*, and the Neighbour-Prouinces, were such as did more enlarge his Dominion, than all the former Warres had done, it may easily be gathered out of *Ezekiel*, who reckoneth vp in his thirtieth chapter (besides the whole Countrey of *Aegypt*) *Phut* and *Lub*, with other Nations that may seeme to haue reached out into *Mauritania*, as people subdued by this great *Babylonian*. The circumstances of these Warres are either in a manner, wholly lost; but that the victorie was easie and swift, any man shall finde, who will take the paines to conferre the places, wherein the three great Prophets touch this Argument. Thus much I thinke worthy of more particular obseruation; that *Pharaoh*, who (as is already noted in the former Booke) thought himselfe most safe in *Aegypt* by the well defended situation of his Countrey, did very vnwisely in suffering his enemies to fincep the way cleane vnto his owne doores, by consuming all his friends and adherents in *Syria*. For as the labour of this businesse did more harden than wearie the *Chaldaean* Army, so the confidence and vaine securitie of the *Aegyptians*, relying vpon the difficult passages which the enemye was to make thorow the *Arabian* deserts, and the much aduantage which the great riuer of *Nilus* would afford vnto themselves, did little auail them in prouision for the war, and much astonish them (as may iustly be thought) in the time of execution: it being vsually seene, that the hearts of men faile, when those helps faile, in which they had reposed more confidence than in their owne vertue. Hitherto the Kingdome of *Aegypt* had flourished vnder the rule of the *Pharaohs*, about a thousand five hundred and foure score yeeres; but from this time forward it remained forty yeeres without a King, vnder the subiection of the *Babylonians*; and then at length it began to recouer by little and little the former greatnesse, yet so, that it was neuer dreadfull vnto others, God hauing said of that people, *I will diminish them, that they shal no more rule the Nations*. For whereas it hath bene said of *Pharaoh*: *I am the sonne of the wise, I am the sonne of the ancient Kings*: and whereas he had vanted, *The river is mine, and I haue made it*; the Princes of *Aegypt* now became fooles, the riuer failed them, the King himselfe was taken and slaine, and that ancient linage quite extinguished. This came to passe in the first yeere after the destruction of *Ierusalem*, and the three and twentieth of *Nebuchadnezzar*, at which time (saith *Iosephus*) *He slew the King then reigning, placed another in his roome, and carried captiues thence to Babylon, the Iewes whom he found in that Countrey*. Now concerning the time which *Iosephus* giues vnto this businesse, and the businesse it selfe, I haue already shewed, that it is warrant by all the Prophecies which insinuate the same. As likewise the last destruction of *Ierusalem*, and carrying away those vnto *Babel*, who inhabited the miserable ruines of that great city, which was in the same three & twentieth yeere of *Nebuchadnezzar*, is not vnprobably thought by good

Ezek. 29. 13.
14. 15. 17.
Ezek. 30. 11.
Ezek. 30. 9.

Ioseph. Ant. l. 10. c. 11.
lib. 10. c. 11.

Ierem. 52. 30.

good authors to haue bene at the returne from this *Aegyptian* expedition. But whi reas *Iosephus* tels vs, that there was another King put in the roome of *Apries* by *Nebuchadnezzar*, we must vnderstand, that he was onely a *Viceroy*, and not (as some haue mistaken) thinke that this was *Amasis*. For to place the beginning of *Amasis* his reigne in the three and twentieth of *Nebuchadnezzar*, were as well repugnant vnto the prophecies before alleadged, as to all *Chronologie* and historie. Some there are, which to helpe this incontinencie, imagine that there were two successiue bearing the name of *Amasis*; others, that there were two *Apries*, the one slaine by *Nebuchadnezzar*, the other by *Amasis*: a question of small importance, because the difference is onely about a name, it being once granted that the person mentioned in Scriptures, was deprived of life and kingdom by the *Affyrians*. Yet for any thing that I can perceiue, that *Apries*, of whom the *Greeke* Historians wrote, could not be the D. putie of *Nebuchadnezzar*, seeing that he was the Grand-child of *Pharao Necho*, and made warre (as they report) vpon the *Phenicians*, who were before the *Aegyptians*, become subiect vnto the Crowne of *Babylon*. I might adde, perhaps, that he whom *Nebuchadnezzar* left as Gouverneur of *Aegypt*, was more likely to haue had some *Chaldaean* or *Affyrian*, than *Aegyptian* name; vnlesse we should thinke that he had bene a traitor to his naturall Prince, and so rewarded by the Conquerour with Lieutenantship of the Countrey: about which it were but fruituolous to dispute. Thus much in briefe we ought to beleene, that *Nabuchodonosor* made an absolute Conquest of *Aegypt*: that he was not so foolish as to giue it away, any man may guess; that he appointed one to rule the Countrey, it is consequent vnto the former; and hath authority of *Iosephus*; that this Gouverneur (or some successeur of his) was afterwards taken and slaine by *Amasis*, I see probabilitie enough to perfwade my selfe, and yet can well be content, that others vie their liberty, and beleue what they list. As for the armie which this *Aegyptian* King *Apries* is supposed to haue kept of *Ionians* and *Carians*; I hold them to be none other than the garisons of mercenary souldiers which were left by the *Affyrian* for the guard of his *Viceroy*, & custody of the new subdued Prouince: as likewise the company returning from *Cyrene* and *Barce*, who together with the friends of such as were slaine in that expedition, remembered before out of the *Greeke* Historians, so depofed and slew *Apries*. I take them to haue bene the *Aegyptian* fugitiues, which then recouered their owne Countrey. Sure it is that this Prophecie of *Ezekiel* was verified, *At the end of fortie yeeres will I gather the Aegyptians from the people where they were scattered, and I will bring againe the captiuitie of Aegypt, and will cause them to returne into the land of Pathros, into the land of their habitation, and they shall be there a small kingdome.* These *Aegyptian* Priests alluded hereto in the tale which they made of *Amasis* his obtaining the Kingdome, then are they to be helped with this or the like interpretation; if they deciled matter that had no shadow of truth, onely to keepe the *Greekes* from knowledge of their Countreys disgrace; then are they little to be regarded, since we know the truth with them.

§. X.

Of the sundry accompts drawne from sundry acts of Nebuchadnezzar, and of the destruction of Nimue, by him; the time of which action is vncertaine.

Here victories brought the greatnesse of the *Affyrian* Empire to the full, and from thence was reckoned the time of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s reigne in sundry places of Scripture. To speake any more of the questions arising about the supputation of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s times, might seeme to be the ouer-handling of one Argument: Yet thus much I will note; that whereas *Daniel* was carried captiue in the third yeere of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s reigne (which ran along with some part of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s first yeere) and was kept in dier three yeeres more, before he was brought into the Kings presence, it could not be the second of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s Kingdome, wherein he interpreted the forgotten dreame of the great Image, foreshewing the successe of Monarchies, but the second of his Empire. The same or the like may be said of diuers places which referre sundry matters vnto their set yeeres; as that of *Ezekiel* before cited, where he fore-tels, that *Aegypt* should be giuen in reward for the seruice done before *Tyrus*, dating his prophesy in the seauen and twentieth yeere; and that of *Daniel*, placing the erection of the golden Image in the eighteenth yeere: for these yeeres held no dependance vpon either the beginning of *Nebuchad-*

Nebuchad-

Nebuchadnezzars kingdome, or of his Empire, nor yet vpon any of the captiuities, but had reference to some memorable actions, omitted in Scripture, and therefore not ealie to be found, nor worth the labour of vncertaine search.

Of any warre made by *Nebuchadnezzar* after such time as he returned from the Conquest of *Egypt*, I doe not reade: excepting that against *Niniae*, the destruction whereof was fore-told by the Prophet *Naum*. *Niniae* had long before beene taken by *Meredach* (as in due place hath bene shewed) and together with the rest of *Assiria* made subject to *Babylon*. Yet was it left vnder a peculiar King, who rebelling against the *Chaldeas* *Iehoiakim* and *Zedechias*, tributary Kings of *Iuda*, had done, tasted likewise of the same fortune. That the destruction of *Niniae* followed the Conquest of *Egypt*, it appeareth by the comparison which *Naum* the Prophet made betweene this Citie, that was to fall, and the Citie of *No* in *Egypt*, that was fallen already. But how long after this came to passe, it is (me thinks) vnpossible to finde out. For whereas it is found in an *Hebrew Chronologie*, that it was in the first of *Nebuchadnezzars* reigne; the place of *Naum* last cited is enough to disprove it. Whereas it is referred by some vnto the first of his *Monarchie*, which began at the end of the *Egyptian* warres; the whole Prophecie of *Naum* which went betweene the one and the other, argueth strongly, that there was a longer space of time intercurrent. So that to enquire into the very yeere of this destruction, or other circumstances of the Warre, whether managed by *Nabuchodonosor* in person, or by his Lieutenants, were somewhat like vnto the vaine curiositie of *Tyberius Caesar*, enquiring who was the Mother of *Heclia*; or to the like idle paines which he should take, who would seeke to learne what woman that *Huzzab* Queen of *Niniae* was, whose wofull captiuitie the same Prophet *Naum* likewise did fore-tell.

§. XI.

Of the later time of *Nebuchadnezzar*; his buildings, madnesse, and death.

OF the time which this great Monarch spent in quiet, I thinke there are no Monuments extant; save those which we finde among the prophecies of *Daniel*. Among these we may reckon his great works at *Babylon*, wherewith he pleased himselfe so well, that he brake out into these glorious words: *Is not this great Babel that I haue built for the house of the Kingdome, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my Maiestie?* Surely if those things be true that are by *Iosephus* rehearsed of him out of *Berosus* and *Magasthenes*, he might well delight himselfe with the contemplation of such goodly and magnificent buildings. For it is said, That he fortified *Babylon* with a triple wall; that besides other stately workes, he raised those huge arches wherewith were borne vp the high Orchards, hanging as it were in the ayre, and equalling the tops of Mountaines; which most sumptuous frame, that out-lasted all the remainder of the *Assirian*, and all the *Persian* Empire, is said to haue bene reared, and finished in fifteene dayes.

But of all this, and other his magnificence, we finde little else recorded, than that which indeede is most profitable for vs to consider) his ouer-valuing of his owne greatness abased him vnto a condition, inferior to the poorest of men. And not vnderstanding these iudgements of God vpon him. For whereas God had honoured him, not onely with many victories, and much happinesse in his owne life, but with a discouery of things to come after him, yea and had approved the certainty of his dreame, by the miraculous reducing of it into his memory, and interpretation thereof by *Daniel* the Prophet: he neuertheless became so forgetfull of God, whose wonderfull power he had seene and acknowledged, that he caused a golden Image to be set vp and worshipped: ordaining a cruell death as reward vnto them that should dare to disobey his Kingly will and pleasure, which was vtterly repugnant to the law of him that is the King of Kings. Herodotus *S. Hierome* hath well noted; *Velox obliuio veritatis, ut qui dudum seruum Dei quasi Deum adorauerat, nunc statim sibi fieri iubet, ut ipse quasi Deus in statu adoraretur*: A hastie forgetfulness of the truth, that he who so lately had worshipped (Daniel) the seruant of God, as if he had bene God himselfe, should now command a Statue to be erected vnto himselfe, wherein himselfe might be worshipped as God. From this impietie it pleased God to reclaim him, by the strange and wonderfull deliury of those blessed Saints out of the fiery fornace; who being throwne into it bound, for refusing to commit Idolatry, were

assisted by an Angell; preferred from all harme of the fire; loosened from their bands; and finally called out with gracious words, and restored to their former honour, by the King: who amazed at the miracle, made a decree tending to the honour of God, which by erection of his Image he had violated. Yet this deuotion of *Nebuchadnezzar* was not so rooted in him, that it could bring forth fruit answerable to his hasty zeale. Therefore was he forewarned by God in a dreame of the terrible iudgement hanging ouer his head; which *Daniel* expounding, aduised him to breake off his sinne by righteousnesse, and his iniquitie by mercy towards the poore, that there might be an healing of his error. Hereby it seemes that iniustice and cruelty were the faults, for which he was threatened; but this threatening sufficed not vnto his reformation. For that so great a Monarch should be driven from among men; (according to the tenor of the dreame & interpretation) yea, compelled to dwell with the beasts of the field, and made to eate grasse as the Oxen, was a thing so incredible in mans iudgement, that easily it might be thought an idle dreame, and much more easily be forgotten at the yeeres end. One whole yeeres leasure to repent was given to this haughtie Prince: which respite of the execution may seeme to haue bred in him a forgetfulness of Gods sentence. For at the end of twelue moneths, walking in the royall Palace of *Babel*, he was so ouer-joyed and transported with a vaine contemplation of his owne seeming happinesse, that without all feare of Gods heauie iudgement pronounced against him, he vttered those loslie words before rehearsed, in vaunting of the Maiestieall workes which he had reared, as well befeeming his maiestieall person. But his high speeches were not fully ended, when a voice from heauen, telling him that his Kingdome was departed from him, rehearsed ouer vnto him the sentence againe, was fulfilled vpon him the very same houre.

That *Salomon*, and many other Princes, and great ones, haue taken delight in their owne buildings, it cannot any way be doubted; yet I doe not remember that euer I haue read of any, that were punished for reioicing in workes of this kinde (though it is hard in joy, or any passion of the minde, to keepe a iust measure) excepting onely this *Nebuchadnezzar*.

The like may be said of *Dauid*: for other (and some very godly) Kings haue mustred all their forces to the very last man; but few or none haue bene knowne to haue bene punished as *Dauid* was. Surely I not onely hold it lawfull to reioyce in those good things, wherewith God hath blessed vs; but a note of much vnthankfulness to entertaine them with a fullen and vnfeeling disposition. Yet as all humane affections, wherein due reference to God is wanting, are no better than obscure clouds, hindring the influence of that blessed light, which clarifies the soule of man, and predisposeth it vnto the brightness of eternall felicity; so that insolent joy, which man in the pride of his vaine imagination conceiveth of his owne worth, doth about all other passions blast our mindes, as it were with lightning, and make vs to reflect our thoughts vpon our seeming inherent greatness, forgetting the whilest him, to whom we are indebted for our very being. Wherefore of these *malæ mentis gaudia*; The euill ioyes of the minde, were not vnaptly, by the Prince of Latine Poets, bestowed in the entrance of *Hell*, and placed further inward than sorrowes, cares, and feares: not farre from the yron Cabbins of the *Furies*. And certainly it is no vnlikely token of vengeance neere at hand, when these vnreasonable flushes of proud and vaine ioy, doe rage in a minde, that should haue bene humbled with a iust repentance, and acknowledgement of ill deserting.

This was verified vpon *Nebuchadnezzar*, whose punishment was singular and vnexampled. For he ran among beasts in the fields and woods, where for seauen yeeres he liued, not onely as a saluage man, but as a saluage beast, for a beast he thought himselfe, *secundum suam imaginationem*, as *Thomas* noteth, and therefore fed himselfe in the same manner, and with the same foode that beasts doe; Not that he was changed in figure externall, according to *Mediana*, in so much as he appeared a beast to other mens eyes, *Med. l. 2. de reo* as *S. Hierome* in the life of *Hilarus* (how true God knowes) speaks of a woman that appeared to all other mens sight a Cow, but to *Hilarus* onely a woman; neither was he changed as *Phigenia* the Daughter of *Agamemnon* was said to be, into a Hinde, nor made a Monster, as *Dorotheus* and *Epiphanius* dreamed: but according to *S. Ieromes* exposition of these words: *At the same time was my vnderstanding restored vnto me, &c. Quando dicis (saint S. Ierome) (ensum sibi redditum ostendit non formam se amisisse, sed mentem: When he said that his sense was restored vnto him, he shewed that he had not lost his humane shape,*

but his vnderstanding. Seauen yeeres expired, it pleased God to restore *Nabuchodonosor*, both to his vnderstanding, and his estate, for which he acknowledged and praised God all the rest of his life, confessing his power, and euermaking being; that he was the Lord of heaven and earth, and wrought without resistance what he pleased in both; that his works were all truth, and his waies righteous. Which gaue argument to many of the Fathers, and others, not to doubt of his saluation; namely, *S. Augustine*, *Theodora*, *Lyra*, *Carthusianus*, and others. And for that place of *Esay* the fourteenth, out of which his perdition may be gathered, the aforesaid Authors apply the same to *Balthasar*, because *Esay* both in the thirteenth and fourteenth Chapter, speaketh of the King, and the destruction of *Babylon* ioynly.

§. XII. Of Euilmerodach.

Having already spoken what I could of the succession and yeeres of *Nabuchodonosor* posteritie; the most that may be said of him, is said of *Euilmerodach*, which I will not here againe rehearse:

He lost some part of that which his Father had gotten, and left his Kingdome burning in a warre that consumed it to ashes. He lost *Egypt* by rebellion of the people, in the nineteenth yeere of his reigne, which was fortie yeeres after his Father had conquered it. But this agrees neither with the account of *Herodotus*, who allows to *Amasis* foure and fortie yeeres of reigne; nor with that of *Diodorus*, who giues him siue and fiftie, saying that he died in the third yeere of the threecore and third Olympiad, when *Cambyses* did conquer *Egypt*. There were indeede but seauen and thirtie yeeres, which passed betwene the second yeere of the foure and fiftieth Olympiad, (which was the nineteenth of *Euilmerodach*, and the first of *Amasis*) and the fift of *Cambyses* his reigne, wherein he wan *Egypt*; of which seauen and thirtie yeeres it is credibly held, that *Psammetichus*, the sonne of *Amasis*, reigned three: so that *Amasis* could be no longer King than foure and thirtie yeeres. But seeing that these two *Greek* Historians have bene abused by *Aegyptian* Priests, in the substance of that which was spoken of *Amasis*, it is no marvell though they were also deceiued in the length of his reigne. This is the plaine answer to this objection. For to say either that the numbers were miswritten, and foure and fortie set down in stead of foure and thirtie, or that *Amasis* did temporise a while with the *Affrians*, and not beare himselfe as absolute King of *Egypt*, vntill the nineteenth of *Euilmerodach* (at which time, and not before, it hath bene proued out of *Ezechiel*, that *Egypt* became againe a Kingdome) I hold it a superfluous excuse.

Whether these *Aegyptian* troubles did animate the King of the *Medes* to deale with *Euilmerodach*, as with a Prince greater in fame and reputation, gotten by the decayed valour of his people, than in present forces; or whether (as I rather thinke) some foyle received by the *Affrian* invading *Media*, emboldned the *Aegyptians* to rebell against him: I will neither undertake, nor seeke to define. *Xenophon* tells, that the first seruice of young *Cyrus* in warre, was vnder *Alyages* King of the *Medes*, his Grand-father, in a prosperous fight against the *Affrian* Prince, who did set vpon him; at which time *Cyrus* was fifteene or sixteene yeeres old. If therefore *Cyrus* liued threecore and three yeeres (as he is said to haue died well stricken in yeeres) which is held to be the ordinary teame of no short life, then was this encounter in the third yeere of *Euilmerodach* his reigne. Yet by the same reckoning it should follow, that the warre began more early betwene these Nations, for as much as the manner of their fight in former times, with other circumstances insinuating as much, are found in the same place of *Xenophon*. And it may well be, that the death or destruction of *Nabuchodonosor* gaue courage vnto those that had felt him a troublesome neighbour, to stand vpon prouder teames with the *Affrians*, than in his flourishing estate they durst haue vsed. Howsoeuer the quarrell began, we finde that it ended not before the last ruine of the *Affrian Monarchie*. For the *Babylonian*, being too proud to digest the losses which he received by the *Medes* and their allies the *Persians*, drew vnto his partie the *Lydians*, and all the people of the lesser *Asia*, with gifts and strong persuasions, hoping so to ouerwhelme his enemies with a strong inuasion, whom in vaine hee had sought to wearie out with a lingring warre.

This

This happened after the death of *Alyages*, who left the World in the nineteenth yeere of *Euilmerodach*, at which time *Amasis* tooke possession of *Egypt*. So that the *Affrian* having his hands, already full of businesse, which more earnestly did affect him, seems thereby to haue giuen the better means vnto the *Aegyptians*, of new erecting their Kingdome, which by long distance of place did sundry times finde occasion to rebell in after ages, and let vpa a King within it selfe, against the far more mightie *Persian*.

The issue of these great preparations made by *Euilmerodach* against the *Medes*, was such as opened the way vnto the fulfilling of those prophecies, which were many yeeres before vttered against *Babel*, by *Esay* and *Jeremie*.

For the *Affrians*, and their Confederates, who, trusting in their numbers, thought to haue buried the *Medes* and *Persians* vnder their thicke shoures of arrowes and darts, were encountered with an armie of stout and well-trained men, weighly armed for close fight, by whom they were beaten in open battell, wherein *Euilmerodach* was slaine: So that great firme of Empire which *Nabuchodonosor* had raised and vp-held, being shaken and grievously crackt vnder his vfortunate Sonne, was left to be sustained by his vworthy Nephew: a man more likely to haue ouerthrowne it, when it was greatest and strongest, than to repaire it, when it was in way of falling.

§. XIII.

A private conjecture of the Author; seruing to make good those things, which are cited out of Berolus, concerning the Successors of Euilmerodach, without wring to the truth. The quality, and death of Balthasar.

Hough I haue already (as it seemes to me) sufficiently proued that *Balthasar* was the Sonne, and immediate Successor to *Euilmerodach*, yet considering earnestly the conjectures of those Writers, which following *Berolus*, insert *Niglisar*, or *Nirgusar*, for, and his sonne *Labassardach* betwene them: as also that which I finde in *Herodotus* of *Nitocris*, a famous Queene of *Babylon*; who greatly adorned and fortified that Citie: I haue thought it not superfluous here in this place to shew, by what meanes it was possible that some error might haue crept into the Historie of those times, and thereby haue brought vs to a needlesse trouble of searching out the truth, as it were by candle-light, in the vncertaine fragments of lost Authors, which we might haue found by day-light, had we adhered onely to the Scriptures. First, therefore I obserue, that the time which *Berolus* diuides betwixt *Euilmerodach*, and the two next Kings, agrees with the yeeres in which *Nabuchadnessar* liued wilde among brute beasts in the open field: Secondly, that the suddainnesse of this accident, which came in one hour, could not but worke much perturbation in that State, wherein doubtlesse the honour of so noble a Prince was highly regarded, his calamitie pittied, and his restitution hoped; the prediction of *Daniel* finding reputation in that clause which promised his recouerie, as being verified in that which had bin more incredible. Now if we doe in common reason iudge, what course was like to be taken by the great ones of the Kingdome, for settling the gouernment, whilst the King was thus distracted, we shall finde it most likely, that his Sonne and Heire did occupie the royall Throne, with condition to restore it vnto his Father, when God should enable him to repofesse it. In this his rule *Euilmerodach* being to supply the vtter want of vnderstanding in his Father, as *Proteftors* doe the vnriflesse of a young, but reasonable Kings, might easily either commit the infolencies, or fall into the troubles, incident to such an office. That he had in him very small ability of gouernment, it appears by his ill maintaining the Empire, when he held it in his owne right. That his Sister *Nitocris* (if *Nitocris* were his sister) was a woman of an high spirit, so it appears by that which *Herodotus* reports of her, saying that she was more cunning than *Semiramis*, as appeared in her magnificent and vifull workes about the Ruer of *Euphrates*, and her fortification of *Babylon* against the *Medes*, who had gotten many Townes from the *Affrians*, and amongst them *Nimue*. Wherefore it were not vnreasonable to thinke, that such a woman, seeing how the Empire went to decay through her brothers misgouernment, vsed practices to get the rule into her owne hands, and afterwards, as a mother, to leaue it vnto her vngracious sonne. Other time than this, wherein *Nitocris* could haue reigned, we doe not finde; but we finde in *Berolus* (as *Iosephus* hath cited him) that *Niglisar*, who got the Kingdome from *Euilmerodach*, was his sisters husband.

Dan. 4. v. 32.
34.

Xenoph. Cyrop. lib. 1.

Xenoph. Cyrop. lib. 1.

Herod. lib. 2.

Yet seeing that this manner of argument *ab autoritate negatiue*, doth neuer inforce consent; we may be the bolder (all this great list of noble Writers by him alleged notwithstanding) to affirme that either *Astyages* himselfe must haue bene *Darius* of the *Medes*, which cannot agree with his place in the course of time; Or else to giue him some other Successour, according to *Iosephus* and *Xenophon*, the same whom *Daniel* calleth *Darius*. For it is manifest, and without dispute, that the King of the *Medes* commanded in chiefe, and was absolute Lord of that Conquest, *Cyrus* during his life, being no other than the Lieutenant of his Armie, and subiect to his authoritie; The strength of both Nations, to wit, the *Medes* and *Persians*, with other the Vassals of *Darius*, being ioyned together to compound it.

But it is very certaine that the honour of that great victorie ouer *Babylon* was wholly giuen to *Cyrus*, who was the instrument preordained and forenamed by God himselfe, for this action, but for the deliury of his Church; a greater worke not onely in the eyes of God, than the subuersion of any State or Monarchie, how powerfull soeuer.

And it may well be thought, that the Souldiers employed in that seruice did rather ascribe the glory to him that was the best man of Warre, than to the *Median*, who was greatest in riches and power. All which also falling vpon *Cyrus* by succession, and continuing in his posteritie, did much augment the fame of his vertue, which among prophane Historians ouergrew altogether the honour due to *Cyaxares*, both because he was old, and did nothing in person, as also because he soone after quitted the world, and left all to *Cyrus*, who was possessor of whatsoeuer belonged to *Darius*, before the fame of any such King or Conqueror was carried farre off.

And for the *Greeke* Historians, they tooke all things from the relation of the *Persians*, who gaue to *Cyrus* all the praise of a most excellent Prince, making none his equall. Onely *Daniel* in the first, sixth, and sixth Chapters of his prophecies, makes it plaine, that himselfe not onely liued a great Officer vnder King *Darius*, but that he continued in that estate to the first of *Cyrus*; which being the yere of *Daniels* death, could not haue bene distinguished from the reigne of *Darius*, if they had begun together and reigned ioynly; Neither can it be imagined that *Darius* held the Kingdome by *Cyrus* permission, considering that *Cyrus* began after him.

§ III.

Xenophons relation of the Warre with the Medes and Persians, made with ioynnt forces vnder the Assyrians, and others.

These Testimonies of the Scriptures, which neede no other confirmation, yet made more open to our vnderstanding, by that which *Xenophon* hath written of these wars: The cause whereof, according to his report, was this.

When the *Assyrian* had enlarged his Empire with victories, and was become Lord of all *Syria*, and many other Countries, he began to hope that if the *Medes* could be brought vnder his subiection, there should not then bee left any Nation adioyning able to make head against him. For the King of the *Medes* was able to bring into the field threcore thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, to which the forces of *Persia* being ioyned, made an exceeding strong Armie.

The *Assyrian* considering the strength of such a Neighbour, inuited *Cresus* King of *Lydia*, a Prince very mighty both in men and treasure, and with him other Lords of *Asia* the lesse to his assistance, alleging that those Easterne Nations were very powerfull, and so firmly conioyned by league and many alliances, that it would not be easy, no nor possible, for any one Nation to resist them. With these incitements, and strengthened with great presents, he drew to himselfe so many adherents, as he compounded an Armie of two hundred thousand foot, and threcore thousand horse; of which, tenne thousand horse, and fortie thousand foot were ledde by *Cresus*, who had great cause of enmitie with the *Medes*, in regard of the Warre made by them against his Father *Alyattes*; But this great Armie was by *Cyaxares* King of the *Medes*, and by *Cyrus* Generall of the *Persian* forces, vterly broken; Vpon which defeat the *Assyrian* King being also slaine, so many of the *Assyrians* revolted, as *Babylon* itselfe could no longer be assured without the succours of Mercenaries, waged with great summes of money out of *Asia* the lesse, *Agypt*, and elsewhere. Which new gathered forces

were also scattered by *Cyrus*, who following his aduantage, possesse himselfe of a great part of the lesser *Asia*; at which time it was, as I take it, that *Cresus* himselfe was also made prisoner.

The attempt of *Babylon* following soone after, the Armie lying before it being paid by *Darius*, whom *Xenophon* calleth *Cyaxares*, and led by *Cyrus* his suters son, preuailed against *Babylon*, as in due time shall be set downe.

Those *Persians* which followed *Cyrus*, and by him leuied, are numbered thirtie thousand foot-men, of which a thousand were armed Gentlemen, the rest of the common sort were Archers, or such as vsed the Dart or Sling. So farre *Xenophon*. Of whom in this argument, as it is true, that he described in *Cyrus* the patterne of a most Heroicall Prince, with much poeticall addition: So it cannot be denied, but that the bulke and grosse of his Narration was founded vpon meere Historicall truth.

Neither can it indeede be affirmed of any the like Writers, that in euery speech and circumstance he hath precisely tyed himselfe to the phrase of the speaker, or nature of the occasion, but borrowed in each out of his owne inuention, appropriating the same to the times and persons of whom he treated. Putting therefore apart the Morall and Politique discourse, and examining but the Historie of things done, it will easily appeare, that *Xenophon* hath handled his vnder-taken subiect in such sort, that by beautifying the face thereof, he hath not in any sort corrupted the body.

§. IIII.

The estate of the Medes and Persians in times fore-going this great warre.

It is commonly agreed vpon, that *Achamenes* the sonne of *Perfes* being Governour of *Persia*, did associate himselfe with *Arbaces*, who commanded in *Media* in that rebellion against *Sardanapalus*, and that each of them after the victorie obtained, held for himselfe the Dominion of those Countries, which he had formerly ruled for the *Assyrians*; as also that they conueyed ouer the same honour and power to their posteritie; which in *Media* was not absolutely Regall, but with some restraint limited, vntill such time as *Deiaces* tooke vpon him the full authoritie and maiestie of a King. From the death of *Sardanapalus* to the reigne of *Deiaces*, are usually accounted about an hundred and forty yeeres, in the last sixtie whereof there reigned in *Assyria* mighty Princes, namely, *Sabmanassar* and his Successors, whose great archieuevements in *Syria* and elsewhere, witnesseth, that the *Medes* and *Persians* found it not for their aduantage to vndertake any offensive warre against those victorious Kings, it being also probable that the league continued as yet betweene these the successors of *Belochus*, and *Arbaces*, who had formerly shared the Empire.

Now from the beginning of *Deiaces* to the first of *Astyages*, there past aboute nine-tye yeeres, in which if *Herodotus* haue writtten truly, that *Phraortes* conquered *Persia*, and how he and other Kings of *Media* by many victories greatly enlarged their dominions, and commanded many parts of *Asia*, it had bene but an vnadvised enterprise of the *Assyrians* and *Babylonians*, to haue wasted themselves against the *Syrians* and *Aegyptians*, leaving so able and victorious a Nation on their backs. But that the *Medes* had done nothing vpon the South parts of *Persia*; and that the *Persians* themselves were not masters of *Susiana* in *Nabuchodonosors* time; it is manifest in *Daniel*, who was then Governour for the *Babylonians* in *Susa* or *Susan*, the chiefe Citie thereof. It is true indeede, that the *Medians*, either vnder *Cyaxares* or *Astyages*, or both, had quarrell with *Elyattes* the father of *Cresus*, which after some fixe yeeres dispute was compounded.

How the affaires of *Persia* stood in so many ages, I doe not finde any memory. It seemeth that the roughnesse of the mountainous Countrey which they then possesse, with the confederacie which they continued with the *Medes*, gaue them more security than fame: For if their Kings, being the posteritie of *Achamenes*, had done any memorable acts, the greatest which they afterward obtained would not haue suffered any forgetfulness thereof. But as we finde all *Xenophons* reports, both of these Warres and the state of those Countries to be very consonant and agreeable to the relation of many other good Authors, so it appeares, that the race of *Achamenes* held the Principalltie of *Persia* from Father to Sonne for many descents. And therefore we may better giue credit

to *Xenophon*, who affirmeth, That *Cambyses* the father of *Cyrus* was King of *Persia*: then to those that make him a meane man, and say, that *Astages* gaue him his daughter *Mandane* in marriage, to the end that her son (whose naturity he feared) might be disabled from any great vndertaking by his fathers ignobilitie.

For what cause of griefe could it be to *Astages*, that the sonne of his daughter should become Lord of the best part of *Asia*? No; it was more likely, that vpon such a Prophecie his loue to his grand-child should haue encreased, and his care beene the greater to haue married her to some Prince of strength and eminent vertue.

Yea, the same *Herodotus*, who is the first Author, and as I thinke the deuiler of the mischief intended against *Cyrus* by his Grandfather, doth confesse, That the line of the *Achemenide* was so renowned, that the great King *Xerxes* in the height of his prosperitie did thence deriue himselfe, and vaunt of it: which hee would neuer haue done, had they beene ignoble, nor had they beene the vassals of any other King or Monarch.

For in this sort *Xerxes* in the seauenth of *Herodotus* deriueth himselfe.

{ *Achamenes.*
 Cambyses.
 Cyrus.

{ *Teispes.*
 Ariaramnes.
 Arsumes.

{ *Hystaspes.*
 Darius.
 Xerxes.

Of the *Achemenide* there were two races: of the first was *Cyrus* the great, whose issue male failed in his three sonnes, *Cambyses* and *Smerdis*. This royall family is thus set downe by the learned *Reineccius*.

Achamenes, the sonne of *Perfes*, first King of *Persia*.
Darius.

Cyrus, the first of that name, had *Cambyses* and *Astages*, who married to
Pharnaces, King of *Cappadocia*, had *Artystona* and other daughters.

Cambyses had

Cyrus the Great, *Cyrus* had

Cambyses, who succeeded him, and *Smerdis* slaine by his brother *Cambyses*.

Of the second were those seauen great Princes of *Persia*, who hauing ouertrowne the vsurped royalty of the *Magi*, chose from among themselves *Darius* the sonne of *Hystaspes* King.

This Kingdome of *Persia* was first knowne by the name of *Elam*, so called after *Elam* the sonne of *Sem*, and the people therein inhabiting, *Elamites*; by *Elianus*, *Elyma*; by *Josephus*, *Elymi*.

*Euse. l. 6. c. 8. de
Prep. Euang.*

Suidas deriues this Nation sometimes from *Assur*, sometime from *Magog*, of whom they were called *Magnesei*; which *Magnesei*, according to *Eusebius*, are not to be taken for the Nation in generall, but for those who were afterward called the *Magi* or Wise men. So doe the *Greekes*, among many other their sayings of them, affirme, That the *Persians* were anciently written *Artai*, & that they called themselves *Cephenei*. But that they were *Elamites*, *Moses* and the Prophets, *Esaie*, *Jeremie*, *Ezechiel*, *Daniel* and *Esdra*s in many places confirme: Which also *S. Hierome* vpon *Jeremie* the five and twentieth, vpon *Daniel* the eight, and also in his Hebrew questions approoueth, saying: *Elam* a quo *Elamites* *Persidae*; *Elam*, of whom were the *Elamites* Princes of *Persia*.

And that Citie which the Author of the second booke of the *Maccabees* calleth *Persopolis*, is by the Author of the first called *Elismai*, but is now called *Siras*, being the same which *Antiochus*, for the great riches thereof, twice attempted in vaine, and to his great dishonour. And yet this Citie, now called *Siras*, was not the old *Persopolis*, for *Alexander*, at the request of *Thais* the Harlot, burnt it.

The first King of *Persia* to vs knowne, if we follow the current of Authors interpreting the fourteenth chapter of *Genesis*, was *Chedorlaomer*, who liued with *Amraphel* or *Nimrod*, and ioyned with him in the warre against those *Arabians*, who was afterward extinguished by the forces of *Abraham*.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of Cyrus.

§. I.

Of Cyrus his name, and first actions.



Strouching the name of *Cyrus*, *Strabo* saith, That the same was taken from a River which watereth *Persia*; this great Prince hauing *Agradatus* for his proper name. But the great *Cyrus* was not the first of that name. *Herodotus* otherwise; and that *Cyrus* signifieth a father in the *Persian* Tongue, and therefore so intitled by the people.

It is true that for his Iustice and other excellent vertues he was indeede called a Father; but that the name of *Cyrus* had any such signification, I thinke it be mistaken.

Platarch hath a third opinion, affirming, That *Cyrus* is as much to say as the Sunne, in the same Language. Howsoeuer it be, yet the Prophet *Esaie*, almost two hundred yeeres before *Cyrus* was borne, giues him that name, Thus saith the Lord vnto *Cyrus*, his Anointed, &c.

Before the Conquest of *Babylon*, the victories which *Cyrus* obtained were many and great: among which, the Conquest of *Lydia*, and other Prouinces thereto subiect, together with the taking of *Craesus* himselfe, are not recounted by *Eusebius*, *Orosius*, and others, but placed among his latter archiuevements: whose opinion for this difference of time is founded vpon two reasons; namely, That of the *Median* there is no mention in that last warre against *Craesus*: and that the obtaining of *Sardis* is referred to the eight and fiftieth Olympiad, and the glorious victory which *Cyrus* had ouer *Babylon*, to the nine and fiftieth Olympiad.

The former of which might haue beene vsed (and was by the *Greekes*) to exclude the *Medes* from the honor of hauing won *Babylon* it selfe, which in due place I haue answered. The latter seemes to haue reference to the second Warre which *Cyrus* made vpon *Lydia*, when it rebelled; at which time he so established his former Conquest, as after that time these Nations neuer offered to reuolt. Wherefore I like better in this particular to beleeue with *Herodotus*, whom the most of Chronologers follow, and finde the enterprize of *Sardis* to precede that of *Babylon*.

§. II.

Of Croesus the King of Lydia, who made warre vpon Cyrus.

Haue in the last Booke spoken somewhat of *Craesus*, of his race and predecessors, as also of those Kings which gouerned *Lydia* in more ancient times: of which the first (to prophane Authors knowne) was *Lydus* the sonne of *Alys*: Which familie extinguished, the Kingdome was by an Oracle conferred vpon *Argon*, descended from *Hercules*, whereof there were two and twentie generations, *Candaules* being the last, who by shewing his faire Wife naked to *Gyges* his fauorite, he was by the same *Gyges* (thereto vrged vpon perill of his owne life by the Queene) the next day slaine. Which done, *Gyges* enioyed both the Queene and the Kingdome of *Lydia*, and left the same to *Alys* his sonne, who was father to *Sadyattes*, the father of *Halyattes* (who thrust the *Cimerians* out of *Asia*) and *Halyattes* begat *Craesus*: Which five Kings, of a third race, enioyed that Kingdome an hundred and seauenty yeeres. *Halyattes* the father of *Craesus* was an vndertaking Prince, and after he had continued a warre against *Cyaxares* the *Median*, a Prince very powerfull, and maintained it fixe yeeres: a peace was concluded vpon equal conditions betwene them.

Astages, the sonne of *Cyaxares*, and grandfather to *Cyrus*, thought himselfe greatly honoured by obtaining *Aryenes*, *Craesus* sister, whom he married.

Kkk 3

But

But *Craesus* so farre enlarged his dominions after his fathers death, as he was nothing inferior in territorie to any King or Monarch of that age: Of which, about that time there were foure in effect of equall strength; to wit, the *Median*, the *Babylonian*, the *Aegyptian*, and the *Lydian*; onely *Nabuchodonosor*, after he had ioyned *Phoenicia*, *Palestina*, and *Aegypt* to his Empire, had thence-forward no competitor during his owne life.

But *Craesus*, notwithstanding the men and treasure spent in the quarrell of the *Babylonians*, he yet mastered *Aolis*, *Doris*, and *Ionia*, Provinces posselt by the *Greekes* in Asia the lesse, adioyning to *Lydia*, gaue law to the *Phrygians*, *Bithynians*, *Carians*, *Assyrians*, *Paphlagonians*, and other Nations. And that he also inforced the *Ephesians* to acknowledge him, notwithstanding they compassed their citie with *Dianæes* girdle, *Herodotus* witnesseth. More, *Herodotus* ouer, *Athenæus* out of *Berosus* (which also *Strabo* confirmeth) makes report of a Signall victory which *Craesus* obtained against the *Sacæans*, a Nation of the *Scythians*, in memory whereof the *Babylonians* his allies did yeerely celebrate a Feast, which they called *Sacæa*: All which he performed in foureteene yeeres.

And being now confident in the continuance of his good fortune, and enuious of *Craesus* fame, doubting also, that his prosperous vnder takings might in the end grow perilous to himselfe, he consulted with the Oracle of *Apollo*, whom he presented with manuellous rich gifts, what successe he might hope for against *Cyrus*, if he vnder took him: from whom he receiued this riddle, *Craesus passing ouer the River Halys, shall dispossesse a great dominion*. For the diuell being doubtfull of the successe, payed him with merchandise of both sides like, and might be inuerted either way to the ruine of *Persia*, or of his owne *Lydia*.

§. III.

Craesus his Expedition against Cyrus.

Ereupon *Craesus* being resolved to stop the course of *Cyrus* fortunes, if he could, despised all the arguments vsed by *Sandanes* to the contrary, who desired him to fore-thinke, That he vrged a Nation inhabiting a barren and mountainous Region, a people not couered with the soft filke of wormes, but with the hard skins of beasts, not fed with such meat as they fancied, but content with what they found; drinkers of water, not of wine: and in a word, a Nation warlike, enduring, valiant and prosperous; ouer whom if he became victorious, hee could thereby enrich himselfe in nothing but fame, in which he already excelled: and if by them beaten, and subiected, so great would his losse appeare of all things which the world hath in account, as the same could neither hastily be told, nor readily conceiued.

Notwithstanding this solide Counsaile, *Craesus* hauing prepared a powerfull armie led the same towards *Media*, but in his passage, he was arrested at *Peritama* Citie of great strength in *Cappadocia*, which while he fought by all means to surpris or to force, *Cyrus* came on, and found the *Lydians* encamped before it. That each was inferior to other in strength or opinion, I doe not finde: for out of doubt, *Craesus* as he excelled any Prince of that age in riches and ability; so was he not vnder any in territorie and fame that he liued.

But as *Craetippus* of Mitylene answered *Pompey* when he complained against the gods, because they fauoured a disturber and vlturper of the Common-weale against him who fought for the Romane liberty, That Kingdomes and Commonweales had their encrease and period from diuine Ordinance: so at this time was the Winter of *Craesus* prosperity at hand, the leaues of his flourishing fortune ready to fall, and that of *Cyrus* but in the flower and first spring. The God of all power, and not *Achmetus Herdman*, *Apollo*, had giuen date to the one, and a beginning of glory to the other.

When these two Armies were in view of each other, after the entertainment of diuers skirmishes, the *Persians* and *Lydians* began to ioine in grosse troupes: supplies from both *Kings* thrust on vpon the falling off, and aduancement of either Nations: and as the *Persians* had somewhat the better of the day, so when the darke vaile of night had hidden each armie from the others view, *Craesus* doubting what successe the rising Sunne would bring with it, quitted the field to *Cyrus*, and with all speede possible repared, and taking the next way into *Lydia*, recovered *Sardis* his first Citie and Regall Seat, without any pursuit made by *Cyrus* to retard him. Where being arrived, and nothing

suspecting *Cyrus* approach, or any other warre for that Winter, hee dismissed the souldiers, and sent the troupes of his sundry Nations to their owne Prouinces, appointing them to re-assemble at the end of foure moneths, acquainting his Commanders with his intents for the renewing of the warre at the time appointed.

§. IIII.

The Conquest of Lydia by Cyrus.

CYRUS in the following morning finding the *Lydians* departed, put his armie in order to pursue them, yet not so hastily, and at their heeles, as to be discovered. But hauing good intelligence of *Craesus* his proceeding, he so measured his marches, as he presented not himselfe before *Sardis*, till such time as *Craesus* had disposed his armie to their Wiitring garissons: which being altogether vnlooked for, and vnfeared, hee surrounded *Sardis* with his Armie: Wherein *Craesus* hauing no other Companies than his Citizens and ordinary Gards, after foureteene dayes siege the same was entred by assault, and all executed that resisted. *Craesus* hauing now neither armes to fight, nor wings to flye, *Sardis* being on all parts strongly encompassed, thrust himselfe into the heape and miserable multitude of his vassals, and had vndergone the common fortune of common persons vanquished, had not a sonne of his, who had beene dumbe all his life (by extremitie of passion and feare enabled) cried out to the souldiers to spare *Craesus*. Who thereupon being taken and imprisoned, despoyled of all things but the expectation of death, he was forthwith tied in fetters, and set on the top of a great and high heape of wood, to be consumed to ashes thereon. To which when the fire was set and kindled, remembering the discourse which hee had with the Athenian Law-giuer, he thence cried out on his name, *Solon, Solon, Solon*: and being demanded what he meant by that inuocation, he first vsed silence: but vrged againe, he told them, That hee had now found it true which *Solon* had long since told him, That many men in the race and courses of their liues might well be accounted fortunate, but no man could discern himselfe for happy indeed, till his end.

Of which answer *Cyrus* being speedily informed, remembering the changes of fortune and his owne mortalitie, hee commanded his ministers of Iustice to withdraw the fire with all diligence, to saue *Craesus*, and to conduct him to his presence: Which done, *Cyrus* demanded of him, Who it was that had perswaded him? Or what selfe reason had conducted him to inuade his territory, and to make him of a friend an enemy? To whom he thus answered, It was thy prosperous, and my vnprosperous destinie (the *Græcian* god flattering therewithall my ambition) that were the inuenters and conductors of *Craesus* ware against *Cyrus*.

Cyrus being pierst with *Craesus* answer, & bewailing his estate, though victorious ouer it, did not only spare his life, but entertained him euer after as a King and his companion, 40 shewing therein a true effect of mercy indeed, *Qua non causam sed fortunam spectat*.

And herein is the reall difference discerned between that behauiour which we call *Beneficium latronis*, & *gratiam Principis*: A theefe sometime sparing the life of him which is in his power, but vnjustly: A King that giueth breath, and a continuance of being, to him that was the cause and author of his owne euill.

The report made by *Xenophon* is, That *Cyrus* did friendly entertaine *Craesus* at the first sight, not mentioning that which *Herodotus* deliueis, and is here already set downe, that hee should haue beene burnt aliue. It may very well be, that *Xenophon* pourtraying (in *Cyrus*) an heroycall Prince, thought an intent so cruell, fitter to be forgotten than rehearsed, as too much mis-beseeming a generous nature. And it is very likely, 50 that neere necessity of alliance might with-hold *Cyrus* (had hee beene otherwise vicious) from so cruella purpose against his grandmothers brother. How soeuer it was, the Morall part of the Storie hath giuen much credit and reputation to the report of *Herodotus* (as to many the like it often doth) and made it passe for currant, though the trust reposed in *Craesus* afterwards may seeme to argue, that *Cyrus* did not vse him inhumanely at the first.

For as *Herodotus* himselfe telleth vs, when *Cyrus* past with his Armie ouer *Araxes* into *Syria*, he left *Craesus* to accompanie and aduise his sonne *Cambyses*, Gouverneur of the Empire in his absence, with whom he liued all the time of *Cyrus*, & did afterward follow *Cambyses*.

Cambyſes into *Aegypt*, where he hardly eſcaped his tyrannous hand. What his end was, I doe not finde.

But in this time the races of three of the greateſt Kings in that part of the world tooke end; to wit, of the *Babylonians*, *Medians* and *Lydians*; in *Balthaſar*, *Cyaxares*, and *Craſus*.

§. V.

How Cyrus wonne Babylon.

After this *Lydian* warre enſued the great Conqueſt of *Babylon*, which gave vnto *Cyrus* an Empire ſo large and mighty, that he was juſtly reputed the greateſt Monarch then living vpon earth. How long time the preparations for this great action tooke vp, it is vncertaine; onely it ſeemes, that renue whole yeeres did paſſe betweene his taking thoſe two Cities of *Sardes* and *Babylon*, which neuertheleſſe I doe not thinke to haue beene wholly occupied in prouiſion for the *Aſſyrian* warre, but rather to haue beene ſpent in ſetting the Eſtate which hee had already purchaſed. And heereunto perhaps may be referred that which *Cteſias* hath in his fragments of a warre made by *Cyrus* vpon the *Scythians*, though related as foregoing the victorie obtained againſt *Craſus*. He telleth vs, That *Cyrus* invaded *Scythia*, and being victorious ouer that Nation, took *Amorges* their King priſoner: but being in a ſecond battel ouerthrowne by the wife of *Amorges*, *Sparetha*, & therein taken, the one King was deliuered for the other.

Likewiſe it may be thought, that no ſmall part of thoſe troubles which aroſe in the lower *Aſia*, grew ſoone after the departure of the victorious armie, before the Conqueſt was fully eſtabliſhed.

For after *Cyrus* was returned out of *Aſia* the leſſe, many Nations, conquered formerly by *Craſus*, and now by *Cyrus*, reuolted from him; againſt whom he employed *Aſtia*, and then *Harpagus*, who firſt reduced the *Phocians* vnder their former obedience: and then the reſt of the *Greekes* inhabiting *Aſia* the leſſe, as the *Ionians*, *Carians*, *Æolians*, and *Lycians*, who reſolutely (according to the ſtrength they had) defended themſelves. But in the attempt vpon *Babylon* it ſelf, it is not to be doubted, that *Cyrus* employed all his forces, hauing taken order before-hand, that nothing ſhould be able to diuert him, or to raiſe that ſiege, and make fruſtrate the worke vpon which he did ſet all his reſt. And greater reaſon there was, that he ſhould bend all his care and ſtrength vnto the taking of that Citie, which beſide the fame and reputation that it held, as being head of an Empire thereon depending, was ſo ſtrongly fenced with a treble wall of great height, & ſurrounded with waters vnfloodable, ſo plentifully viſtalled for many yeeres, that the inhabitants were not onely free from all doubt and feare of their eſtate, but deſpised and derided all purpoſes and power of their beſiegers.

The onely hope of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, who deſpaired of carrying by aſſault a Citie ſo well fortified and manned, was in cutting off all ſupplies of victuals and other neceſſaries; whereof though the Towne was ſaid to bee ſtored ſufficiently for more than twenty yeeres, yet might it well be deemed, that in ſuch a world of people as dwelt within thoſe gates, one great want or other would ſoone appeare, and vanquiſh the reſolution of that vnwarlike multitude. In expecting the ſucceſſe of this courſe, the beſiegers were likely to endure much trauell, and all in vaine, if they did not keepe ſtreight watch and ſtrong guards vpon all quarters.

This was hard to doe, in regard of the vaſt circuit of thoſe walls which they were to gird in, with numbers neither great enough, nor of men ſufficiently aſſured vnto their Commander: The conſideration whereof miniſtred vnto the *Babylonians* matter of good paſſtime, when they ſaw the *Lydians*, *Phrygians*, *Cappadocians*, and others, quartered about their Towne to keepe them in, who hauing beene their ancient friends and allies, were ſo more likely to ioyne with them, if occaſion were offered, than to vie much diligence on the behalfe of *Cyrus*, who had, as it were, yeſterday laid vpon their neckes the galling yoke of ſeruitude. Whileſt the beſieged were pleaſing themſelves in this deceitfull and vaine gladneſſe, that is the ordinarie fore-runner of ſuddaine calamitie; *Cyrus*, whom the Ordinance of God made ſtrong, conſtant, and inuentive, deuſed by ſo many channels and trenches as were ſufficient and capable of *Euphrates*, and ſo to draw the ſame from the walls of *Babylon*, thereby to make his approach the more facile and aſſured: which when by the labour of many hands hee had performed, he

Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib. 7.

he ſtayed the time of his aduantage for the execution: for he had left certaine bankes or heads vnto, betweene the maine riuer which ſurrounded the Citie, and his owne Trenches.

Now *Balthaſar*, finding neither any want or weakenefſe within, nor any poſſibilitie of approach for his enemies without, prepared an exceeding ſumptuous feaſt, publicke Plaies and other Paſtimes, and thereto inuited a thouſand of his Princes or Nobilitie, beſides his wiues, curtizans, and others of that trade. This he did either to let the beſiegers know, that his prouiſions were either ſufficient, not onely for all needefull viſes, but euen for iollitie and exceſſe: Or becauſe he hoped that his enemies, vnder the burthen of many tediousſſes were well neere broken, or in honour of *Bel* his moſt reuerenced Idoll: Or that it was his birth or coronation day: Or for many or all theſe reſpects. And he was not contented with ſuch magnificence as no Prince elſe could equal, but (vſing *Daniels* words) he liſted himſelfe vp againſt the Lord of Heauen: For he and his Princes, wiues and concubines, made carowing cups of the Veſſels of God, in contempt of whom he praiſed his owne pappets, made of Siluer and Gold, of Braſſe, Iron, Wood, and Stone, *Quanta ſuit Huius in uasibus aureis bibentes, ligneos & lapideos Deos laudare; How great a fooliſhneſſe was it (ſaith S. Hierome,) drinking in golden Cups, to praiſe gods of wood and Stone.* While *Balthaſar* was in this fort triumphing, and his braines well filled with vapors, he beheld abroad, which by diuine power wrote on the wall oppoſite vnto him certaine words, to which he vnderſtood not: wherewith ſo great a feare and amazement ſeized him, as the ioyes of his loynes were looſed, and his knees ſmote one againſt the other. Which paſſion when he had in ſome part recovered, he cried out for his *Caldeans*, *Aſtologiars*, and *Soothſayers*, promiſing them great rewards, and the third place of honour in the Kingdom to him that could reade and expound the writing; but it exceeded their Art. In this diſturbance and aſtoniſhment the Queene hearing what had paſt, and of the Kings amazement, after reuerence done, vſed this ſpeech: *There is a man in thy Kingdom, in whom is the ſpirit of the holy Gods, and in the daies of thy father, light, and vnderſtanding and wiſedome, like the wiſedome of the Gods, was found in him, whom the King Nabuchodonosor thy father, the King (I ſay) thy father made chiefe of the Enchanters, Aſtologiars, Chaldeans, and Soothſayers, becauſe a more excellent ſpirit, and knowledge, and vnderſtanding, &c. were found in him, euen in Daniel, &c. Now let Daniel be called, and he will declare the interpretation.*

This Queene, *Iſophus* takes for the grandmother; *Origene* and *Theodore* for the mother of *Balthaſar*; either of which may be true: for it appeareth, that ſhe was not any of the Kings wiues, becauſe abſent from the feaſt; and being paſt the age of dancing and banquetting, came in vpon the bruit of the miracle, and to comfort the King in his diſtraction: and whereas *Daniel* was forgotten and neglected by others both of younger yeeres and times, this old Queene remembered well what hee had done in the daies of *Nabuchodonosor*, grandfather to this *Balthaſar*, and kept in minde both his religion and diuine gifts.

When *Daniel* was brought to the Kings preſence, who acknowledged thoſe excellent graces wherewith God had enriched him, he prayed him, together with promiſes of reward and honour, to reade and interpret thoſe words miraculoſly written; to whom *Daniel* made anſwere in a farre different ſtile from that he viſed towards his Grandfather: for the euill which he foretold *Nabuchodonosor*, he warned that the ſame might befall his enemies, but to this King (whoſe neglect of God and vice he hated) he anſwered in theſe words, *Keep thy rewards to thy ſelfe, and giue thy gifts to another, yet will I reade the writing vnto the King, and ſhew him the interpretation:* Which before hee had performed, he gaue him firſt the cauſe of Gods juſt iudgement againſt him, and the reaſon of this terrible ſentence; whereof the King and all his Wife men were viterly ignorant: Which being written at large in *Daniel*, hath this effect, That forgetting Gods goodneſſe to his Father, whom all Nations feared and obeyed; and that for his pride and neglect of thoſe benefices, as hee deprived him of his eſtate and vnderſtanding; ſo vpon the acknowledgement of Gods infinite power he reſtored him to both. This King notwithstanding liſted himſelfe vp againſt the ſame God; and preſuming both to abuſe thoſe veſſels dedicated to holy viſes, and neglecting the Lord of all power; praiſed and worſhipped the dead Idols of Gold, Siluer, Braſſe, Iron, Stone, and Wood: and therefore thoſe words, from the Oracle of ætterne God deliuered, (to wit) *Mene Tekel Pſarſin*, gaue

Dan. 5. 9. 5.

Orig. & Theo. in Dan. Iſoph. Ant. 10.

Dan. 5. 23. 12.

gave the King knowledge, that God had numbred the time of his Kingdom, and finished it: That he was weighed in the ballance of Gods iustice, and found too light; and that his Empire was diuided and giuen to the *Medes and Persians*.

The very evening or night of this day, wherein *Balthazar* feasted and perished, *Cyrus* either by his espiall, according to *Xenophon*, or inspired by God himselfe, whose enuigne he followed in this warre, found the time and opportunitie to inuite him: and therefore while the Kings head, and the heads of his Nobilitie were no lesse filled with the vapors of wine, than their hearts with the feare of Gods iudgement, he caused all the bands and heads of his trenches to be opened and cut downe with that diligence, as by them he drew the great Riuer of *Euphrates* drie for the present, by whose channell running, his to armie made their entrance, finding none to disturbe them. All the Towne lay buried (as the Poet saith) in sleepe and wine: such as came in the *Persians* way, were put to the sword, vntill they faued themselves by flight, as some did, who ranne away crying, and filling the streets with an vn certaine tumult.

Such *Assyrian* Lords as had revolted from *Balthazar*, and betaken themselves to the partie of *Cyrus*, did now conduct a selected companie to the King Palaces, which hauing easily forced, they rushed into the chamber where the King with his Princes were banquetting, slew both him and them without any mercie, who strugled in vaine to keepe those liues which God had newly threatned to take away. And now was the prophetic of *Jeremie* fulfilled, and that of *Esay*, two hundred yeeres before this subuersion, who in his seuen and fortieth Chapter, and elsewhere, writeth this destruction for scelingly and liuely, as if he had been present both at the terrible slaughter there committed, and had seene the great and vnfeared change and calamitie of this great Empire; yea, and had heard the sorrowes and bewailings of euery suruiuing soule thereunto subiect. His prophetic of this place he beginneth in these words: *Come downe, and sit in the dust, O virgine daughter of Babel: sit on the ground, there is no throne, &c.* And againe, *Sit fill and get thee into darknesse, O daughter of the Chaldeans, for thou shalt no more be called the Lady of Kingdomes.* For though it cannot be doubted, that God vied *Nabuchodonosor* and the *Chaldeans*, to punish the idolatrie of the *Judeans*, yet *Esay* teacheth vs in this place, That he did not yet forget, that the execution of his iudgements was mixt with a rigorous extremitie. For (saith *Esay*) in the perion of God, *I was wroth with my people, I have polluted mine inheritance, and giuen them into thine hand: thou didst see them no more, but thou didst lay thy very heauie yoke upon the ancient. I will rise up against them, saith the Lord of Hosts, and will cut off from Babel the name and the remnants, and the sonne and the nephew. And in the thirteenth, Every one that is found, shall be stricken thorough: and whosoever I sight himselfe, shall fall by the sword, their children also shall be broken in pieces before their eyes, their houses spoiled, and their wines ransied.* So as there is no Historian who was either present at this victory of *Cyrus*, or that receiued the report from others truly as it was, that could better leaue the same to posteritie after it happened, than *Esay* hath done in many places of his prophecies, which were written two hundred yeeres before any thing attempted.

The greatnesse and magnificence of *Babylon*, were it not by diuers graue Authors set downe, might seeme altogether fabulous: for besides the reports of *Saint Hierome*, *Salustius*, and *Orosius*, *Aristotle* in the third of his *Politiques*, the second Chapter, receiued the report for true, That one part of the Citie knew not that the rest was taken three daies after. Which is not impossible, if the testimonie of *Diodorus Siculus* may be taken, who findes the compass thereof at three hundred and threescore Stadia or Furlongs, which makes fise and fortie miles: the walls whereof had so great a breadth, that fise chariots might passe in front thereon. And of height, according to *Ctesias* and *Cliques*, three hundred threescore and fise foot, garnished with an hundred and fifty Towers. *Strabo* in the beginning of his sixteenth Booke of Geographie giues it a greater circuit, adding fise and twenty furlongs more to the former compass, reckoning the same at three hundred fourescore and fise furlongs, which makes eight and forty mile and one furlong: but findes the wall farre vnder that which *Diodore* reports: and so doth *Curtius* measure their thicknesse but at two and thirtieth foot, and their height at an hundred cubits; which is also very much: euery cubite containing a foot and halfe of the large measure, though to the whole circuit of the Citie he giues the same with *Siculus*, and eight furlongs more. *Herodotus* findes a greater content than *Strabo* doth, namely, foure hundred

and fourescore furlongs circle; the thicknesse of the wall he measures at fiftie cubits, and the height at two hundred of the same regall cubit. For entrance it had an hundred gates of Brasse, with posts and hookes to hang them on of the same metall: and therefore did the Prophet *Esay* rightly intitle *Babylon*, The Princesse and glory of Kingdomes.

But when *Cyrus* had wonne her, hee stript her out of her Princely Robes, and made her a laue, diuiding not onely all her goodly houses, and her whole Territorie, with all the riches therein contained, among his Souldiers: but bestowing the inhabitants themselves as bondslaves vpon those that had taken possession of their goods.

Touching the reigne of *Cyrus*, and the time which hee enioyed in rest and pleasure, I can say no more of it, than that it is generally agreed by all Chronologers to haue lasted onely seuen yeeres: in which time he made such Constitutions, as differ little from the Ordinances of all wise Kings that are desirous to establish a Royall power to themselves and their posteritie.

§. VI.

The end of Cyrus.

He last warre, and the end of this great King *Cyrus*, is diuersly written. *Herodotus* and *Iustine* deliuer, That after the Conquest of *Asia* the lesse, *Cyrus* invaded the *Massagetes*, a very warlike Nation of the *Scythians*, gouerned by *Tomyris* their Queene: and that in an encounter betwene the *Persians* and these Northern *Nomades*, *Tomyris* lost her Armie, and her Son *Spargapises*, that commanded it: In reuenge whereof, this Queene making new leues of men of Warre, and following the Warre against *Cyrus*, in a second battaile beat the *Persian* Armie, and taking *Cyrus* prisoner, cut off his head from his body, and cast the same into a bolle of bloud, vsing these words; *Thou that hast all thy life time thirsted for bloud, now drinke thy fill, and satiate thy selfe.*

It should heereby seeme, that *Cyrus* knowing the strength and multitude of those frozen Nations, was perswaded to abate their furie by some forcible inuasion and depopulation, because in the time of *Cyaxares*, father to *Astages*, those *Scythians* invaded *Media* and *Asia* the lesse, and held the same in a seruile subiection eight and twentie yeeres.

This warre which *Metasthenes* calleth *Tomyrique*, lasted (saith hee) fixe yeeres, andooke end at the death of *Cyrus*.

But in this particular I belecue with *Vigener*, that this *Scythian* Warre was rather the same which *Cyrus* made against the *Sacians*, before the Conquest of *Lydia*, according to *Ctesias* before cited, who calleth *Tomyris*, *Sparetha*, though he deliuer the successe of that warre otherwise than *Herodotus* doth: The rather (saith *Vigener*) because *Strabo* in his eleuenth booke reciteth, that *Cyrus* surprized the *Sacians* by the same stratageme by which *Iustine* saith, he defeated the sonne of *Tomyris*. And the same *Ctesias* also reporteth, That the last warre which *Cyrus* made was against *Amorrhæus*, King of the *Derbici*, a Nation (as the rest) of *Scythia*; whom though he ouercame, yet he then receiued the wound of his death, which he suffered three daies after.

Strabo also affirmeth, That he was buried in his owne Citie of *Pasagardes*, which himselfe had built, & where his Epitaph was to be read in his time; which is said to haue been this: *O viz quicumque es, E vnde cumque aduenis, neque enim te aduenturum ignorauis: Ego sum Cyrus qui Persis imperium constitui, pusillum hoc terra quo meum tegitur corpus mihi ne mideas: O thou man, whosoeuer thou art, or whence soeuer thou comest; for I was not ignorant that thou shouldst come: I am Cyrus that founded the Persian Empire, doe not enuie unto me this little earth, with which my bodie is covered.*

This Tombe was opened by *Alexander*, as *Quintus Curtius* reporteth, either vpon hope of treasure, supposed to haue been buried with him, or vpon desire to honour his dead bodie with certaine ceremonies; in which there was found an olde rotten Target, two *Scythian* Bowes, and a Sword. The Coffin wherein his bodie lay, *Alexander* caused to be covered with his owne garment, and a Crowne of gold to be set vpon it. These things well considered, as they giue credit to the reports of *Xenophon* and *Zonaras*, so they derogate much from *Herodotus*, who leaues his bodie in the hands of *Tomyris*.

And

And surely, had *Cyrus* lost the Armie of *Persia* in *Scythia*, it is not likely, that his sonne would so soon have transported all his remaining forces into *Egypt*, so farre off from that quarter: the *Scythian* Nation then victorious, and bordering *Media*; neither had *Cambyses* beene able in such haste to have vnderaken and performed so great a Conquest. Wherefore I rather beleue *Xenophon*, saying, That *Cyrus* died aged and in peace: and that finding in himselfe, that he could not long enioy the world, he called vnto him his Nobilitie, with his two sonnes, *Cambyses* and *Smerdis*; or after *Xenophon*, *Tanaxares*; and after a long Oration, wherein he assured himselfe, and taught others, of the immortalitye of the Soule, and of the punishments and rewards following the good and ill deserting of euery man in this life; he exhorted his sonnes by the strongest arguments to he had, to a perpetuall concord and agreement. Many other things he vttered, which make it probable, that he receiued the knowledge of the true God from *Daniel*, when hee gouerned *Susa* in *Persia*; and that *Cyrus* himselfe had read the prophesie of *Ezra*, wherein he was expressly named, and by God (for the deliuerie of his people) praedained. Which act of deliuering the *Iewes* from their Captiuitie, and of restoring the holy Temple and Citie of *Iherusalem*, was in true consideration the noblest worke that euer *Cyrus* performed. For in other actions hee was an instrument of Gods power, vnto the chastising of many Nations, and the establishing of a Government in those parts of the world, which was not long to continue. But herein he had the grace to be an instrument of Gods goodnesse, and a willing aduancer of his Kingdome vpon earth, which must last for euer, though heaven and earth shall perishe.

§. VII.

Of *Cyrus* his Decree for building the Temple of God in *Ierusalem*.

Having therefore spoken of his great victories, mentioned by sundry Historians, the glory of all which was a reward of this his seruice done vnto him that was Author of them and of all goodnesse: I hold it meet at length to speake of the Decree made in the first of his Reigne, being perhaps the first that euer hee made, after his possession of the *Babylonian* Empire: That the captiue *Iewes* should returne againe to their owne Territorie, and re-build the Houle of God in *Ierusalem*, hauing now ended and finished the threecore and tenne yeeres captiuitie, by the Prophets foretold. For the accomplishing whereof, hee gaue order to his Treasurers to furnish them with all things necessarie and wanting. He also returned vnto them five thousand foure hundred threecore and nine Vessels of Gold and Silver, wherof *Nabuchodonosor*, the grandfather of *Balthasar*, had formerly robbed the Temple.

The number of the *Iewes* which returned out of *Chaldea* vnder their leader *Zorobabel*, the sonne of *Salathiel*, and nephew to King *Ieconias*, and *Iesus* or *Iosua* the sonne of *Iosadak*, were about fifty thousand; where, as soone as they arriued, they built an Altar to the living God, and sacrificed thereon, according to their owne Law, and afterward bethought themselves how to prepare materials for the re-building of the Temple.

But no sooner did the *Iewes* begin to lay any one stone, than the *Samaritans* and other idolatrous Nations adioyning, gaue all the impediment they could. So did the Gouernours of those Provinces vnder *Cyrus* altogether countenance the disturbers, and in no sort fauoured the *Iewes*, nor the labours nor purposes they had in hand. And not only those which were but Princiuall Lieutenants and other officers of lesse place, but *Cambyses* himselfe, who hauing the charge of the whole Empire, while *Cyrus* was busied otherwise, countermanded the building begun. And whereas some Authors make doubt, that whatsoever *Cambyses* did when himselfe had obtained the Empire, yet during the life of *Cyrus* there was no such impediment or prohibition: They may herein resolve themselves out of *Esdra*s, That by the conspiracies of the neighbouring Nations, the building was hindered all the time of King *Cyrus* life, &c. And therefore it is true, that the *Iewes* themselves affirme as it is written in the second of *Iohn*, That the Temple was 46 yeeres in setting vp; hauing receiued so many hinderances from the first foundation to the second of *Darius*.

And if we seeke the naturall and politike causes which moued *Cambyses* to withstand his fathers decree, as well while hee gouerned vnder him, as when himselfe became sole

and soueraigne Monarch, we shall finde them in that Epistle remembred by *Esdra*s, written by *Belshazzar*, *Mithridates*, and the rest, Presidents and Counsellors in *Phenicia*, wherein they complaine, that the *Iewes* were euermore rebellious and troublers of Kings; that their Citie being once built, they would then refuse to pay Tribute, and fall from the obedience of the Empire, as they had formerly don: in the times of other Kings.

But that which for that present seemed the most forcible impediment was, that *Cambyses*, hauing it in his resolution to inuade *Egypt*, and that it was a common opinion, That the *Iewes* were descended of those Nations, because they iustified thence vnder *Moses*, when they conquered *Iudea*; their Citie being once repaired and fortified, they might returne vnto their old vomit, and giue the same disturbance to *Cambyses* Conquest, which they did to *Sennacherib*, *Nabuchodonosor*, and other Kings of *Babylon*. For as it is written in *Ezekiel*, *Ezra* 4. 20. *Egypt* was the confidence of the house of *Israel*.

But it is to be vnderstood, as *Codoman* and others haue obserued, that *Artaxerxes*, to whom the Counsellors and Gouernors of *Phenicia* complained against the *Iewes*, did not precede, but succcede *Darius Hystaspes*, as in the first and seuenth chapters of *Esdra*s it is made plaine: and also that those Gouernors (whose Epistle sheweth as much) did not withstand the building of the Temple, but the fortifying and inclosing of the Citie, as by the reasons giuen in the said Epistle, and by the Kings answer, it is euident.

Also in the sixth of *Ezra*, the foureteenth verse, the Kings are named in order as they gouerned, and *Artaxerxes* written after *Darius*, as: And they built and finished it (to wit, the Temple) by the appointment of the God of *Israel*, and by the commandement of *Cyrus* and *Darius*, and Artahastate Kings of *Persia*. Lastly, in the seuenth of *Ezra* it is written; Now after these things, in the reigne of Artahastate King of *Persia*: which was as much to say, as after the finishing of the Temple in *Darius* time. And therefore *Artaxerxes* in the second of *Esdra*s is there named by anticipation, not in his owne time and place.

And thus much concerning the rebuilding of the Citie and Temple of *Iherusalem*: Which action though prospered by the hand of God, was very slowly pursued by the men whom it most concerned, but first set on foot by *Cyrus*. The other ordinances of *Cyrus*, with his forme and manner of gouernment, are to be found in *Xenophon*. At his death he bequeathed the Empire vnto his eldest sonne *Cambyses*, appointing *Smerdis* or *Tanaxares* his younger sonne to be *Satrapa* or Lieutenant of *Media*, *Armenia*, and *Cadusia*; and then died, after he had reigned (saith *Herodotus*) one and thirtie yeeres, or (according to *Iustin*) but thirtie.

§. VIII.

Of *Cyrus* his issue: and whether *Atossa* were his daughter, or (as some thinke) were the same with *Queen* *Hester*.

C*yrus* had issue two sonnes, *Cambyses* and *Smerdis*, with three daughters, *Atossa*, *Merde*, and *Artystana*: *Ctesias* addeth to these, *Amytis*. *Atossa* and *Merde* their brother *Cambyses* married, *Artystana*, *Darius Hystaspes* obtained, so did he *Atossa*, *Cambyses* being dead: who (as some Writers haue supposed) inflamed both her husbands, *Darius*, and *Xerxes* after him, to inuade *Greece*, to be auenged of the whole Nation for the cruell intent that *Aman* (whom the old translation calleth a *Maccedonian*) had against the *Iewes*, though the opinion of *Iosaphus* be more probable, who findes *Aman* to be an *Amalekite*. But it is hard to be vnderstood, how *Atossa*, the daughter of *Cyrus*, should haue bene *Esther*, whose Historie seemes rather to appertaine to the time of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, than of *Darius* the sonne of *Hystaspes*, or of *Xerxes*. The desire of *Atossa* to haue *Greece* brought vnder the yoke of *Persia*, was partly gounded vpon the honour which thereby she thought her husband might obtaine, partly vpon a feminine humor of getting many braue Dames, *Corinthians*, *Athenians*, and others of the Nation to be her bond-women. Wherefore I cannot giue assent to the opinion of *Codoman*, who vpon the neere sound of the two names, *Atossa* and *Hadasa*, (by the later of which *Esther* was also called) makes them to haue bene one person. For though it be true, that *Esther* concerning her parentage a while, might be taken for a great Lady, yet *Codoman*s inference is nothing probable, that she should therefore, and

for the great affection which the King bare vnto her, he thought the daughter of *Cyrus*. Certaine it is, that *Ezra* did at length discover her Kindred and Nation; whereby if Histories could be kept free from this error, yet the people, and especially the Nobility, must needs haue vnderstood the truth: who neuertheless did so well know the parentage of *Messia*, that for her sake, as being daughter of *Cyrus*, her sonne *Xerxes* was preferred to the Kingdome before his elder brother, against whom also he could haue pretended a very weake clayme. But of these things more hereafter in fitter place.

CHAP. IV.

The estate of things from the death of Cyrus to the
reigne of Darius.

§. I.

Of the number and names of the Persian Kings.



The successors of *Cyrus*, and the continuance of the *Persian* Empire, there are many opinions; As that of *Metasthenes*, who hath numbred the *Persian* Kings and their times, as followeth.

Darius Medus, and Cyrus ioynly	2
Cyrus alone.	22
Priscus Artaxerxes.	20
Darius Longimanus.	37
Darius Nothus.	19
Artaxerxes Mnemon.	55
Artaxerxes Ochus.	26
Arjes, or Arjames.	4
Darius the last, conquered by Alexander.	6
	yeeres.

To which *Philo* agreeth; which number of yeeres added, make in all an hundred nintie and one. But in this Catalogue *Metasthenes* hath left out *Cambyses* and *Xerxes*, and names *Artaxerxes Assuerus* for the immediate successor of *Cyrus*; in place (saith *Metasthenes*) of *Darius* the sonne of *Hystaspes*; for *Metasthenes*, as *Melancthon* coniectureth, doth not account *Cambyses* in the Catalogue, because his reigne was confounded with that of *Cyrus*.

There is a second opinion, though ridiculous, of *Seder Olam*, who finds but foure *Persian* Kings from the beginning to the end of that Empire.

Genebrard, *Schubert*, and *Beroaldus* haue also a differing account from the *Greekes*, whom neuertheless *Eusebius* and most of the Latines follow, and so doth *Krentzheim*, who hath fully answered, and as I take it, refuted all the former Authors varying from that account: For in this sort doe the *Greekes* marshall the *Persian* Kings with the times of their reignes.

Chron. Krentz.
fol 125.

Melancthon
giues Cyrus
but 29.

Melancthon but 20

Melancthon but 20
Melancthon 26.

Melancthon 4.

Cyrus in all.	30
Cambyses, with the Magi.	8
Darius Hystaspes.	36
Xerxes.	21
Artaxerxes Longimanus.	40
Darius Nothus.	19
Artaxerxes Mnemon.	43
Artaxerxes Ochus.	23
Arjames.	3
Darius the last.	6
	yeeres.

Which numbers, put together, make in all two hundred and thirtie.

This account (as I haue said) the most Chronologers and the best learned approue: These *Persian* Princes being all warranted by the authority of the Scriptures, as *Pencer* in his historical Animaduersion hath gathered the places, finding first *Cyrus* in the second of *Chronicles*, chap. 36. vers. 22. 23. *Ezra* 1. chap. 1. vers. 1. and often elsewhere.

Secondly *Cambyses* in the eleauenth of *Daniel*, who may indeede be well esteemed for one of those three Kings in the second verse named, and so the marginnall Commentor vpon the *Genese* vnderstands that place; but, vnder correction, mistakes the matter greatly, when he saith in the same note, that *Darius Hystaspes* was an enemy to the people of God, and stood against them: his great fauour and liberality to the *Jewes* being elsewhere approued.

Thirdly, is *Darius Hystaspes* found in *Ezra* the first, c. 4. v. 5. who in the sixth verse is also named *Assuerus*.

Fourthly, in the eleauenth of *Daniel* verse the second, *Xerxes* is plainly foretold and described, and the great warre which he should make against the *Greekes* by *Daniel* remembered.

Fifthly, *Artaxerxes Longimanus* in *Ezra* the fourth, verse seauen, who is also called *Artaxerxes*, c. 4. v. 1. lib. *Ezra* v. 7. and cap. 7. v. 7.

Sixthly, *Darius Nothus*, *Ezra* cap. 4. verse 24. and cap. 5. verse 6. *Mehem*, cap. 12. vers. 22.

Seauenthly, *Artaxerxes Mnemon* in *Nehem* c. 2. v. 1. who was father to *Artaxerxes Ochus*, and *Arjames*: for *Darius* the last, he was of another Family, the Line of *Cyrus* the Great ending in *Ochus*, who descended from *Xerxes* the sonne of *Astassus*, *Cyrus* his Daughter, and the issue male of *Cyrus* failing with his owne Sonnes.

But to proceede, *Eusebius* with the Latines, following the *Greekes*, apply the beginnings and ends of euery *Persian* King with their Aēs, to some certaine Olympiad; As the war of *Alyges* (*Cyrus* his maternall Grand-father) and *Alyattes* (*Cræsus* his father) to the nine and fortieth Olympiad; The beginning of *Cyrus* reigne to the beginning of the five and fiftieth Olympiad; The taking of *Sardis* by *Cyrus* to the eight and fiftieth Olympiad; The inuasion of *Egypt* by *Cambyses* to the third yeere of the threecore and third Olympiad, and so of the rest. Which reference with good agreement betwene seuerall formes of computation adde the more credit vnto both.

Againe, this historical demonstration is confirmed by the Astronomical computation of *Ptolomie*, who refers the death of *Alexander* the Great, who died the 12. of November, in the beginning of the hundred and fortieth Olympiad, to the foure hundred and foure and twentieth yeere after *Nabonassar*. And the *Era* of *Nabonassar* began on the fixe and twentieth of Februarie: which conferred with the Olympiad, was in the ninth Month of the first yeere of the eighth Olympiad; So that whether we follow the accounts of the Olympiads, as doe the *Greeke* Historians, or that of *Nabonassar* with *Ptolomie*, we shall finde euery memorabile accident to fall out right with each computation.

For *Ptolomie* reckons the time answerable to two hundred and foure and twenty *Iulian* yeeres, and an hundred and forty dayes from *Nabonassar*, to the sixteenth of *Iulie* in the seauenth yeere of *Cambyses*.

The *Greekes*, and namely *Diodorus Siculus*, place the taking of *Egypt* by *Cambyses* in the second or third yeere of the threecore and third Olympiad, and the beginning of *Cambyses* seauenth yeere in the first of the threecore and fourth Olympiad: which first of the threecore and fourth Olympiad runs along with part of the two and twentieth of *Nabonassar*. The like agreement is consequently found about the beginning and end of *Cyrus*.

Likewise the twentieth of *Darius*, who succeeded *Cambyses*, is according to *Ptolomie* the two hundred and fixe and fortieth of *Nabonassar*, which (obseruing the differences of *Nabonassars Era* and the Olympiad, viz. eight and twentie yeeres) it agrees with the third of the threecore and ninth Olympiad, wherein it is placed by the *Greekes*. In this *Iosephus* agrees with the *Greekes* throughout, sauing that he ioyneth *Darius Medus*, whom *Xenophon* calleth *Cyaxares*, with *Cyrus*, in the destruction of *Babylon*, which is true, and not contrary to the *Greeke* computation, but may very well stand with it.

Lastly, the disagreements and confused accomps of those that follow the other Catalogue of the *Persian* Kings formerly rehearsed, doth giue the greater credit to this of the

Greekes, which being constant in it selfe, accordeth also with the computation of other Historians, and Astronomers, and likewise with the holy Scriptures.

§. II.

Of Cambyfes, and the conquering of Egypt by him.

WE will therefore according to the truth give the Empire of Persia to Cambyfes, the sonne of Cyrus, though degenerate in all things, saving the desire to increase the greatness of his Empire: whereof he was possessor in his Fathers time while Cyrus made warre in the North. Ctesias with others give him a longer reigne than agreeth with the Grecian account before recited.

In the fifth yeere of his sole reigne, and in the third yeere of the threecore and third Olympiad, according to Diodor & Eusebius, he invaded Egypt, and having overthrowne the King thereof, Psammeniticus, he not only caused him to be slaine, but also did put to death all his kindred and dependants, with the most of his children.

Herodotus and Ctesias give for cause of this Warre (being no other indeed than the Ambition of Cambyfes) that when he sent to Amasis King of Egypt, to have his daughter in marriage, Amasis presented him with Nitetis the daughter of Apries his predecessor, which Cambyfes disdaind.

Howsoever it were; true it is, that Cambyfes gathered an Armie fit for such an enterprise, and caused the same to march. But before they entred Egypt, Amasis died, and left Psammeniticus, whom Ctesias called Amyrteus, his successeur, who enjoyed Egypt after his father (according to the best copies of Herodotus) but fixe Months, though other Chronologers give him fixe yeeres.

But how long fouer he held the Crowne, in one battell he lost it, and was himselfe taken prisoner.

It is said that Cambyfes following therein the example of Cyrus, did not only spare life to the conquered King, but that he also trusted him with the government of Egypt; and that upon some revolt, or suspicion thereof, he caused him to be slaughtered. But the race of this King was not so extirpated, if we may beleue Herodotus and Thucydides, but that he left a Sonne called Inarus, who caused the Egyptian to revolt both from Xerxes and Artaxerxes.

That Psammeniticus was at the first entreated gently by Cambyfes, I hold it very improbable, if it be true which is also written of him, That he so much hated Amasis the King of Egypt, who died before his arrivall, that he caused his body to be drawne out of the graue, and after divers indignities vsed, commanded the same to be burnt, contrary to the custome both of the Egyptians and Persians. For the Egyptians vsed to powder their dead bodies with salt, and other drugs, to the end the wormes might not deuoure them. The Persians durst not consume them with fire, which they esteemed as a God, and therefore feared to feede it with Carrion.

§. III.

The rest of Cambyfes his acts.

AFTER this victory obtained in Egypt, Cambyfes sent an Armie into Cyprus, and constrained Eueltion King thereof to acknowledge him, who before held that Island of the Egyptians.

While Cambyfes yet busied himselfe in Egypt, he so much detested the Idolatry of that Nation, as he caused the Images themselves, with the Temples whererein they were worshipped, to be toine downe and defaced. This done, he directed a part of his Armie into Lybia, to ouerturne the Temple of Iupiter Ammon; but the Diuell in defence of his Oratorie raised such a tempest of Sand, wherewith the greatest part of that Country is covered, as the Persians were there with choked and ouerwhelmed.

Notwithstanding which misadventure, Herodotus and Seneca report, that disdaining to be resisted, he prepared the rest of his Army, which himselfe meant to conduct into those parts, but that finding a beginning of those incommodities, which his first sent troupe had tried, he changed his purpose. For though conquering Kings haue power ouer men, yet the Elements doe not obey them, according to that old English proverbe, *God, saith the Kings, Stay, saith the Tide.*

After

After his returne from the attempt of Ethiopia, hee caused Apis the Egyptian Bull, worshipped by that Nation as God, to be slaine: a deed very commendable, had it proceeded from true zeale, and bene executed as in defence of him that onely is, and liueth. But soon afterwards, when in a dreame it seemed vnto him that Smerdis did sit in the royal Throne of Persia (which apparition was verified in Smerdis the Magus) hee gaue it in charge to his fauourite Praxaspes, to murder Smerdis his brother. And having married his owne sister, contrary to the Persian Lawes, he committed a most causelesse and most detestable murder vpon the one of them, called Meroe, then by him selfe with childe, because she bewailed the death of her brother Smerdis. I finde it written of this Cambyfes, that because his predecessors obserued religiously the ordinances of their Empire, hee assembled his Iudges, and enquired of them, whether there were any law among the Persians that did permit the brother to marry his owne sister: it being his owne intent so to doe. The Iudges (who had alwaies either lawes or distinctions in store to satisfie Kings and times) made answer, that there was not any thing written allowing any such communion, but they notwithstanding found it in their customes, that it was alwaies left to the will of the Persian Kings to doe what best pleased themselves; and so, as Naucleus termes it, *inueniant occasionem*: That is as much to say, as the Iudges found a shift to please the King, and to secure themselves. And yet, where it concerned not the Kings private satisfaction, hee caused Sisamnis one of his Iudges, and perchance one of those which fauoured his incestuous match, to be slayed a-lie, for an vnjust judgement giuen, and the same his hide to be hung vp ouer the iudgement seate. After which bestowing the fashions Office on his sonne, hee willed him to remember, that the same partialitie defaced the same punishment.

Among other his cruelties, that which hee exercised against the sonne of his beloued Praxaspes was very strange and vngatefull. For when hee desired to be truly informed by him what the Persians thought of his conditions, Praxaspes answered, That his vertues were followed with abundant praise from all men, onely it was by many obserued, that hee tooke more than vsuall delight in the taste of Wine. With which taxation inflamed, he vsed this replication: And are the Persians double-tongued, who also tell mee that I please in all things excellend my Father Cyrus? thou Praxaspes shalt then witness, whether in this report they haue done me right: for if at the first thou I pierce thy sonnes heart with an arrow, then is it false that hath bene spoken; but if I misse the marke, I am then pleased that the same be accounted true, and my subiects beleueed. This being spoken, hee immediately directed an arrow towards the innocent childe, who falling downe dead with the stroke, Cambyfes commanded his body to be opened, and his heart being broched on the arrow, this monstrous Tyrant greatly reioicing, shewed it to the Father with this saying in stead of an Epitaph: *Now Praxaspes, thou misst resolve thy selfe that I haue not lost my wittes with Wine, but the Persians theirs, who make such report.*

Many other barbarous cruelties he exercised, till at the last, according to the phrase of our Law, he became *selon de soy*. For when he was informed that Patizites, and Smerdis the Magi, (Cedrenus writeth them Sphendanes and Cimerdus) Ministers of his domestick affairs, taking advantage of the great resemblance betwene Smerdis the Kings brother, and Smerdis the Magus, possessed themselves of the Empire, he made all haste towards Persia, and in mounting hastily on horsebacke, his sword dissheathing, pierced his owne thigh, where-with deadly wounded, falling into an ouer-late and remediless repentance of the slaughter which he had executed vpon his owne brother, hee soon after gaue vp his wicked ghost, when he had reigned eight yeeres, accounting therein those seuen Months in which the Magi gouerned, while he was absent.

In Cambyfes the Male line of Cyrus failed. For he had no issue either by Atossa or Meroe: yet Zonasus out of Hierome giues him a Daughter called Pantapes, and a son called Oromes, who being drowned in the Riuer Ophites by Antioch, the same was afterward in memorie of the Princes death called Oromes.

He built the Citie of Babylon in Egypt, in the place where Latopolis was formerly seated, and that of Meroe in the Island of Nilus, calling it by the name of his sister Meroe.

§. IIII.

Of the inter-regnum betweene Cambyſes and Darius.

CYRUS and his two ſonnes being now dead, and the Kingdome in the poſſeſſion of one of the *Magi*, the counterfeit of *Smerdis*, the Princes, or *Satrapes*, or Provinciall Governours of the Empire (to wit, *Otanes*, *Intaphernes*, *Gobrias*, *Megabyſus*, *Alphathines*, *Hidarnes*, and *Darius*, who were all deſcended from *Achamenes* the firſt *Perſian* King,) having diſcovered the fraud of this impoſture, ioynd their forces together, ſurprized and rooted out the Conſpirator with his Companions, and aſſiſtants. In to which action (ſaith *Iuſtine*) *Intaphernes* and *Alphathines* were ſlaine; but *Herodotus* otherwiſe, that they were onely wounded, for he auoweth, that all the ſeven Princes were preſent at the election following.

For the Empire being now without a Gouvernour, theſe Princes grew into conſultation how the ſame might be ordered from thence-forth. *Otanes* one of the ſeven did not ſancie any election of Kings, but that the Nobilitie and Cities ſhould confederate, and by juſt lawes defend their liberty in equalitye, giuing diuers reaſons for his opinion, being as it ſeemed greatly terrified, by the cruelties of *Cambyſes*; As firſt, that it was not ſafe to giue all power to any one, ſeeing greatneſſe it ſelfe, euen in good men, doth often infect the minde with many vices, and the libertie and freedome in all things is ſo apt to inſult, and to commit all manner of wicked outrage. Againe, that tyrants doe commonly viſe the ſeruices of wicked men, and fauour them moſt; they vſurp vpon the lawes of their Countrey; take other mens wiues by force, and deſtroy whom they pleaſe without iudgement.

Megabyſus was of another opinion, affirming that the tyrannie of a multitude was thrice more intolerable, than that of one. For the multitude doe all things without iudgement, runne into buſineſſe and affaires with precipitation, like raging and ouer-bearing floods.

He therefore thought it ſafeſt to make election of a few, and thoſe of the beſt, wiſeſt, and moſt vertuous; becauſe it is euer found, that excellent Counſailers are euer had from excellent men.

Darius gaue the third iudgement, who perſwaded the creation of a King, becauſe euen among few diuturnitie of concord is ſeldome found; and in great Empires it doth euer happen that the diſcord of many Rulers hath inforſt the election of one Supreme. It were therefore, ſaith *Darius*, ſarre ſafer to obſerue the lawes of our Countrey, by which Kingly government hath bene ordained.

The other foure Princes adhered to *Darius*, and agreed to continue the ſame Imperiall government by God eſtabliſhed, and made prosperous. And to auoid partialitie, it was accorded, that the morning following theſe ſeven Princes ſhould mount on Horſe-backe, and on him the Kingdome ſhould be conferred, whoſe horſe after the Sun-riſing ſhould firſt ney or bray. In the euening after this appointment was made, it is ſaid that *Darius* conſulted with the Maſter of his horſe *Oebarius*, who in the Suburbs of the Citie where the election was reſolued of, cauſed the ſame Horſe, whereon in the morning *Darius* was mounted, to couer a Mare, who as ſoone as hee came into the ſame place was the firſt horſe that brayed. Whereupon the other fixe Princes deſcended from their horſes, and acknowledged *Darius* for their Lord and King.

Plato in the third of his Lawes affirmeth, that in memorie of the ſeven Princes, whereof *Darius* himſelfe was one, that deliuered the Empire from the vſurpation of the *Magi*, he diuided the whole into ſeven governments; *Herodotus* ſaith, into twenty *Satrapies*.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of Darius the ſonne of Hyſtaſpes.

§. I.

Of Darius his Linage.



Arius was deſcended of the ancient *Perſian* Kings, to wit, of the *Achemenide*, of which, *Cyrus* the Great was the lineall Succellor. For in this ſort *Herodotus* deriues him as before.

Cyrus the firſt, who had
Teſpius, who begat
Ariarammes, who was father of
Arſammes, the father of
Hyſtaſpes, the father of
Darius, ſurnamed *Celes*, the father of *Xerxes*.

Cut. l. 4.

Hyſtaſpes accompanied *Cyrus* the Great, in the warres againſt the *Scythians*, at which time *Cyrus* being made ieaſous of *Darius* by a dreame of his owne, cauſed him to be ſent into *Perſia*, others ſay to be imprifoned, from whence by the death of *Cyrus* he was deliuered, and made Gouvernour of the *Perſian* *Naui*. He afterward followed *Cambyſes* into *Egypt*; he then ioynd with the reſt of the Princes againſt the *Magi*, and either by the meyn of his horſe, or, as others affirme, by ſtrong hand he obtained the Empire, which he the more aſſured to himſelfe by taking two of *Cyrus* Daughters, and as many of his Nieces for his wiues.

Hyſtaſpes, according to * *Herodotus*, had beſides *Darius* theſe three ſonnes, who were great Commanders in the warre which *Darius* made in *Aſia* the leſſe, *Thrace*, *Macedon*, and *Greece*, *Ararnes*, *Artaphernes*, and *Artabanus*, who diſſwaded *Xerxes* from the ſecond *Greecian* warre. *Hyſtaſpes* had alſo a Daughter married to *Gobrias* the Father of *Mardonius*, who commanded the Armie of *Darius* in *Macedon*, and married the Daughter of *Darius*, *Artacaſte* his Coſen germaine.

Herodotus giues to *Hyſtaſpes* ſiue ſonnes, *Darius* who ſucceeded *Cambyſes*, *Artabanus*, *Artaphernes*, *Otanes*, and *Atarnes*, with two daughters.

§. II.

Of Darius his Government, and ſuppreſſing the rebellion of Babylon.

Darius deuifed equall lawes whereby his ſubiects might be governed, the ſame being formerly promiſed by *Cyrus*. He gaue acceſſe to all his ſubiects, and behauiued himſelfe ſo mildly to all men, that many Nations deſired and offered themſelves to become his Vaffals: Onely he layed diuers payments and taxes on the people, which had not bene accuſtomed in *Cyrus* time; to the value of foureteene thouſand fixe hundred and threſcore talents, ſaith *Herodotus*.

The warre which *Cambyſes* made a ſarre off in *Egypt*, and the contention betweene the *Magi*, and the Princes of *Perſia*, for the Empire, gaue heart to the *Babylonians* to recover their libertie, and to ſhake off the *Perſian* yoke, whereof *Darius* being aduertified, he prepared an Armie to recouer that Citie and State reuolted. But finding the ſame a difficult worke, he vſed the ſeruice of *Zopirus*, who for the loue he bare *Darius*, did cut off his owne Eares and Noſe, and with other wounds yet friſh bleeding, he ſeemed to flye to the *Babylonians* for ſuccour, to whom he accuſed the cruelty of *Darius*: who, for hauing giuen him aduice to giue ouer the ſiege of their Citie, had in this ſort diſmembred and deformed him; whereupon the *Babylonians* gaue him that credit, as they truſted him with the diſpoſition and commandement of their greateſt forces: which when *Zopirus* had obtained, after ſome ſmall colourable ouer-throwes giuen to the *Perſians* vpon ſallies, he deliuered the Citie into *Darius* his hands, who had lye before it twentie Months.

§ III.

Of Darius his fauour to the Iewes in building the Temple.

IN the second yeere of *Darius*, he gaue order that the building of the Temple at *Hierusalem* should goe on, and commanded that the same should be finished at his owne charge, and out of the reuenues of the Crowne. And whereas the Gouvernours of those Provinces which are situate betweene *Euphrates*, and the *Phenician*, and mid-land Sea, (whom *Ezra* calleth the Captaines beyond the River) had hindered the worke in *Cambyses* his time, *Darius* gaue commandement that they should thenceforth come neere vnto *Ierusalem*, to giue any impediment to the building, but that they should with-draw themselves, and get them farre off till all were finished and at an end. In the old *Latine* it is written, *Procul ecedite ab illis; with-draw your selves farre from them*; In our *Englishe*, *Be ye farre from thence*, to wit, from the Citie, and Temple, now in building.

He also made a decree, which concerned his owne Subiects, That whosoever should thenceforth hinder the setting vp of the Temple of God, that his house should be rone downe, and the disturber hanged on a Gallowes made of the timber thereof. He also in the same decree maketh inuocation to God, *That hath caused his name to dwell there (to destroy all Kings and People that put their hands to alter, and to destroy this house of God which is in Ierusalem, &c.* In foure yeeres after which decree (the *Iewes* being really furnished with money and all things necessary from *Darius*) the Temple was in all finished, to wit, in the beginning of the Spring, in the sixth yeere of *Darius Hystaspes*; and in the two and fortieth after their first returne.

§ IIII.

Of Darius his Scythian Warre.

AFTER the recovery of *Babylon* he invaded the *Scythians*, whose King *Iastine* calleth *Lauchinus*; and saith, that *Darius* vnder-tooke this warre against him, because he refused him his Daughter in marriage. The better to conuoy his Armie into *Scythia*, he built a Bridge of small Vessels ouer the River *Ister* or *Danubius*, and gaue the custody of the same in charge (among others of *Asia* the lesse) to the *Ionians*, and *Asians*, among whom was *Miltiades*, who perswaded the *Asian Grecians* to breake downe the bridge, to the end *Darius* might not returne thereby, and if by any other way, then not without great difficultie; but the same was resisted by *Hystian* Prince of *Miles*, a Citie of *Ionis*, which Nation being a Colonie of the *Greekes*, *Diodorus* calleth Traitors to their Country, because they ioynd themselves to *Darius*. But the *Scythians* more elegantly rearm'd them good slaues, for as much as they would not run away from their Master, but were more mindefull of doing their duties, than of shaking off their bondage, when they were presented with as faire an occasion of liberty as could haue bene desired. For the great Armie of *Darius* entering the desert Countrie called *Bessarabia*, found in it neither people to resist them, nor any sustenance to relieue them. For the *Scythians* were then, as are the *Chirm Tartars*, their posteritie, at this day, all horse-men, vying the Bow and Sword. They were not Plough-men, but Graiers, driving their Herds from one placeto another, as opportunity of pasture led them. Standing Townes they had none, but vsed for Houses the Waggones wherein they carried their wiues and children. These Waggones they place at euery Station in very good order, making Streets and Lanes in the manner of a great Towne, remoueable at their pleasure. Neither hath the Emperour himselfe, called now the great *Chirm*, any other Citie than such as *Agas* (as they name it) or Towne of Carts. When as therefore *Darius* had wearied himselfe, and wasted his prouision in those desolate Regions, wherein he found neither wayes to direct him, victuals to refresh him, nor any houses, fruitfull trees, or liuing creatures, nor any thing at all, which either he himselfe might make vse of, or by destroying it might grieue his enemies; he began to perceiue his owne folly, and the danger into which he had brought him. Yet setting a good face vpon a bad game, he sent braue messages to the *Scythian*, bidding him to cease his flight, and either to make triall of his valour and fortune in plaine battaile: Or if he acknowledged himselfe the weaker, then to yelde by

by faire means, and become his Subiect, giuing him *Bar* hand Water, which the *Persians* vsed to demand as a signe, that all was yelded vnto them. To this challenge the *Scythian* returned an *Utirophicall* answer, sending a Bird, a Frog, a Mouse, and fine Arrows: which dumbe threw *Darius* interpreting by his owne will, thought that he did yelde all the Elements wherein those creatures live, and his weapons withall into his hands. But *Gobrias*, one of the haueen Princes, who had slaine the *Magi*, contriued their meaning aright, which was thus; O ye *Persians*, get ye wings like Birds, or diue under the water, or crepe into holes in the earth, for else ye shall not escape our arrows. And this interpretation was soone verified by the *Scythians* themselves, who assailed the *Persians* in campe, draue the horse-men into the trenches, and vexed the Armie with continual Alarums day and night; were so fearelesse of this great Monarch, and so little regarded him, that within his hearing, and euén in his sight, they did not forbear the pastime of courting a Hare, which they had started by chance. By this boldnesse of theirs, *Darius* was so discouraged, that he forsooke his Campe by night, making many fires, and leaving all that were sicke and weake behinde him, and so with all speed marched away towards the River *Ister*. He was pursued hardly by the *Scythians* who mist him, yet arriving at the Bridge before him, perswaded the *Ionians* to depart, assuring them that the *Persian* King should neuer more be able to doe them either good or harme. Which words had certainly bene proued true, had not *Hystian* the *Asiaticus* preuailed with his people, to attend to the coming of *Darius*, whom the *Scythians* did likewise faile to meete, when they returned from *Ister* to seeke him out.

§ V.

Some actions of the Persians in Europe, after the Scythian Warre.

DARIUS hauing thus escaped out of *Scythia*, determined the inuasion of *Thrace* and *Macedon*, in which Warre he employed *Megabazus*, who mastered the *Pannonians*, and transplanted them, and possesst *Perinthus*, *Chalcedon*, *Bizantium*, and other places, being also soone after subiected, and added to the *Persian* Empire by *Oxiartes*, the sonne of *Sylammes*, whom *Cambyses* had exorciated for false iudgement. So were the Cities of * *Scythria* and * *Cardia* likewise taken in for the *Persian*, who hauing now reduced vnder his obeyfancie the best part of *Thrace*, did send his Embassadours to *Amintas* King of *Macedon* adioyning, demanding of him by the Earth and Water, the Sovereignty ouer that Kingdom. *Amintas* doubting his owne strength, entertained the Embassadours with gentle words, and afterward inuited them to a solemne and magnificient feast, the *Persians* greatly desired that the *Macedonian* Ladies might be present: which being granted, the Embassadours who were well filled with wine, and presumed vpon their greatnesse, and many victories, began to vse such imbracings, and other lasciuious behaviour towards those Noble Ladies, as *Alexander* the Kings Sonne, great Grand-father to *Alexander* the Great, disdaining the *Persians* barbarous presumption, belought his father to withdraw himselfe from the assembly, continuing notwithstanding all honourable respect towards the Embassadours, whom withall he cōtreated that the Ladies might refresh themselves for a while; promising their speedy returne. This being obtained, *Alexander* caused the like number of well-fauoured yong-men to clothe themselves in the same garments, and to vse the same attires which the Ladies had worn at the feast, giuing them in charge, That when the *Persians* offered to abuse them, they should forthwith transpierce them with their long kniues, of which they were prouided for that purpose, which was accordingly performed. Charge was soone after giuen by *Darius* for a seuerer reuenge of this murder. But *Alexander*, somewhat before the death of *Amintas*, gaue his sister *Gygea* in marriage to *Bubris*, a principall Commander of *Darius* forces on that side, who perswading her husband how helpfull the Alliance of *Macedon* would proue for the inuasion of *Attica* intended, so preuailed, as *Alexander* escaped that tempest, which threatened to fall vpon him very suddenly; the warre of *Asia* the lesse, called *Ionick*, falling out at the same time.

§. VI.

The first occasion of the Warre which Darius made upon Greece, with a rehearsal of the government in Athens, whence the quarrell grew.

NOW the better to vnderstand the reason and motives of that great Warre, which followed soon after, betweene the *Persians* and *Grecians*, it is necessary to make a short repetition of the state of *Athens*, which Citie endured the hardest and worst brunt of *Darius* inuasion on that side the Sea with admirable successe. Neither doe I hold it any impertinency, to be large in vnfoling euery circumstance of so great a business as gaue fire to those wars, which neuer could be thoroughly quenched, vntill in the ruine of this great *Persian* Monarchie, *Persopolis* the capitall Citie of the Empire, was at the request of an *Athenian* Harlot consumed with a flame, as dreadfull as in the pride of their greatnesse, the *Persians* had raised in *Athens*.

Now therefore as out of the former bookes it may be gathered, how *Athens*, and other parts of *Greece*, were anciently gouerned, the same being already set downe, though scatteringly, & in seuerall times, among other the Contemporarie occurrences of the Eastern Emperors, and the Kings of *Iudea*; so I thought it very pertinent in this place to remember againe the two last changes in the State of *Athens*. As for the *Lacedemonians*, they maintained still their ancient policie vnder Kings, though these also after some fiftene or sixtens bridled by the *Ephori*.

Codrus King of the *Athenians* in the former bookes remembred, who willingly died for the safetie of his people, was therefore so honored by them, as (thinking none worthy to succede him) they changed their former gouernement from Monarchical to Princes for teame of life, of which *Medon* the sonne of *Codrus* was the first, after whom they were called *Medontide*; and of these there were twelue Generations besides *Medon*, to wit.

Agastus.

Archippus, in whose times the *Greekes* transported themselves into *Ionia*, after *Troy* an hundred and fourecore yeeres, according to *Eusebius*; which migration all other Chronologers (such as follow *Eusebius* herein excepted) finde in the yeere after *Troy* fallen one hundred and fortie.

Thersippus.

Phorbas.

Merades.

Diogenetus, in whose time *Lycurgus* gaue Lawes to the *Spartans*.

Pheredus.

Ariphron.

Thespius, in whose time the *Assyrian* Empire was ouerthrowne by *Belochus*, and

Abaces.

Agamessior.

Æschylus, in whose time the *Ephori* (according to *Eusebius*) were erected in *Lacedemon*.

Alcemon, the last Prince for life, after whose death the *Athenians* elected Decennall Gouernours: the former Princes

This *Solon* being a man of excellent wisdom, gaue lawes to the *Athenians*, which were published according to *Gellius*, in the three and thirtieth yeere of *Tarquinius Priscus*, and were in after-ages deriued vnto the *Romanes*, and by the *Decemviri* (Magistrates in *Rome* created for that purpose) reduced into twelue Tables, which were the ground of the *Romane* lawes. But these goodly ordinances of *Solon*, were in his owne dayes violated, and for a while almost quite extinguished. For whereas they were framed vnto the

for life having continued in all three hundred and sixtene yeeres. The first of those that gouerned for ten yeeres, or the 30 first *Archon*, was

Charops, then

Æsymedes.

Elydicus.

Hippomenes.

Leocrates.

Alxander.

Erixias was the last *Archon* of the decennall

Gouernours, which forme continuing threecore and tenne yeeres, was then changed into annuall Magistrates, Maiors, or Burg-masters, of which *Thesius* was the first, according to *Pausanias*: others finde *Leofistratus*; and then

Anthothenes.

Archimedes.

Miltiades.

Damastus.

Draco.

Megacles.

Solon, and others, who are the lesse to be regarded, by reason of the yeerely change.

This *Solon* being a man of excellent wisdom, gaue lawes to the *Athenians*, which were published according to *Gellius*, in the three and thirtieth yeere of *Tarquinius Priscus*, and were in after-ages deriued vnto the *Romanes*, and by the *Decemviri* (Magistrates in *Rome* created for that purpose) reduced into twelue Tables, which were the ground of the *Romane* lawes. But these goodly ordinances of *Solon*, were in his owne dayes violated, and for a while almost quite extinguished. For whereas they were framed vnto the

practice and maintenance of a popular gouernement; the estate of *Athens* was very soon changed into a Monarchie by *Pisistratus* the sonne of *Hippocrates*: who finding the Citizens distracted into two factions, whereof *Megacles* and *Lycurgus* two Citizens of noble Families were become the heads, tooke occasion by their contention and insolenie to raise a third faction more powerfull than the other two, and more plausible, for that he seemed a Protector of the Citizens in generall. Having by this means obtained loue and credit, he wounded himselfe, and fained that by malice of his enemies he had like to have bene slaine for his loue to the good Citizens; he procured a guard for his defence, and with that band of men surprizing the State-house, or Cittadell of *Athens*, he made himselfe Lord of the Towne; *Hegesistratus* being then Gouernour. But the Citizens, who in euery change of gouernment had sought to remoue themselves further and further from the forme of a Monarchie, could so ill brooke this vsurpation of *Pisistratus*, that he was driven for lacke of helpe to flye the Towne, as soone as *Megacles* and *Lycurgus* ioyning their forces attempted his expulsion. Yet as the building of his tyranny founded vpon the dissension of the Citizens, was ruined by their good agreement; so was it soon after well reedified by the new breaking out of the old factions. For when *Megacles* found the power of *Lycurgus* to grow greater than his owne, he did (as is the vsuall practice of the weaker side) call in the common enemy *Pisistratus*, to whom he gaue his Daughter in marriage; by which alliance the Family of the *Alcmaeonide*, whereof *Megacles* was chiefe, became very powerfull, yet so that *Pisistratus* by their power was made Master both of them and all the rest. But this agreement held not long; the *Alcmaeonide*, and especially *Megacles* being incensed against *Pisistratus* for his misdeemeanor towards his Wife. Wherefore they practised with the Souldiers of the Towne, proceeding in their treason so secretly, and so farre, that *Pisistratus* vpon the first discouery of their intent, perceived no other remedy for his affaires, than to with-draw himselfe to *Eretria*, where he remained cleauely yeeres. While time being expired, hauing hired Souldiers out of many parts of *Greece*, he againe recovered the principality of *Athens*: after which third obtaining his estate, he gouerned *Athens* seauenteene yeeres, according to *Aristotle*, and reigned in all thirty and three yeeres, saith *Elianus*, but *Justinus* hath it, foure and thirty, accounting the time belike as well before as after his seuerall expulsions. *Herodotus* giues the Father and Sonne fixe and thirtie yeeres; *Aristotle* fixe and thirty. But *Thucydides* himselfe, that he died very old, leauing for his Successours his two Sonnes *Hippias* and *Hipparchus*, who gouerned the *Athenians* with such moderation, as they rather seemed the lineall successors of a naturall Prince than of a Tyrant. But in the end, and some three yeeres before *Hippias* was expelled out of *Athens*, his brother *Hipparchus* was murdered by *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*. The cause why, and the manner how performed, *Thucydides* hath writtten at large. And though *Hipparchus* were charged with vnaturall lust after *Harmodius*, yet *Plato* in his Dialogue, intituled *Hipparchus*, doth greatly magnifie him, affirming that he was a Prince of as many eminent vertues as that Age had any, altogether condemning the murderers and authors of that scandall. *Hippias* fearing that this euersel vpon his brother had more and deeper rootes than were apparent, first sought to discouer the further intents of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, by a Harlot of theirs called *Lamaca*: who because she would not reueale her Companions, did cut out her owne tongue. Then did *Hippias*, the better to strengthen himselfe, enter into a strait amity with *Æantides*, Tyrant of the Citie *Lampsacus*, whom he knew to be greatly fauoured by *Darius*, to whose sonne *Hypoclitus* he gaue one of his Daughters in marriage. But some three yeeres after the death of his brother, doubting I know not what strong practice against himselfe, he began to vse the Citizens with great feuerity, which neither *Pisistratus* the Father, nor *Hippias* himselfe had euer exercised, during their vsurpation till this time.

And therefore the *Athenians* fearing lest that this disease might rather increase, than diminish in *Hippias*, they stirred vp *Clisthenes* one of the noblest and best able of their Citie, to practice their deliuey: who calling to his assistance the banished *Alcmaeonide*, together with an Armie of the *Lacedemonians*, led by *Cleomenes* their King. To affrighted *Hippias*, as by composition he gaue over his estate, and the possession of *Athens*, and from thence imbakd himselfe, tooke land at *Sigæum*, whence he went to *Lampsacus* in *Æstia* gouerned by *Æantides*, who presented him to *Darius*. He was deuiud of his estate, as *Herodotus* and *Thucydides* agree, twenty yeeres before the battell of *Marathon*: all which time he continued, partly with *Æantides*, at other times with *Artabernes* Lieutenant for

Her. l. 2.
Eretria a Citie
of Euboea, by
others called
Ætæne, by
Stephanus
Eretria.

Pol. 5.
Herodotus, apud
Eliam, pag. 36.
Eliam, pag. 36.
Thucid. l. 6. c. 19.

Thucid. l. 6. c. 19.

Thucid. l. 6. c. 19.

Thucid. l. 6. c. 19.

Thucid. l. 6. c. 19.

Thucid. l. 6. c. 19.

Thucid. l. 6. c. 19.

Thucid. l. 6. c. 19.

Darius

Darius in Sardis, the Metropolis of Lydia; perswading and practising the enterprize vpon Athens, which Darius in the end to his great dishonour vnder-tooke, twenty yeeres after Hippias had resigned his estate.

Thus farre I haue digressed from *Darius*, to the end the Reader may conceiue the better the causes and motives of this warre: whereof the hope that *Hippias* had to berethored to *Athens* by the helpe of *Darius*, which made him sollicite and perswade the *Persians* to conquer *Greece*, was one; but not the most vrgent.

§ VII.

Of the Ionian Rebellion, which was the principall cause of the warres ensuing betwene Greece and Persia.

Nother, and a strong motive to this expedition, was the *Ionick* warre, breaking out in *Asia* about the same time. The Colonies transported out of *Greece* into *Asia*, which occupied the greatest part of the Sea-coast, hauing enioyed their libertie about 500. yeeres, euen from the *Ionick* migration, to the time of *Craesus*, were by this *Lydian* King made Tributaries, and afterwards as parcel of his Dominions, were taken in by *Cyrus*, and left as hereditary Seruants to the Crowne of *Persia*.

But as it is the custome of Nations halfe conquered (witness *Ireland*) to rebell againe vpon euery aduantage and opportunity: so did the *Ionians*, and other *Gracians*, both in *Cyrus* his life, and after him, seeke by all means possible to free themselves.

At this time they found such men ready to spurre them into Rebellion, as had by the *Persian* beene giuen vnto them for bridles to hold them in subiection. Euery one of those Townes had a Lord to rule it, whom they (abhorring the government of one man) called their Tyrants. These Lords were very true to the *Persian*, by whose onely might they held the people in subiection. And this their dutifull affection they had well declared, when, *Darius* being in great extremity, they vsed all means to deliuer him and his Armie (that otherwise had bene lost) out of the *Scythians* hand. Of this great piece of seruice *Histiæus* the tyrant of *Miletus* expected the chiefe thanks, as hauing bene chiefe Author of their expecting *Darius*, when the rest, either perswaded by the *Scythians*, or carried away with their owne desires, were ready to haue abandoned him. But it came so to passe, that *Darius* being more fearefull of the harme that *Histiæus* (being powerfull and crafty) might doe to him in the future, than mindefull of the good which he had already receiued at his hand, found meanes to cary him a-long to *Susa*, where he detained him with all kinde visage of a friend, yet kept such good espiall vpon him, as anemie, he could not start away. *Histiæus* had subtilty enough to discouer the Kings purpose, which ill agreed with his owne desires. For he thought it more pleasant, and more honourable to rule as Prince in one faire Citie, hauing a small Territory, than to sit and feast at the great Kings table, and heare the counsailes by which a large Empire was managed; being himselfe an idle beholder, and enioying with much restraint of liberty, none other pleasures than a priuate man might bestow vpon himselfe.

Wherefore he bethought himselfe of raising of some tumults in the lower *Asia*, to pacifie which if he might be sent, as one that had great experience and authoritie in those quarters, it would afterwards be in his power to stay at home, and either satisfie the King with excuses, or deale as occasion shall require. Resolving vpon this course, he sent vry secret instructions to *Aristagoras* his kinsman, whom he had left his Deputie at *Miletus*, aduising him to stirre vp some Rebellion. These directions came seasonably to *Aristagoras*, who hauing failed in an enterprize vpon the Isle of *Naxos*, through the false dealing of a *Persian* his Associate, stood in feare of disgrace, if not of some further ill that might befall him, as one that had wasted the Kings treasures to no good purpose.

Therefore he readily embraced the counsaile: and the better to draw the whole Countie of *Ionis* into the same course which he determined to run, he abandoned his tyrannie, and did set *Miletus* at liberty. This plausible beginning wan vnto him the hearts of the *Milesians*: and his proceeding with other *Ionian* Tyrants (of whom some he tooke and sold as slaves to their Citizens, others he chased away) caused the whole Nation to be at his command. The *Persian* fleet, whereof he lately had bene Admirall in the enterprize of *Naxos*, he had surprised in his first breaking out, together with the principall

Officers,

Officers, and Captaines, so that now hee thought himselfe able to deale with the great Kings forces, lying thereabout, either by Land or Sea. But likely it was that the power of all *Asia* would shortly be vpon his necke, and crush both him and his assistants to pieces, vlesse hee were able to raise an Armie that might hold the field, which the *Ionians* alone were insufficient to performe. Therefore he tooke a iourney to *Sparta*, where hauing assayed in vaine with many arguments, and the offer of fittie talents, to win to his party *Clotomenes* King of the *Lacedemonians*: hee went from thence to *Athens*, and with better successe besought the people to lend him their assistance. The *Athenian* Embassadors which had bene sent to the *Persian* Kings Lieutenants in the lower *Asia*, desiring to them not to giue countenance to *Hippias*, now a banished man, and lately their Tyrant, were a while before this returned with ill answers, hauing found very churlish entertainment. So that the cuill which they were to expect in all likelihood from the *Persian*, made them willing to begin with him. To which purpose, their consanguinitie with the *Ionians*, and the perswasions of *Aristagoras*, drew them on apace, if perhaps his treasure were not helping. Twenty ships the *Athenians* furnished for this voyage; to which the *Eratrians* furnished fve more, in regard of the ancient kinnesse that had passed between the *Ionians* and them. With these and their owne forces ioyned, the *Ionians* entered the Riuer *Caustrus*, which falleth into the Sea by *Ephesus*: by which aduantage they surprised *Sardis* when no enemie was heard of or suspected; inso much, as *Artaphernes*, who so ruled as Vice-roy in those parts, had no other hope of safetie, than by recreating himselfe into the Castle; which the *Gracians* could not force: from whence he beheld the slaughter of the Citizens, and the Citie flaming.

The *Persians* at length, mixt with the Burgers, began to encourage them to defence, and recovered the Market place, strengthened by the riuer *Pactolus*, which ran through it; and borrowing courage from desperation, they both defended themselves, and charged their enemies; who well aduising themselves, made all the haste they could toward the Sea side. But *Artaphernes* hauing gathered all the strength he could, pursued the *Gracians*, and found them neere *Ephesus*; where setting resolutely vpon them, hee slaughtered a great part of their Armie; the rest sauing themselves in *Ephesus*. In this fight *Eualgides*, Captaine of the *Eratrians* perished: but his fame and memorie was by that excellent Poet *Simonides* preferred. After this ouerthrow, the *Athenians*, which were before sent vnto *Aristagoras* and to the *Ionians*, could by no arguments of theirs, nor by their teares, bee perswaded to make any second triall of their fortunes on that side the Sea.

Yet the burning of *Sardis* made a greater noyse in the world, than the late good successe which the *Persians* had in one or two skirmishes, could raise. Wherefore the *Ionians* brauely proceeding, won a great part of *Caria*; and sending their Fleet into the *Hellefoni*, got *Bizantium* and other Townes into their hands. Yea, the *Cyprians*, lately subdued by *Cambyfes*, beganne heereupon to take heart; and entering into confederacie with the *Ionians*, who were able to giue them ayd by Sea, rebelled against the *Persians*.

These newes comming to the eare of *Darius*, filled him with great indignation, and with an extreme hatred of the *Athenians*, vpon whom he vowed to take sharpe reuenge. As for the *Ionians*, his contempt of them, and their knowledge of his power, made him to thinke, that they would not haue dared to attempt such things, but by the instigation of those, to whom the ignorance of his great might had afforded the courage to provoke him. This was the maine ground of the Warre commenced by *Darius*, and pursued by *Xerxes* against *Athens*: To which, the solicitation of *Hippias*, before remembered, gaue onely some forme and assistance: the businesse, when once it was thus farre on foot, being like ynough to haue proceeded, though hee had perished ere it were aduanced any further.

Some other occurrents in this *Ionian* commotion extended the quarrell of *Darius* against many of the Ilanders, if not against the whole Nation of the *Greekes*; for all of them gaue to his Rebels free harbour: the Ilanders moreover did helpe to furnish out a Nauie of three hundred and sixtie saile against him. These prouocations did rather breede in him a desire to abate their pride, than any feare of harme that they were like to doe him. For what they had done at *Sardis*, was but by surprize. In euery fight they were beaten by the *Persians*, who had not yet lost the fruits of their discipline, wherein

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wherein *Cyrus* had trained them, nor all their ancient Captaines. In one sea-fight by the Ile of *Cyprus*, the *Ionians* indeede had the upper hand; but they were *Phoenicians*, *Aegyptians*, and *Cilicians*, whom they vanquished: neither was that victory of any use to them; the *Cyprians*, in whose aide they came, being vitterly beaten by the *Persian* Armie at Land, and reduced into their old subiection. So had the *Persians* likewise by open warre and faire force ouerthrowne the *Carians* in two battailes, and reclaimed that Nation; as also they had recouered the Townes vpon *Helleſpont*, with some *Aolian* and *Ionian* Cities: when *Aristagoras* with his friends quitting *Miletus*, fled into *Thrace*, desirous to feat himselfe in *Amphipolis*, a Colonie of the *Athenians*. But the *Edonians*, on whose Territorie belike he landed, ouerthrew him, & cut his troups in pieces.

About the same time, *Histias* the first mouer of this insurrection came downe into those quarters; who hauing vndertaken the performance of great matters to *Darius*, was glad to flye from his Lieutenants, by whom his double dealing was detected.

But this euasion preferred him not long. For after many vaine attempts that he made, he was taken in fight by the *Persians*, and haſtily beheaded, lest the King should pardon him vpon remembrance of old good turnes; as it seemes that he would haue done, by the buriall which he commanded to be giuen to his dead body that was crucified, and by his heauie taking of his death.

Histias had sought to put himselfe into *Miletus*; but the Citizens doubting his conditions, chose rather to keepe him out, and make shift for themselves, without his helpe. The strength of their Citie by land, which had in old time withstood the *Lydian* Kings, and their good Fleet which promised vnto them the liberty of an open Sea, emboldened them to try the vttermost, when very few friends were left vpon that Continent to take their part. But their Naue was broken as much by threatnings as by force; many of their companions and fellow-rebels forsaking him vpon hope of pardon, and many being danted with the causelesse sight of those that should haue assisted them. Neither was it long before the Towne it selfe being assaulted both by Land and Sea, was taken by force, the Citizens slaine, their wiues and children made slaues, and their goods a bootie to the *Persians*, whom for fixe yeeres space they had put to so much trouble.

§. VIII.

The warre which Darius made vpon Greece, with the battaile of Marathon, and Darius his death.

His Warre with good successe finished by the *Persians*, and some attempts made on *Europe* side with variable successe: *Darius* obstinate in the enterprise and conquest of *Greece* (though at first hee pretended to make the *Warre* but against the *Athenians* and *Eretrians*, who ioyntly assisted the *Ionians* against him, and burnt *Sardis* in *Lydia*) did now by his embassadours demand an acknowledgement from them all: among whom, some of them not so well resolu'd as the rest, submitted themselves; as the *Aeginets* and others. Against these, the *Athenians* being inflamed, (by the assistance of the *Lacedemonians*) after diuers encounters fort them to giue pledges, and to relinquish the party of the *Persians*. *Cleomenes* led the *Lacedemonians* in this warre, and caused his companion-King *Demantus* to be deposed: who thereupon fled to *Darius*, farre the more confident of victory, by reason of these discords, alienations, and ciuill warres among the *Greekes*. He therefore gaue order to *Hippagoras* to prepare a Fleet of shippes fit to transport his Armie ouer the *Helleſpont*: the same consisting of an hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse. The charge in chiefe of his Armie he committed to *Datis*, accompanied and assisted by *Hippias*, the sonne of *Pisistratus*, expelled out of *Athens* twenty yeeres before, and by *Artaphernes* his brother, Gouvernour of *Sardis*, and the Sea-coast of *Asia* the lesse. These Commanders hauing their Companies brought downe to the Sea-side,

Herod lib. 6.
Whether this
Citie or
People were
of *Peloponnesus*
in *grecianna*, or
of *asiea*, be-
tween *Theſſa-*
lia and *Mace-*
don, I doe not
know: but
those border-
ers, and next
the enemy,
were more
likely to
compound
than the rest
farre off.
There is also a Citie called *Aegimnus*, not farre from *Aegæa* *Liue 2. 2. 33. 34.*

imbarked

imbarked themselves in fixe hundred Gallies and other Vessels; and first of all attempted the Islands called *Cyclades*, which lay in the mid-way betweene *Asia* the lesse, and *Greece*. For (obtaining those places) the *Persians* had then nothing to hinder the transportation of their forces ouer the *Aegean* Sea, but on the contrary they might alwayes both relieve themselves in their passage, and shrowd themselves from all suddaine tempests and outrage.

To this end they first posselt themselves of *Samos*, secondly, they attempted *Naxos*: Which Island, the inhabitants despairing of their owne forces, abandoned. So did the people of *Delos*, of which *Apollo* was natue: Which Island *Darius* did not onely forbear to sacke; but recalling the inhabitants, he gaue order to beautifie the places and Altars of *Apollo* erected. And hauing recouered these and other Islands, the *Persians* directed their course for *Eretria* in *Eubœa*: for that Citie, (as already hath beene shewed) had assisted the *Ionians* at the taking and firing of *Sardis*. In this Island the *Persians* tooke ground, and besieged *Eretria* very straitly, and after fixe dayes assault, partly by force, and in part by the treason of *Euphabus* and *Philagius*; they tooke it, sackt it, and burnt it to the ground. Thus farre the winds of prosperous fortune filled their sayles. From *Eubœa* the *Persians* past their Armie into *Attica*, conducted and guided by *Hippias*, late Prince of *Athens*, and marching towards it, they encamped at *Marathon*, in the way from the Sea, wherethey landed, towards *Athens*.

The *Athenians* finding the time arriued, wherein they were to dispute with their owne yeomen against Fortune, and to cast lots for their liberty, for their wiues, their children, and their liues, put themselves in the best order they could to make resistance, and with all ſlew away with speede to the *Lacedemonians* for succour, employing in that Negotiation one of *Phidippides*: who passing through *Arcadia*, encountered in the way a familiar Diuell, which he supposed to be *Pan*, who willed him to assure the *Athenians* of victory, promising that some one of the gods should be present at the battaile to assist them and defend them against the multitude of their enemies. *Phidippides* at his returne seeing he could not bring with him any present succours from *Sparta*, yet he thought it greatly auailing to bring news from the gods, and promise of assistance from Heauen, which no doubt (though the deuice was somewhat likely to be his owne) yet it greatly encouraged that multitude and common people, who in all ages haue beene more stirred vp with foad Prophecies and other like superstitious fooleries, than by any iust cause or solid reason.

The *Athenians* being now left to themselves, with one thousand onely of the *Plataeans* (who hauing beene formerly defended by the *Athenians* against the *Thebans*, did in this extremity witnesse their thankfulness and gratefull disposition) began to dispute, Whether it were most for their aduantage to defend the walls of *Athens*, or to put themselves into the field with such forces as they had, the same consisting of tenne thousand *Athenians*, and one thousand of the *Plataeans*. In the end, and after great diuersity of opinions, *Miltiades*, who perswaded the triall by battell, prevailed.

The Armies being now in view, and within a mile of each other, the *Athenians* disposed themselves into three troopes: two wings or hornes, as they teame them, and the body of a battaile. The *Persians* when they perceived so small a troope advancing towards them, thought the *Athenians* rather disposelt of their vnderstanding, than posselt with the resolution wherof they made shew. So inuincible and resistlesse the *Persians* esteemed their owne number to be, and that small troope of their enemies then in view, rather to be despised than to be fought withall: But in conclusion, the victory being doubtfully ballanced for a while, sometime the vertue of the *Grecians*, and sometimes the number of the *Persians* prevailed, the *Grecians* fighting for all that they had, the *Persians* for that they needed not, these great forces of *Darius* were disordered and put in rout; the *Athenians* following their victory euen to the Sea-shore; where the *Persians*, so many of them as lost not their wits with their courage, saued themselves in their ships.

The *Persian* Armie consisted of an hundred thousand foot and ten thousand horse; of which there were slaine in the place fixe thousand three hundred, and of the *Grecians* an hundred fourescore and twelue. For howsoever it came to passe, either by strange visions, which were afterward called *Panicterrores*, or by some other affright,

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it seemeth, that the invading Armie, after the first encounter, fought with their backs towards their enemy, and lost that number, by *Herodotus* set downe, in their disorderly retreat, or rather in their flat running away. As for *Iustines* report, That two hundred thousand of the *Persian* Armie were slaine, the same hath no apparence nor possibility of truth. In this fight *Hippias* the perswader of the enterprise was slaine, saith *Iustine* and *Cicero*; but *Suidas* tels vs, That he escaped, and died most miserably in *Lemnos*.

Ad. Att.

The greatest honour of this victory was cast vpon *Miltiades*, who both perswaded the triall by bataille, and behaued himselfe therein answerably to the counsell which he gaue. *Themistocles* had his first reputation in this fight, being but yong and of the first beard. Those of the *Gracians*, of marke and commandement, that fell in the first encounter, were *Callimachus* and *Stesileus*. It is also said, That *Cynegyrus* following the *Perians* to their embarking, laid hands on one of their Gallies, to haue held it from putting off the shore, and hauing his right hand cut off, he yet offered to arrest it with his left; of which also being deprived, he tooke hold of it with his teeth. This encounter happened in the first yeere of the threecore and twelfth Olympiad, about the time of the War made by *Coriolanus* against his fellow-Romans: *Alexander* the sonne of *Aminias* being then King of *Macedon*, and *Phanippus* then Gouvernor of *Athens*, according to *Plutarch* *Thyphides*, after *Halcarnassus*.

In vna Arif.

This great fray thus parted, and the *Persians* returned backe into the lesser *Asia*, *Miltiades* fought and obtained an employment against the Islanders of *Paros*, one of the *Cyclades*, and passing ouer his Companies in threecore and ten Gallies, after fixe and twentie dayes assault he brake his thigh, in seeking to enter it by the Temple of *Ceres*, wherewith himselfe being made vnable, and his companies discouraged, he returned to *Athens*; where those vngratefull Citizens forgetting all his seruices past, and that of all other the most renowned at the battaile of *Marathon*, did by the perswasion of *Xanippus*, the father of *Pericles* (who enuied his fame) cast him into prison, and set on him a fine of fiftie Talents; where his weake and wounded body being not able to endure the one, nor his estate to pay the other, he after a few dayes ended his life.

Which enuie of the better sort to each other, with their priuate Factions, assisted by the vnthankfull and witlesse people, brought them, not many yeeres after, from a victorious and famous Nation, to base subiection and slavery. *Miltiades* left behinde him one sonne called *Cyman*, begotten on *Hegisipila*, daughter of *Olorus* King of *Thrace*, who (saith *Plutarch*) was neither inferior to his father in valour, nor to *Themistocles* in vnderstanding, but exceeded them both in iustice and good gouernment.

Now *Darius* taking greater care how to recouer his honour, than sorrow for the lesse receiued in *Greece*, gaue order for new leuiues of men, and all other warlike prouisions. But the *Egyptians* reuolting from his obedience (a Kingdome of great strength and reuene) greatly distracted his resolution for the reuincion of *Greece*. The dissension also among his sonnes, of whom, the yonger being borne after he was King, and by so great a mother as *Atossa*, disdained to giue place to his elder brother, borne before *Darius* obtained the Empire, greatly vexed him. And lastly, death, who hath no respect of any mans affaires, gaue end to all his consultations and enterprises, and ioyned him to the earth of his ancestors, about a yeere after the battaile of *Marathon*, and after that he had reigned fixe and thirty yeeres. He left behinde him fise sonnes, namely *Artabanes*, borne before he obtained the kingdome, *Xerxes* who succeeded him, *Achemenes* gouernor of *Egypt*, *Masistes* and *Anabignes*.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of Xerxes.

§. I.

The preparation of Xerxes against Greece.



Xerxes receiued from his father, as hereditarie, a double Warre; one to be made against the *Egyptians*, which he finished to speedily, that there is nothing remaining in writing how the same was performed: the other against the *Gracians*; of which it is hard to iudge, whether the preparations were more terrible, or the successe ridiculous. In the consultation for the prosecution of this Warre, which was chiefly bent against the *Athenians*, the Princes of *Persia* were diuided in opinion. *Mardonius*, who had formerly commanded in *Thrace* and *Macedon*, vnder *Darius*, and had also *Hystaspes* for his grandfather, as *Xerxes* had, and married *Xerxes* his sister *Artazaites*, perswaded by many arguments the *European* warre. But *Artabanes*, brother to the late *Darius*, and vncle to *Xerxes*, maintained the contrary counsell, laying before *Xerxes* the lamentable and ridiculous successe of the two late inuasions, which *Darius* had made contrary to his counsell: The one in person vpon the *Scythians*, the other by his Lieutenants vpon the *Greeks*; in each of which *Darius* left to his enemies both his Armie and his honour.

Hetherfore besought *Xerxes* to be right well aduised before he did too farre imbarke himselfe in this businesse. For whatsoeuer vndertaking hath deliberate and found counsell for conductor, though the successe doe not alwayes answer the probability, yet hath Fortune nothing else thereof to vaunt, than the variableness of his owne nature, which only the diuine Providence, and not any humane power, can constrain.

But to oblitate was the resolution of *Xerxes* in prosecution of his former intent, that *Artabanes*, whether terrified by Visions (as it is written of him) or fearing the Kings hatred, which he made knowne to all those that opposed his desire to this Warre (changing opinion and counsell) assisted the *Gracian* Expedition with all the power he had.

After the Warre of *Egypt* was ended, foure yeeres were consumed in describing and gathering an Armie for this inuasion: which being compounded of all Nations subiect to the *Persian* Empire, consisted of seauenteene hundred thousand foot, and eighty thousand horsemen, besides Chariots, Camels, and other Beasts for Carriage, if we may beleue *Herodotus*: for of this multitude, *Trogus* findes the number lesse by seuen hundred thousand footmen.

The Commanders of the seuerall Nations were the Princes of the bloud of *Persia*, either by marriage in the Kings house, or otherwise: for to these were all commandements of this nature giuen, some few people excepted, who had of their owne leaders.

The charge of the whole Armie was bestowed on *Mardonius*, the sonne of *Gobryus* by a sister of *Darius*, to whom were ioyned some others of *Xerxes* his neereft kindred, as Generals ouer all; sauing that the charge of ten thousand select *Persians*, called the immortal Regiment (because if any one of the whole number died, or were slaine, there was another presently chosen in his stead) was giuen to *Hydarnes*; the eighty thousand horsemen were led by the sonnes of *Darius*, who commanded the late Armie of *Darius* in *Greece*.

The Fleet of Gallies were 2200. and eight, furnished by the *Phenicians*, who had Commanders of their owne Nation, and by the *Cypriotes*, *Cilicians*, *Pamphilians*, *Lycians*, *Dorians*, *Carians*, *Ionians*, *Aeolians*, and *Hellepontines*; who were trusted with the furnishing of their owne Vessels, though commanded by the Princes of *Persia*, as by *Aribignes* the sonne of *Darius*, and others. The rest of the Vessels for transportation were three thousand. There were also certaine Gallies furnished by *Artemisia* the daughter of *Lygdamis*, Princesse of *Halcarnassus*, and the Islands adioyning, which her selfe commanded. Those Gallies by her prepared and furnished, exceeded

all the rest of the Fleet, excepting those of *Zidon*, in which *Xerxes* himselfe was imbarked.

§. II.

Xerxes Armie entertained by Pythius: his cutting off Mount Athos from the Continent: his bridge of Boates ouer the Hellespont: and the discourse betwene him and Artabanus upon the view of the Armie.

When this world of an Armie was thoroughly furnished, he caused all the Nations of which it was compounded, to make their *Rendez-vous* and repaire at *Sardis* in *Lydia*. And when he had assembled to the number of seuen teene hundred thousand foot, as he entred the body of *Celanus*, he was by one *Pythius* the *Lydian* entertained, who out of his Flocks and Heards of Cattell gaue food to *Xerxes* and his whole Armie. The Feast ended, he also presented him with two thousand Talents of silver, and in Gold foure Millions, wanting seauen thousand of the *Persian Darici*, which make so many of our markes.

The King ouercome with the exceeding liberality of *Pythius*, did not onely refuse his treasure offered, but commanded that seuen thousand *Darici* should be giuen him to make vp his foure Millions, of which so many thousands were wanting when he made the prelo sent. But soone after, when *Pythius* besought him to spare one of his five sonnes from his attendance into *Greece* (because himselfe was old, and had none whom he could so well trust as his owne sonne) *Xerxes* most barbarously caused the young man, for whom his father sought exemption, to be sundred into two parts, commanding, that the one halfe of his carcase should be layed on the right, and the other halfe on the left hand of the common way by which the Armie marched.

Two things he commanded to be done before he came to the Sea-side. The one was a passage for Gallies to be cut behinde Mount *Athos*, making the same (with the halfe Island or Headland, whereon it stood) to be an entire Island, sundring thereby from the Continent of *Thrace* five Cities, besides the Mountaine and the *Chersonesus* or Necke of Land it selfe: a worke of more ostentation than of vse, and yet an enterprise of no great wonder, the Valley which held it to the Continent hauing but twelue furlongs (which make about a mile and halfe) to cut through, and the ditch being broad enough onely for two Gallies to passe in front. The Cities so seuered from the maine, were *Dion*, *Olympus*, *Acrahoon*, *Thysus*, and *Cleonea*.

He also gaue order, that a Bridge vpon Boats should be made ouer the *Hellespont* betwene *Abidus* and *Sestos*, the Sea there hauing a myle of breadth, wanting an eight part, which after the finishing, was by a Tempest torne asunder and disseuered: whereupon *Xerxes* being more enraged than discouraged, commanded those to be slaine that were masters of the worke, and caused fixe hundred threescore and foureteene Gallies to be coupled together, thereon to frame a new Bridge; which by the art and industrie of the *Phenicians* was so well anchored to resist both windes blowing into and from the *Euxine* Sea, as the same being well boarded and rayled, the whole Armie of seuen teene hundred thousand foot, and fourescore thousand Horse, with all the Moyles and Carriages, past ouer it into *Europe* in seuen dayes and seuen nights, without intermission. This transportation of Armies did *Cæsar* afterward vse. And *Caligula* that mad Emperour, in imitation of *Xerxes* his Bridge, did build the like.

The Bridge finished, and the Armie brought neere to the Sea-side, *Xerxes* tooke a view of all his Troupes, assembled in the Plaines of *Abidus*, being carried vp, and seated on a place ouer-topping the Land round about it, and the Sea adioyning: and after he so had gloried in his owne happinesse, to behold and command so many Nations, and so powerfull an Armie and Fleet, he suddenly (notwithstanding) burst out into teares, moued with this contemplation, That in one hundred yeeres there should not any one suruiue of that marvellous multitude: the cause of which sudden change of passion when he vttered to *Artabanus* his vncke, *Artabanus* spake to the King to this effect: That which is more lamentable than the dissolution of this great Troupe within that number of yeeres by the King remembred, is, That the life it selfe which we enioy is yet more miserable than the end thereof: for in those few dayes giuen vs in the world, there

there is no man among all these, nor elsewhere, that cuer found himselfe so accompanied with happinesse, but that he oftentimes pleased himselfe better with the desire and hope of death, than of liuing; the incident calamities, diseases, and sorrowes whereto mankind is subiect, being so many and ineuitable, that the shortest life doth oftentimes appeare vnto vs ouer-long; to auoid all which, there is neither refuge nor rest, but in desired death alone.

With this melancholy discourse, *Xerxes* being not much pleased, prayed *Artabanus* not to ouer-cast those ioyes which they had now in pursuit with sad remembrances. And holding still a doubtfull conceit, that *Artabanus* vterly condemned the inuasion of *Greece*, against which he had formerly giuen many strong reasons, desired him to deale freely with him. Whether he were returned to his first resolution, that the enterprise of *Greece* could not be prosperous: Or whether, according to the change of minde put into him by his late Vision, he was confident of good successe? *Artabanus*, notwithstanding that he assured himselfe of the Kings resolution to goe on, and dared not by any new Arguments to batter the great purpose it selfe, yet hee told the King, That there were two things which maruellously affrighted him, and which the King should finde, as he feared, to be most aduersie, to wit, the Sea and the Land: The Sea, because it had no where in that part of the world any Port capable of so great a Fleet: insumuch, as if any tempest should arise, all the Continent of *Greece* could hardly receiue them, nor all the Hauens thereof afford them any safety: and therefore when any such shelter shall be wanting vnto them, he prayed him to vnderstand, that in such a case of extremity, men are left to the will and disposition of Fortune, and not Fortune to the will and disposition of men. The Land, besides other incommodities, will be found by so much the more an enemy, by how much the vnsatiate desire of man to obtaine more and more thereof, doth leade him forward: for were there no man found to giue resistance, yet the want of meates to feede such an Army, and the Famine, which cannot be prevented, will without any other violence offered dis-inable and consume it. By these Arguments *Artabanus* hoped to haue diuerted *Xerxes*, not daring perchance to vtter what indeed hee most feared, to wit, the ouerthrow of the Armie it selfe both by Sea and Land, which should haue followed. These Cautions were exceeding weightie, if *Xerxes* his obstinacie had not mis-prised them. For to inuade by Sea vpon a perillous Coast, being neither in possession of any Port, nor succoured by any party, may better fit a Prince presuming on his fortune, than enriched with vnderstanding. Such was the enterprise of *Philip* the second vpon *England* in the yeere 1588. who had belike neuer heard of this Council of *Artabanus* to *Xerxes*, or forgotten it.

Now concerning the second point, it was very likely, that *Xerxes* his Armie, which could not haue in it lesse then two millions of Soules, besides his beasts for Service and Carriage, should after a few daies suffer famine, and vsing *Machiavels* words, *Mourir sans coudre, die without a knife*. For it was impossible for *Greece*, being a ragged, strait and mountainous Country, to yeeld food (besides what serued themselves) for twenty hundred thousand strangers, whom they neuer meant to entertaine, but with the sharpened points of their weapons, destroying withall whatsoeuer they could not well inclose and defend. Nay, if we may beleue *Herodotus*, the Armie of *Xerxes*, being reviewed at *Thermopylae*, consisted of five millions, two hundred eighty three thousand, two hundred twentie men, besides Laundresses, Harlots and Horles; and was therefore likely to endure a speedy famine.

The effect of *Xerxes* his answer was, That it was impossible to provide for all things; and that whosoever should enterprise any great matter, if hee gaue the hearing to all that could be objected of accidental inconueniences, hee should neuer pursue the same farther, then the dispute and consultation: which if his Predecessors, the *Persian* Kings, had done, they had neuer growne to that greatnesse, or possesse so many Kingdomes and Nations as now they did; and therefore concluded, That great enterprises were neuer undertaken without great perils. Which resolution of *Xerxes* was not to be condemned, if any necessity had enforced him to that warre. But seeing the many Nations newlie conquered, which he already commanded, were more than could be constrained to obedience any longer than the powerfull prosperity of the *Persians* endured, and that *Greece* was separated by the Sea from the rest of *Xerxes* Dominions (of whose resolution his Father *Darius* had made a deare experience) the fruit of this warre

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answerable to the plantation, and the successe and end agreeable to the weak counsell whereon it was grounded. Furthermore, those millions of men which he transported, and yet in his owne judgement not sufficient, (for he gathered in marching on, all the strength of *Thrace* and *Macedon*) were an argument, that he rather hoped to feare the *Greekes* by the fame of his numbers, than that he had any confidence in their valour and resolution, whom he conducted. For it is wisely said of those vncountable multitudes: *Non vires habet sed pondus, & impedimentum potius sunt quam auxilium; They are great in bulke, but weak in forces, and rather a luggage than an aide.*

Besides, as it was impossible to marshall such a world of men in one Armie, so the diuers Nations, speaking diuers languages, bred the same confusion among the *Persian* commanders when they came to fight, as it did to the builders of *Babel*, when they came to worke. Whereas if *Xerxes* had of his five millions compounded ten Armies of fiftie thousand chosen souldiors in each, and sent them yeerly into *Greece* well victualled and furnished, he had either preuailed by the sword, or forced them to forsake their territorie, or brought them into obedience by necessitie and famine, which cannot be resisted. But while *Xerxes*, resolved to cut downe the banks of *Greece*, and to let in a sea of men vpon them, he was deceived both of his owne hopes, and in their hearts whom he employed, and beaten by the *Greekes*, both by Land and Sea; yea, hee himselfe, conducted by his feare, fled shamefully into *Asia*. A great part of his Armie was buried in *Greece*: the remainder whereof, which wintred in *Thessalie*, and led by *Mar-donius*, who perswaded the enterprise, was in the Summer following utterly defeated, and himselfe slaine.

§. III.

Of the fights at *Thermopylae* and *Artemisium*.

After such time as *Xerxes* had transported the Armie ouer the *Hellespont*, and landed in *Thrace*, (leaving the description of his passage along that Coast, and how the River of *Lissus* was drunke drie by his multitudes, and the Lake neere to *Pisyrus* by his cattell, with other accidents in his marches towards *Greece*) I will speake of the encounters he had, and the shamefull and incredible overthrowes which he received. As first at *Thermopylae*, a narrow passage of halfe an acre of ground, lying betweene the Mountaines which diuide *Thessalie* from *Greece*, where sometime the *Phocians* had raised a wall with gates, which was then for the most part ruined. At this entrance *Leonidas*, one of the Kings of *Sparta*, with three hundred *Lacedaemonians*, assisted with one thousand *Tegeates* and *Manitineans*, one thousand *Arcadians*, and other *Peloponnesians*, to the number of three thousand one hundred in the whole, besides one thousand *Phocians*, foure hundred *Thebans*, seven hundred *Thespians*, and all the forces (such as they were) of the bordering *Locrians*; defended the passage two whole dayes together against that huge Armie of the *Persians*. The valour of the *Greekes* appeared to excellen in this defence, that in the first dayes fight, *Xerxes* is said to haue three times leaped out of his Throne, fearing the destruction of his Armie by one handfull of those men, whom not long before he had utterly despised: and when the second dayes attempt vpon the *Greekes* had proued vaine, he was altogether ignorant how to proceede further, and so might haue continued, had not a run-agate *Gracian* taught him a secret way, by which part of his Armie might ascend the ledge of Mountaines, and set vpon the backs of those who kept the Straits. But when the most valiant of the *Persian* Armie had almost inclosed the small forces of the *Greekes*, then did *Leonidas*, King of the *Lacedaemonians*, with his three hundred, and seven hundred *Thespians*, which were all that abode by him, refuse to quire the place which they had undertaken to make good, and with admirable courage not onely resist that world of men which charged them on all sides; but issuing out of their strength, made so great a slaughter of their enemies, that they might well be called vanquishers, though all of them were slaine vpon the place. *Xerxes* hauing lost in this last fight, together with twenty thousand other Souldiers and Captaines, two of his own brethren, began to doubt what inconvenience might befall him by the vertue of such as had not bene present at these battailes, with whom he knew that he shortly was to deale. Especially of the *Spartans* he stood in great feare, whose manhood had appeared singular in this tryall, which caused him very carefully to enquire what numbers they could bring

bring into the field. It is reported of *Dieneces* the *Spartan*, that when one thought to haue terrified him by saying, That the flight of the *Persian* arrowes was so thicke as would hide the Sunne: he answered thus; It is very good newes: for then shall we fight in the coole shade.

Such notable resolution hauing as freely bene expressed in deedes, as it was vttered in words, caused the *Persian* to stand in great doubt, when he heard that the Citie of *Sparta* could arme well-nigh eight thousand men of the like temper, and that the other *Lacedaemonians*, though inferior to those, were very valiant men. Wherefore he asked counsell of *Demaratus*, a banished King of the *Spartans*, who had alwayes well aduised and instructed him in the things of *Greece*, what counsell were fittest to be taken in his further proceedings. The opinion of *Demaratus* was, That all the Land-forces would assemble together to defend the *Isthmus*, that streight necke of ground which ioyneth *Peloponnesus* to the Continent. For which cause he aduised, That three hundred ships well manned should be sent vnto the Coast of *Laconia*, to spoyle the Countrie, and to hold the *Lacedaemonians* and their neighbours busied at home; whilst *Xerxes* at his leasure hauing subdued the rest, might afterward bring his whole power vpon them, who remaining destitute of succour, would be too weak alone to make resistance. To this purpose also the same *Demaratus* further aduised, that the said Fleet of three hundred ships should keepe vpon the Iland then called *Cythera*, now *Cerigo*, which lying neere to the Coast of *Laconia*, might serue as a fit place of Rendez-vous vpon all occasions, either of their owne defence, or undamaging the enemy: whereby that ancient speech of *Chilon* the *Lacedaemonian* should be verified, that it were better for his Country-men to haue that Ile drowned in the sea, than stand so inconueniently as for them it did. What effect this counsell might haue taken, had it bene followed, it is not easie to guesse. But a contrary opinion of *Achamenes* brother to King *Xerxes* was preferred as the safer. For the *Persian* Fleet had bin sorely vexed with a grievous tempest which continued three whole dayes together, wherein were lost vpon the coast of *Magnesia* foure hundred ships of war, besides other vessels innumerable, accordingly as *Artabanus* had foreseen, that if any such calamity should ouertake them, there would not be found any Harbor wide enough to giue them succour. Therefore *Achamenes* perswaded his brother not to disperse his fleet, for if (said he) after the losse of foure hundred ships we shall send away other three hundred to seeke aduencures, then will the *Greekes* be strong enough by sea to encounter the rest of the Nauie, which holding altogether is inuincible. To this counsell *Xerxes* yielded, hoping that his Land-armie and fleet should each of them stand the other in good stead, whilst both held one course, and lay not farre asunder. But herein he was farre deceived: for about the same time that his armie had felt the valour of the *Greekes* by Land, his Nauie likewise made a sorrowfull proofe of their skill and courage at Sea. The *Gracians* fleet lay at that time at *Artemisium* in the straits of *Euboea*, where the *Persians* thinking to incompass them, sent two hundred sayle about the Iland to fall vpon them behinde, vying as a like stratagem to that which their King did practise against *Leonidas* in a case not vnlike, but with farre different successe. For that narrow channell of the sea which diuideth *Euboea* from the maine, was in the same sort held by a Nauy of two hundred threecore and eleven saile against the huge *Persian* Armada, as the straits of *Thermopylae* had formerly bene maintained by *Leonidas*, till he was circumvented, as this Nauie might haue bene, but was not. The departure of those two hundred ships that were sent about the Iland, and the cause of their voyage, was too well knowne in the *Persian* fleet, and soone enough disclosed to the *Greekes*, who setting saile by night, met them with a counter-surprise, taking and sinking thirty vessels, inforcing the rest to take the Sea, where being ouertaken with foule weather, they were driuen vpon the rocks and cast all away. Contrariwise, the Nauie of the *Greekes* was increased by the arrival of fiftie three *Athenian* ships, and one *Lemnian*, which came to their purry in the last fight. As these new forces encouraged the one side: so the feare of *Xerxes* his displeasure stirred vpon the other to redeem their losse with some notable exploit. Wherefore setting aside their vnfortunate policy, they resolved in plain fight to repaire their honour, & casting themselves into the forme of a Crescent, thought so to inclose the *Greekes*, who readily did present them battell at *Artemisium*.

The fight endured from noone till night, and ended with equall losse to both parts. For though more of the *Persian* ships were sunke and taken, yet the lesser losse fell altogether

gether as heauy vpon the *Greekish* fleet, which being small could worfe beare it. Herein only the *Barbarians* may seeme to haue had the worfe, that they forsooke the place of fight, leauing the wracke and spoyle to the enemy, who neuerthelesse were faine to abandon presently euen the passage which they had vndertaken to defend, both for that many of their ships were sorely crusht in the battaile, and especially because they had receiued aduertisement of the death of *Leonidas* at *Thermopylae*. Before they wayed anchors, *Themistocles* General of the *Athenians* engraue vpon stone at the watering place an exhortation to the *Ionians*; that either they should reuolt vnto the *Greekes*, or stand neutrall, which perswasion, he hoped would either take some place with them, or at the least make them suspected by the *Persians*.

§ IIII.

The attempt of Xerxes vpon Apollos temple: and his taking of Athens.

WHen *Xerxes* had passed the straits of *Thermopylae*, he wasted the countrey of the *Phocians*, and the regions adioyning: as for the inhabitants, they chose rather to flye, and rescue themselves to a day of battell, than to adventure their liues into his hands, vpon hope of sauing their wealth, by making proffer vnto him of their seruice. Part of his armie he sent to spoyle the Temple of *Delphi*; which was exceeding rich by means of many offerings that had there bene made by diuers Kings and great personages; of all which riches it was thought that *Xerxes* had a better Inuentorie than of the goods left in his owne Palace. To make relation of a great astonishment that fell vpon the companies which arriued at the Temple to haue sacked it, and of two Rockes, that breaking from the mount *Parnassus*, ouerwhelmed many of the *Barbarians*, it were peradventure somewhat superstitious. Yet *Herodotus*, who liued not long after, saith, That the broken Rockes remained euen to his memory in the Temple of *Minerva*, whether they rowled in their fall. And surely this attempt of *Xerxes* was impious; for seeing he beleued that *Apollo* was a god, he should not haue dared to entertaine a couetous desire of enriching himselfe by committing sacriledge vpon his Temple. Wherefore it may possibly be true, that licence to chastise his impietie, in such manner as is reported, was granted vnto the Diuell, by that Holy one, who saith, *Will a man spoyle his gods*: and elsewhere; *Hash any nation changed their gods, which yet are no gods*: *Go to the Iles of Kition, and behold, and send to Kedar, and take diligent heede, and see whether there be any such things*. Now this impietie of *Xerxes* was the more inexcusable, for that the *Persians* alledged the burning of *Cybeles* Temple by the *Athenians*, when they set fire on the Citie of *Sardis* in *Asia*, to be the ground and cause of the waste which they made in burning of Citie and Temples in *Greece*. Whereas indeede, in the enterprise against *Delphus*, this Vizzor of holy and zealous reuenge falling off, discovered the face of couetousnesse so much the more vglie, by how much the more themselves had professed a detestation of the offence which the *Athenians* had committed in that kinde by mere mischiefance.

The remainder of that which *Xerxes* did, may be expressed briefly thus: *He came to Athens, which finding forsaken, he tooke and burnt the Citadell and temple which was therein*. The Citadell indeede was defended a while by some of more courage than wisdom, who literally interpreting *Apollos* Oracle; that *Athens should be safe in wooden walls*, had fortified that place with boords and *Palisadoes*: too weake to hold out long, though by their desperate valour so well maintained at the first assault, that they might haue yeilded it vpon tolerable conditions, had they not vainely relied vpon the prophetic: whereof (being somewhat obscure) it was wisely done of *Themistocles*, to make discretion the interpreter, applying rather the words to the present neede, than fashioning to the businesse to words.

§ V.

How Themistocles the Athenian drew the Greekes to fight at Salamis.

HHe *Athenians* had, before the comming of *Xerxes*, remoued their wiues and children into *Troezen*, *Agina*, and *Salamis*, not so highly prizing their houses and lands, as their freedome, and the common liberty of *Greece*. Neuerthelesse, this

great zeale, which the *Athenians* did shew for the generall good of their Countrey, was ill requited by the other *Greekes*, who with much labour were hardly intreated to stay for them at *Salamis*, whilst they remoued their wiues and children out of the Citie. But when the Citie of *Athens* was taken, it was presently resolved vpon, that they should forsake the Ile of *Salamis*, and withdraw the fleet to *Plutimus*: which necke of land they did purpose to fortifie against the *Persians*, & so to defend *Peloponnesus* by Land, and Sea, leauing the rest of *Greece* as indefensible, to the furie of the enemy. So should the Islands of *Salamis* and *Agina* haue bene abandoned, and the Families of the *Athenians* (which were there bestowed as in places of securitie) haue bene giuen ouer into mercilesse bondage. Against this resolution *Themistocles*, Admirall of the *Athenian* fleet, very strongly made opposition; but in vaine. For the *Peloponnesians* were so possessed with feare of losing their own; which they would not hazard, that no perswasions could obtaine of them, to regard the estate of their distressed friends and Allies. Many remonstrances *Themistocles* made vnto them, to allure them to abide the enemy at *Salamis*: As first in priuate vnto *Eurybiades* the *Lacedaemonian*, Admirall of the whole fleet; That the selfe-same feare which made them forsake those coasts of *Greece*, vpon which they then anchored, would afterward (if it found no checke at the first) cause them also to disouer the fleet, and euery one of the Confederates to withdraw himselfe to the defence of his owne Citie and estate: Thento the Councell of Warre which *Eurybiades* vpon this motion did call together (forbearing to object what want of courage might worke in them hereafter) he shewed that the fight at *Plutimus* would be in an open Sea, whereas it was more expedient for them, hauing the fewer ships, to determine the matter in the streights; and that, besides the safeguard of *Agina*, *Megara*, and *Salamis*, they should by abiding, where they then were, sufficiently defend *Plutimus*, which the *Barbarians* should not so much as once looke vpon, if the *Greekes* obtained victorie by sea, which they could not so well hope for elsewhere, as in that present place which gaue him so good advantage. All this would not serue to reaine the *Peloponnesians*, of whom one, vnworthy of memorie, vpbraided *Themistocles* with the losse of *Athens*, blaming *Eurybiades* for suffering one to speake in the Councell, that had no Countrey of his own to inhabit. A base and shamefull obiection it was, to lay as a reproach that losse, which being voluntarily sustained for the common good, was in true estimation by so much the more honourable, by how much it was the greater. But this indignitie did exasperate *Themistocles*, and put into his mouth a reply so sharpe, as auailed more then all his former perswasions. Hee told them all plainly, That the *Athenians* wanted not a fairer Citie, than any Nation of *Greece* could boast of; hauing well-neere two hundred good shippes of Warre, the better part of the *Gracian* fleet, with which it was easie for them to manport their Families and substance into any part of the World, and settle themselves in a more secure habitation, leauing those to shift as well as they might, who in their extremitie had refused to stand by them. Herewithall he mentioned a towne in *Italy* belonging of olde to the State of *Athens*, of which towne hee said an Oracle had foretold, That the *Athenians* in proesse of time should build it a new, and there (quoth hee) will we plant our selues, leauing vnto you a sorrowfull remembrance of my words, and of your owne vnthankfulnessse. The *Peloponnesians* hearing thus much, began to enter into better consideration of the *Athenians*, whose affaires depended not, as they well perceiued, vpon lo weake termes, that they should be driuen to crouch to others; but rather were such, as might inforce the rest to yeeld to them, and condescend euen to the vttermost of their owne demands.

For the *Athenians*, when they first embraced that Heroicall resolution of leauing their grounds and houses to fire and ruine, if necessity should inforce them so farre, for the preferuation of their liberty, did employ the most of their priuate wealth, and all the common treasure, in building a great Nauie. By these means they hoped (which accordingly fell out) that no such calamity should befall them by Land, as might not well be counterpoised by great advantages at sea: Knowing well, that a strong fleet would either procure victorie at home, or a secure passage to any other Countrey. The other States of *Greece* held it sufficient, if building a few new ships, they did somewhat amend their Nauie. Whereby it came to passe, that had they been vanquished, they could not haue expected any other fortune than either present death, or perpetual slaueerie; neither could they hope to be victorious without the assistance of the *Athenians*, whose forces by

sea did equall all theirs together; the whole consisting of more than three hundred and fourescore bottomes. Wherefore these *Peloponnesians* beginning to suspect their owne condition, which would haue stood vpon desperate points, if the fleet of *Athenes* had forsaken them; were soone perswaded, by the greater feare of such a bad event, to forget the lesser, which they had conceived of the *Persians*; and laying aside their insolent brauery, they yeelded to that most profitable counsaile of abiding at *Salamis*.

§. VI.

How the Persians consulted about giuing battaile: and how Themistocles by policie held the Greeks to their resolution; with the victorie at Salamis thereupon ensuing.

IN the meane season the *Persians* had entred into consultation, whether it were conuenient to offer battell to the *Greekes*, or no. The rest of the Captaines giuing such aduice as they thought would best please the King their Master, had soone agreed vpon the fight: but *Artemisia* Queen of *Halicarnassus*, who followed *Xerxes* to this warre in person, was of contrary opinion. Her counsell was, that the King himselfe directly should march toward *Peloponnesus*, whereby it would come to passe, that the *Greek* Nauie (vnable otherwise to continue long at *Salamis* for want of prouision) should presently be disciussed, and euery one seeking to preferue his owne Cite and goods, they should, being diuided, proue vnable to resist him, who had won so far vpon them when they held together. And as the profit will be great in forbearing to giue battell; so on the other side, the danger will be more (saide she) which wee shall vndergoe, than any need requireth vs to aduenture vpon; and the losse in case it fall vpon vs, greater than the profit of the victory which we desire. For if we compell the enemies to flie, it is more than they would haue done, wee sitting still: but if they, as better Sea-men than ours, put vs to the worst, the journey to *Peloponnesus* is vterly dashed, and many that now declare for vs, will soone reuolt vnto the *Greekes*. *Mardonius*, whom *Xerxes* had sent for that purpose to the fleet, related vnto his Master the common consent of the other Captaines, and withall this disagreeing opinion of *Artemisia*. The King well pleased with her aduice, yet resolu'd vpon following the more generall, but farre-worse counsaile of the rest; which would questionlesse haue bene the same which *Artemisia* gaue, had not feare and flatterie made all the Captaines vtter that, as out of their owne iudgement, which they thought to bee most conformable to their Princes determination. So it was indeede that *Xerxes* had entertained a vaine perswasion of much good, that his owne presence vpon the shore to behold the conflict, would worke among the Souldiers. Therefore hee incamped vpon the Sea-side, pitching his owne Tent on the mount *Agaleus*, which is opposite vnto the Ile of *Salamis*, whence at ease he might safely view all which might happen in that action, hauing Scribes about him to write downe the acts and behaviour of euery Captaine. The neere approach of the *Barbarians*, together with the newes of that timorous diligence, which their Countreinen shewed in fortifying the *Isthmus*, and of a *Persian* Armie, marching a pace thither, did now againe fortifie and amaze the *Peloponnesians*, that no intreatie, nor contestation would suffice to hold them together. For they thought it meere madnesse to fight for a Countrey already lost, when they rather should endeouour to saue that which remained vnconquered, propounding chiefly to themselves what misery would befall them, if losing the victory, they should be driuen into *Salamis*, therto to be shut vp, and besieged round in a poore desolate Iland.

Hereupon they resolu'd forth-with to set saile for *Isthmus*: which had presently bene done, if the wisdom of *Themistocles* had not preuented it. For he perceiving what a violent feare had stooped vpon their eares against all good counsaile, did practise another course, and forth-with labour to preuent the execution of this vnwholesome decree, nor suffering the very houre of performance to finde him busie in wrangling alteration. As soone as the Councell brake vp, he dispatched secretly a trustie Gentleman to the *Persian* Captaines, informing them truly of the intended flight, and exhorting them to send part of their Nauie about the Iland, which incompassing the *Greekes*, might preuent their escape; giuing them withall a false hope of his assistance. The *Persians* no sooner heard than beleued these good newes, well knowing that the victory was their owne assured,

assured, if the *Athenian* fleet ioyned with them; which they might easily hope, considering what abilitie their Master had to recompence for so doing, both the Captaines with rich rewards, and the People with restitution of their Cite, and Territories. By these means it fell out, that when the *Greekes* very early in the morning were about to waigh Anchor, they found themselves inclosed round with *Persians*, who had laboured hard all that night, sending many of their ships about the Ile of *Salamis*, to charge the enemy in reare, and landing many of their men in the Ile of *Psittalea*, which lyeth ouer-against *Salamis*, to saue such of their owne, and kill such of the *Grecian* partie, as by any misfortune, should be cast vpon the shore. Thus did meere necessitie enforce the *Grecians* to vndertake the battaile in the Straights of *Salamis*, where they obtained a memorable victory, stemming the foremost of their enemies, and chasing the rest, who falling foule one vpon another, could neither conueniently fight nor flie. I doe not finde any particular occurrences in this great battaile to be much remarkable. Sure it is, that the Scribes of *Xerxes* had a wearisome taske of writing downe many disasters that betell the *Persian* fleet, which ill acquitted it selfe that day, doing no one piece of seruice worthy the presence of their King, or the registering of his Notaries. As for the *Greekes*, they might well seeme to haue wrought out that victory with equall courage, were it not that the principall honour of that day was ascribed to those of *Agina*, and to the *Athenians*, of whom it is recorded, That when the *Barbarians* did dietowards *Phalerus*, where the Land-armie of *Xerxes* lay, the ships of *Agina* hauing possessed the Straights, did sink or take them, whilst the *Athenians* did valiantly giue charge vpon those that kept the Sea, and made any countenance of resisting.

§. VII.

Of things following after the battaile of Salamis: and of the flight of Xerxes.

AFter this victory, the *Greekes* intending by way of scrutiny, to determine which of the Captaines had best merited of them, in all this great seruice, euery Captaine, being ambitious of that honour, did in the first place write downe his owne name, but in the second place as best deseruing next vnto himselfe, almost euery suffrage did concur vpon *Themistocles*. Thus priuate affection yeelded vnto vertue, as loones his owne turne was serued. The *Persian* King, as not amazed with this calamitie, began to make new preparation for continuance of warre, but in such fashion, that they which were best acquainted with his temper, might easily discern his faint heart, through his painted looks. Especially *Mardonius*, Author of the Warre, beganne to cast a warie eye vpon his Master, fearing lest his counsell should be rewarded according to the event. Wherefore purposing rather to aduenture his life in pursuite of the victory, than to cast it away by vnder-going his Princes indignation; hee aduised the King to leaue vnto him three hundred thousand men, with which forces hee promised to reduce all *Greece* vnder the subiection of the *Persian* Scepter. Heerewithall he forgot not sooth to tell *Xerxes* with many faire words; telling him, that the cowardice of those *Aegyptians*, *Phenicians*, and *Cilicians*, with others of the like mettal, nothing better than slauces, who had so ill behaued themselves in the late Sea-seruice, did not concerne his honour, who had alwaies bene victorious, and had already subdued the better part of *Greece*, yea taken *Athenes* it selfe, against which the Warre was principally intended. These words found very good acceptance in the Kings eare, who presently betooke himselfe to his journey homewards, making the more haile, for that he vnderstood, how the *Greekes* had a purpose to saile to *Hellepont*, and there to breake downe his bridge, and intercept his passage. True it was that the *Greekes* had no such intent, but rather wished his hasty departure, knowing that hee would leaue his Armie not so strong, as it should haue bene, had he in person remained with it. And for this cause did *Eurybiades* giue counsell, that by no means they should attempt the breaking of that bridge, lest necessitie should enforce the *Persians* to take more courage, and rather to fight like men, than die like beasts. Wherefore *Themistocles* did, vnder pretence of friendship, send a false aduise vnto this timorous Prince, aduising him to conuay himselfe into *Asia* with all speed, before his bridge were dissolued: which counsell *Xerxes* took very kindly, and hastily followed, as before is shewed. Whether it were so that he found the bridge whole, and thereby repassed into *Asia*; or whether it were torne in sunder by tempests,

and hetherby driuen to imbarke himselfe in some obscure vessell, it is not greatly materiall; though the *Greekes* did most willingly embrace the later of these reports. Howeuer it were, this sight of his did well ease the Countrey; that was thereby disburdened of that huge throng of people, which, as *Locusts*, had before overwhelped it.

§. VIII.

The negotiations betwene Mardonius and the Athenians, as also betwene the Athenians and Lacedemonians; after the flight of Xerxes.

Mardonius with his three hundred thousand had withdrawne himselfe into *Thessalie*, whence he sent *Alexander*, the sonne of *Amyntas* King of *Macedon*, as Embassador to the *Athenians*, with promise of large amends for all their losses recoued, and of extending their Territories as farre as their owne desires; allowing them to retaine their libertie and lawes, if they would make peace with *Xerxes*, and assist him in that Warre.

The *Athenians* had now reentred their Citie, but not as yet brought backe their wiues and children; for as much as they well perceived that the place could not be secure, till the Armie of *Mardonius* were broken and defeated. Wherefore the *Lacedemonians*, vnderstanding what faire conditions this Embassador would propound, were perplexed with very great feare, lest he should finde good and ready acceptance. Hereupon, they likewise very speedily dispatched their Embassadors for *Athens*, who arriuing before the *Macedonian* had audience, vsed the best of their perswasion to retaine the *Athenians* firm. They alledged, that neither *Xerxes* nor *Darius* had any pretence of Warre against the rest of *Greece*, but had onely threatned the subversion of *Athens*, till they and all their Confederates arming themselves in defence of that Citie, were drawne into the quarrell, wherein the *Athenians* without much crueltie of iniustice could not leave them. Wee know, said they, that yee haue endured great calamities, losing the fruit of the grounds, and being driuen to forsake the Towne, the houses whereof be ruined, and vsnit for your habitation; in regard whereof, we vndertake to maintaine as our owne, your wiues and children amongst vs, as long as the warre shall continue, hoping that yee, who haue alwaies procured libertie to others, will not now goe about to bring all *Greece* into slavery and bondage. As for the *Barbarians*, their promises are large, but their words and oathes are of no assurance. It was needlesse to vse many arguments to the *Athenians*, who gaue answer to *Alexander* in presence of the *Spartan* Embassadors; That whilst the Sunne continued his course, they would be enemies to *Xerxes*, regarding neither gold nor any riches, with which hee might seeke to make purchase of their libertie. Concerning the maintenance of their wiues and children, it was a burden which they promised to sustaine themselves, onely desiring the *Lacedemonians*, that with all speed they would cause their Armie to march, for as much as it was not like, that *Mardonius* would long sit still in *Thessalie*, hauing once received such a peere remporarie ansv're. In this their opinion of *Mardonius* his readinesse to invade *Attica*, they found themselves nothing deceived. For hee, as soone as *Alexander* had returned their obstinate purpose of resistance, did forthwith leade his Armie towards them, and their Citie: they hauing now the second time quitted it, and conueyed themselves into places of more securitie abroad in the Countrey, where they expected the arrival of their confederates. From *Athens* he sent his Agent vnto them with instructions, not only to perswade them to acceptance of the conditions before to them propounded, but with great promises to allure the principall of them to his partie. His hope was that either the people, wearied with forsaking their houses so often, would be desirous to preferre them from fire, & to haue those which were already laid waste, reedified at the Kings charges: Or if this affection tooke no place with them, but that needs they would reliee vpon their old Confederates, whose succors did very slowly aduance forwards, yet perhaps the Leaders might be wonne with great rewards, to draw them to this purpose; all which projects if they should faile, the destruction of *Athens* would be a good meane to please his Master, King *Xerxes*, who must thereby needes vnderstand that *Mardonius* kept his ground, and feared not to confront the whole power of *Greece*, in the strongest part of their owne Countrey. But his expectation was beguiled in all these. For the *Athenians* so little regarded his offers, that when one *Lycidas*, or (as *Demosthenes* calls him)

Cyrellus

Cyrellus, aduised the Senate to accept the conditions, and propounded them to the people; all the *Senators*, & as many as abiding without the Counsaile-houle heard what hee had said, immediately set vpon him, and stoned him to death; not examining whether it were feare or money, that had moued him to vtter such a vile sentence. Yea, the women of *Athens*, in the Ile of *Salamis*, hearing of his bad counsaile, and bad end, assembling together, did enter his house there, and put his wife and children to the like execution. All this brauerie notwithstanding, when they perceived the slacknesse of the *Peloponnesians* in giuing them aide, they were faine to betake themselves to *Salamis* againe, the old place of their securitie. Remaining there, and seeing little forwardnes in those whom it most concerned to assist them, they sent very seuerer messages to *Sparta*, complaining of their slacknes, & threatning withal, to take such course as might stand best with their own good, seeing that the common estate of all was so little regarded. These messengers were at the first entertained with dilatorie answers, which euery day grew colder, when as the *Peloponnesian* Wall, builded a-thwart the *Isthmus*, was almost finished. But as the *Lacedemonians* waxed carelesse & dull, so the *Athenians* hotly pressed them to a quick resolution, giuing them plainly to vnderstand, that if they should hold on in those dilatory courses, it would not be long ere the city of *Athens* took a new course, that should little please them. All this while the *Persian* fleet lay vpon the coast of *Asia*, not daring to draw neerer vnto *Greece*, as being now too weake at Sea. Likewise the *Greekish* Naue contained so little within the Harbours vpon *Europe* side; both to doe seruice where need should require at home; and withall to shunne the danger which might haue befallen any part of it, that being distracted from the rest, had adu ventured ouer-farre. So mutuall feare preferred in quiet the Ilands lying in the midst of the *Aegean* Seas. But it was well and seasonably obserued by a Counsellor of *Sparta*, that the wall vpon *Isthmus* would serue little purpose for the defence of *Peloponnesus*, if once the *Athenians* gaue eare to *Mardonius*: considering that many doores would be opened into that *Demie*-Iland, as soone as the Enemy should by winning the friendship of *Athens*, become the Master of the Seas about it. The *Lacedemonians* vpon this admonition, making better perusall of their owne dangers, were very carefull to giue satisfaction to the *Athenian* Embassadors, who not brooking their dilaies, were vpon point of taking leaue, yea as it seemed, of renouncing their alliance. Wherefore dispatching away five thousand *Spartans* in the evening, vnder conduct of *Pausanias*, they gaue audience the next day to the Embassadors, whose complaints they answered with vehement protestations of their readinesse; deeply sorrowing that the Armie of *Sparta* was already farre vpon the journey; and giuing them leaue to take vp other five thousand *Lacedemonians*, out of the Region adioyning, to follow after them.

The *Athenians*, though distasting such want of grauitie, in a matter so important, were neuertheless contented with the finall conclusion; and leuying the number appointed of *Lacedemonian* Souldiers, made what haste they could to incampe in *Attica*. The other *Greeks* were nothing slacke in sending forth Companies, whose neere approach caused *Mardonius* to forsake *Attica* as a rough Countrey, and therefore of much disadvantage to Horse, wherein consisted the best of his power. Before his departure hee burnt the Citie of *Athens*, beating downe the walls of it, and ruining all that had formerly escaped the fury of Warre.

§. IX.

The great battaile of Platea.

IT were too long a rehearfall to shew all that happened in many skirmishes betwene the *Greekes* and him, in the Countrey of *Baotia*, which *Mardonius* had chosen to be the seate of that Warre. Much time was spent before the quarrell was decided by the triall of one maine battell: for both parties did stand vpon their guard, each expecting when the other should assaile them.

The Army of *Mardonius* contained about three hundred thousand, which were by him chosen out of *Xerxes* his Armie; to whom were adioyned the forces of *Thebes*, *Macedonie*, *Thessalie*, and other parts of *Greece*, that now siding with the *Persian*, furnished his Campe with fiftie thousand men. Against these the *Lacedemonians*, *Athenians*, and their Confederates, had leauied an Armie of one hundred and tenn thousand, of which forty thou-

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and were weightily armed, the rest were onely assistants to these forty thousand, being armed more slightly, as rather to make excursions and give chase, than to sustaine any strong charges.

These two Armies hauing eleuen daies confronted one the other, without performing any memorable piece of seruice, *Mardonius*, whose victualls beganne to faile, redoubled to begin the fray. The *Greekes* were promised victorie by an Oracle, if they fought in the Land of the *Athenians*, and in the plaine of *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, making praier vnto certaine gods, Demi-gods, and Nymphes. But it was hard to find the certaine place which the Oracle designed. For the plaine of *Ceres* was indeed in the Territorie of *Athens*; but there was also an olde Temple of *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, neere vnto the place wherethey lay at that time encamp'd, as likewise the memorialls of those Nymphes, and Demi-gods, were in the same place, vpon Mount *Citheron*, and the ground serued well for foot-men against horse; onely the Land belonged vnto the *Plataeans*, and not vnto the *Athenians*.

Whilst the *Greekes* were perplexed about the interpretation of this doubtfull Oracle, the *Plataeans*, to make all cleere, did freely bestow their land on that side the Towne vpon the *Athenians*.

This magnificence of the *Plataeans* caused *Alexander* the Great, many ages after, to rededicate their Citie, which was ruined in the *Peloponnesian* warres.

All things being ready for battaile, the *Lacedaemonian* Generall thought it most meet, that the *Athenians* should stand opposite that day to the *Medes* and *Persians*, whom they had formerly vanquished at *Marathon*; and that he, with his *Spartans*, should encounter the *Thebans* and other *Greekes* which followed *Mardonius*, as better acquainted with their fight, and hauing beaten them often-times before. This being agreed vpon, the *Athenians* changed place with the *Lacedaemonians*; which *Mardonius* vnderstanding (whether fearing the *Athenians*, of whose valour the *Medes* and *Persians* had felt heavy proofe, or desiring to encounter the *Spartans*, as thinking them the brauest Souldiers in *Greece*) he did also change the order of his battaile, and oppose himselfe to *Paulanias*. All the *Greekes* might well perceiue how the Enemie did shift his wings, and *Paulanias* thereupon returned to his former Station; which *Mardonius* noting, did also the like. So one whole day was spent in changing to and fro. Some attempt the *Persians* made that day with their Archers on horse-back, who did molest the *Greekes* at their watering place, that they were faine to enter into consultation of retiring; because they could not without much losse to themselves, and none to the enemie, lie neere to that fountaine which did serue all the Campe. Hauing therefore concluded among themselves to dislodge; and part of the Armie being sent away before day-light: *Mardonius* perceiued their departure in the morning, and thereupon being encouraged by their flight, (which to him seemed to proceed out of meere cowardise) he charged them in the reare with great violence. It may well be recorded as a notable example of patient valour, That the *Lacedaemonians* being ouer-taken by the enemies horse, and ouerwhelmed with great flights of Arrows, did quietly sit still, not making any resistance or defence, till the Sacrifices for victory were happily ended, though many of them were hurt and slaine, and some of especiall marke lost, before any signe of good successe appeared in the entrailes.

But as soone as *Paulanias* had found in the Sacrifice those tokens, which the superstition of that Age and Countrie accounted fortunate; hee gaue the Signall of battaile; and thereupon the Souldiers, who till then did sit vpon the ground, as was their manner, arose altogether, and with excellent courage receiued the charge of the *Barbarians*, that came thronging vpon them without any feare of such notable resistance. The rest of the *Greek* Armie that was in march, being reuoked by *Paulanias*, came in apace to succour the *Lacedaemonians*: onely that part of the Armie which was led by the *Athenians*, could not arriue vnto the place of the great battaile, because the *Thebans*, and other *Greekes* confederated with the *Persians*, gaue them checke by the way. Neuerthelesse, the *Spartans* with other their Assistants, did so well acquite themselves, that the *Persians* were vanquished, and *Mardonius* with many thousands more slaine in the field; the rest fledde into the Campe, which they had fortified with wooden walls, and there defended themselves with such courage as desperate necessity inforced them vnto, holding out the longer, because the *Lacedaemonians* were not acquainted with the manner of assaulting Fortresse, and Walls. In the meane time the *Athenians* hauing found strong opposition

of the *Thebans* and *Thessalians*, did with much labor and courage obtaine victorie, which hauing not long pursued, they came to helpe the *Lacedaemonians*, whom they found weakly buisied in assaulting the Campe, with more valour than skill. Wherefore they themselves vnder-took it, and in short space forced a passage through the Wall, at which breach first, and then on all sides, the *Greekes* entered with such furie, and iust desire of vengeance, that of three hundred thousand they are said not to haue left three thousand aliue; excepting those who fledde away with *Artabazus*, when as the *Persian* Armie first fell to rout.

If the execution were so great, as is reported, an especiall cause of it was the foolishness, or rather flight into the Campe. For though it were so, that the place was well fortified, and the number of those who cast themselves into it greater than any of the *Assians*; yet they being of severall Nations and Languages, and hauing lost their Generall with other principall Commanders, it was impossible that they in such a terror and astonishment should make good that peece of ground, lying in the heart of an Enemie Countrie, against an Armie of men, farre more valiant than themselves, and enflamed with present victorie. Therefore the same wall which for a few hours had preserved their lines, by holding out the Enemie, did now impale them, and leaue them to the slaughtering furie of vn pittifull Victors. *Artabazus* fled into *Thrace*, telling the people of *Thessalie*, and other Countries in his way, that he was sent by *Mardonius* vpon some piece of seruice: For he well knew, that had they vnderstood any thing of that great discomfort, all places would haue beene hostile vnto him, and fought with his ruine to purchase fauour of the vanquishers. Therefore making so large marches, that many of his Souldiers being feeble were left behinde and lost, he came to *Byzantium*, whence hee shipped his men ouer into *Asia*. Such was the end of the vaine-glorious expedition, vnderaken by *Xerxes* against the *Greekes*, vpon hope of honour, and Conquest, though forcing otherwise, accordingly as *Artabazus* had fore-seene, and rather worse, for as much as it began the quarrell, which neuer ended, before the ruine of the *Persian* Empire was effected by that Nation of the *Greekes*, despised and fought to haue beene brought into slavery. Hereby it may seeme, that the vision appearing to *Xerxes*, was from God himselfe, who had formerly disposed of those things, ordaining the subuersion of the *Persian* Monarchie by the *Greekes*, who, thus prouoked, entered into greater consideration of their owne strength, and the weaknesse of their Enemies.

§. X.

The battaile of *Mycale*, with a strange accident that fell out in the beginning of it: and examples of the like.

THE same day on which the battaile was fought at *Plataea*, there was another battaile fought at *Mycale*, a Promontorie, or Head-land in *Asia*, where the *Persian* fleet rode.

Leutychides the *Spartan*, with *Xantippus* the *Athenian*, Admirals of the *Greek* Nauie, at the request of some *Ilanders* & *Ionians*, did saile into those parts, to deliuer the *Samians*, & procure the *Ionians* to reuolt from the *Persian*. *Xerxes* himselfe at this time lay at *Sardis*, a Citie in *Lydia*, not farre from the Sea-side, hauing left three score thousand vnder the command of *Tigranes*, for defence of *Ionian* and the Sea-coast. Therefore when *Artayntes* and *Ithramitres*, Admiralls of the *Persian* fleet; vnderstood that the *Greekes* bent their course towards them; they did forth-with draw their ships a-ground, fortifying with *Pagossides*; & otherwise, as much ground as was needfull for the encamping of all their Land & Sea-forces. *Leutychides* at his arriuall, perceiuing that they meant to keepe within their strength, & resolving to force them out of it, rowed with his Gally close aboard the shore and called vpon the *Ionians* (who more for feare then good will were encamped among the *Persians*) exhorting them in the *Greek* tongue to remember liberty, & vnto the faire occasion which they now had to recouer it. Herein he did imitate *Themistocles*, who had done the like at *Euboea*; trusting that either these persuasions would preuaile, or if the *Persians* did happen to vnderstand them, that it would breed some ialousie in them, causing them to fight in feare of their owne companions. It need not seeme strange, that this very

same stratageme, which little or nothing availed *Themistocles*, did now very happily succede. For *Xerxes* being in his full strength, it was a matter of much difficultie, to persuade those Inhabitants of *Asia* to revolt; who now, in his declining estate, gave a willing care to the sweet sound of libertie. The *Persians* likewise, who in their former braverie, little regarded and lesse feared any treason to be contrived by their subjects, were now so warie, that from the *Samiens* which were amongst them, they tooke away their armes; the *Milesiens* whom they did suspect, but would not seeme to mistrust, they placed farre from them, as it were for defence of the freight passages of *Mycale*; pretending that these *Milesiens* did best of all others know those places. But these deuices little availed them. For the *Samiens* perceiving that they were held as Traitors, took courage in the heat of the fight, and laying hold vpon such weapons as came to hand, assailed the *Persians* manfully within the Campe; which example the *Ionians* presently followed, being very glad to haue found some that durst beginne. It is said that while the *Greekes* were yet in march towards the Enemies campe, a rumour suddenly ranne in the Armie, that *Mardonius* was ouerthrowne in *Greece*; which (though perhaps it was giuen out by the Captaines to encourage the Souldiers) was very true. For the battaile of *Plataea* was fought in the morning, and this of *Mycale* in the evening of the same day.

The like report of that great battaile, wherein *Paulus Aemilius* ouerthrew *Perseus* the last king of *Macedon*, was brought to *Rome* in foure daies, as *Linus* with others doe record. And *Plutarch* hath many other examples of this kinde. As that of the battaile by the Riuer *Sagra* in *Italie*, which was heard of the same day in *Peloponnesus*: That of the battell against the *Tarquimians* and the *Latines*, presently noyed at *Rome*: And (which is most remarkable) the victory obtained against *Lucius Antonius*, who was Rebell to *Domitian* the Emperour. This *Lucius Antonius* being Lieutenant of the higher *Germanie*, had corrupted his Armie with gifts and promises, drawing the barbarous people to follow him, with great hope to make himselfe Emperour; which newes much troubling the Citie of *Rome*, with feare of a dangerous Warre; it was sodainly reported that *Antonius* was slaine, and his Armie defeated.

Hereupon many did offer sacrifice to the gods, and shew all manner of publickeion, as in such cases was accustomed. But when better inquirie was made, and the Author of these tidings could not bee found; the Emperour *Domitian* betooke himselfe to his journey against the Rebell; and being now with his Armie in march, hee received aduertisement by Poste, of the Victorie obtained, and the death of *Antonius*: whereupon remembring the rumour noised before in *Rome*, of the selfe-same victorie, hee found that the report and victory were borne vpon one day, though twentie thousand furlongs (which make about five and twenty hundred miles) a-sunder. It is truly said of *Plutarch*, that this last example giues credit vnto many the like. And indeed it were very strange, if among so many rumours, begotten by forgerie or mistakings, and fostered by credulous imagination, there should not bee found (as happens in dreames among many thousand vaine and fruitolous) a few precisely true. Howbeit wee may finde, that God himselfe doth sometimes vse to terrifie those who presume vpon their owne strength, by these light meanes of tumultuous noyses; as hee raised the siege of *Samaria*, by causing a found of Horses and Chariots to affright the *Aramities*; and as hee threatened *Sennacherib*, saying: *Behold, I will send a blast vpon him, and hee shall leave a noyse, and returne to his owne Land.* Wherefore it may well haue bene true, that God was pleased by such a meane as this, to animate the *Greekes*; who (as *Herodotus* notes) went towards the Enemies with heauy hearts, being in great feare, lest their owne aduenture should by no means fall out well; considering in what danger they had left their owne Countrey of *Greece*, which was ready to be subdued by *Mardonius* whilst they went wandering to seeke out enemies a-farre-off, vpon the coast of *Asia*. But the fame of the battaile fought at *Plataea* being noyed among them; every man desired that his owne valor in the present fight, might be some helpe to work out the full deliuerance of *Greece*. In this alacrity of spirit, they diuided themselves into two Battalians, whereof the *Athemians* ledde the one, by the way of the plaine, directly towards the enemies campe; the *Lacedaemonians* conducted the other, by the Mountaines and streight passages, to winne the higher ground. The *Athemians* did first set vpon the Campe (ere the *Lacedaemonians* could arrive on the other part) and being desirous to get all the honor

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of the day to themselves, did so forcibly assault it, that they brake way through the Palladoes and Gabions, and made themselves Masters of the place, slaying all that could not saue themselves by flight. In this fight the *Samiens* did good seruice, as is formerly mentioned.

But the *Milesiens*, who vpon the like icalousie, were placed by the *Persians* on thetopes of *Mycale*, to defend the passages, did now (as if they had been set of purpose to keep them from running away) put as many to the sword as fell into their hands, letting none escape, except very few, that fled through by-patches. The *Lacedaemonians* that day did little seruice, for the businesse was dispatched ere they came in: Onely they broke such companies as retired in whole troopes; making them flee disperfed in very much disorder, whereby the *Milesiens* were enabled to doe the greater execution vpon them. This was the last fight of that huge Armie leauied against *Greece*, which was now vtterly broken, and had no means left to make offensive Warre.

§. XI.

Of the barbarous qualities of *Xerxes*: with a transition from the Persian affaires to matters of *Greece*, which from this time grew more worthy of regard.

Xerxes lay at *Sardis*, not farre from the place of this battaile; but little minde had hee to reuenge either this or other his great losses, being wholly giuen ouer to the loue of his Brothers Wife: with whom hee could not preuaile by intreatie, nor would obtaine his desire by force, because he respected much his Brother her husband, he thought it best to make a match betwene his owne Sonne *Darius*, and the Daughter of this Woman; hoping by that meane to finde occasion of such familiaritie as might worke out his desire. But whether it were so, that the chastity of the Mother did still reiect him, or the beauty of her Daughter allure him, hee soone after fell in loue with his owne Sonnes wife, being a vicious Prince, and as ill able to gouerne himselfe in peace, as to guide his Armie in War. This yong Lady hauing once desired the King to giue her the Garment which he then wore, being wrought by his owne Wife, persuaded the Queene thereby to perceiue her husbands conuersation with her, which she imputed not so much to the beauty of her Daughter-in-law, as to the cunning of the Mother, against whom thereupon she conceived extreame hatred. Therefore at a Royall feast, wherein the custome was that the King should grant their request, she craued that the Wife of *Massistes*, her husbands brother, the yong Ladies Mother, might be giuen in to her disposition. The barbarous King, who might either haue reformed the abuse of such a custome, or haue deluded the importunate cruelty of his Wife, by threatening her selfe with the like, to whatsoeuer she should inflict vpon the innocent Lady, granted the request; and sending for his brother, perswaded him to put away the Wife which he had, and take one of his Daughters in her stead. Hereby it seemes, that hee vnderstood how villainously that poore Lady should be intreated, whom hee knew to be vertuous, and whom himselfe had loued. *Massistes* refused to put her away; alleading his owne loue, her deservings, and their common Children, one of which was married to the Kings Sonne, as reasons important to moue him to keepe her. But in most wicked manner *Xerxes* reuiled him; saying, That hee now should neither keepe the Wife which he had, nor haue his Daughter whom hee had promised vnto him. *Massistes* was much grieved with these words, but much more, when he returned home, hee found his Wife most butcherly mangled by the Queene *Amestris*, who had caused her Nose, Lips, Eares, and Tongue to be cut off, and her Breasts in like manner, which were cast vnto Dogs. *Massistes* enraged with this villany, took his way with his children, and some Friends, towards *Bactria*, of which Prouince hee was Gouvernor, intending to rebell & avenge himselfe. But *Xerxes* vnderstanding his purpose, caused an Armie to be leuied, which cut him off by the way, putting him and all his Companie to the sword. Such was the Tyrannicall condition of the Persian Government; and such are generally the effects of Luxury, when it is ioyued with absolute power.

Yet of *Xerxes* it is noted, that hee was a Prince of much vertue. And therefore *Alexander* the Great, finding an Image of his ouerthrowne, and lying vpon the ground, said, That he doubted, whether in regard of his vertue, hee should againe erect it, or, for the mischief done by him to *Greece*, should let it lye. But surely whatsoeuer his other

other good qualities were; he was foolish, and was a coward, and consequently merited.

Therefore we may firmly beleue, that the vertue of *Cyrus* was very great, vpon which the foundation of the *Persian* Empire was so surely laid, that all the wickednesse and vanities of *Xerxes*, and other worse Princes, could not ouerthrow it, until it was broken by a vertue almost equall to that which did establish it. In wars against the *Agapians*, the fortune of *Xerxes* did continue, as at the first it had bene very good; but against the generall estate of *Greece*, neither he, nor any of his posterity, did euer make offensive warre, but receiued many losses in *Asia*, to which the last at *Mysale* serued but as an introduction, teaching the *Greekes*, and especially the *Athenians*, that the *Persian* was no better Souldier at his owne dores, than in a forraigne Countrey: whereof good triall was made forth-with, and much better prooffe as soone as the affaires of *Athens* were quietly settled and assured.

From this time forward I will therefore pursue the Historie of *Greece*, taking in the matters of *Persia*, as also the estate of other Countries, collaterally, when the order of time shall present them. True it is, that the *Persian* estate continued in her greatnesse many ages following, in such wise that the knowne parts of the World had no other Kingdome, representing the Maiestie of a great Empire.

But this greatnesse depended only vpon the riches and power that had formerly bene acquired, yielding few actions: or none that were worthy of remembrance, excepting some Tragedies of the Court, and examples of that excessive Luxurie, where-with both it, and all, or the most of Empires that euer were, haue bene enured, made vniuersall, and (as it were) fattened for the hungry sword of poore and hardy Enemies. Hereby it came to passe, that *Xerxes* and his successours were faine to defend their Crownes with money and base policies; very seldome or neuer (vnlesse it were with great aduantage) daring to aduenture the trial of plaine battaile with that little Nation of *Greece*, which would soone haue ruined the foundations laid by *Cyrus*, had not priuate malice and ielousie vrged euery Citie to enuie the height of her neighbours wals, and thereby diuerted the swords of the *Greekes* into their owne bowels, which after the departure of *Xerxes* began very well, and might better haue continued, to hew out the way of conquest, on the side of *Asia*.

CHAP. VII.

Of things that passed in Greece from the end of the Persian Warre, to the beginning of the Peloponnesian.

§. I.

How Athens was rebuilt and fortified.



After that the *Medes* and *Persians* had recouered their last blow, and were vnterly beaten at *Mysale*: *Leotichides*, who then commanded the *Gracian* Armie, leauing the pursuit of the warre to the *Athenians*, assisted by the revolted *Iones*, returned with the *Lacedemonians* and other *Peloponnesians* to *Sparta* and other places, out of which they had bene leaued. The *Athenians* in the meane while besieged *Sestos*, a Citie on the strait of the *Hellepont*, betwene which and *Abydos*, *Xerxes* had lately fastned his Bridge of Boats: where the inhabitants, desperate of succour, did not long dispute the defence thereof, but quitted it to the *Greekes*, who entertained themselves the Winter following on that side the *Hellepont*. In the Spring they drew homeward, and hauing left their wiues and children, since the invasion of *Attica*, and the abandoning of *Athens*, in diuers Islands, and at *Troezen*, they now found them out, and returned with them to their owne places.

And though the most part of all their houses in *Athens* were burnt and broken downe,

and the wals of the Citie ouer-turned, yet they resolued first on their common defence, and to fortifie their Citie, before they cared to couer themselves, their wiues and children, with any priuate buildings: Whereof the *Lacedemonians* being aduertised, and minding the fortifying of *Athens*, both in respect that their owne Citie of *Sparta* was vnwall'd, as also because the *Athenians* were growne more powerful by Sea, than either themselves, or any other State of *Greece*, they dispatched messengers to the *Athenians* to dissuade them; not acknowledging any priuate mislike or ielousie, but pretending that if the *Persians* should returne to invade *Greece* a third time, the *Athenians* being in no better stature to defend themselves than heretofore, the same would serue to receive their enemies, and to be made a Seate for the Warre, as *Thebes* had lately bene. To this the *Athenians* promised to giue them satisfaction by their own Embassadors very speedily. But being resolued to goe on with their workes by the aduice of *Themistocles*, they held the *Lacedemonians* in hope of the contrary, till they had raised their wals to that height, as they cared not for their mislikes, nor doubted their disturbance; and therefore (to gaine time) they dispatched *Themistocles* towards *Lacedamon*, giuing him for excuse, that he could not deliuer the *Athenians* resolutions, till the arrivall of his fellow-Commissioners, who were of purpose retarded. But after a while, the *Lacedemonians* expectation being converted into ielousie (for by the arrivall of diuers persons out of *Attica*, they were told for certaine, That the wals of *Athens* were speedily growne vp beyond expectation) *Themistocles* prayed them not to beleue reports and vaine rumors, but that they would be pleased to send some of their owne trustie Citizens to *Athens*, from whose relation they might resolute themselves, and determine accordingly. Which request being granted, and Commissioners sent, *Themistocles* dispatched one of his owne, by whom he aduised the *Athenians*, first to enertaine the *Lacedemonians* with some such discourse as might retaine them a few dayes, and in conclusion to hold them among them, till himselfe and the other *Athenian* Embassadors, then at *Sparta*, had their liberty also to returne. Which done, and being also assured by his associates and *Aristides*, that *Athens* was already defensible on all parts, *Themistocles* demanding audience, made the *Lacedemonians* know, That it was true that the wals of *Athens* were now raised to that height, as the *Athenians* doubted not the defence of their Citie; praying the *Lacedemonians* to beleue, That whensoever it pleased them to treat with the *Athenians*, they would know them for such, as right well vnderstood what appertained to a Common-weale and their owne safety, without direction and aduice from any other: That they had in the warre of *Xerxes* abandoned their Citie, and committed themselves to the wooden wals of their shippes, from the resolution of their owne counsels and courage, and not there-to taught or perswaded by others: and finally, in all that perillous warre against the *Persians* they found their owne iudgements and the execution thereof in nothing inferior, or lesse fortunate, than that of any other Nation, State, or Common-weale among the *Greekes*; And therefore concluded, that they determined to be Masters and Lords of their owne affaires, and thought it good reason, that either all the Cities confederated within *Greece* should be left open, or else that the wals of *Athens* should be finished and maintained.

The *Lacedemonians* finding the time vnfit for quarrell, dissembled their mislike, both of the fortifying of *Athens*, and of the diuision, and so suffered the *Athenians* to depart; and receiued backe from them their owne Embassadors.

The wals of *Athens* finished, they also fortified the Port *Pyreus*, by which they might vnder couert imbarke themselves vpon all occasions.

§. II.

The beginning of the Athenian greatnesse, and prosperous warres made by that State vpon the Persian.

The *Athenians* hauing settled things in good order at home, prepared thirty Gallies for the pursuit of the warre against the *Persians*, to which the *Lacedemonians* added other twenty, and with this Fleet, strengthened by the rest of the Cities of *Greece* confederated, they set saile for *Cyprus*, vnder the conduct of *Pausanias* the *Lacedemonian*; where after their landing hauing possesed themselves of many principall places, they imbarked the Armie againe, and took land in *Thrace*, recouering from

the *Perſians* by force the Citie *Bizantium*, now *Conſtantinople*: from whence *Pauſanias*, behaving himſelfe more like a Tyrant than a Captaine, eſpecially towards the *Ionians* lately revolted from *Xerxes*, was called backe by the Councell of *Lacedemon*, and not onely accuſed of many inſolent behaviors, but of intelligence with the *Medes*, and Treason againſt his Country. In his ſtead they employed *Dacres*, who either gaue the ſame cauſe of offence, or elſe the *Athenians*, who affected the firſt commandement in that warre, practiſed the ſouldiors to complaine; though indeede the wiſe and vertuous behavior of *Ariſtides*, Generall of the *Athenian* forces, a man of rare and incomparable ſincerity, had beene able to make a good Commander ſeeme ill in compariſon of himſelfe; and therefore was much more available, in rendering thoſe deteſted, whoſe vices afforded little matter of excuſe. Howſoeuer it were, the *Lacedemonians* being no leſſe wearied of the warre, than the *Athenians* were eager to purſue it, the one obtained their eaſe, and the other the execution and honor which they deſired: for all the *Greekes* (thoſe of *Peloponneſus* excepted) willingly ſubſcribed themſelves to the commandement of the *Athenians*, which was both the beginning of their greatneſſe in that preſent age, and of their ruine in the next ſucceeding. For the charge of the warre being now committed vnto them, they began to rate the confederated Cities, they appointed receiuers and Treafurers, and began to leuie money, according to their diſcretion, for the maintenance of the generall defence of *Greece*, and for the recouering of thoſe places on *Europe* ſide, in *Aſia* the leſſe, and the Iſlands, from the *Perſians*. This tribute (the firſt that was euer payed by the *Greekes*) amounted to foure hundred and threeſcore Talents; which was raiſed eaſily by the honeſt care of that iuſt man *Ariſtides*, to whoſe diſcretion all the confederates reſtored themſelves, and no one man found occaſion to complaine of him. But as the vertue of *Ariſtides*, and other worthy Citizens, brought vnto the *Athenians* great commoditie; ſo the deſire which they conceived of encreaſing their commoditie, corrupted their vertue, and robbing them of the generall loue, which had made them powerfull, abandoned their Citie to the defence of her treaſure, which with her in the next age periſhed. For it was not long ere theſe foure hundred and threeſcore Talents were rayſed to fixe hundred, nor long after that, ere their couetous Tyranie had conuerted their followers into ſlaves, and extorted from them ycerely thirteene hundred Talents. The Iſle of *Delos* was at the firſt appointed for the Treafure-houſe wherein theſe ſummes were layd vp, and where, at the generall Aſſembly, the Captaines of thoſe forces, ſent by the confederates, were for forme ſake called to conſultation. But the *Athenians*, who were ſtronger by ſea than all *Greece* beſides, had lockt vp the common treaſure in an Iſland, vnder their owne protection, from whence they might tranſport it at their pleaſure, as afterward they did.

The generall Commander in this Warre was *Cimon*, the ſonne of *Miltiades*, who firſt tooke *Eion*, vpon the Riuer *Strimon*; then the Iſle of *Sciros*, inhabited by the *Dolopes*: they maſtered the *Cariffy*, &c. brought into ſeruitude the *Naxij*, contrary to the forme of the confederacy: So did the other the inhabitants of *Greece*, if at any time they failed of their contribution, or diſobeyed their commandements; taking vpon them and viſping a kinde of ſoueraigne authority ouer the reſt: which they exerciſed the more aſſuredly, becauſe they were now become Lords of the Sea, and could not be reſiſted. For many of the confederated Cities and Nations, wearie of the warre in their owne perſons, and giuen vp altogether to their eaſe, made choiſe rather to pay their parts in money, than either in men of warre, or in ſhips; leauing the prouiſion of both to the *Athenians*. Hereby the one grew weak in all their Sea-defences, and in the exerciſe of the Warres; the other greatly ſtrengthened their Nauie and their experiences, being alwayes armed and employed in honourable Seruices, at the coſt of thoſe, who hauing liſted them into their Saddles, were now enforced to become their footmen. Yet was the Tribute-money, leuied vpon theſe their confederates, employed ſo well by the *Athenians* at the firſt (as ill proceedings are often founded vpon good beginnings) that no great cauſe of repining was giuen. For they rigged out a great Fleet of Gallies, very well manned, wherewith *Cimon* the Admirall ſcouring the Aſiaticke Seas, tooke in the Citie of *Phaſelis*, which hauing formerly pretended neutrality, and reſuſed to relique, or any way aſſiſt the *Greekes*, were enforced to pay ten Talents for a fine, and ſo to become followers of the *Athenians*, paying ycerely contribution.

From thence he ſet ſayle for the Riuer *Eurymedon* in *Pamphylia*, where the *Perſian* Fleet

Fierrode, being of fixe hundred ſayle, or (according to the moſt ſparing report) three hundred and fiftie, and hauing a great Land-Army, encamped vpon the ſhoare; all which forces hauing bene prouided for aduancing the Kings affaires in *Greece*, were vterly deſtroyed in one day, and two hundred ſhips taken by the *Athenians*, the reſt being broken to pieces, or ſunk, ere euer they had ſwom in the *Greekiſh* Seas. *Cimon* hauing in one day obtained two great victories, the one by the Sea, and the other by Land, was very ſoone preſented with a third. For foureſcore ſayle of *Phenicians* (who were the beſt of all Sea-men, vnder the *Perſian* command) thinking to haue ioyned themſelves with the Fleet before deſtroyed, arriued vpon the ſame Coaſt, ignorant of what had paſſed, and ſpeaking nothing leſſe than what enſued. Vpon the firſt notice of their approach, *Cimon* weighed anchor, and meeting them at an head-Land, called *Hydra*, did ſo amaze them, that they onely fought to run themſelves on ground, by which means preſeruing few of their men, they loſt all their ſhips. Theſe loſſes did ſo breake the courage of the *Perſian*, that, omitting all hope of preuailling vpon *Greece*, he condeſcended to whatſoeuer Articles it pleaſed the *Athenians* to propound, granting liberty vnto all the *Greekes* inhabiting *Aſia*; and further couenanting, That none of his ſhips of War ſhould ſayle to the Weſtward of the Iſles, called *Cyane* and *Chelidonia*.

This was the moſt honourable peace that euer the *Greekes* made; neither did they in effect, after this time, make any warre that redounded to the profit or glory of the whole Nation, till ſuch time as, vnder *Alexander*, they ouerthrew the Empire of *Perſia*, in which war, few, or perhaps none of them, had any place of great command, but ſerued altogether vnder the *Macedonians*.

§. III.

The death of *Xerxes* by the treaſon of *Artabanus*.

BESIDES theſe loſſes, which could not eaſily haue bene repaired, the troubles of the Empire were at this time ſuch, as gaue iuſt cauſe to the *Perſian* of ſeeking peace vpon any termes not altogether intolerable. For *Artabanus*, the vncle of *Xerxes*, perceiving, that the King his maſter did eaſily take ſmall occaſions to ſhed the blood of ſuch, as in kindred or place were neere vnto him, began to repoſe leſſe hope of a ſucceſſe in remaining faithfull, than of obtaining the Soueraignie, by deſtroying a Prince that was ſo hated for his cruelty, and deſpised for his cowardice and miſfortunes. Hauing conceived this Treason, he found means to execute it by *Mithridates* an Eunuch, in ſuch cloſe manner, that (as if he himſelfe had bene innocent) he accuſed *Darius* the ſonne of *Xerxes*, and cauſed him to ſuffer death as a Parricide. Whether it bene, that by this great wickedneſſe he got the Kingdom; and held it ſeauen months; or whether intending the like euill to *Artaxerxes* the ſonne of *Xerxes*, he was by him preuencd and ſurpriſed, it were hard to affirme any certainty. But all Writers agree vpon this, That taken he was, and with his whole familie put to death by extreme torments, according to the ſentence, whereof the truth is more ancient than the Verſe:

*Raro antecedentem ſceleſtum
Deſeruit pede pena claudo.*

Seldome the villaine, though much haſte he make,
Lame-footed Vengeance failes to ouer-take.

§. IIII.

The baniſhment of *Themistoctes*: His flight to *Artaxerxes* newly reigning in *Perſia*; by his death.

Artaxerxes being eſtabliſhed in his Kingdome, and hauing ſo compounded with the *Athenians*, as the preſent neceſſity of his affaires required, began to conceiue new hopes of better fortune againſt the *Greekes*, than he or his predeceſſors had euer hitherto found. For the people of *Athens*, when the *Perſians* were chafed out of *Greece*, did ſo highly value their owne merits in that ſeruiſe, that they not onely thought it fit for themſelves to become the Commanders ouer many Townes and Iſlands of the *Greekes*, but even within their owne wals, they would admit none other forme of Government than merely Democraticall. Herein they were ſo inſolent, that no integrity

nor good desert was able to preferue the estate of any such as had borne great office, longer than, by flattering the rascall multitude, he was contented to frame all his words and deeds to their good liking.

This their intolerable demeanour much offended *Themistocles*; who, though in former times he had layed the foundations of his greatness vpon popularitie, yet now presuming vpon his good seruices done to the State, he thought that with great reason they might grant him the liberty to checke their inordinate proceedings. But contrariwise, they were so highly offended with his often rehearsing the benefits which they had receiued from him, that they layed vpon him the punishment of *Ostracisme*, whereby he was banished for ten yeeres, as a man ouer-burthensome to the Common-wealth.

Before the time of his returne was halfe expired, a new accusation was brought against him by the *Lacedemonians*, who charged him of consulting with *Pausanias*, about betraying the whole Countrey of *Greece* vnto *Xerxes*. Hereupon *Themistocles* finding no place of security against the malice of two such mighty Cities, was driuen, after many troublesome flights, and dangerous remouings, to aduenture himselfe into *Perse*, where he found *Artaxerxes* newly seated, & was by him very honourably entertained. But the great hope which *Artaxerxes* had conceived of aduancing his affaires by the counsell and assistance of *Themistocles*, proved altogether fruitlesse. For when the *Athenians*, in fauour of *Inarus* the *Libyan*, (who infected *Aegypt*, causing it to rebell against the *Persian*) had sent a Fleet to Sea, landing an Armie in *Aegypt*, and scowring those Easterne Seas, to the great hindrance of *Artaxerxes*, and (for ought that I can vnderstand) to the manifest breach of the peace, which to their great honour they had concluded with *Xerxes*; then did the King send his Letter to *Themistocles*, requiring him to make good the hopes which he had giuen, of assuring the *Persian* estate against the *Greekes*.

But whether *Themistocles* perceived much unlikeliess of good successe, in leading a great Armie of dastardly *Persians* against the warlike people of *Greece* (or else (as in fauour of his vertue it is more commonly reported) the loue of his Countrey would not permit him to seek honour by the ruine of it: sure it is, that being appointed by *Artaxerxes* to undertake the conduct of great forces against the *Athenians*, he decided the great contest betwene thankfulness to his well-deseruing Prince, and naturall affection to his own ill-decruing people, by finishing his life with a cup of poyson.

§. V.

How the *Athenians*, breaking the peace, which to their great honour they had made with the *Persian*, were shamefully beaten in *Egypt*.

When was *Artaxerxes* driuen to vse the seruice of his owne Captaines in the *Egyptian* warre, wherein it appeared well, That a iust cause is a good defence against a strong enemy. An *Athenian* Fleet of two hundred saile strong was sent forth vnder *Cimon*, to take in the Isle of *Cyprus*: which conquest seemed easie both to make and to maintaine, the *Persian* being vtterly broken at Sea, and thereby vnable to relieue the Island. Now although it were so, that a peace had bene concluded, which was likely to haue bene kept sincerely by the *Persian*, who had made so good proofe of the *Grecian* valour, that he was nothing desirous to build any ships of Warre (without which the *Greekes* could receiue no harme from him) whereof if any one should be found sayling towards *Greece*, the peace was immediately broken, and if not, his whole estate yett all the Sea-coast (no small part of his Dominions) exposed to the waste of an enemy too far out-matching him. Yet whether the *Athenians* were in doubt, lest the league which in his own worse fortunes he had made with them, he would breake in theirs; and therefore sought to get such assurance into their hands, as might vtterly disable him from attempting ought against them; or whether the increase of their reuenues & power, by adding that rich and great Island to their Empire, caused them to measure honour by profit; they thought it the wisest way, to take whilst they might, whatsoever they were able to get and hold, and he vnable to defend.

The Isle of *Cyprus* lying in the bottome of the streights betwene *Cilicia*, *Syria* and *Egypt*, is very fitly seated for any Prince of State, that being mighty at Sea, doth either seeke to enrich himselfe by trade with those Countreies, or to infect one or more of them

them when they are his enemies. And this being the purpose of the *Athenians*, their ambition which had already deuoured, in conceit, this Island, was on the sodaine well-nigh choaked with a greater morsell, to smatch at which, they let *Cyprus* alone, which they might easily haue swallowed and digested. For *Inarus* King of the *Libyans* confining *Aegypt*, hauing found how greatly the Countrey was exalted by the late warres, and how weakly defended by very slender *Persian* Garrisons, conceived rightly, that if such small forces as the *Satrapa* or *Viceroy* could make on the sodaine of his owne *Gardes*, or leuie out of the ordinary *Garrisons*, were by him defeated, the naturals of the Countrey, not long since oppressed by *Cambyses*, and after a reuolt very lately subdued by *Xerxes*, would soone breake faith with him who had no other title to that kingdome than a good sword. Further, he perswaded himselfe that the people, vnable to defend themselves against the *Persian* without his assistance; would easily be drawne to accept him, the author of their deliuerance for King. Neither did this hope deceiue him. For hauing taken and cruelly slaine *Achamenes* the *Viceroy*; diuers Cities forthwith declared themselves for him, and proclaiming him King, shewed the most of their endeavour for prosecution of the warre. But he considering his owne weakness, and that the meanes of the *Egyptians* his adherents were not answerable to their desires, perceived well, that to resist the power of *Artaxerxes*, farre greater force than his and theirs were to be procured, at what price soeuer he obtained them. Therefore hearing of the great *Athenian* fleet, and knowing well the vertue of the Soldiers therein imbarqued; he invited the Commanders to share with him the kingdome of *Aegypt*, as a farre greater reward of their aduenture, than such an addition as that of *Cyprus* could be to their estate. Whether he or they (if things had wholly sorted according to their expectation) would haue bene contented with an equal share, and not haue fallen out in the partition, were perhaps a diuination vnnecessary. He was possessed of the peoples loue, they were of most power: But the issue of those affaires was such as left them nothing to communicate but misfortunes, which they shared somewhat equally.

Yet had the beginnings of their enterprize very good and hopefull successe: For they parted the Land as farre as to *Memphis*, the principall Citie; and of the Citie it selfe they tooke two parts: to the third part, which was called the White wall, they laid such hard sieges; that neither those forces of the *Persians*, which then were in *Aegypt*, were strong enough to remove them; neither could *Artaxerxes* well deuise what meanes to vse for the recovery of that which was lost, or for the preservation of the remainder. Tied out of his hope was by setting the *Lacedemonians* vpon *Athen*, to enforce the *Athenians* to looke homewards to their owne defence. This was the first time that the *Persian* sought to procure the assistance of the *Greekes*: one against the other, by stirring them up with gold to the entertainment of priuate quarrels, for the good of their common enemy. To this purpose he sent *Megabazus* to *Sparta* with much Treasure; who, after great expence, finding that the *Lacedemonians* were nothing forward in imploying their whole force against the *Athenians*, whom in many conflicts of great importance they had found to be their marches, notwithstanding the absence of their Armie in *Aegypt*; he thought it his wisest way to imploy the rest of his mony and meanes to their reliefe, who had now the space of sixe yeeres defended his masters right in *Egypt*. Therefore he hastily dispatched another of his name, the sonne of *Zopyrus*, who arriving in *Aegypt*, was first encountered by the reuolted people, ouer whom he obtained victory, which made him master of the Countrey, whilst the *Athenians* lay busied about *Memphis* the great Citie.

It cannot be doubted, that long abode in a strange ayre, and want of supply, had much weakened the *Athenians*: sure it is, that when *Megabazus*, hauing reduced the Countrey to obedience, attempted the Citie it selfe, whether his former successe had amended the courage of the *Persians*, or want of necessities made the *Athenians* intemperate to themselves, he chased them out of *Memphis*, and pursued them so neere, as *Prospites* an Island between the Rivers of *Taly* & *Phar-*
ter eighteen moneths siege, turning away one part of the River by diuers Trenches, ter assaulted the *Athenians* without impediment of waters, tooke their Gallies; and put all to the sword, save a few that saved themselves by flight into *Libya*; the same entertainment had fittie other Gallies which they sent to the succour of the first two hundred.

Mendes is an Island in the mouth of *Nilus*, between the outlet called *Babirus* and *Dikeu*. But the branch of *Nilus*, called *Mendesum*, runneth into the Sea by the Citie *Periaphysu*.

hundred. For those *Athenians* having heard nothing that their Fleet and Armie was consumed, entred by the branch of *Nilus*, called *Mendesum*, and fell unawares among the *Phenician* Gallies and the *Persian* Armie; so as the *Persians* recovered all *Egypt*, but that part held by *Amyrteus*, and *Inarus* the King of *Lybia*, being by them taken and hanged. This was the end of the *Athenians* sixe yeeres warre in *Egypt*, and the reward of their vanitie and indiscretion to vndertake many enterprises at once.

§. V.

Of other Warres made by the *Athenians* for the most part with good successe, about the same time.

Notwithstanding these overthrowes in *Egypt*, yet the *Athenians* in their home warres waded through many difficulties, and held the reputation of their forces against the *Lacedemonians*, *Corinthians*, and others, rather to their advantage than otherwise. For as they were beaten neere vnto *Halia* by the *Corinthians* and *Epidaurians*; so they obtained two great victories soone after; the one ouer the *Peloponnesians*, neere vnto *Cerriphalia*; the other ouer the *Aginets*, neere vnto *Agina*; where they funke and carried away threecore and ten Gallies of their Enemies. Furthermore, they landed their forces on the suddaine, and besieged *Agina*, from whence they could not be moued, notwithstanding that the *Corinthians*, to diuert them, invaded *Megara*; where, after a great fight, with equall losse, the *Corinthians*, when they returned againe to set vp their *Trophie*, as Victors in the former battaile, were vnterly broken and slaughtered by the *Athenian* Garrisons and *Megarians*, to their great losse and dishonour.

Again, as the *Athenians* were discomfited neere to *Tanagra*, by the *Lacedemonians*; who returned from the succour of the *Dorians* against the *Phocians* (at which time the *Thessalian* horse-men turned from their Allies the *Athenians*, and fought against them) so about threecore dayes after, the *Athenians* entred *Boeotia* vnder the conduct of *Myrmides*, where beating that Nation, they wan *Phocis* on the gulfes *Oeteus*, and euened the wals of *Tanagra*, to the ground. Finally, they enforced *Agina* to render vpon most base conditions, as to beat downe the wals of their Citie, and to giue them hostages for Tribute; the siege whereof they had continued, notwithstanding all their other brabbles and attempts elswhere. Besides these victories they sackt and spoiled many places vpon the Sea-coast of *Peloponnesus*, belonging to the *Lacedemonians*; wan vpon the *Corinthians*, and ouerthrew the *Sicionians* that came to their succour. These were the vndertakings of the *Athenians*, and their Allies, during the time of those sixe yeeres that a part of their forces made warre in *Egypt*. In the end whereof they attempted *Thessalie*, perswaded thereto by *Orestes*, but were resisted by the King *Pharsalus*, who had chased *Orestes* out of his Dominions. They also landed in *Sicionia*, and had victory ouer those that resisted, after which they made truce with the *Peloponnesians* for five yeeres, and sent *Cimon* into *Cyprus* with two hundred ships; but they were againe allured by *Amyrteus* one of the race of their former Kings, who held the Marish and Wooddie parts of *Agge* from the *Persians*, to whom they sent sixtie of their ships. The rest of their Armie failing in their enterprise of *Cyprus*, and their fortunate and victorious Leader *Cimon* dying there, as they coasted the Island, incourted a fleet of the *Phenicians* and *Cilicians*, ouer both which Nations they returned victorious into *Greece*: as also those returned safe which were sent into *Agge*.

§. VII.

Of *Artaxerxes* Longimanus, that he was *Ahasuerus* the husband of *Esther*.

Inter *Egyptian* troubles being ended, the reigne of *Artaxerxes* continued peaceable, whereof the length is by some restrained into twenty yeeres, but the more and better Authors giue him fortie, some allow vnto him foure and forty. He

He was a Prince of much humanity, and noted for many examples of gentlenesse. His fauour was exceeding great to the *Jewes*, as appeareth by the Histories of *Esdras* and *Nehemiah*, which fell in his time.

To proue that this was the King who gaue countenance and aide to that great worke of building the Temple, it were a needelisse traualle, considering that all the late Diuines haue taken very much paine, to shew that those two Prophets were licensed by him, and succoured in that building, in such sort as appears in their writings.

This was likewise that King *Ahasuerus* who married *Esther*. Whereof if it be needefull to giue proue, it may suffice; That *Ahasuerus* lived in *Susa*, reigning from *India* to *Ethiopia*, and therefore must haue bene a *Persian*; That he liued in peace, as appears by the circumstances of the Historie, and vsed the counsaile of the seuen Princes, the authority of which Princes began vnder *Darius*, the sonne of *Hystaspes*; wherefore he could be neither *Cyrus* nor *Cambyses*.

The continuall Warres which exercised King *Darius* the sonne of *Hystaspes*, together with the certainty of his mariages with sundry wiues, from none of whom he was diuorced, but left his first wife *Atossa*, the daughter of *Cyrus*, alieue in great honour, the being mother to *Xerxes* the succeeding King; doe manifestly proue that *Esther* was not his. Whereunto is added by *Philo* the *Iew*, That at the perswasion of *Mariuchus*, *Ioiachim* the high Priest the sonne of *Iesua*, caused the feast of *Purim* to be instituted in memory of that deliuerance. Now the time of *Ioiachim* was in the reigne of *Artaxerxes*, at the comming of *Esdras*, and *Nehemiah*: *Iesua* his father dying about the end of *Darius*.

The same continuance of warres, with other his furious and tragical loues, wherewith *Xerxes* did consume such little time, as he had free from warre, are enough to proue, that the storie of *Esther* pertained not vnto the time of *Xerxes*, who liued but one and twentie yeeres, whereas the two and thirtieth of *Ahasuerus* or *Artaxerxes* is expressed by *Nehemiah*. Again, it is well knowne, that *Xerxes* in the seauenth yeere of his reigne (wherin this marriage must haue bene celebrated) came not neere to *Susa*. Of the Princes that succeeded *Artaxerxes* Longimanus, to proue that none of them could be *Ahasuerus*, it is enough to say, that *Mardocheus* hauing bene carried from *Hierusalem* captiue, with *Techonia*, by *Nebuchadnezzar*, was vnluely to haue liued vntill their times.

But of this *Artaxerxes* it is true, that he liued in *Susa*, reigned from *India* to *Ethiopia*, liued in peace, was contemporarie with *Ioiachim* the high Priest: and further he had happily by his Lieutenants reclaimed the rebellious *Egyptians* in that seauenth yeere of his reigne; which good fortune might well giue occasion to such a Royall feast, as is described in the beginning of *Esther*. This is the summe of the arguments, brought to proue the age of *Esther*: storie by the learned and diligent *Krentzhemius*, who adds the authorities of *Iosephus*, affirming the same, and of *Philo*, giuing to *Mardocheus* eightene yeeres more than *Isaac* the *Patriarch* liued, namely, one hundred fourecore and eightene yeeres in all, which expire in the five and thirtieth yeere of this *Artaxerxes*; if we suppose him to haue bene carried away captiue, being a Boy of ten yeeres old.

§. VIII.

Of the troubles in *Greece*, foregoing the *Peloponnesian* warre.

It is fit that we now returne to the affaires of the *Greekes*, who from this time forward, more vehemently prosecuting their ciuill warres, suffered the *Persians* for many ages to rest in peace; this *Egyptian* expedition being come to nought. Soone after this, the *Lacedemonians* vnderooke the warre called, Sacred, recovered the Temple and Ile of *Delphos*, and deliuered both to the inhabitants; but the *Athenians* regained the same, and gaue it in charge to the *Phocians*. In the meane while the banished *Boeotians* reentred their owne Land, and mastred two of their owne Townes posselt by the *Athenians*, which they soone recovered againe from them; but in their returne towards *Athen*, the *Boeotians*, *Euboeans*, and *Locrians*, (Nations oppressd by the *Athenians*) set vpon them with such resolution, as the *Athenians* were in that fight all slaine or taken,

taken, whereby the *Bœotians* recovered their former liberty, restoring to the *Athenians* their prisoners. The Ilanders of *Eubœa* tooke such courage vpon this, that they reuolted wholly from the *Athenians*, whom when *Pericles* intended to reconquer, he was aduertised that the *Megarians*, (who first left the *Lacedæmonians*, & submitted themselves to *Athens*) being now weary of their yoke, had slaine the *Athenians* Garrisons, and ioyned themselves with the *Corinthians*, *Sicyonians*, & *Epidaurians*. These newes hastened *Pericles* homeward with all possible speed; but ere he could recover *Attica*, the *Peloponnesians*, led by *Philaanax*, the sonne of *Pausanias*, had inuaded it, pillaged, and burnt many parts thereof; after whose returne *Pericles* went on with his first intent and recovered *Eubœa*. Finally the *Athenians* began to treat of peace with the *Peloponnesians*, and yielded to deliuer vp all the places which they held in the Country of *Peloponnesus*: and this truce was made for thirtie yeeres.

After fixe of these yeeres were expired, the *Athenians* (fauouring the *Myseians* against the *Samiens*) inuaded *Samos* by *Pericles*; and after many repulses, and some great losses, both by Sea and Land, the Citizens were forc't to yeelde themselves vpon most lamentable conditions; Namely, to deliuer vp all their ships, to breake downe their owne walls, to pay the charge of the war, and to restore whatsoeuer had beene taken by themselves, or by their practice, from the *Athenians*. In the necke of which followed that long and cruell *Peloponnesian* Warre, whereof I haue gathered this briefe following: the same contention taking beginning fiftie yeeres after the flight of *Xerxes* out of *Greece*. But because there was no Citie thereof, which either in the beginning of this warre, or in the continuance of it, was not drawne into the quarrell: I hold it convenient now at the first to shew briefly the estate of the Countrey at that time, and especially the condition of those two great Cities, *Athens* and *Sparta*, vpon which all the rest had most dependance.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Peloponnesian Warre.

§. I.

Vpon what searimes the two principall Cities of Greece, Athens and Sparta, stood, at the beginning of the Peloponnesian Warre.



Greece was neuer vnited vnder the gouernement of any one Prince or Estate, vntill *Philip* of *Macedon*, and after him *Alexander*, brought them rather to a Vnion and League against the *Persian*, whereof they were Captaines, than into any absolute subiection. For euery Estate held their owne, and were gouerned by Lawes farre different, and by their owne Magistrates, notwithstanding the power of the *Macedonians*, to whom they did yeelde obedience no otherwise than as to such, who were (perforce) their leaders in the *Persian* warre (deemed the Generall quarrell of *Greece*)

and tooke the profit and honour of the victory, to their owne vse and increase of greatness. But the Kings which afterwards reigned in *Macedonia*, did so farre enlarge their authority, that all *Greece* was by them brought vnder such obedience, as differed little from seruitude; very few excepted, who could hardly, sometimes with armes, and sometimes with gifts, perserue their liberty; of whom the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* were chiefe: which two people deserued best the plague of tyranny, hauing first giuen occasion thereunto, by their great ambition, which wearied and weakened all the Countrey by perpetual Warre. For vntill these two Cities of *Athens* and *Sparta* distracted all *Greece*, drawing euery State into the quarrell, on the one or other side, and so gaue beginning to the *Peloponnesian* warre (the effects whereof in true estimation ceased not, before the time that *Philip* had ouer-mastred all, forasmuch as euery

conclusion

conclusion of one war afforded henceforth matter of some new distraction of the whole Countrey) the warres, commenced betweene one Citie of *Greece* and an other, were neither great, nor of long continuance. All controuersies were soone decided, either by the authority of the *Amphictiones*, who were the generall Councell of *Greece*; or by the power of the *Lacedæmonians*, whose aide was commonly held as good as the assurance of victory.

These *Lacedæmonians* had liued about foure hundred yeeres vnder one forme of Government, when the *Peloponnesian* warre began. Their education was onely to practise frates of Armes; wherein they so excelled, that a very few of them were thought equall to very great numbers of any other people. They were poore, and cared not much for wealth; euery one had an equall portion of the common field, which sufficed to maintain him in such manner as they vsed. For brauery they had none, and curious building or apparell they regarded not. Their diet was simple, their feasts and ordinary meales being a common Halls, where all fared alike. They vsed money of yron, whereof they could not be couetous nor great hoarders. Briefely, they liued *Vropian*-like, saue that they vsed no other occupation than Warre, placing all their felicitie in the glory of their valour. Hereby it came to passe that in all enterprises, whereof they were partakers, the leading and high command was granted to them, and all *Greece* followed their conduct. But the *Athenians* were in all points contrary to this. For they sought no wealth, and measured the honours of their victories by the profit; they vsed mercenarie Souldiers in their warres, and exacted great tribute of their Subjects, which were for the most part Ilanders, compelled to obey them, because the *Athenian* fleet was great.

As in forme of policy, and in course of life, so in conditions naturall, the difference betweene these two people was very much. The *Athenians* were eager and violent, suddaine in their conclusions, and as hastic in the execution: The *Lacedæmonians* very slow in their deliberations, full of grauitie, but very resolute, and such as would in cold blood performe what the *Athenians* did vsually in flagrant. Whereby it came to passe, that the *Lacedæmonians* had all the Estates of *Greece* depending vpon them, as on men firme and assured, that sought honor & not riches; whereas the *Athenians* were followed by such as obeyed them perforce, being held in straight subiection. But the Signorie of the *Athenians* was nothing long, vntill such time as the *Persian* *Xerxes* had inuaded *Greece*, pretending onely a quarrell to *Athens*: For then the Citizens perceiuing well, that the Towne of *Athens* could not be defended against his great Armie of seuentee hundred thousand men, bestowed all their wealth vpon a Nauie, & (assisted by the other *Græcians*) ouerthrew the fleet of *Xerxes*, whose Land-forces were soone after discomfited by them, and the *Greekes*, who all serued vnder conduct of the *Spartans*. After these victories, the *Athenians* being now very mighty in fleet, reduced all the Ilands of the *Greeks* Seas vnder their obedience; imposing vpon them a hard tribute, for maintenance (as they pretended) of warre against the *Persians*; though indeede they employed their forces chiefly, to the conquest of such Ilands, and haven-Townes, of their owne Countreimen, as stood out against them. All which was easily suffered by the *Lacedæmonians*, who were In-landers, and men that delighted not in expeditions to be made farre from home. But afterwards perceiuing the power of the *Athenians* to grow great, they held them in much ielousie, and were very apt to quarrell with them; but much more willing to breed contention betweene them and other Estates. Wherefore at such time as the *Thebans* would haue oppressed the *Plataens*, when they of *Plata* repaired to *Sparta* for succour, they found there no other aide, than this aduice, That they should seeke helpe at *Athens*. Hereby it was thought, that the *Athenians* should be intangled in a long and tedious Warre, with their neighbours of *Thebes*. But it proved otherwise; for their force was now so great, that all such occasions did onely serue to increase their honour and puissance.

§. II.

How Sparta and Athens entred into warre.

Neither these many Estates of *Greece* were very ill affected to *Athens*, because that Citie grew very insolent vpon suddaine prosperitie, and maintaining the weaker Townes against the stronger, inroached apace vpon their Neighbours, taking

their dependants from them. Especially the *Corinthians* were much enraged, because the people of the Iland *Corcyra*, their Colonie which had rebelled against them, and given them a great overthrow by Sea, was by the *Athenians* (who desired to increase their fleet by adioyning that of *Corcyra* unto it) taken into protection, and the *Corinthians* thereby impeached of that reuenge which else they would have taken. Now howsoever it were so, that these dealings of the *Athenians* were not directly against the conditions of peace agreed vpon among the *Greekes*, yet were the complaints made at *Sparta* so vehement, that (though with much ado) they concluded to redresse by warre the iniuries done to their Allies.

First therefore seeking religious pretences, they required the *Athenians* to expiate certaine offences committed against the gods, whereto hauing for answer, That they themselves should expiate other the like offences, committed in *Sparta*; they began to deale plainly, and required that the people of some Townes, oppressed by the estate of *Athen*, should be set at liberty, and that a decree made against those of *Megara*, whereby they were forbidden to enter any Port of the *Athenians*, should be reuerfed. This last point they so earnestly presse, that if they might obtaine it, they promised to abstaine from their purpose of making Warre.

This they desired, not as a matter of any great importance (for it was a trifle) but only that by seeming to haue obtained somewhat, they might preferue their reputation without entering into a warre, which threatened them with greater difficulties apparent, than they were very willing to vndergoe.

But the *Athenians* would yeelde to nothing, for it was their whole desire that all *Greece* should take notice, how farre they were from feare of any other Citie. Hereupon they prepared on both sides very strongly, all that was needefull to the Warre; wherein the *Lacedaemonians* were Superiour, both in number and quality, being assisted by most of the Cities in *Greece*; and hauing the generall fauour, as men that pretended to let liberty such as were oppressed: but the *Athenians* did as farre exceede them in all particulars of Money, Shipping, Engines, and absolute power of command among their Subiects, which they held, and afterward found of greater vse in such neede, than the willing readinesse of friends, who soone grow weary, and are not easily assembled.

§. III.

The beginning of the Peloponnesian warre.

THe first and second yeeres expedition was very grievous to the Citie of *Athen*. For the fields were wasted, the Trees cut downe; the Countrie people driven to flye, with Wiues, Children, and Cattel, into the Towne, whereby a most furious pestilence grew in the Citie, such as before they had neuer felt, nor heard of. Hereunto was added the reuolt of the *Mytilenians*, in the Ile of *Lesbos*, & the siege of *Plataea* their confederated Citie, which they durst not aduenture to raise, besides some small overthrowes recieued. The *Lacedaemonians* assembling as great forces as they could raise out of *Peloponnesus*, did in the beginning of Summer enter the Countrie of *Attica*, and therein abide, vntill victuals began to faile, wasting and destroying all things round about: The Governours of the *Athenians* would not suffer the people to issue into the field against them; for they knew the valour of their Enemies; but vsed to send a fleet into *Peloponnesus*, which wasted as fast all the Sea-coast of their Enemies, whilst they were making warre in *Attica*. So the *Peloponnesians* being the stronger by Land, won the Towne of *Plataea*, which wanted rescue; the *Athenians* likewise being more mighty by Sea, did subdue *Mytilene* which had rebelled, but could not bee succoured from *Sparta*. By these proceedings in that warre, the *Lacedaemonians* beganne to perceiue how vnfit they were to deale with such enemies. For after that *Attica* was thoroughly wasted, it lay not greatly in their power to doe any offence equall to such harme as they themselves might, and did recieue. Their Confederates beganne to set forward very slowly in their expeditions into *Attica*; perceiuing well that *Athen* was plentifully relieved with all necessaries, which came by the Sea from the Ilands that were subiect vnto that Estate; and therefore these invaders tooke but small pleasure in beholding the walls of that mighty Citie, or in wasting a forsaken field, which was to them a patterne of the calamities, with which their owne Territorie was the whilst afflicted. Wherefore they began

began to set their care to build a strong Naue, wherein they had little good successe, being easily vanquished by the *Athenians*, who both had more and better ships, and were so skilfull in Sea-fights, that a few Vessels of theirs durst vndertake a great number of the *Peloponnesians*.

§. IIII.

Of the great losse which the Spartans received at Pylus.

AMong other losses which the *Spartans* had felt by Sea; they received at *Pylus* a verie fore blow, that compelled them to sue for peace. A fleet of *Athenian* ships bound for *Corcyra*, waiting in that passage, as their manner was, the coast of *Lacania*, and all the halfe Ile of *Peloponnesus*, was by contrarie windes detained at *Pylus*, which is a ragged Promontorie, ioyning to the maine, by a strange necke of Land. Before there lies a small barren Iland of lesse than two miles compasse, and within that a creeke, which is a good harbour for ships, the force of weather being borne off by the head Land and Ille. This Promontorie the *Athenians* fortified, as well as in halfter they might; and what was wanting in their artificiall fortification, was supplied by the naturall strength and site of the place. By holding this piece of ground, and haue, they in reason expected many aduantages against their enemies. For the Countrie adioyning to was inhabited by the *Messenians*, who in ancient times had held very strong and cruell warre with *Sparta*; and (though quite subdued) they were held in streight subiection; yet was not the olde hatred to extinguished, that by the neere neighbourhood and assistance of the *Athenians*, it might not be reuiued. Furthermore it was thought, that many ill-willers to the *Lacedaemonians*, and as many of her bond-slaves as could escape from them, would repaire to *Pylus*, and from thence make daily excursions into *Lacania*, which was not farre off: Or if other hopes failed, yet would the benefit of this haue, lying almost in the mid-way betwene them and *Corcyra*, make them able to sur-round all *Peloponnesus*, and waste it at their pleasure. The newes of these doings at *Pylus* drew the *Peloponnesians* thither in all haste out of *Attica*, which they had entred a few daies before with their whole Armie: but now they brought not onely their Land-forces, but all their Naue, to recouer this peece, which how bad a neighbour it might proue in time, they well foresaw, little fearing the grieuous losse at hand, which they there in few daies recieued. For when they in vaine made a generall assault on all sides, both by Sea and Land; finding that small Garrison which the *Athenians* had left, very resolute in the defence: they occupied the haue, placing foure hundred and twenty choice men all of them, Citizens of *Sparta*, in the Iland before mentioned, at each end whereof is a channell, that leades into the Port; but so narrow, that onely two ships in front could enter betwene the Ille and *Pylus*; likewise but seuen or eight shippes could enter at once by the further channell, betwene the Iland and the Main. Hauing thus taken order to shut vpp this new Towne by Sea, they sent part of their fleet to fetch wood, and other stufte, wherewith to fortifie round about, and blocke vp the piece on all sides. But in the meane season, the *Athenian* fleet, hearing of their danger that were left at *Pylus*, returned thither, and with great courage entring the haue, did breake and sinke many of their Enemies vessels; tooke five, and so enforced the residue to runne themselves a-ground.

Now was the Towne secure, and the *Spartans* abiding in the Iland as good as lost. Wherefore the Magistrates were sent from *Sparta* to the campe (as was their custome in great dangers) to aduise what were best for the publike safety; who when they did perceiue that there was no other way to rescue their Citizens out of the Ille, then by composition with their enemies, they agreed to entreat the *Athenians* about peace, taking truce in the meane while with the Captaines at *Pylus*. The conditions of the truce were, That the *Lacedaemonians* should deliuer vp all the shippes which were in the coast; and that they should attempt nothing against the Town, nor the *Athenians* against the campe: That a certaine quantitie of Bread, Wine, and Fleshe, should be daily carried into the Ille, but that no shippes should passe into the Iland secretly: That the *Athenians* should carry the *Lacedaemonian* Embassadors to *Athen*, there to treat of peace, and should bring them backe, at whose returne the truce should end, which if in the meane time it were broken in any one point, should be held vtterly void in all: That when the truce was expired, the *Athenians*

Athenians should restore the *Peloponnesian* ships, in as good case as they received them. The Embassadors coming to *Athens*, were of opinion, that as they themselves had begun the warre, so might they end it when they pleased. Wherefore they told the *Athenians* how great an honour it was that the *Lacedemonians* did sue to them for peace, advising them to make an end of warre, whilst with such reputation they might. But they found all contrarie to their expectation: For instead of concluding vpon euentures, or desiring of meet recompence for losse sustained; the *Athenians* demanded certain Cities to be restored to them, which had beene taken from them by the *Lacedemonians* long before this warre beganne, refusing likewise to continue the treaty of peace, vntill the *Spartans* which were in the Isle, were first rendred vnto them as prisoners. Thus were to the Embassadors returned without effect; at which time the truce being ended, it was desired from the *Athenian* Captaines, that they should, according to their covenant, restore the ships, which had beene put into their hands. Whereunto there was made, that the condition of the truce was, That if any one article were broken, all should be held void; now (said the *Athenians*) yee haue assaulted our Garrisons, and thereby are wee acquitted of our promise to restore the ships. This and the like frivolous allegations which they made, were but meer shifts; yet profit so far ouer-weighed honour, that better answer none could be got. Then were the *Lacedemonians* driuen to vse many hard means, for conuincance of victuals into the Isle; which finally was taken by force, and the men that were in it carried prisoners to *Athens*, where it was decreed that when the *Peloponnesians* next invaded *Attica*, these prisoners should all be slaine. Whether fearing the death of these men, or with-held by the troubles; which (according to the *Athenians* hope) fell vpon them; the *Lacedemonians* were so farre from waisting *Attica*, that they suffered their owne Countrey to be continually ouer-runne, both by the *Athenians*, who landed on all parts of their coast, and by those which issued out of *Pylus*; which became the Rendezvous of all that were ill-affected vnto them.

§. V.

How the Lacedemonians hardly, and to their great disadvantage, obtained a peace, that was not well kept.

Herefore they inducured greatly to obtain peace; which the *Athenians* would not harken vnto. For they were so puffed vp with continuance of good successe, that hauing sent a few bands of men into *Sicilie*, to hold vp a faction there, and make what profit they might of the *Sicilians* quarrels; when afterward they heard that the differences in that Isle were taken away, and their bands returned without eyther gaine or losse, they banished the Captaines, as if it had beene merely through their default, that the Ile of *Sicilie* was not conquered; which (besides the longer distance) was in power to offend others, or defend it selfe, no whit inferiour vnto *Peloponnesus*. Yet so was this their ouer-weening much abated shortly after, by some disasters received, especially in *Thrace*, where in a battaile which they lost at *Amphipolis*, *Cleon* and *Brasidas*, Generalls of the *Athenian* and *Lacedemonian* forces, were both slaine; which two had most been aduersaries to the peace. As the *Athenians* by their losses were taught moderation; so the *Lacedemonians*, who not only felt the like wounds, but through the great Naue which they had receiued at *Pylus*, were faine to proceed lamely in the warre, against such as, through commoditie of their good feed, had all aduantage that could be found in expedition, were feruently desirous to conclude the businesse, ere Fortune by any new fauour should reuieue the insolence, which was at this time well morified in their Enemies. Neither was it only a consideration of their present estate, that vrged them to bring the treaty of peace to a good and speedy effect; but other dangers hinging over their heads, and ready to fall on them, which vntill they compounded with the *Athenians*, they knew not how to auoid. The estate of *Argos*, which had ancient enmity with them, was now, after a truce of thirty yeeres well-nigh expired, ready to take the benefit of their present troubles, by ioyning with those who alone found them worke enough. *Argos* was a rich and strong Citie, which though inferiour to *Sparta* in valour, yet was not so vnwarlike, nor held such ill correspondence with the neighbouring Estates, that the *Lacedemonians* could euer farre preuaile vpon it, when they had little else to doe.

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This was a thing that in the beginning of this Warre had not beene regarded. For it was then thought, that by waisting the Territorie of *Athens* with sword and fire, the quarrell should easily and in short time haue beene ended, whereby not only the *Athenians* should haue beene brought to good order, but the *Corinthians* and others, for whose sake the war was vnder-taken, haue been so firmly knit to the *Lacedemonians*, that they should for loue of them haue abandoned the *Argives*, to their own fortunes. But now the vanitie of those hopes appeared, in that the *Athenians* abounding in ready mone, and means to raise more, were able to secure themselves by a strong fleet from any great harme; that the *Peloponnesians* wanting wherewith to maintaine a Naue, could doe vnto them; yea the Masters of the Sea; to weary them out, as in effect already they had done. As for the Confederates of *Sparta*; they could now endure neither warre nor peace; their daily troubles, and many losses had so wearied and incensed them. Wherefore the *Lacedemonians* were glad to vse the occasion, which the inclination of their enemies did then afford, of making a finall peace, which with much adoe they procured, as seemed equall and easie; but was indeed impossible to be performed, and therefore all their trouble was little effectuell.

The restitution of prisoners and places taken being agreed vpon; it fell out by lot, that the *Lacedemonians* should restore first. These had wonne more townes vpon the continent from the *Athenians*, than the *Athenians* had from them; but what they had wonne, they had not wonne absolutely. For they had restored some Townes to such of their Allies, from whom the State of *Athens* had taken them; some, and those the most, they had forat liberty (as reason required) which had opened their gates vnto them, as to their friends and deliuerers, and not compelled them to breake in as Enemies. Now concerning the Townes which were not in their owne hands, but had beene rendred vnto their Confederates, the *Spartans* found meanes to giue some satisfaction, by permitting the *Athenians* to retaine others, which they had gotten in the Warre; as for the rest, they promised more then afterwards they could performe. The Cities which they had taken into protection, could not endure to heare of being abandoned, neither would they by any meanes yeeld themselves into the hands of their old Lords the *Athenians*, whom they had offended by reuoking, notwithstanding what ouer articles were drawne, and concluded, for their securitie, and betterance in time to come. This dull performance of conditions on the side of the *Spartans*, made the *Athenians* become as backward in doing those things which on their part were required; so that restoring only the prisoners which they had, they deferred the rest, vntill such time as they might receiue the full satisfaction, according to the agreement. But before such time as these difficulties brake out into matter of open quarrell, the *Lacedemonians* entred into a more streight alliance with the *Athenians*; making a league offensive and defensive with them. Heereunto they were moued by the backwardnesse of the *Argives*, who being (as they thought) likely to haue sued for peace at their hands, as soone as things were once compounded betwene *Athens* and *Sparta*; did shew themselves plainly vnwilling to giue care to any such motion. Thinking therefore, that by cutting from *Argos* all hope of *Athenian* succour, they should make sure worke, the *Spartans* regarded not the affections of other States, whom they had either bound vnto them by well-deferuing in the late warre, or found so troublefome, that their enmitie (if perhaps they durst let it appeare) was little worse then friendship. It bred great ialousie in all the Cities of *Greece*, to perceiue such a coniunction between two so powerfull Signiories: especially one clause threatening every one, that was any thing apt to feare, with a secret intent that might be harboured in their proud conceits, of subduing the whole Countrey, and taking each what they could lay hold on. For besides the other articles, it was agreed, That they might by mutual consent adde new conditions, or alter the old at their owne pleasures. This impression wrought so strongly in the *Corinthians*, *Thebians*, and other ancient Confederates of *Sparta*, that the hate which they had borne to the *Athenians* their professed enemies, was violently throwne vpon the *Lacedemonians* their vnusd friends: whereby it came to passe, that they who had lately borne chiefe sway in *Greece*, might haue beene abandoned to the discretion of their Enemies, as already in effect they were, had the Enemies wisely vied the aduantage.

§. VI.

Of the negotiations, and practices, held betwene many States of Greece, by occasion of the peace that was concluded.

THe admiration wherein all Greece held the valour of Sparta as vnrefutable, and able to make way through all impediments, had been so excessive; that when by some sinister accidents, that City was compelled to take and seeke peace, vpon termes not founding very honourable, this common opinion was not only abated, but (as happens usually in things extreme) was changed into much contempt. For it was neuer thought that any Lacedæmonian would haue endured to lay downe his weapons, and yeeld himselfe prisoner, nor that any misfortune should haue beene so great, as should haue drawne that Citie to relieue it selfe otherwise then by force of Armes. But when once it had appeared that many of their Citizens, among whom were some of especial marke, being ouer-laid by enemies, in the Island before Pylus, had rather chosen to lye in captiuitie, than to die in fight, and that Pylus it selfe, sticking as a thorne in the foot of Lacomia, had bred such anguish in that Estate, as vnto wearying the accustomed Spartan resolution, had made it sit downe, and seeke to refresh it selfe by dishonourable ease: then did not onely the Corinthians and Thebans begin to conceiue basely of those men which were vertuous, though vnfortunate; but other lesser Cities ioyning with these in the same opinion, did cast their eyes vpon the rich and great Citie of Argos, of whose abilitytie, to do much, they conceiued a strong beleefe, because of long time it had done nothing. Such is the base condition, which through foolish enuie is become almost naturall in the greater part of mankind. We curiously search into their vices, in whom, had they kept some distance, we should haue discerned only the vertues; and comparing mutually our best parts with their worst, are iustly plagued with a false opinion of that good in strangers which we know to be wanting in our selues.

The first that published their dislike of Sparta were the Corinthians, at whose vehement entreaty (though moued rather by enuy at the greatness of Athens daily encreasing) the Lacedæmonians had entred into the present Warre. But these Corinthians did onely mur-
mure at the peace, alledging as grieuances, that some townes of theirs were left in the Athenians hands. The Mantinians, who during the time of Warre, had procured some part of the Arcadians to become their followers, and forsake their dependency vpon the State of Sparta, did more freely and readily discouer themselves; feare of reuenge to come, working more effectually, than indignation at things already past. The Argines feeling the gale of prosperous Fortune that began to fill their sailes, prepared themselves to take as much of it as they could stand vnder; giuing for that purpose vnto twelue of their Citizens, a full & absolute commission to make alliance between them & any free Citie of Greece (Athens and Sparta excepted) without any further trouble of propounding euery particular businesse to the multitude. When the gates of Argos were set thus open to all commers; the Mantinians began to leade the way, and many Cities of Peloponnesus following them entred into this new confederacy; some incited by priuate respects, others thinking it the wisest way to doe as the most did. What inconuenience might arise vnto them by these courses, the Lacedæmonians easily discerned, and therefore sent Embassadors to stop the matter at Corinth, where they well perceived that the mischief had beene hatched. These Embassadors found in the Corinthians a very rough disposition, with a grauity expressing the opinion which they had conceiued of their present aduantage ouer Sparta. They had caused all Cities which had not entred yet into alliance with Argos, to send their Agents to them, in whose presence they gave audience to the Lacedæmonians; the purport of whose Embassie was this: That the Corinthians, without breach of their oath, could not forsake the alliance, which they had long since made with Sparta; and that reason did as well binde them to hold themselves comitted with the peace lately made, as religion enforced them to continue in their ancient confederacy, forasmuch as it had been agreed between the Spartans and their associates, that the consent of the greater part, (which had yeilded vnto peace with Athens) should binde the lesser number to performe what was concluded, if no Diuine impediment withstood them. Hereunto the Corinthians made answer, that the Spartans had first begun to doe them open wrong, in concluding the warre wherein they had lost many places, without

provision of restitution; and that the very clause, alledged by the Embassadors, did acquite them from any necessity of subscribing to the late peace, forasmuch as they had known vnto those people whom they perswaded to rebell against Athens, that they would neuer abandon them, nor willingly suffer them to fall againe into the tyrannous hands of the Athenians. Wherefore they held themselves bound both in reason & religion to vse all meanes of vpholding those, whom by common consent they had taken into protection; for that an oath was no lesse to be accounted a Diuine impediment, than were pestilence, tempest, or any the like accident, hindering the performance of things vnderaken. As for the alliance with Argos, they said that they would doe as they should finde cause. Having dismissed the Embassadors with this answer, they made haiste to ioynne themselves with Argos, and caused other States to doe the like; so that Sparta & Athens were in a manner left to themselves, the Thebans and Megarians being also vpon the point to haue entred into this new confederacie. But as the affections were diuers, which caused this hasty confluence of sudden friends to Argos, it so likewise came to passe that the friendship it selfe, such as it was, had much diuerfity both of sinceritie and of continuance. For some there were that hated or feared the Lacedæmonians: as the Mantinians and Eleans: these did firmly betake themselves to the Argines, in whom they knew the same affection to be inueterate; others did onely hate the peace concluded; and these would rather haue followed the Spartans than the Argines in war, yet rather the Argines in war than the Lacedæmonians in peace. Of this number were the Corinthians, who knowing that the Thebans were affected like vnto themselves, dealt with them to enter into the societie of the Argines, as they had done: but the different formes of government, vsed in Thebes and Argos, caused the Thebans to hold rather with Sparta, that was ruled by the principall men, than to incur the danger of inuouation, by ioyning with such as commited the whole rule to the multitude.

This businesse hauing ill succeeded, the Corinthians began to bethinke themselves of their owne danger, who had not so much as any truce with Athens, and yet were vnprepared for warre. They sought therefore to come to some temporary agreement with the Athenians, and hardly obtained it. For the Athenians, who had dealt with all Greece at yonetime, did not greatly care to come to any appointment with one Citie that had shewed against them more stomacke then force; but gaue them to vnderstand that they might be safe enough from them, if they would claime the benefit of that alliance, which Athens had lately made with Sparta & her dependants, yet finally they granted vnto these Corinthians (which were loth to acknowledge themselves dependants of Sparta) the truce that they desired; but into priuate confederacie they would not admit them, it being an article of the league between them and the Spartans, that the one should not make peace nor warre without the other.

Herein, as in many other passages, may cleerely be seene the great aduantage which absolute Lords haue as well in peace as in warre, ouer such as are serued by voluntaries. We shall hardly finde any Signiorie, that hath beene so constantly followed as Sparta was by so many States, and some of them little inferiour to it selfe, being all as free: whereas contrariwise, the Athenians had lately, and by compulsiue meanes gotten their Dominion, wherein they demeaned themselves as Tyrants. But in performance of conditions agreed vpon, the Athenians were able to make their words good, by excluding any State out of their Confederacie, and giuing vp such places as were agreed vpon: of which the Lacedæmonians could doe neither the one nor the other. For such Townes as their old Allies had gotten by their meanes in the late warre, could not be restored without their consent, which had them in present possession; and particularly the Towne of Panactæ, which the Thebans held, could by no meanes be obtained from them by the Lacedæmonians (who earnestly desired it, that by restitution thereof vnto the Athenians, as earnestly demanding it, themselves might recover Pylus) vntill they would agree to make a priuate alliance with Thebes; which thereupon they were constrained to doe, though knowing it to bee contrarie to the last agreement betweene them and Athens.

The Lacedæmonians hauing broken one article of the league made betweene them and the Athenians, that by so doing they might enable themselves to the performance of another, were shamefully disappointed of their hopes by the Thebans, who did not giue vp the Towne of Panactæ, till first they had vtterly demolished it, and made it of no worth to the

the *Athenians*. This was sought to have been excused by the *Lacedæmonian* Embassadors, who comming to *Athens* (whither they had sent home all prisoners that had been detained at *Thebes*) hoping with gentle words to salve the matter; saying, That from henceforth no enemy to *Athens* should nestle in *Panaſte*, for it was destroyed. But these Embassadors had not to deale with tame fooles. For the *Athenians* told them in plaine termes, That of three principall conditions agreed vpon in their late League, they had not performed any one, but vsed such base collusion as stood not with their honour: hauing made priuate alliance with the *Thebans*; hauing destroyed a Towne that they should haue restored; and not hauing forced their dependants by Warre, to make good the Couenants of the late concluded peace. Hereupon they dismissed the Embassadors with rough words, meaning with as rough deeds to anger those that sent them.

There were at that time, both in *Athens* and *Sparta*, many that were ill-contented with the peace: among whom were the *Ephori*, chosen for that yere, in *Sparta*; and *Alcibiades* a powerful yong Gentleman in *Athens*. But the *Ephori*, though desiring to renew the warre, yet wished that first they might get from the *Athenians* as much as was to be rendered to them by Couenant, especially *Pylus* that had so sorely troubled them. *Alcibiades*, whose Nobilitie, riches, & fauor, with the people, made him desire warre, as the means, whereby himselfe might procure some honourable employment; vsed all means to set the quarrell on foot, whilest the *Athenians* had yet both aduantage enough, as not hauing rendered ought saue their prisoners, and pretence enough to vse that aduantage of breaking the peace, by reason that the *Lacedæmonians* (though indeed against their wills) had broken all couenants with them. Now the State of *Athens* had fully determined to retain *Pylus*, and to performe nothing that the *Lacedæmonians* should, and might require, vntill they had first, without any longer haling, fulfilled all articles whereto they were bound, euen to the vtmost point. This was enough to make them fweat, who hauing already done the most that they could, had as yet got nothing in recompence, except the deliery of their Citizens, which were prisoners. But *Alcibiades* wishing a speedy beginning of open warre, sent priuily to the *Argiues*, and gaue them to vnderstand how fitly the time serued for them to associate themselves with *Athens*, which was enough to giue themselves curie against all Enemies.

The *Argiues* vpon the first confluence of many Estates vnto their societie, had embraced great hopes of working wonders, as if they should haue had the conduct of all Greece against the *Athenians*, robbing *Sparta* of that honour, as hauing ill vsed it, and thereby leauing their old enemies in case of much contempt and disability. But these suddain apprehensions of vaine ioy, were suddainly changed into as vaine feare; which ill agreed with the great opinion that had lately beene conceiued of *Argos*. For when the *Thebans* had refused their alliance, when the *Corinthians* had sought securitie from *Athens*; and when a false rumour was noysed abroad, *Athens*, *Thebes*, and *Sparta*, were come to a full agreement vpon all points of difference; then began the *Argiues* to let fall their crests, and sue for peace vnto the *Lacedæmonians*, who needing it as much as they, or more, yet held their grauity, and were not ouer-hastie to accept it. At this time, and in this perturbation, the message of *Alcibiades* came very welcome to the *Argiues*, which were not now consulting how to become the chiefe of all others, but how to saue themselves. Wherefore they sent away presently to *Athens*, their owne Embassadors, accompanied with the *Mantineans* and *Eleans*, to make a league offensive, and defensive, betwene their Estates and the *Athenians*.

Of this businesse the *Lacedæmonians* knew not what to thinke: for well they saw, that such a combination tended to their great hurt, and therefore were desirous to prevent it; but to keepe the loue of the *Athenians*, the new *Ephori* thought that more was already done, than stood with their honour, or profit; others held it the wisest way, hauing done so much, not to stick vpon a little more, but rather by giuing full satisfaction, to retaine the friendship of that State, which was more to be valued then all the rest of Greece. This resolution preuailing, they sent away such of their Citizens as were best affected to the peace, who comming to *Athens*, with full commission to make an end of all controversies, did earnestly labour in the Councell-house, to make the truth of things appeare, saying; that their Confederacie with the *Thebans* had tended to none other end than the recouery of *Panaſte*: concerning which Towne, or any other businesse, that it much grieued

and the *Lacedæmonians*, to see things fall out in such wise as might giue to the *Athenians* cause of displeasure; but that all should be done which in reason might be required for making matters euen betwene them; to which purpose they shewed that themselves had absolute commission. Wherefore they desired that *Pylus* might be restored to them, and especially for the present, that the negotiation with the *Argiues* might be called aside. Favourable audience was giuen to this proposition, the rather because they which promised amends, had power to make their words good. But all this faire likelihood of good agreement was dashed on the suddaine, by the practice of *Alcibiades*, who, secretly dealing with the *Lacedæmonian* Embassadors, perswaded them well of his friendship towards their Citie, and aduised them to take all care that their absolute power to conclude what they pleased in the name of *Sparta*, might not be knowne to the Community of *Athens*, lest the insolent multitude should thereupon grow peremptorie and yeeld to nothing, vntill they could draw them to vnreasonable conditions. The Embassadors beleued him and fashioned their tale in the assembly of the people, as he had aduised them. Hereupon the same *Alcibiades* taking presently the aduantage, which their double dealing afforded, inuighed openly against them, as men of no sinceritie, that were come to *Athens* for no other purpose, than to hinder the people from strengthening themselves with friends, meaning to draw the *Argiues* and their Adherents to their owne alliance, as (contrary to their owne Oath) already they had the *Thebans*. The people of *Athens*, whom a pleasing errand would very hardly haue satisfied, or brought into a good opinion of the *Lacedæmonians*, (whose honest meanings had so ill bene seconded with good performance) were now so much incensed with the double dealing of the Embassadors, and the strong perswasions of *Alcibiades*, that little wanted of concluding the league with *Argos*. Yet for the present so farre did *Nicias*, an honourable Citizen, and great friend to the peace, preuaile with them, that the businesse was put off, vntill hee himselfe with other Embassadors might fetch a better answer from *Sparta*.

It may also seeme a great wonder, how so poore a trick of *Alcibiades* was able to cause a matter of so great importance, when the *Spartan* Embassadors might haue cast the load vpon his owne shoulders, by discouering the truth: But the grauitie which was usually found in the *Lacedæmonians*, hindered them (perhaps) from playing their game handsomely against so nimble a witte; and they might well haue been thought vnto men, had they professed themselves such as would say and vn-say for their most aduantage.

Nicias and his Companions had a sower message to deliuer at *Sparta*, being peremptorily to require performance of all conditions, and among the rest, that the *Lacedæmonians* should take the paines to rebuild *Panaſte*, and should immediately renounce their Alliance made with the *Thebans*; letting them vnderstand that otherwise the *Athenians*, without further delay, would enter into confederacie with the *Argiues*, and their adherents. The *Ephori* at *Sparta* had no minde to forsake the *Thebans*, assured friends to their State; but wrought so hard, that the anger of the *Athenians* was suffered to breake out what way it could; which to mitigate, they would do no more, than only (at the request of *Nicias* their honourable friend, who would not seeme to haue effected nothing) sware a-new to keepe the Articles of the league betwene him and *Athens*. Immediately therefore vpon returne of the Embassadors, a new league was made betwene the *Athenians*, *Argiues*, *Mantineans*, and *Eleans*, with very ample provision for holding the same common friends and enemies; wherein, though the *Lacedæmonians* were passed ouer with silence, yet was it manifest that the whole intent of this confederacie did bend it selfe chiefly against them, as in short while after was proued by effect.

At this time the *Lacedæmonians* were in ill case, who hauing restored all that they could vnto the *Athenians*, and procured others to doe the like, had themselves recovered nothing of their owne (prisoners excepted) for default of restoring all that they should. But that which did most of all disable them, was the losse of reputation, which they had not more impaired in the late Warre by misfortunes, than in sundrie passages betwene them and the *Athenians*: to procure and keepe whole Amitie, they had left sundrie of their olde friends to shift for themselves. Contrariwise the *Athenians*, by the treatie of peace, had recouered the most part of that which they lost in warre;

all their gettings they had retained; and were strengthened by the access of new Confederates.

§. VII.

How the peace between Athens and Sparta was ill kept, though not openly broken.

IT was not long ere the *Argives* and their fellowes had found businesse where-with to set the *Athenians* on worke, and make vse of this coniunction. For presuming vpon the strength of their side, they began to meddle with the *Epidaurians*, whom it concerned the State of *Sparta* to defend. So; many acts of hostilitie were committed, wherein *Athens* and *Sparta* did (as principals) infect each the other, but came in collaterally, as to the aid of their feuerall friends.

By these occasions the *Corinthians*, *Bæotians*, *Phocians*, *Locrians*, and other people of *Greece*, began a-new to range themselves vnder the *Lacedæmonians*, and follow their designs. One victorie which the *Lacedæmonians* obtained by their meere valour in a sea battail, nere to *Mantineæ*, against the *Argive* side, helped well to repaire their decried reputation, though otherwise it yielded them no great profit. The ciuill dissension arising shortly after within *Argos* it selfe, betweene the principall Citizens and the Commons, had almost throwne downe the whole frame of the new combination. For the chiefe Citizens getting the vpper hand, made a league with *Sparta*, wherein they proceeded so farre as to renounce the amity of the *Athenians* in expresse words, and forced the *Mantineans* to the like. But in short space of time the multitude preuailling, renewed all this, and hauing chased away their ambitious Nobilitie, applied themselves to the *Athenians* as closely as before.

Beside these vprotes in *Peloponnesus*, many affaies were made to raise vp troubles in all parts of *Greece*, and likewise in *Macedon*, to the *Athenians*; whose forces and readines for execution, preuented some things, reuenged other, and required all with some prosperous attempts. Finally, the *Athenians* wanting matter of quarrell, and the *Lacedæmonians* growing wearie, they began to be quiet, retaining still that enmitie in their hearts, which they had sufficiently discouered in effects, though not yet breaking out into termes of open warre.

§. VIII.

The Athenians sending two Fleets to sacke Siracuse, are put to flight, and utterly discomfited.

DURING this intermission of open warre, the *Athenians* re-entertained their hopes of subduing *Sicil*, whither they sent a fleet so mighty as neuer was set forth by *Greece* in any Age before or after.

This fleet was very wellmanned, and furnished with all necessaries to so great expedition. All which came to nought; partly by the factions in *Athens*, whence *Alcibiades* Author of that voyage, and one of the Generalls of their fleet, was driuen to banish himselfe, for feare of such iudgement, as else he was like to haue vndergone, among the incensed people; partly by the inuasion which the *Lacedæmonians* made vpon *Attica*, whilst the forces of that State were so farre from home. Hereunto was added the aid of the King of *Persia*, who supplied the *Peloponnesians* with money.

Neyther was the successe of things in *Sicilia* such, as without helpe from *Athens*, could giue any likelihood of a good end in that warre. For although in the beginning, the enterprize had so well succeeded, that they besieged *Siracuse*, the chiefe Citie of alther Island, and one of the fairest Townes which the *Greekes* inhabited, obtaining the better in sundry battailes by Land and Sea; yet when the Towne was relieved with strong aide from *Peloponnesus*, it came to passe that the *Athenians* were put to the worse on all sides, in such wise that their fleet was shut vp into the haven of *Siracuse*, and could not issue out.

As the *Athenian* affaies went very ill in *Sicil*, so did they at home stand vpon hard terms, for that the *Lacedæmonians*, who had beene formerly accustomed to make wearisome yeerely iournies into *Attica*, which hauing pilld and forraged, they returned home; did

now by counsell of *Alcibiades*, (who seeking reuenge vpon his owne Citizens was fled vnto them) fortifie the Towne of *Decelea*, which was nere to *Athens*, whence they ceased not with daily excursions to harrie all the Countrie round about, and sometimes giue alarme vnto the Citie it selfe. In these extremities, the peruerse obstinacie of the *Athenians* was very strange; who leauing at their backs, and at their owne doores, an enemy little lesse mighty than themselves, did yet send forth another fleet into *Sicil*, in inuade a people no lesse puissant, which had neuer offended them.

It often happens, that prosperous euent makes foolish counsaile seem wiser than it was; which came to passe many times among the *Athenians*, whose vaine conceits *Pallas* was faine to turne vnto the best. But where vnfold aduice, finding badde prooffe, is obstinately pursued, neither *Pallas* nor *Fortune* can be iustly blamed for a miserable issue. This second fleet of the *Athenians*, which better might haue serued to conuay home the former that was defeated; after some attempts made to small purpose against the *Siracusians*, was finally (together with the other part of the Naue, which was there before) quite vanquished, and bard vp into the haven of *Siracuse*, whereby the campe of the *Athenians*, vtterly deprived of all benefit by Sea, either for succour or departure, was driuen to breake vp, and flie away by Land; in which fight they were ouer-taken, routed, and quite ouerthrowne in such wise that scarce any man escaped.

This mischefe well deserued fell vpon the *Athenians*, who had wickedly condemned so into exile *Sophocles* and *Pheidorus* Generalls, formerly sent into that Ile, pretending that they had taken money for making peace in *Sicil*; whereas indeed there was not any meanes or possibilitie to haue made warre. Heereby it came to passe, that *Nicias*, who had the chiefe command in this unhappie enterprize, did rather choose to hazard the ruine of his Countrey by the losse of that Armie, wherein consisted little lesse than all the power of *Athens*; than to aduenture his owne estate, his life, and his honour vpon the tongues of shamelesse accusers, and the sentence of Iudges before his triall resolu'd to condemne him, by reiring from *Siracuse*, when wisdom and necessitie required it. For (said hee) they shall giue sentence vpon vs, who know not the reason of our doings, nor would giue care to any that would speake in our behalte, but altogether barken to suspicious and vaine rumors that shall be brought against vs; yea these our Souldiers who now are so desirous to retorne in safetie, will in our danger be well contented to frame their tales to the pleasure of the lewd and insolent multitude.

This resolution of *Nicias*, though it cannot be commended (for it is the part of an honest and valiant man to doe what reason willet, not what opinion expecteth, & to measure honour or dishonour by the assurance of his well-informed conscience, rather than by the malicious report & censure of others) yet it may be excused; since he had before his eyes the iniustice of his people, and had well vnderstood that a wicked sentence is infinitely worse than a wicked fact, as being held a precedent and patterne, whereby oppression beginning vpon one, is extended as warrantable vpon all. Therefore his feare of wrongfull condemnation was such, as a constant man could not easily haue ouer-mastered; but when afterwards the Armie, hauing no other expectation of safetie than the faint hope of a secret flight, he was so terrified with an Eclipse of the Moone, happening when they were about to dislodge, that he would not consent to haue the campe brek vp till seuen and twentie daies were past. His timoroufnesse was such as foolish and ridiculous, as the issue of it was lamentable. For he should not haue thought that the power of the Heauens, and the course of Nature, would be as vniust as the *Athenians*, or might pretend lesse euill to the slothfull, than to such as did their best. Neither doe I thinke that any Astrologer can allege this Eclipse, as either a cause or prognostication of that Armes destruction, otherwise than as the follie of men did, by application, turne it to their some confusion. Had *C. Cæsius* the Roman, he, who slew *Iulius Cæsar*, imitated this superstition of *Nicias*, he had surely found the same fortune in a case very like. But when, hee retrying, the broken remainder of *Cæsar*'s his Armie defeated by the *Parthian* Archers, was aduised, vpon such an accident as this, to continue where he then was, till the Sunne were past the signe of *Scorpio*; he made answere that hee stood not in such feare of *Scorpio*, as of *Sagittarius*. So aduenturing rather to abide the trowning of the Heauens, than the neerer danger of Enemies vpon earth, he made such a safe and honourable retreat, as did both shew his noble resolution, and giue a faire example to that good rule,

— *Sapiens dominabitur astris.*

Thus we see that God, who ordinarily works by a concatenation of meanes, deprives the Governours of vnderstanding, when he intends euill to the multitude; and that the wickedness of vsuall men is the readie meane to weaken the vertue of those who might haue done them good.

§. IX.

Of the troubles where-into the State of Athens fell, after the great losse of the Fleet, and Army, in Sicilia.

The losse of this Armie was the ruine of the Athenian Dominion, and may be well accompred a very little lesse calamitie to that Estate, than was the subuersion of the walls, when the Citie about seuen yeeres after was taken by *Lysander*. For now began the subjects of the Athenian Estate to rebell, of whom, some they reduced vnder their obedience; others held out; some for feare of greater inconuenience were set at libertie, promising onely to be their good friends, as formerly they had been their Subjects; others hauing a kinde of libertie offered by the Athenians, were not therewith contented, but obtained a true and perfect libertie by force. Among these troubles it fell out very vnseasonably, that the principall men of Athens being wearied with the peoples insolence, took vpon them to change the forme of that Estate, and bring the gouernment into the hands of a few. To which purpose conspiring with the Captaines which were abroad, they caused them to set vp the forme of an Aristocracie in the Townes of their Confederates; and in the meane time, some that were most likelie to withstand this inuocation, being slaine at Athens, the Commonaltie were so dismayed, that none durst speake against the Conspirators, whose number they knew not, but enemie man was afraid of his neighbour, lest he should be a member of the league. In this generall feare the Maiestic of Athens was vsurped by foure hundred men, who observing in shew the ancient forme of proceeding, did caule all matters to be propounded vnto the people, and concluded vpon by the greater part of voices: but the things propounded were onely such as were first allowed in priuate among themselves; neither had the Commonaltie any other libertie, than onely to approue and giue consent: for whosoeuer presumed any further, was quickly dispatched out of the way, and no iniquitie made of the murder. By these meanes were many Decrees made, all tending to the establishment of this new Authoritie, which neuertheless endured not long. For the Fleet and Armie which then was in the Isle of *Samos*, did altogether detest these dealings of the foure hundred vsurpers, and held them as Enemies; whereupon they reuoked *Alcibiades* out of banishment, and by his assistance procured that the supplies which the Persian King had promised to the Lacedemonians, were by *Tissaphernes* his Lieutenant, made vnprofitable, through the slow and bad performance. *Alcibiades* had up to the first bene very well entertained in *Sparta*, whilst his seruice done vnto that State was not growne to be the object of enuie. But when it appeared that in Counsaile and good performance he so farre excelled all the Lacedemonians, that all their good success was ascribed to his wit and valour, then were all the principall Citizens wearied of his vertue; especially *Agis* one of their Kings, whose wife had so farre yielded her sister to the loue of this Athenian, that among her inward friends she could not forbear to call her young child by his name. Hereupon order was taken, that *Alcibiades* should be killed out of the way. But he discouering the Spartan treachery, conueighed himselfe vnto *Tissaphernes*, whom he so bewitched with his great beauty, sweet conuersation, and found wit, that he soone became the Master of that barbarous Vice-roys affections, who had so free power to dispose the great Kings Treasures and forces in those parts. Then began he to aduise *Tissaphernes*, not so farre forth to assist the Lacedemonians, that they should quite ouerthrow the State of Athens, but rather to helpe the weaker side, and let them one consume another, whereby all should fall at length into the hands of the Persian. By this counsaile he made way to other practices, wherein by strength of his reputation (as the onely fauourite of so great a Potentate) he played his owne game, procuring his restitution. At length his banishment being repealed by the Armie, but not by the Citizens (who then were oppressed by the foure hundred) hee laboured greatly to reconcile

reconcile the Souldiers to the Governours; or at least to diuert their heat another way, and turne it vpon the common Enemie. Some of the foure hundred approued his motion, as being wearie of the tyrannie wherof they were partakers, partly because they saw it could not long endure, and partly for that themselves, being lesse regarded by the rest of their companions, than stood with their good liking, sought to acquit themselves of it as honestly as they might. But the most of that Faction laboured to obtaine peace of the Lacedemonians, desiring chiefly to maintaine both their owne authoritie & the greatness of their Citie, if they might: but if this could not be, they did rather wish to preserve their owne power, or safetie at least, than the good Estate of the Common-wealth. Therefore they made sundry ouertures of peace to the Lacedemonians, desiring to compound in as good termes as they might, and affirming that they were fitt to be trusted than the wauering multitude; especially considering that the Citie of *Sparta* was gouerned by an Aristocracie, to which forme they had now reduced Athens. All these passages were kept as secret as might be. For the City of Athens, hoping without any great cause, to compare their losses, was not inclined to make composition, from which vpon iustler ground the enemie was much more auerse, trusting well that the discord of the Athenians (not vnknewne abroad) might yeeld some faire opportunitie to the destruction of it selfe, which in effect (though not then presently) came to passe. And vpon this hope King *Agis* did sometimes bring his forces from *Decleas* to Athens, where doing no good, hee received some finall losses. Likewise the Nauie of *Peloponnesus* made shew of attempting the Citie, but seeing no likelihood of successe, they bent their course from thence to other places, where they obtained victories, which in the better Fortune of the Athenians might more lightly haue bene regarded, than in this their decayed estate. Yet it leues, without any disparagement to their wisdom, they should rather haue forborne to present vnto the Citie, or to the Countries neere adioyning, any terror of the warre. For the dissension within the walls might soon haue done more good than could be effected from the Fleet or Armie without, which indeed gaue occasion to set the Citizens at variance, though it lasted not very long. The foure hundred, by means of these peroules, were faine to resigne their authoritie, which they could not now hold, when the people hauing taken armes to repell forraigne enemies, would not lay them downe, till they had freed themselves from such as oppressed the State at home. Yet was not this alteration of gouernment a full restitution of the soueraine command vnto the people, or whole body of the Citie, but onely to five thousand; which company the foure hundred (when their authoritie beganne) had pretended to take vnto them as assistants: herein seeming to doe little wrong or none to the Commonalty, who seldome assembled in greater number. But now when the highest power was come indeed into the hands of so many, it was soon agreed that *Alcibiades* and his Companions should be recalled from exile, and that the Armie at *Samos* should be requested to undertake the gouernment: which was forthwith reformed according to the Souldiers desire.

§. X.

How Alcibiades wonne many important victories for the Athenians, was recalled from exile, made their Generall, and againe deposed.

His establishment of things in the Citie, was accompanied with some good success in the warres. For the Lacedemonians were about the same time ouerthrowne at Sea, in a great battaile, by the Athenian Fleet, which had remained at *Samos*, to which *Alcibiades* afterwards ioyning such forces as he could raise, obtained many victories. Before the Towne of *Abydos*, his arrival with eighteen shippes, gaue the honour of a great battaile to the Athenians; he ouerthrew and vterly destroyed the fleet of the Lacedemonians, commanded by *Mindarus*; took the Townes of *Cyzicus*, and *Pemilus*, made the *Selymbrians* ransom their Citie, and fortified *Chrysopolis*. Hereupon letters were sent to *Sparta*, which the Athenians, intercepting, found to containe the distress of the Armie in these few words: *All is lost, Mindarus is slaine, the Souldiers want victuals, we know not what to doe.*

Shortly after this, *Alcibiades* ouerthrew the Lacedemonians in fight by Land at *Chalcidion*, took *Selymbria*, besieged and won *Byzantium*, now called *Constantinople*, which euen

in those dayes was a goodly, rich, and very strong Citie. Heereupon he returned home with very great welcome, and was made high Admirall of all the Nauie.

But this his honour continued not long; for it was taken from him, and hee driven to banish himselfe againe; only because his Lieutenant, contrary to the expresse command of *Alcibiades*, fighting with the enemies in his absence, had lost a great part of the fleet.

The second banishment of *Alcibiades* was to the *Athenians* more harmefull than the first; and the losse which thereupon they receiued, was (though more heauie than the yet) lesse to be pittied of others, than that which ensued vpon his former exile. For whereas at the first, hee had sought reuenge vpon his owne Citie; now, as inured to uersitie, he rather pittied their furie, who in time of such danger had cast out him that should haue repaired their weak estate, than sought by procuring or beholding the calamitie of his people, to comfort himselfe after iniurie received. Before they, who were instituted in the place of *Alcibiades*, arrived at the fleet, he presented battaile to *Lysander* the *Lacedemonian* Admirall, who was not so confident vpon his former victorie, as to undertake *Alcibiades* himselfe, bringing ships more in number (notwithstanding the former losse of fiftene) than his enemies had, and better ordered than they had bene vnder his Lieutenant. But when the decree of the people was published in the Nauie, then did *Alcibiades* with-draw himselfe to a Towne vpon *Hellepont*, called *Bisanthe*, where he had built a Castle.

§. XI.

The battaile at *Arginuse*, and condemnation of the victorious Athenian Captaine by the people.

After this time, the *Athenians* receiuing many losses and discomforts, were driven to flee into the Hauens of *Myelene*, where they were freightly besieged both by Land and Sea. For the raising of this siege necessity inforced them to man out their Vessells, and to put the vtermost of their forces into the hazzard of one battaile. This battaile was fought at *Arginuse*, where *Callicratides*, Admirall of the *Lacedemonians*, losing the honour of the day, preferred his owne reputation by dying valiantly in the fight. It might well haue bene expected, that the tenne Captaines, who ioynly had command in chiefe ouer the *Athenian* fleet, should for that good daies service, and so happie victorie, haue receiued great honour of their Citizens. But contrariwise they were forth-with called home, and accused, as if wilfully they had suffered many of the Citizens, whose ships were broken and sunke, to be cast away, when by appointing some Vessells to take them vp, they might haue saued them from being drowned. Here to the Captaines readily made a very iust answer, That they pursuing the victory, had left part of the fleet, vnder sufficient men, to saue those that were wrackt; which if it were not well accomplished, it was, because a tempest arising about the end of the fight, had hindered the performance of that, and other their intendments. This excuse auailed not: For a lewd fellow was brought forth, who said, That hee himselfe escaping in a meale-tubbe, had bene intreated by those who were in perill of drowning, to desire of the people reuenge of their deaths vpon the Captaines. It was very strange, that vpon such an accusation maintained with so slender euidence, men that had well deserved of their Countrey should be ouerthrowne. But their enemies had so incensed the rascall multitude, that no man durst absolue them, saue onely *Socrates* the wise and veruous Philosopher, whose voice in this iudgement was not regarded. Sixe of them were put to death, of whom one had hardly escaped drowning, and was with much ado rescued by other vessells in the storme: but the Captaines which were absent escaped; for when the furie of the people was ouer-past, this iudgement was reuerfed, and the accusers called into question for hauing deceived and peruerfed the Citizens. Thus the *Athenians* went about to free themselves from the infamie of iniustice; but the diuine iustice was not a-sleepe, nor would be so deluded.

§. XII.

§. XII.

The battaile at *Argos-Potamos*, wherein the whole State of *Athens* was rained; with the end of the *Peloponnesian* warre.

The *Peloponnesian* fleet vnder *Lysander*, the yeere next following, hauing scowred the *Aegean* Seas, entred *Hellepont*, where (landing Souldiers) it besieged and tooke the Town of *Lampsacus*. Heereupon all the Nauie of *Athens*, being an hundred and fourescore saile, made thither in haste, but finding *Lampsacus* taken before their coming, they put in at *Sestos*, where hauing refreshed themselves, they sailed to the Riuer called *Argos-Potamos*, which is (as we might name it) *Gates-Brooke*, or the Riuer of the *Gates*, being on the Continent, opposite to *Lampsacus*; & there they cast Anchors, not one whole league off from *Lysander*, who rode at *Lampsacus* in the harbour. The next day after their arrival they presented fight vnto the *Peloponnesians*, who refused it, whereupon the *Athenians* returned again to *Argos-Potamos*, & thus they continued five daies, brauing euery day the Enemy, and returning to their owne harbour when it drew towards euening.

The Cause of *Alcibiades* was not far from the Nauie, and his power in those places was such as might haue greatly auailed his Countreymen, if they could haue made vse of it. For he had waged Mercenaries, and making warre in his owne name vpon some people of the *Thracians*, had gathered much wealth, and obtained much reputation among them. He perceiuing the disorderly course of the *Athenian* Commanders, repaired vnto them, and showed what great inconuenience might grow, if they did not soone fore-see and preuent it. For they lay in a roade subiect to euery weathery, neither nere enough to any Towne where they might furnish themselves with necessaries, nor so farre off as had bene more expedient. *Sestos* was the next Market-Towne; thither both Souldiers and Mariners returned, flocking away from the Nauie euery day, as soone as they were returned from brauing the Enemy. Therefore *Alcibiades* willed them either to lie at *Sestos*, which was worse off, or at least to consider how nere their enemy was, whose feare proceeded rather from obedience to their Generall, than from any cowardise. This admonition was so farre despised, that some of the Commanders willed him to meddle with his owne Summers, and to remember that his authoritie was out of date. Had it not been for these opprobrious words, he could (as he told his familiars) haue compelled the *Lacedemonians*, either to fight vpon vnequall termes, or vterly to quit their Fleet. And like enough it was that he might so haue done by transporting the light-armed *Thracians* his Confederates, and others his Followers ouer the Streights, who assaulding the *Peloponnesians* by Land, would either haue compelled them to put to Sea, or else to leaue their ships to the mercy of the *Athenians*. But finding their acceptance of his good counsaile no better than hath bene rehearsed, he left them to their fortune, which how euill it would be he did prognosticate.

Lysander all this while defending himselfe by the aduantage of his Hauens, was not careless in looking into the demeanour of the *Athenians*. When they departed, his manner was to send forth some of his swiftest Vessells after them, who observing their doings, related vnto him what they had seene. Therefore vnderstanding in what careless fashion they romed vp & downe the Countrey, he kept all his men a-board after their departure, & the fift day gaue especiall charge to his Scouts, That when they perceiued the *Athenians* disembarking, as their custome was, and walking towards *Sestos*, they should forthwith returne, and hang vp a brazen shield in the Prow, as a token for him to weigh Anchor.

The Scouts performed their charge, and *Lysander* being in a readinesse, made all speede that strength of Oares could giue, to *Argos-Potamos*, where he found very few of his enemies a-board their Ships, nor many nere them, and all in great confusion vpon the news of his approach.

In much that the greatest industry which the *Athenians* then shewed, was in the escape of eight or nine ships, which knowing how much that losse imported, gaue ouer *Athens* as desperate, and made a long flight vnto the Ile of *Cyprus*; all the rest were taken, and such of the Souldiers as came in to the rescue cut in pieces. Thus was the war which had lasted seven and twenety yeers, with variable success, concluded in one houre, & the glory of *Athens* in such wise eclipsed, that the neuer afterward shone in her perfect light.

Immediately vpon this victory *Lysander*, hauing taken such Townes as readily did

yeeld

yeelde vpon the first fame of his exploit, set saile for *Athens*, and ioyning his forces with those of *Agis & Pausanias*, Kings of *Sparta*, summoned the Citie, which hindring too stubborn to yeeld, and too strong to be won on the sudden, he put forth againe to Sea, and rather by terrour than violence, compelling all the Ilands, and such Townes of the *Ionians*, as had formerly held of the *Athenians*, to submit themselves to *Sparta*, he did thereby cut off all prouision of victuals, and other necessities, from the Citie, & enforced the people by meere famine to yeeld to these conditions: That the long wals, leading from the Towne to the Port, should be thrown down, That all Citie subiect to their Estate, should be set at liberty: That the *Athenians* should be Masters onely of their owne Territories, and the fields adioyning to their Towne; And that they should keep no more than twelue to Ships, That they should hold as Friends or Enemies, the same, whom the *Lacedemonians* did, and follow the *Lacedemonians* as Leaders in the Warres.

These articles being agreed vpon, the wals were throwne downe with great reioicing of those who had borne displeasure to *Athens*; and not without some consultation of destroying the Citie, and laying waste the Land about it. Which aduice, although it was not entertained, yet were thirty Gouernors, or rather cruell Tyrants, appointed ouer the people, who recompensed their former insolency and iniustice ouer their Captaines, by oppressing them with all base and intolerable slauiery.

The onely small hope then remaining to the *Athenians*, was, that *Alcibiades* might perhaps repaire what their owne folly had ruined. But the thirty Tyrants perceiving this, aduersified the *Lacedemonians* thereof, who contriued, and (as now domineering in euery quarter) soone effected his suddaine death.

Such end had the *Peloponnesian* Warre. After which the *Lacedemonians* abusing reputation, and great power, which therein they had obtained, grew very odious to *Greece*, and by Combination of many Citie against them, were dispossessed of their high authority, euen in that very Age, in which they had subdued *Athens*. The greatest foile that they tooke was of the *Thebans*, led by *Epaminondas*, vnder whom *Philip* of *Macedon*, father to *Alexander* the Great, had the best of his education. By these *Thebans*, the Citie of *Sparta* (besides other great losses receiued) was sundry times in danger of being taken. But these haughty attempts of the *Thebans* came finally to nothing, for the furrall Estates and Signories of *Greece*, were growne so ielalous one of anothers greatness, that the *Lacedemonians*, *Athenians*, *Arginians*, and *Thebans*, which were the mightiest, associating themselves with the weaker party, did so counterpoize the stronger, that no one Citie could extend the limits of her iurisdiction so farre as might make her terrible to her Neighbours. And thus all parts of the Countrey remained rather euenly ballanced, than well agreeing, till such time as *Philip*, and after him *Alexander*, Kings of *Macedon*, (whose fore-fathers had bene dependants, and followers, yea almost meere Vassals to the Estates of *Athens* and *Sparta*) found means, by making vse of their factions, to bring them all into seruitude, from which they neuer could be free, till the *Romans* presenting them with a shew of liberty, did themselves indeede become their Masters.

CHAP. IX.

Of matters concurring with the *Peloponnesian* Warre, or shortly following it.

§. I.

How the affaires of *Persia* stood in these times.



During the times of this *Peloponnesian* Warre, and those other lesse expeditions foregoing it, *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, hauing peaceably enioyed a long reigne ouer the *Persians*, left it by his death either to *Darius*, who was called *Darius Nothus*, or the *Basard*, whom the *Greek* Historians (lightly passing ouer *Xerxes* the second, and *Sogdianus*, as Vsurpers, and for their short reigne little to be regarded) place next vnto them, or to *Xerxes* the second; who, and his brother *Sogdianus* after him (seeming to haue bene the

the sonnes of *Hester*) held the Kingdome but one yeere betwene them, the younger succeeding his elder brother. It is not my purpose (as I haue said before) to pursue the Historie of the *Persians* from henceforth, by rehearsal of all the particulars, otherwise than as they shall be incident to the affaires of *Greece*. It may therefore suffice to say, That *Xerxes* the second, being a vicious Prince, did perish after a month or two, if not by surfeit, then by creachery of his as riotous brother *Sogdianus*. Likewise of *Sogdianus* it is found, that being as ill as his brother, and more cruell, he slew vniufully *Bazorasus* a principall Eunuch, and would haue done as much to his brother *Darius* the *Basard*, had not he foreseen it, and by raising a stronger Armie than this hated King *Sogdianus* could leaue, seized at once vpon the King and Kingdome. *Darius* hauing slaine his brother, held the Empire nineteene yeeres. *Amartyas* of *Sais* an *Aegyptian* rebelled against him, and hauing partly slaine, partly chased out of the Land the *Persian* Garrisons, allied himselfe so firmly with the *Greekes*, that by their aide he maintained the Kingdome, and deliuered it ouer to his posterity, who (notwithstanding the furie of their ciuill Warres) maintained it against the *Persian*, all the dayes of this *Darius*, and of his son *Artaxerxes Mnemon*. Likewise *Amorges*, a subiect of his owne and of the Royall blood, being Lieutenant of *Caris*, rebelled against him, confederating himselfe with the *Athenians*. But the great calamity, before spoken of, which fell vpon the *Athenians* in *Sicil*, hauing put new life into the *Spartans*, and giuen courage to the Ilanders and others, subiect to the State of *Athens*, to shake off the yoke of their long continued bondage: It fell out well for *Darius*, as, that the *Lacedemonians* being destitute of money, wherewith to defray the charge of a great Nauie, without which it was impossible to aduance the warre against the State of *Athens*, that remained powerful by Sea, were driuen to craue his assistance, which he granted vnto them, first vpon what conditions best pleased himselfe, though afterwards the articles of the league betwene him and them were set downe in more precise rearmes; wherein it was concluded, That he and they should make warre ioyntly vpon the *Athenians*, and vpon all that should rebell from either of them, and (which was highly to the Kings honour and profit) that all the Citie of *Asia*, which had formerly bene his, or his Predecessours, should returne to his obedience. By this Treatie, and the warre ensuing (of which I haue already spoken) he recovered all that his Grand-father and Father had lost in *Asia*. Likewise by assistance of the *Lacedemonians* he got *Amorges* a-lieue into his hands, who was taken in the Citie of *Iasus*; the *Athenians* wanting either force or courage to succour him. Neuertheless *Egypt* full held out against him; the cause whereof cannot be the employment of the *Persian* forces on the parts of *Greece*: for he abounded in men of whom he had enough for all occasions, but they wanted manhood, which caused him to fight with gold, which effected for him by Souldiers of other Nations, and his naturall enemies, what the valour of his owne Subjects was insufficient to performe. *Darius* had in marriage *Parysatis* his owne sister, who bare vnto him (besides other children) *Artaxerxes* called *Mnemon*, that is to say, the Mindefull, or the Rememberer, who succeeded him in the Kingdome; and *Cyrus* the younger, a Prince of singular vertue, and accounted by all that knew him, the most excellent man that euer *Persia* bred after *Cyrus* the Great. But the old King *Darius*, intending to leaue vnto his elder sonne *Artaxerxes* the inheritance of that great Empire, did cast a ielalous eye vpon the doings of yong *Cyrus*, who being Lieutenant of the lower *Asia*, tooke more vpon him than befit a Subiect: for which cause his father sent for him, with intent to haue taken some very sharpe course with him, had not his owne death preuented the coming of his younger sonne, and placed the elder in his Throne. Of the warre betwene these brethren, and summarily of *Artaxerxes*, we shall haue occasion to speake somewhat in more convenient place.

§. II.

How the thirty Tyrants got their Dominion in *Athens*.

Hold it in this place very conuenient to shew the proceedings of the *Greekes*, after the subuersion of the wals of *Athens*, which gaue end to that war called the *Peloponnesian* warre, but could not free the vnhappy Countrey of *Greece* from ciuill broiles. The thirtie Gouernours, commonly called the thirtie Tyrants of *Athens*, were chosen at the first by the people to compile a body of their Law, and make a collection of such

such ancient Statutes, as were meet to be put in practice: the condition of the Citi-
dians as it did in that so sodaine alteration. To this charge was annexed the supreme au-
thority, either as a recompence of their labours, or because the necessity of the times did
so require it, wherein the Law being vncertain, it was fit that such men should giue iudge-
ment in particular causes, to whose iudgement the Lawes themselves, by which the Citi-
zens was to be ordered, were become subiect. But these thirty hauing so great power in their
hands, were more carefull to hold it, than to deserve it, by faithfull execution of that
which was committed to them in trust.

Therefore apprehending such troublesome fellowes, as were odious to the Citi-
zens, though not punishable therefore by law, they condemned them to death; which pro-
ceeding was by all men highly approued, who considered their lewd conditions, but did
not without bethinke themselves, how easie a thing it would be vnto these thirty men, to
take away the liues of Innocents, by calling them perturbors of the peace, or what else
they listed, when condemnation without due trial and proofe had beene once well al-
lowed. Hauing thus plaubly entred into a wicked course of gouernment, they thought
it best to fortifie themselves with a sure guard, ere they brake out into those disorders,
which they must needs commit for the establishing of their authority. Wherefore dis-
patching two of their owne company to *Sparta*, they informed the *Lacedaemonians*, that
it was the full intent of the thirty, to keepe the City free from all rebellious motions, to
which purpose it behooued them to cut off such as were seditious; and therefore desired
the *Lacedaemonians* to send them a Garrison, which they promised at their owne cost to
maintaine. This motion was well approued, and a guard sent, the Capitaine of which
was so well entertained by the thirty, that none of their misdeedes could want his high
commendations at *Sparta*. Hereupon the Tyrants began to take heart, and looking no
more after base and detested persons, inuaded the principall men of the Citi-
zens, sending armed men from House to House, who drew out such as were of great reputation,
and likely, or able to make any head against this wicked forme of gouernment: whereby
there was such effusion of blood, as to *Theramenes* (one of the thirty) seemed very horri-
ble, and vnable to escape vengeance. His dislike of their proceedings being openly dis-
couered, caused his fellowes to bethinke themselves, and provide for their owne security,
and his destruction, lest he should make himselfe a Capitaine of the discontented (which
were almost the whole Citi-
zens) and redeeme his owne peace with their ruine. Wherefore
they selected three thousand of the Citizens, whom they thought meetest, and gaue
vnto them some part of publike authority, the rest they disarmed; and hauing thus in-
creased their owne strength, and weakened their opposites, they began a-fresh to shed
the blood, not onely of their priuate enemies, but of such whose money, or goods, might
enrich them, and enable them for the payment of their guard. And to this purpose they
concluded, that every one of them should name one man, vpon whose goods he should
seize, putting the owner to death. But when *Theramenes* vttered his detestation of so wicked
intent, then did *Critias*, who of all the thirty was most tyrannicall, accuse him to the
Councell, as a treacherous man, and (whereas one maine priuiledge of the three thousand
was, that none of them should suffer death at the appointment of the thirty, but haue the
accustomed trial) he took vpon him to strike out of that number the name of *Therame-
nes*, and so reduced him vnder the trial and sentence of that order. It was well alleged by
Theramenes, that his name was not more easie to be blotted out of the Catalogue, than any
other mans; vpon which consideration, he aduised them all to conceiue no otherwise
of his case, than as of their owne, who were liable to the same forme of proceeding: but
every man choosing rather to preferue his owne life by silence, than presently to draw
vpon himselfe the danger, which as yet concerned him little, and perhaps would neuer
come neere him) the Tyrants interpreting silence as consent, condemned him forthwith,
and compelled him to drinke poyson.

§. III.

The conspiracie against the thirty Tyrants, and their deposing.

After the death of *Theramenes*, the thirty began to vse such outrage, as excelled
their former villainies. For hauing three thousand (as they thought) firme vnto
them, they robbed all others without feare or shame, despoiling them of lands and

and goods, and caused them to flye into banishment, for safeguard of their liues. This
flight of the Citizens procured their liberty, and the generall good of the City. For the
banished Citizens, who were fled to *Thebes*, entred into consultation, and resolved to ha-
zard their liues in setting free the City of *Athenes*. The very thought of such a practice
had beene treason at home, which had no other danger abroad; than might be found in
the execution. Seuentie men, or thereabout, were the first vnder-takers, who with their
Capitaine *Thrasybulus* took *Phyla*, a place of strength in the Territorie of *Athenes*. No
sooner did the thirty heare of this exploit, than they seeked meanes to prevent further dan-
ger; assembling the three thousand, and their *Lacedaemonian* guard, with which force
they attempted *Phyla*, but were with some losse of their men repelled. Finding the place
too strong to be taken by assault, they intended to besiege it; which purpose came to
nought by meanes of snow that fell, and other stormie weather, against which they had
not made prouision. Retiring therefore to the Citi-
zens, which about all they were to make
good, they left the most of their guard; and two companies of Horse, to wearie out them
which lay in *Phyla*, with a flying siege: But it was not long ere the followers of *Thras-
ybulus* were increased from seuentie to seuen hundred, which aduantaged to giue charge
vpon those guards, of whom they cut off about an hundred and twenty. These final,
but prosperous beginnings, added more to the number of those in *Phyla*, who now with
a thousand men got entrance into *Piraeus*, the suburbs of *Athenes*, lying on the Port. Be-
fore their coming, the thirty had resolved to fortifie the Towne of *Eleusine*, to their
owne vse, wherein they might make an easie retreat, and save themselves from any sud-
den perill. It may well seeme strange, that whereas their barbarous manner of gouern-
ment had brought them into such danger, they were so far from seeking to obtaine mens
good will, that contrariwise, to assure themselves of *Eleusine*, they got all of the place
who could beare armes into their hands by a traine, and wickedly (though vnder forme
of iustice) murdered them all. But, *Sceleribus tutum per scelera est iter*, the mischiefes
which they had already done were such, as left them no hope of going backward, nor any
other apparent likelihood of safety, than by extending their cruelty vnto all seeing few or
none were left, whom they could trust. When *Thrasybulus* and his fellowes, who as yet
were reamed conspirators, had taken the *Piraeus*, then were the three thousand armed a-
gainst the Tyrants, and brought to assault it; but in this enterprise *Thrasybulus* had the
better, and repelled his enemies, of whom although there were slaine to the number
of seuen hundred, yet the victory seemed the greater, because *Critias*, and one other of the
thirty, perished in that fight. The death of *Critias*, and the stout defence of *Piraeus*, to-
gether with some exhortations vsed by *Thrasybulus* to the Citizens, wrought such effect, that
the thirty were deposed. Neuerthelesse there were so many of the three thousand, who
hauing communicated with the thirty in their misdeeds, feared to be called to a sharpe ac-
count, that no peace, nor quiet forme of gouernment could be established. For Embas-
sadors were sent to *Sparta*, who craving aide against *Thrasybulus*, and his followers, had fa-
vourable audience, and a power sent to their assistance, both by Land and Sea, vnder
the conduct of *Lysander*, and his Brother, whom *Pausanias* the *Spartan King* did follow, rai-
sing an Armie of the Cities confederate with the *Lacedaemonians*. And here appeared first
the insolencie, wherein some people held the State of *Sparta*. The *Boeotians*, and *Corin-
thians*, who in the late warres had beene the most bitter enemies to *Athenes*, refused to follow
Pausanias in this expedition; alleging that it stood not with their oathes, to make war a-
gainst that people, who had not hitherto broken any one article of the league: but fearing,
indeede, lest the *Lacedaemonians* should annexe the Territorie of *Athenes* to their owne De-
marines. It is not to be doubted, that *Pausanias* tooke this answere in good part. For it was
not his purpose to destroy those against whom he went, but onely to crosse the proce-
edings of *Lysander*, whom he enuid. Therefore hauing in some small skirmishes against
them of *Thrasybulus* his party, made a shew of war, finally wrought such meanes, that all
things were composed quietly: the thirty men, & such others, as were like to giue cause
of tumults, being sent to *Sparta*. The remainder of that tyrannicall faction, hauing with-
drawn themselves to *Eleusine*, were shortly after found to attempt some inuouation, where-
vpon the whole City rising against them, tooke their Captains, as they were coming to
Parlie, & slew them: which done, to avoid further inconuenience, a law was made, that all
injuries past should be forgotte, & no man called into question for wrongs committed. By
which order, wisely made, & carefully obserued, the City returned to her former quietnes.

CHAP. X.

Of the expedition of Cyrus the younger.

§. I.

The grounds of Cyrus his attempt against his brother.



THE matters of Greece standing vpon such tearmes, that no one to Esteate durst oppose it selfe against that of *Lacedemon*; young *Cyrus*, brother to *Artaxerxes*, King of *Persia*, having in his lasters life time very carefully prosecuted the warre against *Atthens*, did send his messengers to *Sparta*, requesting that their loue might appeare no lesse to him, than that which hee had shewed towards them in their dangerous war against the *Athenians*. To this request, being generally, the *Lacedemonians* gave a suitable answer, commanding their Admirall to performe vnto *Cyrus* all seruice that he should require of him. If *Cyrus* had plainly discovered himselfe, and the *Lacedemonians* bent their whole power to his assistance, very like it is, that either the Kingdom of *Persia* should haue bene the recompence of his seruice, or that he perishing in battaile, as after he did, the subuersion of that Empire had forthwith ensued. But it pleased God, rather to shew vnto the *Greekes* the wayes, which vnder the *Macedonian* Ensignes, the victorious foot-steps of their posterity should measure, and opening vnto them the riches, and withall the weakenesse of the *Persians*, to kindle in them both desire and hope of that conquest, which he referred to another generation; than to giue into their hands that mighty Kingdom, whose houre was not yet come. The loue which *Parysatis*, the Queen-Mother of *Persia* bare vnto *Cyrus* her younger sonne, being seconded by the earnest fauour of the people, and ready desires of many principall men, had moued this young Prince, in his fathers old age, to aspire after the succession. But being sent for by his Father (as hath before bene shewed) whose meaning was to curbe this ambitious youth; he found his elder brother *Artaxerxes* established to surely by the old Kings fauour, that it were not safe to attempt any meanes of displanting him, by whose disfauour, himselfe might easily lose the place of a Viceroy, which he held in *Asia* the lesse, and hardly be able to maintaine his owne life. The neereft neighbour to *Cyrus* of all the Kings Deputies in the lower *Asia*, was *Tissaphernes*, a man compounded of cowardise, treachery, craft, and all vices which accustomedly branch out of these. This man accompanied *Cyrus* to his Father, yfing by the way all faire shewes of friendship, as to a Prince, for whom it might well be thought, that Queene *Parysatis* had obtained the inheritance of that mighty Empire. And it was very true, that *Parysatis* had vfed the best of her endeuour to that purpose, alleading that (which in former ages had bin much auailable to *Xerxes*, in the like disceparation with his elder brother) *Artaxerxes* was borne whilest his father was a priuate man, but *Cyrus*, when he was a crowned King. All which not sufficing, when the most that could be obtained for *Cyrus*, was the pardon of some presumptuous demeanour, and confirmation of his place in *Lydia*, and the parts adioyning: then did this *Tissaphernes* discover his nature, and accuse his friend *Cyrus* to the new King *Artaxerxes*, of a dangerous treason intended against his person. Vpon this accusation, whether true or false, very easily beleueed, *Cyrus* was arrested, and by the most vehement intreaty of his Mother very hardly deliuered, and sent backe into his owne Prouince.

§. II.

The preparations of Cyrus, and his first entrie into the warre.

THE forme of gouernement which the *Persian* Lieutenants vfed in their severall Prouinces, was in many points almost Recall. For they made War and Peace, as they thought it meete, not onely for the Kings behoofe, but for their owne reputation; vially indeede with the Kings enemies, yet sometimes one with another: which was the more easily tolerated, because their owne heads were held onely

at the Kings pleasure, which caused them to frame all their doings to his will, whither it were, or they could coniecture it to be. *Cyrus* therefore being settled in *Lydia*, began to consider with himselfe, the interest that he had in the Kingdom; the small assurance of his brothers loue, held onely by his Mothers intercession, the disgrace endured by his late imprisonment; and the meanes which he had by loue of his owne people, and that good neighbourhood of the *Lacedemonians*, whom he had bound vnto him, to obtaine the Crowne for himselfe. Neither was it expedient that he should long sit idle, as waighting all occasion should present it selfe: but rather enterprife somewhat whilest yet his Mothers liued, who could procure a good interpretation to all his actions, if they were no more than onely questionable. Hereupon he first began to quarrell with *Tissaphernes*, and seized vpon many Townes of his iurisdiction, annexing them to his owne Prouince, which displeased not *Artaxerxes* at all, who besides that he was of condition somewhat simple, being truly paid by *Cyrus* the accustomed Tributes out of those places, was well contented to see his brothers hot spirit exercised in priuate quarrels. But *Tissaphernes*, whose base conditions were hated, and cowardise despised, although he durst not adventure to take armes against *Cyrus*, yet perceiving that the *Milesiens* were about to giue vpon themselves into the hands of that young Prince, as many other Townes of the *Ionians* had done, thought by terror to preferre his reputation, and keepe the Towne in his owne hands. Wherefore he slew many, and many he banished, who flying to *Cyrus*, were gently entertained, as bringing faire occasion to take armes, which was no small part of his desire. In leuying Souldiers he vfed great policie; for he took not onely the men of his owne Prouince, or of the Countries adioyning, whose liues were ready at his will; but secretly he furnished some *Gracian* Captaines with money, who being very good men of warre, entertained Souldiers therewith, some of them warring in *Thrace*, others in *Thessalie*, others elsewhere in *Greece*; but all of them ready to crosse the Seas, at the first call of *Cyrus*, till which time they had secret instructions to prolong their seuerall warres, that the Souldiers might be held in continuall exercise, and ready in armes vpon the sudden. *Cyrus* hauing sent a power of men to besiege *Miletus*, forthwith summoned these bands of the *Greekes*, who very readily came over to his assistance, being thenceforth a very firme Souldiers, and able to make head (which is almost incredible) against the whole power of *Artaxerxes*. With this Armie, and that which he had leuiued before, he could very easily haue forced *Miletus*, and chased away *Tissaphernes* out of *Asia* the lesse: but his purpose was not so to lose time in small matters, that was to be employed in the accomplishment of higher designs. Pretending therefore that the *Pisidians*, a people of *Asia* the lesse, not subiect to the *Persian*, had invaded his Territory, he raised the siege of *Miletus*, and with all speede marched Eastward, leauing *Tissaphernes* much amazed, who had no leisure to reioyce that *Cyrus* had left him to himselfe, when he considered, that so great an Army, and so strong, was neuer leuiued against the Routers of *Pisidia*, but rather against the great King his Master. For which cause taking a band of five hundred horse, he posted away to carry tidings to the Court, of this great preparation.

§. III.

How Cyrus tooke his journey into the higher Asia, and came up close to his Brother.

THE tumult which his coming brought was very great, and great the exclamations of the Queene *Statira*, against *Parysatis*, the Queen-Mother, whom she called the Author and occasioner of the war. But whilest the King in great feare was arming the high Countries in his defence, the danger halsted vpon him very fast. For *Cyrus* made great marches, hauing his number much increased, by the repaire of his Countrymen, though most strengthened by the access of seven hundred *Greekes*, and of other foure hundred of the same Nation, who reuoluted vnto him from the King. How terrible the *Greekes* were to the *Barbarians*, he found by triall in a Muster, which (to please the Queene of *Cilicia*, who had brought him aide) he made in *Phrygia*, where the *Greekes* by his direction making offer of a charge vpon the rest of his Armie, which contained a hundred thousand men, the whole Campe (not perceiving that this was but a brauery) fled a-maine, the victualles and baggagers forsaking their cabbins, and running all away for very feare. This was to *Cyrus* a ioyfull spectacle, who knew very well, that his brother was followed

by men of the same temper, and the more unlikely to make resistance, because they were pressed to the warre against their will and dispositions, whereas his Armie was drawne along by meere affection and good will. Nevertheless he found it a very hard matter to perswade the *Greekes* to passe the River of *Euphrates*. For the very length of the way which they had trod, wearied them with the conceit of the tedious returne. Therefore he was driven, being yet in *Cilicia*, to seeke excuses, telling them that *Abrocomas*, one of the Kings principall Captaines, & his owne great enemy, lay by the River, against whom he requested them to assist him. By such devices, and excessive promise of reward, he brought them to *Euphrates*, where some of the *Greekes* considering, That who so passed the River first, should have the most thanks, and might safely returne if the rest should refuse to follow them; they entered the Fords, whereby were all finally perswaded to doe as some had begun, and being allured by great hopes, they resolved to seeke out *Artaxerxes*, where soever he was to be found. The King in the meane time having raised an armie of nine hundred thousand men, was not so confident upon this huge multitude, as to adventure them in triall of a plaine battaile. *Abrocomas*, who with three hundred thousand men, had vnder-taken to make good the Streights of *Syria*, which were very narrow, and fortified with a strong wall, and other defences of nature, and art, which made the place to seeme impregnable, had quitted the passage, and retired himselfe toward the Kings forces, not daring to looke *Cyrus* in the face, who despairing to finde any way by Land, had procured the *Lacedamonian* fleet, by the benefit whereof to have transported his Armie. I doe not finde that this cowardlike of *Abrocomas*, or of his Souldiers, who arrived not at the Campe, till five dayes were past after the battaile, received either punishment, or disgrace; for they, toward whom he with-drew himselfe, were all made of the same metall.

Therefore *Artaxerxes* was upon the point of retiring to the uttermost bounds of his Kingdome, untill by *Teribazus*, one of his Captaines, he was perswaded not to abandon so many goodly Prouinces to the Enemy, who would thereby have gathered addition of strength, and (which in the sharpe disputation of Title to a Kingdome is most available) would have growne superior in reputation. By such aduice, the King resolved upon meeting with his brother, who now began to be secure, being fully perswaded, that *Artaxerxes* would never dare to abide him in the field. For the King having cutt a Trench of almost fortie miles in length, about thirtie foor broad, and eightene foor deepe, intended there to have encamped: but his courage failing him, he abandoned that place, thinking nothing so safe, as to be farre distant from his enemies.

§. IIII.

The battaile betweene *Cyrus* and *Artaxerxes*.

HE Armie of *Cyrus* having overcome many difficulties of euill wayes, and scarcity of victuals, was much encouraged by perceiuing this great feare of *Artaxerxes*, and being past this trench, marched carelesly in great disorder, having bestowed their Armes in Carts, and vpon Beasts of carriage; when on the sudden one of their Vant-couriers, brought newes of the Kings approach. Hereupon with great tumult they armed themselves, and had ranged their battailes in good order vpon the side of the River *Euphrates*, where they waited for the comming of their enemies, whom they saw not till it was after-noon. But when they saw the cloud of dust raised by the feet of that huge multitude, which the King drew after him, and perceived by their neere approach how well they were marshalled, comming on very orderly in silence, whereas it had beene expected, that rushing violently with loud clamours, they should have spent all their force vpon the first breach; and when it appeared that the fronts of the two Armies were so vnequall in distent, being all embattailed in one body and square, that *Cyrus* taking his place (as was the *Persian* manner) in the midst of his owne, did not with the corner, and vmoost point thereof, reach to the halfe breadth of *Artaxerxes* his battaile, who carried a front proportionable to his number, exceeding nine times that of *Cyrus*: then did the *Greekes* begin to distrust their owne manhood, which was not accustomed to make proofe of it selfe, vpon such excessive odds. It was almost incredible, that so great an Armie should be so easily chafed. Nevertheless, it quickly appeared, that these *Persians*, having learned (contrary to their custome) to giue charge vpon their

their enemies with silence, had not learned (for it was contrary to their nature) to receiue a strong charge with courage. Vpon the very first offer of on-set, made by the *Greekes*, all that beauly rabble of cowards fled amaine, without abiding the stroke, or staying till they were within reach of a Dart. The Chariots armed with hookes and litches (whereof *Artaxerxes* had two hundred, and *Cyrus* not twenty) did small hurt that day, because the drivers of them leaping down, fled away on foot. This base demeanour of his enemies gaue so much confidence to *Cyrus*, and his Followers, that such as were about him forthwith adored him as King. And certainly, the Title had beene assured vnto him that day, had not he sought how to declare himselfe worthy of it, ere yet he had obtained it. For, perceiuing that *Artaxerxes*, who found that part of the field which lay before him void, was about to encompass the *Greekes*, and to set vpon them in the rear, he aduanced with sixe hundred Horse, and gaue so valiant a charge vpon a Squadron of sixe thousand, which lay before the King, that he brake it, slaying the Captaine thereof, *Artagesis*, with his owne hands, and putting all the rest to flight. Hereupon his whole Company of sixe hundred, very few excepted, began to follow the chase, leauing *Cyrus* too ill attended, who perceiuing where the King stood in troupe, vncertaine whether to fight, or leaue the field, could not containe himselfe, but said; *I see the man*: and presently with a small handfull of men about him ran vpon his brother, whom he strake through the Curace, and wounded in the brest. Having giuen this stroke, which was his last, he receiued immediately the fatal blow, which gaue period at once to his ambition and life, being wounded vnder the eye with a dart, throwne by a base fellow, where-with attended, he fell dead from his horse, or so hurt, that it was vnpossible to haue recovered him, though all which were with him, did their best for his safety; not caring afterwards for their owne liues, when once they perceiued that *Cyrus* their Master was slaine. *Artaxerxes* caufed the head and right hand of his brother to be forthwith stricken off, and shewed to his people, who now pursuing them, fled apace, calling vpon the name of *Cyrus*, and desiring him to pardon them. But when this great accident had breathed new courage into the Kings troups, and utterly dismayed such *Persian* Captaines, as were now, euen in their owne eyes, no better than rebels; it was not long ere the Campe of *Cyrus* was taken, being quite abandoned, from whence *Artaxerxes* making all speed, arrived quickly at the quarter of the *Greekes*, which was about three miles from the place where *Cyrus* fell. There he met with *Tisaphernes*, who having made way through the battaile of the *Greekes*, was ready now to ioyne with his Master in spoiling their Tents. Had not the newes, which *Artaxerxes* brought with him of his brothers death, beene sufficient to counteruaile all disasters received, the exploit of *Tisaphernes* in breaking through the *Greekes* would haue yeelded little comfort. For *Tisaphernes* had not slaine any one man of the *Greekes*, but contrariwise, when he gaue vpon them, they opening their battaile, draue him with great slaughter through them, in such wise, that he rather escaped as out of an hard passage, than forced his way through the Squadron of the *Greekes*. Hercof the King being informed by him, and that the *Greekes*, as Masters of the field, gaue chase to all that came in their sight; they ranged their Companies into good order, and followed after these *Greekes*, intending to set vpon them in the rear. But these good Souldiers perceiuing the Kings approach, turned their faces, and made head against him; who not intending to seeke honour with danger of his life, wheeled about and fled, being pursued vnto a certaine Village, that lay vnder a Hill, on the top whereof he made a stand, rather in a brauery, than with purpose to emerge vpon these bold fellowes any further. For he knew well that his brothers death had secured his estate, whom he would seeme to haue slaine with his owne hand, thinking that fact alone sufficient to giue reputation to his valour; and this reputation he thought that he might now preserve well enough, shewing a manly look; halfe a mile off. On the top of this Hill therefore he aduanced his Standard, a golden Eagle displayed on the top of a Speare. This ensigne might haue encouraged his people, had not some of the *Greekes* espied it, who not meaning that he should abide so neere them, with all their power marched toward him. The King discouering their approach, fled vpon the spurre; so that none remained in the place of battaile, save one of the *Greekes*, who had lost that day not one man, nor taken any other harme, than that one of them was hurt with an arrow. Much they wondred that they heard no newes of *Cyrus*, but thinking that he was pursuing the Armie, they thought it was fittest for them,

having that day done enough, to returne to their quarter, and take their Supper, to which they had good appetite, because the expectation of the Kings comming had giuen them no leifure to dine.

§. V.

The hard estate of the Greekes after the fight; and how Artaxerxes in waime sought to haue made them selfe vnto him.

IT was now about the setting of the Sunne, and they bringing home darke night with them, found their Campe spoiled, little, or nothing being left, that might serue for foode: so that wanting victuals to satisfie their hunger, they refreshed their weary bodies with sleepe. In the meane season *Artaxerxes* returning to his Campe, which he entred by Torch-light, could not enioy the pleasure of his good fortune entire, because he perceiued that the basenesse of his people, and weakenesse of his Empire, was now plainly discovered to the *Greekes*: which gaue him assurance, that if any of these who had beheld the shamefull demeanor of his Armie, should liue to carry tidings home, it would not be long, ere with greater forces they disputed with him for his whole Signorie. Wherefore he resolved, to try all meanes, whereby he might bring them to destruction, and not let one escape to carry tidings of that which he had seene: to which purpose he sent them a braue message the next morning. Charging them to deliuer vp their Armes, and come to his Gates, to awaite there vpon his Mercie. It seemes that he was in good hope to haue found their high courages broken, vpon report of his brothers death: but he was greatly deceived in that thought. For the *Greekes* being aduertised that morning from *Ariam*, a principall Commander vnder *Cyrus*, that his Master being slaine, he had retired himselfe to the place of their last encamping, about eight miles from them, whence intending to returne into *Ionia*, his meaning was to dislodge the next day, awaiting for them so long if they would ioyne with him, but resolving to stay no longer: they sent answer backe to *Ariam*, that hauing beaten the King out of the field, and finding none that durst resist them, they would place *Ariam* himselfe in the Kings Throne, if he would ioyne with them; and pursue the victory. Before they received any reply to this answer, the Messengers of *Artaxerxes* arrived at the Campe, whose errand seemed to the Captaines very insolent: One told them, that it was not for the Vanquishers to yeelde their Weapons; another, that he would dye ere he yeelded to such a motion; a third asked, whether the King, as hauing the victory, required their Weapons; if so, why did he not fetch them? or, whether he desired them in way of friendship, for then would they first know, with what courtesie he meant to requite their kindnesse. To this question *Phalimus* a *Gracian*, waiting vpon *Tissaphernes*, answered; That the King hauing slaine *Cyrus*, knew no man that could pretend any Title to his Kingdome, in the midst whereof he held them fast enclosed with great Riuers, being able to bring against them such numbers of men, as they wanted strength to kill if they would hold vp their throats; for which cause he accounted them his prisoners. These words, to them, who knew themselves to be free, were nothing pleasant. Therefore, one told *Phalimus*, that hauing nothing left, but their Armes and Valour, whilst they kept their Armes, their Valour would be seruiceable; but should they yeelde them, it was to be doubted, that their bodies would not long remaine their owne. Hereat *Phalimus* laughed, saying; This young man did seeme a Philosopher, and made a pretty speech; but that his deepe speculation shewed his wits to be very shallow, if he thought with his Armes and Valour, to preuaile against the great King. It seemes that *Phalimus* being a Courtier, and employed in a businesse of importance, thought himselfe too profound a States-man, to be cheekt in his Embassage by a bookish discourser. But his wisdome herein failed him. For whatsoever he himselfe was (of whom no more is knowne than that he brought an vnholiest message to his owne Countreinen, perswading them basely to surrender their Weapons, and Liues, to the mercilesse *Barbarians*) this young Scholler by him despised, was that great *Xenophon*, who, when all the principall Commanders were surprisid by treacherie of the *Persians*, being a priuate Gentleman, and hauing neuer seene the wars before, vnder-tooke the conduct of the Armie, which he brought safe into *Greece*, freeing it from all those, and from greater dangers than *Phalimus* could propound. Some there were who promised to be faithfull to the King, as they had beene to *Cyrus*, offering their

their seruice in *Egypte*, where they thought *Artaxerxes* might haue vse of them. But the small answer was, That without Weapons they could neither doe the King good as Friends, nor defend themselves from him as Enemies. Hereupon *Phalimus* deliuered the Kings further pleasure, which was to grant them Truce, whilst they abode where they then were, denouncing Warre if they stirred thence; Whereunto he required their answer. *Clearchus* the Generall told him, they liked it. How (saith *Phalimus*) must I vnderstand you? as choosung peace if we stay, or otherwise warre, said *Clearchus*. But whether warre or peace? quoth this politike Embassadour. To whom *Clearchus* (not willing to acquaint him with their purpose,) Let our doings tell you, and so dismissed him, no more with than he came. All that day the *Greekes* were faine to feede vpon their Horses, Asse, and other Beasts, which they roasted with arrowes, darts, and wooden targets, throwne away by the Enemies.

§. VI.

How the Greekes began to returne home-wards.

IT night they tooke their way towards *Ariam*, to whom they came at mid-night being forsaken by foure hundred foot, and forty horse, all *Thracians*, who led ouer to the King, by whom how they were entertained, I doe not finde. Like enough it is that they were cut in pieces; for had they bene kindly vsed, it may well be thought that some of them should haue accompanied *Tissaphernes*, and serued as Stales to draw in the rest. *Ariam* being of too base a temper, and birth, to thinke vpon seeking the Kingdome for himselfe, with such assistance as might haue giuen it vnto *Cyrus*, was very well pleased to make couenant with them for mutuall assistance vnto the last: Whereunto both parts hauing sworne, he aduised them to take another way homeward, which should be somewhat longer, yet safer and siter to relieue them with victuals, than that by which they came. The next day, hauing made a wearisome march, & tired the Souldiers, they found the Kings Armie which had coasted them, lodged in certaine Villages, where they purposed themselves to haue encamped: towards which *Clearchus* made directly, because he would not seeme by declining them to shew feare, or weakenesse. That the Kings men were contented to remoue, and giue place to their betters, it cannot be strange to any that hath considered their former behauiour; Nor strange, that the *Gracians* being weary and hungry, and lying among enemies in an vknowne Countrie, should be very fearefull: but it is almost past beliefe, that the noise which was heard of these poore men, calling one to another tumultuously, as the present condition enforced them to doe, should make the *Persians* flie out of their Campe, and so affright the great King, that instead of demanding their Armes, he should craue peace of them. The next day very early, came messengers from *Artaxerxes*, desiring free access for Embassadours, to entreat of peace. Were it not that such particulars doe best open the quality of the persons, by whom things were managed, I should hold it fitter, to run ouer the generall passages of those times, than to dwell among circumstances. But surely it is a point very remarkable, That when *Clearchus* had willed the Messengers to bid the King prepare for battaile, because the *Greekes* (as he said) wanting whereupon to dine, could not endure to heare of truce till their bellies were full; *Artaxerxes* dissembling the indignity, was contented sweetly to swallow downe this pill, sending them guides, who conducted them to a place where was plenty of victuals to relieue them.

§. VII.

How Tissaphernes, vnder colour of peace, betrayed all the Captaines of the Greekes.

IT herto the *Greekes*, relying vpon their owne vertue, had rather aduanced their affaires, than brought themselves into any straights or tearmes of disadvantage. But now came vnto them the subtle Foxe *Tissaphernes*, who circumuening the chiefe Commanders by fine sleights, did mischieuously entrappe them, to the extreame danger of the Armie. He told them, that his Prouince, lying nere vnto *Greece*, had caused him greatly to desire, that their deliuerance might be wrought by his procurement; knowing well that in time to come, both they, and their Countreimen at home, would not be vnthankfull for such a benefit. Herewithall he forgot not to rehearse

the great service that he had done to his Master, being the first that advertised him of *Cyrus* his intent, and having not onely brought him a good strength of men, but in the day of battaile shewed his face to the *Greekes*, when all others turned their backs: that he, together with the King, did enter their Campe, and gave chase to the *Barbarians* that stood on the part of *Cyrus*. All this (quoth he) did I alleadge to the King, entreating that he would give me leave to conduct you safe into *Greece*; in which suite I have good hope to speede, if you will send a milde answer to him, who hath willed me to aske you, for what cause ye have borne Armes against him. The Capitaines hearing this, were contented to give gentle words, which *Tissaphernes* relating to the King, procured (though very hardly as he said) that peace should be granted: the conditions whereof were, That they should passe freely through all the Kings Dominions, paying for that they tooke, and committing no spoile: yet that it should be lawfull for them to take victuals by force, in any place that refused to afford them an open Market. Hereupon both parties having sworn, the League was concluded, and *Tissaphernes* returning to the King to take leave, and end all businesse, came vnto them againe after twenty dayes, and then they set forward. This intire of twenty dayes, which *Tissaphernes* did spend at the Court, ministered great occasion of mistrust to his new Confederates. For besides his long absence, which alone sufficed to breede doubt, the Brethren, and Kindred of *Arius*, repairing daily to him, and other *Persians* to his Souldiers, did worke him and them so with assurance of pardon, and other allurements, that he daily grew more strange to the *Greekes*, so than formerly he had beene. This caused many to aduise *Clearchus*, rather to fight forward as well as he might, than to relye vpon covenants, and sit still whilest the King layed snares to entrappe them. But he on the contrary perswaded them, to rest contented whilest they were well, and not to cast themselves againe into those difficulties, out of which they were newly freed by the late Treatie; reciting withall their owne wants, and the Kings meanes, but especially the Oathes mutually given and taken, wherewith he saw no reason why the enemy should have clogged himselfe if he meant mischief, having power enough to doethem harme by a faire and open Warre.

Tissaphernes was a very honourable man (if honour may be valued by greatnesse and place in Court) which caused his Oath to be the more esteemed; for as much as no inforcement, or base respect, was like to haue drawne it from him. But his faithfullness was such, both in substance and in successe, as may fitly expound that saying, which proceeded from the fountaine of Truth, *I hate a rich man a liar*. A lye may finde excuse when it growes out of feare: for that passion hath his originall from weakenesse. But when Power, which is a Character of the Almighty, shall be made the supporter of vntruth, the faithfulness is most abominable; for the offender, like proud *Lucifer*, advancing his owne strength against the diuine Iustice, doth commit that sinne with an high hand, which commonly produceth lamentable effects, and is followed with sure vengeance. It was not long ere *Tissaphernes* found meanes to destroy all the Capitaines, whom he subtilly got into his power by a traine; making the Generall *Clearchus* himselfe the meane to draw in all the rest. The businesse was contriued thus: Having trauailed some dayes together in such wise, that the *Persians* did not encampe with the *Greekes*, who were very zealous of the great familiarity appearing betwene *Tissaphernes*, and *Arius*; *Clearchus* thought it convenient to roote out of *Tissaphernes* his braimes all causes of distrust, wherof many had growne in that short time. To which purpose obtaining priuate conference with him, he rehearsed the oath of Confederacie, which had past betwene them, shewing how religiously he would keepe it, and repeating the benefits, which the *Greekes* did receive by the helpe of *Tissaphernes*, he promised that their loue should appeare to him not vngratfull, if he would make vse of their service against the *Myssians* or *Pisidians*, who were accustomed to infect his Prouince, or against the *Aegyptians*, who were then Rebels to the great King. For which cause he desired him, that whereas all diuine and humane respects had linked them together, he would not give place to any close accusation or suspicion, whereby might grow sudden inconuenience to either of them, vpon no ill ground. The faithlesse *Persian* was very much delighted with this speech, which ministered faire occasion to the execution of his purpose. Therefore he told *Clearchus*, that all this was by him wisely considered, wishing him further to call to minde how many waies he could haue vsed to bring them to confusion, without perill to himselfe, especially by

by burning the country, through which they were to passe, whereby they must needs haue perished by mere famine. For which cause he said that it had beene great folly, to looke by perurie, odious to God and Man, the destruction of such as were already in his hands; But the truth was, that his owne loue to them had moued him to worke their safety, not onely for those ends which *Clearchus* had recounted, of pleasures that might redound to himselfe, and the King, by their assistance: But for that hee might by their friendship, hope to obtaine what *Cyrus* had willed. Finally, he induced the credulous Generall to Supper, and sent him away so well assured of his good will, that he promised to bring all the Capitaines with him to the same place, where, in presence of them all, *Tissaphernes* likewise promised to tell openly, which of them had by secret information sought to raise dissension betwene them. *Clearchus* himselfe being thus deceived, with great importunitie drew all the chiefe Commanders, and many of the inferior Leaders, to repaire with him to the Campe of *Tissaphernes*, whither followed them about two hundred of the common Souldiers as it had been to some common Faire. But being there strid, *Clearchus* with other the five principall Coronels, were called into the Tent, the rest staying without, wherethey had not waited long ere a signe was giuen, vpon which they within were apprehended, and the residue slaine. Forthwith certaine bands of *Persian* Horse-men scoured the field, killing as many *Greekes* as they met, and riding vp to the very Campe of the *Gracians*, who wondered much at the tumult, so wherof they knew not the cause, till one, cleaping forcibly wounded, informed them of all that had beene done. Heereupon the *Greekes* tooke Armes in haste, thinking that the enemy would forthwith haue assailed their Campe. Anon they might perceiue the Embassadors of *Tissaphernes*, among whom were his owne brother, and *Arius*, followed with three hundred Horse, who called for the principall men in the Arnie, saying, that they brought a message from the King, which *Arius* deliuered to this effect: That *Clearchus* having broken his faith, and the league made, was iustly rewarded with death; that *Memnon* and *Proxenus*, two other of the five Coronels, for detecting his treacherie, were highly honored: and finally, that the King required them to surrender their Armes, which were due to him, as hauing belonged vnto his seruant *Cyrus*. When some altercation had followed vpon this message, *Xenophon* told the Embassadors, that if *Clearchus* had in such sort offended, it was well that he was in such sort punished: but hee willed them to send backe *Memnon* and *Proxenus*, whom they had so greatly honoured, that by them, as by common friends to both Nations, the *Greekes* might be aduised how to answer the *Persian*. Hereunto the Embassadors knew not how to frame any reply, and therefore departed without speaking one word more. *Clearchus*, and the other foure were sent to *Artaxerxes*, by whose commandement their heads were stricken off. I hold it not amisse to prevent the order of time, annexing to this perditionnesse of *Tissaphernes*, the reward which he afterward received. He saw his Prouince waied by the *Greekes*, against whom receiving from his Master conuenient aid of men and money, he did so ill manage (in this affaires, that neither subtiltie, nor perurie (to which he failed not to haue recourse) availed him; finally, the King was ialous of his cunning head, and sent a new Lieutenant into those parts, who tooke it from his shoulders. Such was the recompence of his treacherie, which made him so mistrusted at home, that the seruice which he could not doe, he was thought vpon priuate need to neglect; and so hated abroad, that he knew not which way to flee from the stroke, all the word being shut against him. But now let vs retorne to the prosperitie, wherein hee triumphed without great cause, hauing betrayed brauer men then himselfe, and intending to bring the like mischief vpon the whole Arnie.

§. VIII.

How *Xenophon* rescued the *Greekes*, and in despite of *Tissaphernes* went off safely.

Rest was the heavinesse of the Souldiers, being now left destitute of Leaders, and no lesse their feare of the cuill hanging ouer their heads, which they knew not well how to auoid. Among the rest, *Xenophon*, whose learning supplied his want of experience, finding the deepe sadness of the whole Arnie to be such as hindered them from taking any course of preventing the danger at hand, began to aduise the

under-Officers of *Proxenus* his companies, whose familiar friend he had bene, to be-thinke themselves of some meane, whereby their safety might be wrought, and the Soldiers encouraged: setting before their eyes whatsoever might serue for togiue them hope, and aboue all, perswading them in no wise to yeeld to the mercy of their barbarous enemies.

Hereupon they desired him to take vpon him the charge of that Regiment; and so together with him, the same night calling vp such as were remaining of any account, they made choice of the fittest men to succeed in the places of those who were slaine, or taken. This being done, and order set downe for disburdening the Armie of all superfluous impediments, they easily comforted themselves for the losse of *Tissaphernes* his assistance, to hoping to take victuals by force better cheape than he had bene wont to sell them; To which purpose they intended to take vp their lodging two or three miles further, among some plentifull Villages, and so to proceed, marching towards the heads of those great Riuer, which lay in their way, and to passe them where they were foordable. Many attempts were made vpon them by *Tissaphernes*, whom they, leuening all on foot, were not able to requite for the harme which they receiued by the *Persian* Archers, who shot at a farther distance than the *Greekes* could reach. For this cause did *Xenophon* prouide slings, wherewith hee ouer-reached the enemy, and finding some Horses fit for seruice, that were employed among the carriages, he set men vpon them; training likewise his Archers to shoot compass, who had bene accustomed to the point blanke. By these meanes did he beare off the *Persians* who assailed him; and sometimes gaue them chase with their band of slittie Horses, which being well backt with a firme bodie of footmen, and seconded with troupes of the light-armed-shot & slingers, compelled the enemy to lie a-loof. *Tissaphernes* not daring to come to handie-gripes with these resolute men, did possesse the tops of Mountaines, and places of aduantage, by which they were to passe. But finally, when their valour made way through all such difficulties, he betooke himselfe to that course, which was indeed the surest, of burning the Countrey. With great sorrow did the *Greekes* behold the Villages on fire, and thereby all hope of victuals cut off. Some aduised to defend the Countrey, as granted by the enemy himselfe to be theirs; others to make more fires, if so perhaps the *Persians* might be affraied to doe that which was the desire of such as made passage in hostile manner; But these were faint comforts. The best counsaile was, that being nere vnto the *Carduchi*, a people enemy to the *Persian*, they should enter into their Countrey, passing ouer some high mountaines which lay betwene them. This course they followed, which could not haue auailed them, if *Tissaphernes* had begun sooner to cut off their victuals, rather then to seeke to force, or circumuent them by his fine wit.

§. IX.

The difficulties which the Greeke Armie found in passing through the Land of the *Carduchi*.

ENTring vpon the Land of the *Carduchi*, they were encountered with many difficulties of waies, but much more afflicted by the fierce Inhabitants, who, accustomed by force to defend themselves against the huge Armies of the *Persian*, were no way inferior to the *Greekes* in daring, but onely in the Art of Warre. They were very light of foot, skillfull Archers; and vsed the Sling well; which weapons in that mountainous Countrey were of much vse against these poore trauellers, afflicting them in seuen daies which they spent in that passage, farre more than all the power of the great King had done. Betwene the Territorie of these *Carduchi*, and the parts of *Armenia* confining them, ranne *Centrites* a great Riuer, vpon which the *Greekes* resided themselves one day, reioicing that they had so well escaped these dangers, and hoping that the remainder would proue easie. But the next morning they saw certaine troupes of Horses, that lay to forbid their passage. These were leauied by the Kings deputies in those parts; *Tissaphernes* and his Companies hauing taken their way towards *Jonis*. The Riuer was broad and deepe, so that it was not possible for such as would enter it, to make resistance against those which kept the opposite banks. To increase these dangers the *Carduchi* following vpon them, lay on the side of a Mountaine, within lesse than a mile of the water. But it was their good hap to discouer a Foord, by which the

greater

greater number of them passing ouer, did easily chase away the Subjects of the *Persian*, and then sending backe the most expedite men, gaue succour to the Reare-ward, against which the *Carduchi* being slightly armed, could not on plaine ground make resistance hand to hand. These *Carduchi* seeme to haue inhabited the Mountaines of *Niphates*, which are not farre from the Spring of *Tygris*; though *Ptolomie* place them far more to the East vpon the Riuer of *Cyru* in *Media*, wherein he differs much from *Xenophon*, whose relation being grounded vpon his owne knowledge, doth best in this case deserue credit. Of the Riuer *Centrites* (as of many other Riuers, Townes, and Places, mentioned by *Xenophon*) I will not labour to make a coniecture, which may endure the severity of a Critique. For *Ptolomie*, and the whole Nation of Geographers, adde small light to this expedition: onely of this last, I thinke it the same which falleth into *Tygris*, not much aboue *Arasgarta* springing out of *Niphates*, and running by the Towne of *Sardeus* in *Gordene*, a Prouince of *Armenia* the Great, wherein the *Greekes* hauing passed *Centrites* did arrive.

§. X.

His Teribazus Governour of Armenia, seeking to entrap the *Greekes* with termes of faied peace, was disappointed and shamefully beaten.

THE Armie finding in *Armenia* good prouision, marched without any disturbance about fiftie or threecore miles to the heads of the Riuer *Tygris*, and passing ouer them, traualled as farre further without resistance, till they were encountered by *Teribazus* at the Riuer *Teleboa*, which *Xenophon* commendeth as a goodly water, though small, but *Ptolomie* and others omit it. *Teribazus* gouerned that Countrey for the *Persian*, and was in great fauor with *Artaxerxes*, whose Court may seeme to haue been a Schoole where the Art of fullhood was taught as wisdom. He desired peace of the *Greekes*, which was made vpon this condition, that they should take what they pleased, but not burne downe the Townes and Villages in their way. As soone as he had made this league, he leuied an Armie, and besetting the Streights of certaine Mountaines which they were to passe, hoped well to make such benefit of their security, as might giue him the commendation of being no lesse craftily dishonest than *Tissaphernes*. Yet his cunning failed of successe. For a great snow fell, which caused the *Greekes* to make many fires, and scatter themselves abroad in the Villages. *Teribazus* also made many fires, and some of his men wandred about seeking reliefe. By the fires he was discouered, and by a Souldier of his that was taken prisoner, the whole plot was reuealed. Hereupon the *Greekes*, taking this captiue with them for a guide, sought him out, and coming vpon his Campe, did so affright him, that before the whole Armie could arrive there, the shout which was raised by the Vaine-currors, chased him away. They tooke his Pavillion, wherein besides many slaues, that were Artificers of voluptuousnesse, very rich furniture was left by the treacherous coward, who returned no more to challenge it. From hence the Armie went Northward, and passing *Asphrates*, not farre below the Springs thereof, traualled with much difficulty through deepe snow, being followed aloofe by the enemy, who durst not approach them, but did cut off such as they found stragling behinde. The Inhabitants of the Countrey, through which they marched, had their wintering houses vnder ground, wherein was found great plenty of victuals, and of cattaile, which likewise did winter in the same Cellars with the owners. Hauing refreshed themselves in those parts, and taken sufficient ease after the miserable iourney, which had consumed many of them with extreme cold, they departed, leading with them many bond-slaues, and taking away (besides other Horses and Cattaile) some Colts that were bred vp for the great King.

§. XI.

The passage of the Armie to *Trabizonde*, through the Countreies bordering vpon the Riuer of *Phasis*, and other obscure Nations.

WITHOUT impediment they came to the Riuer *Phasis*, neere whereunto the people called *Phasiani* *Taochi*, and *Chalybes* were seated. These Nations ioyned together, and occupying the tops of a ledge of Mountaines, which the *Greekes* were

were

were to passe, made countenance of warre: but some companies being sent by night to seize vpon a place of equal height to that whereon the enemies lay, making good the piece of ground which they had taken, secured the ascent of the rest; which caused these people to flye, every one retyring to the defence of his owne. The first vpon whose Countreie the *Greekes* did enter were the *Turchs*, who conuaying all their prouision of victuals into strong holds, brought the Armie into much want, vntill with hard labour one place was forced, wherein great store of cattails were taken; the people, to auoid captiuitie, threw themselves head-long downe the rockes, the very women throwing downe first their owne children, and then casting themselves vpon them. Here was taken a great bootie of Cattails, which serued to feede them, trauieling through the Land of the *Chalybes*, of whom they got nothing but stroakes. The *Chalybes* were a very stout Nation, well armed at all points, and exceeding fierce. They encountered the *Greekes* hand to hand, killing as many as they tooke prisoners, and cutting off their heads, which they carried away, singing and dancing, to the great griefe of their companions living; who were glad, when after seauen dayes iourney they escaped from those continuall skirmishes, wherewith they had bene vexed by these *Barbarians*. Hence trauieling through a good corne Countreie, inhabited by an obscure Nation called the *Seythini*, they came to a rich Towne, the Lord whereof, and of the Region adioyning, vied them friendly, and promised to guide them to a Mountaine, whence they might discover the *Euxine* Sea. From *Gymnias* (which was the name of his Towne) he led them through the Ter-ritorie of his enemies, desiring them to waste it with sword and fire. After five dayes march, they came to a Mountaine called *Teches*, being (as I thinke) a part of the Mountaines called *Moschici*, whence their guide shewed them the Sea; towards which they bent their course, and passing friendly through the Region of the *Macrones*, (with whom by means of an interpreter, found among themselves, who borne in that place had bene sold into *Greece*, they made a good peace) they arrived in the Land of *Colchis*, wherein stands the Citie of *Trabizond*, called then *Trapezus*, a Colonie of the *Greekes*. The *Colchi* entertaining them with hostility, were requited with the like; for the Armie hauing now good leisure to repose themselves among their friends the *Trapezuntians*, did spoile the Countreie thirte dayes together, forbearing onely the Borders vpon *Trabizonde*, at the Citizens request.

* *Trabizond* a Colonie of the *Greekes*, situate in the bowene of the *Euxine* Sea.

§. XII.

How the Armie began at *Trabizond* to provide a Fleet, wherewith to returne home by Sea: how it came into the Territorie of *Sinope*, and there prosecuted the same purpose.

Hauing now found an Hauen Towne, the Souldiers were desirous to take shipping, & change their tedious Land-iournies into an easie Navigation. To which purpose *Chersiphous* a *Lacedaemonian*, one of the principall Commanders, promoued by means of *Anaxibius* the *Lacedaemonian* Admirall, who was his friend, that he should provide Vessels to imbarke them. Hauing thus concluded, they likewise tooke order for the staying of such ships as should passe that way, meaning to vse them for their navigation. Left all this prouision should be found insufficient for the transportation of the whole Armie, *Xenophon* perswaded the Cities adioyning to cleare the wayes, and make an easie passage for them by Land; whereunto the Souldiers were vnto willingly to giue eare, being desirous to returne by Sea; but the Countreie fearing what inconuenience might grow by their long stay, did readily condescend to *Xenophons* request. Two ships they borrowed of the *Trapezuntians*, which they manned and sent to Sea: the one of them sailed directly into *Greece*, forsaking their Companions, who had put them in trust to bring ships into the Port of *Trabizonde*: the other tooke Merchants and passengers, whose goods were safely kept for the owners, but the Vessels were staid to increase the fleet. After long abode, when victuals began to faile, by reason that all the Land of the *Colchi*, neere vnto the Campe was already quite wasted, they were faine to imbarke their sicke men, with the women, children, and such of the baggage as might best be spared, in those few ships which they had already prouided. The rest of the Armie tooke their way by Land to *Cerasus*, a *Greece* Towne, where the fleet likewise imbarqued. Here the Armie being mustered, was found to consist of eight thousand and six hundred men. From hence they passed through the Countreie of the *Mossynaci*, who were

a *Mossynaci* Nation of *Pontus Cappadocia*.

diuided into factions. The stronger partie, despising their friendship, caused them to ioyne them with the weaker, whom they left Masters of all.

The next place of their abode was *Cotyora*, a *Greece* Towne likewise, and a Colonie of the *Sinopians*, as *Trapezus* and *Cerasus* were; but the entertainment which here they found was very churlish, hauing neither an open Market afforded to them, nor the sick men that were among them admitted into any house. Hereupon the Souldiers entered the Towne by force, and (committing no outrage) bestowed those which were sicke in convenient lodgings, taking into their owne hands the custody of the Gates. Prouision for the Armie they made by strong hand, partly out of the Territorie of the *Paphlagomians*, partly out of the Lands belonging to the Towne. These newes were vnto welcome to *Sinope*, whence Embassadors were sent to the Camp, who complaining of their dealings, and threatening to ioyne with the *Paphlagomians*, if redresse could not otherwise be had, were roundly answered by *Xenophon*, That mere necessity had enforced the Army to reach those of *Cotyora* good manners in so bad a methode: letting them know, that he feared not to deal with them and the *Paphlagomians* at once; though perhaps the *Paphlagomians* would be glad to take *Sinope* it selfe, to which, if cause were giuen, they would lend assistance. Vpon this answer the Embassadors grew better aduised, promising all friendship that the State of *Sinope* could shew, and commanding the Towne of *Cotyora* to receive the Souldiers as well as they might. Further, they promised to assist them with shipping, letting them vnderstand how difficult the passage by Land would prove, in regard of the many and great Riuers, as *Thermodon*, *Iris*, *Haly*, and *Parthenius*, which crossed their way. This good counsaile, and the faire promises accompanying it, were kindly accepted by the Armie, which well perceived, that the City of *Sinope* would spare for no cost, to be freed from such a neighbourhood. It was therefore decreed that they would passe the rest of the way by Sea; provided that if there should want such number of Vessels as might serue to imbarke euery one of them, then would they not put from the shore.

a *Cotyora* a Port-Towne in the same Region.

a *Sinope* a Port-Towne in *Lewcysia*, a Colonie of the *Mysians*.

§. XIII.

Of dissension which arose in the Armie; and how it was imbarked.

Liberty the danger of enemies, and miseries of weather and wants, had kept the companie in firmenitie; which now beganne to dissolue and to thaw, by the neighbouring aire of *Greece*, warming their heads with priuate respects to their seuerall ends and purposes. Whilest they, who were sent as Agents from the Campe, remained at *Sinope*, *Xenophon* considering the strength and valour of his men, and the opportunity of the coast whereon they lay, thought it would be an honourable worke to build a City in those parts, which were soone like to proue great and wealthie, in regard both of their owne puissance, and of the great repaire of the *Greekes* into that quarter. For this cause he made sacrifice, according to the superstition of his time and Countreie, dining of his successe by the entrailes of beasts. The Sooth-sayer whom he employed had receiued a great reward of *Cyrus*, for coniecturing aright, that *Alexander* would not giue battaile in ten daies: he therefore, hauing preferred his money carefully, was desirous to be soone at home, that hee might freely enioy his gettings. By him the purpose of *Xenophon* was divulged, which was interpreted according to the diuersitie of mens opinions, some approving the motion, but the greater part reiecting it. They of *Sinope* and *Heraclea*, being informed of this consultation, were fore afraid, lest the pouterie of the Souldiers, who had not wherewith to maintaine themselves at home, should giue successe to the proiect. Which to preuent, they promised to supply the Armie; with a sufficient fleet, and likewise offered money to some of the Captaines, who thereupon vnderooke to giue the Souldiers pay, if they would presently set saile for *Greece*: One of these Captaines being a banished man, desired them to follow him into *Troas*; another offered to leade them into *Cherronesus*. *Xenophon* who desired onely the common good, was pleased greatly with these propositions, and protested openly that hee would haue them to set forward, and hold together in any case, punishing him as a traitor that should forsake the Armie, before such time as they were arrived at their iournies end. *Silanus* the Sooth-sayer, who had vttered *Xenophons* purpose, was hereby staid from out-running his fellowes, and driuen to abide with his wealth among poore men, longer than

stood

stood with his good liking. Also the other Capitaines were much troubled and afraid, when they perceived, that ships were prepared sufficient for their Navigation, but that the money promised to them; and by them to the Souldiers, came not. For the people of *Sinope*, and *Heraclea*, knowing that the Armie was now resolved for the voyage, and that *Xenophon*, whom they feared, had perswaded them to this resolution, thought it the wisest way to furnish them with a Naue whilst they were in good readinesse to depart, but to keepe the money to themselves. The Capitaines therefore who being disappointed by these Townes, found themselves in great danger of their men, whom they had deceived with faire hopes, repented much of their faire offers, and signifying as much to *Xenophon*, prayed him to make proposition to the Armie, of taking the ships, and saying to *Phasis*, where they might seize vpon Lands, and plant themselves in such wise as should stand best with their good liking. But finding him cold in the businesse, they began to worke the principall of their owne followers, hoping by them to draw in all the rest. These newes becoming publike, bred a suspicion of *Xenophon*, as if he had won the rest of the Capitaines to his purpose, and meant now to carry the Army quite another way from their owne home. Wherefore assembling the Companies, he gaue them satisfaction, and withall complained of some disorders which he caused them to redresse: A general inquisition was likewise made of offences committed since the death of *Cyrus*; which being punished, all things were in quiet. Shortly after came Embassadors from *Cyrcas*, Lord of the *Paphlagonians*, who sending presents desired peace of the *Greeks*: the Embassadors were friendly entertained, and peace concluded, which needed not to haue beene fought, for that the *Greeks* hauing now their fleet in a readinesse, did soone weigh Anchors, and set saile for *Harmene* the Port of *Sinope*, whither *Cherisophus* came, bringing with him a few Gallies from the Admiral *Anaxibius*, who promised to giue the Army pay as soone as they came into the parts of *Greece*.

§. XIII.

Another great dissension and distraction of the Armie. How the mutiners were beaten by the Barbarians, and rescued by *Xenophon*.

HE neuer that they approached to *Greece*, the greater was their desire to make provision for themselves, that they might not returne home empty-handed. Wherefore trusting well that if the charge of the Armie were absolutely committed to one sufficient man, he might the more conveniently procure the good of them all, they determined to make *Xenophon* sole Commander of all; in whose fauour as well the Capitaines as the common Souldiers were very earnest and violent. But he, either fearing to displease the *Lacedaemonians*, who were ialous of him already (being incensed by that fugitiue who tooke the Army at *Trabizond*, flying with one of their two ships) or moued by some tokens appearing to him in the entrails that threatned ill success to his gouernment, procured with vehement contention, that this honour was laied vpon *Cherisophus* a *Lacedaemonian*. It seemes that *Xenophon*, considering the vexation incident to the conduct of a voluntary Armie, wanting pay, did wisely in yielding to such tokens as forbad him to accept it: especially, knowing so well their desire, which was by right or by wrong to get wealth whereoeuer it might be found, without all regard of Friend or Foe. *Cherisophus* had bene General but fixe or seauen dayes, when he was depose for hauing bene unwilling to rob the Towne of *Heraclea* which had sent presents to the Campe, and bene very beneficiall vnto them in lending ships for their transportation. Two daies they had sailed by the coast of *Asia*, when being past those great Riues, which would haue giuen impediment to their journey by Land, they touched at *Heraclea*, where consulting how to take their way onwards: whether by Land or Sea, one seditious man began to put them in minde of seeking to get somewhat for themselves, telling them that all their provision would be spent in three dayes, and that being now come out of the enemies Countrey, victuals and other necessities could not be had without money; for which cause he gaue aduice to send messengers into the Towne of *Heraclea*, giuing the Citizens to vnderstand what their wants were, and demanding of them three thousand pieces of money, called *Cyzicens*, which summe amounteth to two thousand and fife hundred pound sterling, or thereabout. This motion was greatly applauded, and the sum raised to ten thousand *Cyzicens* at least: which to require, they thought *Cherisophus*,

being General, the fittest man; others had more desire to send *Xenophon*: but in vaine, for they both refused it, and renounced the action as dishonest. Left therefore either of these should faile in managing the businesse which agreed not with his disposition, others of more impudency and lesse discretion were sent, who in such wise deliuered their information; that the Citizens taking time to deliberate vpon their request, brought what they could out of the fields into the Towne, and shutting the Gates, did forthwith man the wals. When the Souldiers perceived themselves to be disappointed of their malicious purpose, they fell to mutiny, saying, That their Leaders had betrayed them: and being for the more part of them *Arcadians* and *Achaans*, they forsooke immediately *Cherisophus* and *Xenophon*, choosing new Leaders out of their owne number. About foure thousand and fife hundred they were, all heauily armed, who electing ten Capitaines, sailed into the Port of *Calphas*, which is in the mid-way between *Heraclea* and *Bizantium*, with purpose to assaile the *Bythinians* on the suddaine. With *Cherisophus* there abode two thousand and one hundred, of whom one thousand and foure hundred were armed weightily: *Xenophon* had two thousand foot, three hundred whereof were lightly armed, and fortie horse, which small band had done good seruice already, and could not haue bene spared now. *Cherisophus* had agreed with *Cleander* Gouverneur of *Bizantium*, to meet him at the mouth of the Riuer *Calphas*, whither *Cleander* promised to bring some Gallies to conuey him ouer into *Greece*; for which cause he tooke his way thither by Land, leaving to *Xenophon* such shipping as he had; who pissing some part of the way by Sea, landed vpon the Confinnes of *Heraclea*, and *Thracia Asiatica*, intending to make a cut through the mid-land-Country to the *Propontis*. The Mutiners, who had landed at *Calphas* by night, with purpose to take spoiles in *Bythinia*, diuided themselves into ten Companies, euerie Capitaine leading his owne Regiment into some Village, fife or fixe miles from the Sea, in the greater Townes were two Regiments quartered; and so was that part of the countrie surprised on the suddaine, and sacked all at one time. The place of Rendezous was an high peece of ground, where some of them arriued, finding no disturbance; others, not without much trouble and danger; two Companies were broken and defeated, onely eight men escaped, the rest were all put to the sword. For the *Thracians* which had slipped first out of the Souldiers hands, did raise the Countrey, & finding the *Greeks* laden with bootie, took the aduantage of their disorder, cutting in pieces those two Regiments: which done, they attempted the rest, encompassing the hill wheron they encamped. One great aduantage the *Thracians* had, that being all light armed, they could as pleasure make retreat from these *Arcadians* & *Achaans*: who wanting the assistance of horse, & hauing neither Archers nor Slingers among them, were driuen to stand merely vpon their defence, bearing off with greater danger, & many wounds receiued, the Darts and Arrows of the *Barbarians*, till finally they were driuen from their watering place, and enforced to craue parly. Whatsoeuer the articles of composition were, the *Thracians* yielded to all, but pledges for assurance they would giue none, without which the *Greeks* well knew, that all promises of such people, especially so incensed, were nothing worth. In the meane time *Xenophon* holding his way quietly through the In-land Region, did enquire of some Trauailers whether they knew ought of any *Gracia* Army, passing along those parts: receiuing by them true information of the desperate case into which these Gallies had foolishly throwne themselves, he marched directly towards the place where they lay, taking with him for guides them who gaue him the intelligence. His horse-men he sent before to discover, & to scowre the wayes; he light-armed foot-men tooke the hill tops on either hand, all of them setting fire on whatsoeuer they found combustible, whereby the whole Countrey seemed to be on a light flame, to the great terrour of the enemies, who thought that some huge Armie had approached. That night he encamped on a hill, within five mile of the *Arcadians*, encreasing still the number of his fires, which he caused hastily to be quenched soone after Supper. The enemies perceiving this, thought certainly that he would haue fallen vpon them in the darke, which caused them in all haste to dislodge. Early in the next morning *Xenophon* coming thither in very good order, to haue giuen battaile, found that his device, to affright the *Thracians*, had taken full effect; but he marvelled that the *Greeks* were also departed, concerning whom he learned by enquiry, that they removed at break of day, and perceived by signes that they had taken the way to the Port of *Calphas*, in which journey he ouertooke them. They embraced Him, and His, with great ioy: Confessing that they themselves had thought the same

which the enemies did, looking that he should haue come by night; wherein finding the mischief deceived, they were afraid lest he had forsaken them, and therefore halloened away, to ouertake him, and ioyne with him. So they arrived at the Hauens of *Calpas*, where it was decreed, That whosoever from thenceforth made any motion to disioyne the Armie, should suffer death.

§. XV.

Of diuers pieces of service done by Xenophon, and how the Armie returned into Greece. The occasions of the Warre betweene the Lacedemonians and the Persian.

THE Hauens of *Calpas* lay vnder a goodly head-land, that was very strong, and bounding with all kinde of Graine and Fruits, except Oliues. There was also Timber for building and shipping, and a very conuenient sea for a great Ciitie. All which commodities, that might haue allured the Souldiers to stay there, and to plant, caused them to haue away, fearing lest *Xenophon* should finde some deuice to haue fetled himselfe and them in that place. For the greater part of them had good means to liue at home; neither did they so much for hope of gaine follow *Cyrus* in that Warre, as in regard of his Honour, and the loue which they bare vnto him: the poorer sort were such as left their Parents, Wiues, and Children, to whom (though failing of the riches which they had hoped to purchase) they were now desirous to returne. But whether it were so that *Xenophon* found aduantage by their owne superstition, to make them stay, which they greatly suspected; or whether the signes appearing in the entrails, did indeede forbid their departure: so long they were enforced to abide in the place till vicinalls failed; neither would the Captaines leade them forth to forrage the Countrey, vntill the Sacrifices should promise good successe. *Cherisophus* was dead of an Age, and his ships were gone, being returned to the *Heracleans*, of whom they were borrowed. His followers were ioyned to the rest of the Armie, which the greater it was, the more provision it needed, and the sooner felt want. For which cause, he that was chosen Coroneill into the place of *Cherisophus*, would needes aduenture to gratifie the Souldiers with the spoile of some Villages that stood neere at hand, in which enterprise he found ill successe, the whole Countrey lying in waite to entrap him, and an Armie of Horse being sent by *Pharnabazus* the *Satrapa*, or Vice-roy of *Phrygia*, to the assistance of these *Bythinians* and *Thracians*, which troupes falling vpon the *Greekes* that were scattered abroad in seeking booty, slew siue hundred of them, and chased the rest to a certaine Mountain there by. The newes of this ouerthrow comming to *Xenophon*, he led forth apart of the Armie to the rescue of those that succued, and brought them safe to the Campe; vpon which the *Bythinians* made an offer that night, and breaking a *Corps du garde*, slew some, pursuing the rest to the very Tents. This new courage of the enemy, together with the present condition of the Armie, so disheartened and vnurnished of necessaries, caused the *Greekes* to remove their Campe to a place of more strength; which hauing intrenched, and committed to the defence of such as were least able to endure trauaile, *Xenophon* with the fittest and best able men went forth, both to burie those which were lately slaine, and to abate the pride of the *Thracians*, and their assistants. In this iourney his demeanour was very honourable. For hauing giuen buriall to the dead, the Enemy was discouered, lying on the tops of the Hills adioyning, to whom (notwithstanding that the way was very rough, and troublesome, so that some thought it a matter of too great danger, to leaue at their backs a wood scarce passeable) he marched directly, telling his men plainly, that he had rather follow the enemy with halfe the number, than turne his back to them with twice as many; and letting them further know, that if they did not charge the *Barbarians*, he would not faile with the greater resolution to pursue them, from whom if they could safely retire to the campe, yet what should they doe there, wanting victuals to sustaine them in the place, and ships, to carrie them away? Wherefore he willed them rather to fight well that day, hauing eaten their dinners, than another day fasting; and not to regard the vncertaine returne, which might serue to stay Cowards from running away, but to wish vnto the Enemy a faire and easie way, by which he might flye from them. These perswasions were followed with so valiant execution, that both *Persians* and *Bythinians* being chased out of the field, abandoned the Countrey forthwith, removing their Families, and leauing all that could nor sodainly be conueighed away,

to the discretion of the *Greekes*, who at good leisure gathered the harvest of these bad Neighbours fields. This was the last fight which they had on the side of *Asia*. For they were not onely suffered quietly to enioy the spoile of the Countrey, but when the opinion grew common in those parts, that it was the intent of *Xenophon* to plant a Colonie on the Port of *Calpas*, Embassadors were sent from the Neighbour people, to desire friendship, and make offer of their best assistance. But the Souldiers had no minde to stay. Wherefore entering further into *Bythinie*, they tooke a great booty, which they carried away to *Chrysopolis*, a Ciitie neere vnto *Chalcedon*, where they sold it. *Pharnabazus*, Lieutenant in *Phrygia* to *Artaxerxes*, did greatly feare, lest their long stay in that Countrey might breed in them a desire to visite his Prouince; where they might haue found great wealth, and little power to guard it. Therefore he sent to the *Lacedemonians* Admirall, entreating him with much instance and large promises to waite them ouer into *Europe*; to whom *Anaxibius* the Admirall condescending, promised to giue the Souldiers pay, as soone as they arrived at *Bizantium*. So were they carried out of *Asia* at the instance of the *Persian*, who in the height of his pride had thought them so surely imprisoned with mighty Riuers, that he not onely denied to permit their quiet departure, but willed them to surrender their Armes into his hands, and so to yeeld their liues to his discretion. How discourteously they were intrated by *Anaxibius*, and how to requite his iniurious dealings, they seized vpon *Bizantium*, which by *Xenophons* persuasion they forbore to sacke, I hold it superfluous to relate. For the residue of their doings appertaine little to the generall course of things. But this expedition, as in all ages is glorious, so did it both discouer the secrets of *Asia*, and stirre vp the *Greekes* to thinke vpon greater enterprises, than euer their forefathers had vndertaken. Likewise it was the onely remarkable action which the time afforded. For the *Roman* warres did hitherto extend no further than to the next neighbouring Townes of *Italia*; and in *Greece* all things were quiet, the *Lacedemonians* ruling insolently, but without disturbance. True it is, that the seedes of the Warre shortly following, which the *Lacedemonians* made vpon *Artaxerxes*, were already sowne, before these companies returned out of the high Countreies of *Asia*. For the Townes of *Ionia*, which had sided with young *Cyrus* against *Tissaphernes*, if not against the great King, prepared to rebell; which they thought safer, than to fall into the hands of *Tissaphernes*, who was now appointed Lieutenant, both of his old Prouince, and of all that had belonged to *Cyrus*. Wherefore the *Lacedemonians* sought them to send them aide, whereby to recouer their libertie, and obtained their request. For a power was sent ouer, vnder conduct of *Timbro* a *Spartan*, who bestowed his men in such Townes as had already reuolted, to secure the Cities and their Fields, but not to make any offensive Warre.

CHAP. XI.

Of the affaires of Greece, whilest they were managed by the Lacedemonians.

§. I.

How the Lacedemonians tooke courage by example of *Xenophons* Armie, to make warre vpon *Artaxerxes*.



THE *Lacedemonians* did well perceiue in how ill part *Artaxerxes* tooke their fauour shewed vnto his brother, and yet were timorous in beginning an open warre against him, thinking it sufficient to take care that no aduantage might slip, which could serue to strengthen their Estate, by finding the *Persian* worke beyond the Sea. But when *Xenophons* Armie had revealed the baseness of those effeminate *Asiaticques*, and rehearsed the many victories which they themselves had gotten, vpon terms of extreame disadvantage; then was all *Greece* filled with desire of vnder-taking vpon this huge vnweildie Empire, thinking it no hard matter for the ioynt forces

forces of that whole Nation, to hew out the way to *Susa*, whereof one handfull had opened the passage to *Babylon*, and further, finding no power that was able to give them resistance, in all that long journey of foure and thirty thousand two hundred and fifty five furlongs, spent in going and returning, which make of English miles about foure thousand two hundred foure score and one, a very painefull march of one yeere and three moneths. Neuerthelesse the ciuill distraction wherewith *Greece* was miserably torne, and especially that hot fire of the *Theban* Warre, which, kindled with *Persian* gold, brake forth sodainly into a great flame, drew backe out of *Asia* the power of the *Lacedaemonians*, to the defence of their owne Estate; leauing it questionable, whether *Agefilau*, hating both the fame, and farre greater forces, could haue wrought proportionable effects. Sure it is, that in the whole space of two yeeres, which he spent in *Asia*, his deedes procured more commendation of magnanimity and faire behaviour, than of stout courage, and great, or profitable atchieuements. For how highly so euer it pleased *Xenophon*, who was his friend, and follower in this, and in other warres, to extoll his vertue; his exploits being only a few incursions into the Countries lying neere the Sea, carrying no proportion to *Xenophons* owne journey, which I know not whether any Age hath paralleled: the famous retreat of *Conon* the *Briton* with fixe thousand men from *Aquileia*, to his owne Countie, through all the breadth of *Italie*, and length of *France*, in despite of the Emperor *Theodosius*, being rather like it than equall. But of *Agefilau* and his war in *Asia* and *Greece*, we shall speake more in due place.

§. II.

The prosperous beginnings of the warre in Asia.

Thimbro receiuing *Xenophons* men, began to take in Townes, and to entertaine all such as were willing to revolt from the *Persian*, who were many and some of them such, as had bene highly beholding to the King; who seeme to haue had no other cause of discontent, than that they were to liue vnder the gouernement of *Tissaphernes*, whom all others did as vehemently hate as the King his Master did loue him. The managing of the warre begun by *Thimbro*, was for his oppressions taken out of his hands, and committed to *Dercyllidas* a *Spartan*, who behaued himselfe as a good man of Warre, and a wife Commander. For whereas the rule of the low Countries of *Asia* was diuided betwene *Pharnabazus* and *Tissaphernes*, who did ill agree, *Pharnabazus* being the worthier man, but the other by his Princes fauour the greater, and hauing the chiefe command in those warres against the *Greekes*; *Dercyllidas* who did beare a priuate hatred to *Pharnabazus* (knowing well that *Tissaphernes* was of a mischieuous nature, and would not be sorry to see his Corniuall thoroughly beaten, though to the Kings losse) made an appointment with *Tissaphernes*, and forthwith entred *Æolia*, which was vnder the iurisdiction of *Pharnabazus*, which Prouince in few dayes, he brought into his owne power.

That Countie of *Æolia* had about the same time suffered a violent alteration, which gaue easie successe to the attempts of *Dercyllidas*. *Zenis* a *Dardanian* had bene Deputie to *Pharnabazus* in those parts; after whose death his wife *Mania* procured his Office, wherein he behaued her selfe so well, that he not onely was beloued of the people vnder her gouernement: but enlarged her Territorie by the conquest of certaine Townes adioyning; and sundry times gaue assistance to *Pharnabazus* in his warres against the *Myssians* and *Persians*. For he had in pay some Companies of *Greekes*, whose valour by her good vantage did her great seruice. But somewhat before the arriual of *Dercyllidas* in those parts, a Sonne-in-law of hers, called *Midias*, whom she trusted and loued much, being blinded with ambition, found meanes to stifle her, and kill her sonne of seauenteene yeeres old; which done, he seized vpon two of her principall Townes, wherein her treasure lay, hoping to haue bene admitted into possession of her whole estate. Being denied entrance by her Souldiers, that lay in Garrison, he sent Messengers with presents to *Pharnabazus*, desiring him to make him Gouverneur in the place of *Mania*. His presents were not onely reiected by *Pharnabazus*, but reuenge of his foule treason threatned, where-by the wicked villaine was driuen into teames of almost vtter depredation. In the meane time came *Dercyllidas*, to whom the Townes of *Mania*, that held against *Midias*, did quickly open their Gates. One onely Towne stood out foure dayes (against the

will of the Citizens, who were couetous of liberty) the Gouverneur striuing in vaine to haue kept it to the vse of *Pharnabazus*. Now remained only two Cities, *Gergethe* and *Scepis*, which the Traitor held, who fearing all men, as being loued of none, sent Embassadors to *Dercyllidas*, desiring leave to speake with him, and pledges for his security: vpon the deliuey of which he issued out of *Scepis*, and comming into the Campe, made offer to ioyne with the *Greekes* vpon such conditions, as might seeme reasonable. But he was plainly told by *Dercyllidas*, that other condition there was none, than to set the Citizens freely at liberty. And presently vpon these words they marched toward *Scepis*. When *Midias* perceived that it was in vaine to strue against the Armie, and the Towne-men, who were all of one minde; he quietly went along with *Dercyllidas*; who remaining but a few houres in the Citie, did a sacrifice to *Minerva*, and then leading away the Garrison of *Midias*, he left the Citie free, and departed toward *Gergethe*. *Midias* did not forsake his Companie, but followed him, earnestly intreating that he might be suffered to retaine *Gergethe*: but comming to the Gates, he was bidden to command his Souldiers that they should be opened, for (quoth *Dercyllidas*) I must here likewise doe a sacrifice to *Minerva*. The Traitor, not daring to make deniall, caused his Mercenaries to open the Gates, whereby *Dercyllidas*, taking possession of the place, tendred pay to the Garrison, who did not refuse to serue vnder his Ensignes. This done, all the goods of *Mania* were seized vpon, as belonging to one that had bene subiect to *Pharnabazus*, who was enemi to the *Greekes*: and so the murderous wretch was sent away naked, not knowing in what part of the World he might finde any place to hide his dejected head. *Dercyllidas*, hauing in eight dayes taken nine Cities, purposed for the ease of his Confederates to winter in *Bythinia*, to which end he tooke Truce with *Pharnabazus*, who had not any desire of Warre. That Winter, and the Sommer ensuing, the Truce being recontinued held; in which time, besides the wasting of *Bythinia*, the necke of Land ioyning *Cherronea* to the Main, was fortified, being foure or five miles in breadth, by which meanes cleauen Towns with much good Land belonging to them, were freed from the incursions of the wilde *Thracians*; and made fit and able to victual the Campe. Likewise the Citie of *Atarne* was taken, which was of great strength, and very well fortified with provision. After this, *Dercyllidas* had command from *Sparta*, to diuert the warre into *Caria*, where was the seat of *Tissaphernes*; for that hereby it was thought not vncasie to recouer all the Townes of *Ionis*; *Pharax* the Admirall of the fleet (which was a secret Office) being appointed to ioyne with him. Though it was manifest that *Tissaphernes* had neglected *Pharnabazus* in time of necessity, yet was he not in his owne danger required with the like. For *Pharnabazus* hauing respect to the Kings seruice, came to assist his priuate enemi *Tissaphernes*, and so passing into *Caria*, they thrust Garrisons into all places of strength; which done, they marched towards *Ionis*, hoping to finde the Townes ill manned for resistance. As these *Persians* were desirous to keepe the warre from their owne doores, so was *Dercyllidas* willing to free his Confederates the *Ionians* from the spoile and danger of the warre, by transferring it into *Caria*. For which cause he passed the Riuer of *Mander*, and not looking to haue bin so soone encountered, marched carelesly through the Countie: when on the very sodaine the whole Armie of *Tissaphernes* and *Pharnabazus* was discovered, consisting of *Persians*, *Carians*, and some Mercenary *Greekes*, who were all marsh illd in very good order to present battaile. The odds was too apparent, both in numbers of men, and in readinesse, as also in aduantage of ground: for the *Persian* had a great multitude of Horse, the *Greekes* very few and feeble, being to fight in an open plaine. Therefore all the *Ionians*, together with the standers and others, of such places as bordered vpon the Kings Dominions, did either betake themselves to present fight; or abiding a while for shame, did plainly discover by their looks, that they meant not to be more bold than wife. Onely *Dercyllidas* with his *Peloponnesians* regarding their honour, prepared to endure the fight: which must needs haue brought them to destruction, if the counsaile of *Pharnabazus* had bene followed, who perceiving the opportunitie of so great a victory, was not willing to let it slip. But *Tissaphernes*, who naturally was a coward, seeing that countenance of resistance was made, began to consider what strange defence the Souldiers of *Xenophon* had shewed, and thinking that all the *Greekes* were of the like resolution, held it the wisest way to craue parley; the conclusion of which was, That a truce should be made, so lutt vntill *Tissaphernes* might receiue answer from the King, and *Dercyllidas* from

Sparta, concerning the demands propounded in the Treatie, which were on the one part, that all the *Greekes* in *Asia* might enjoy their owne libertie and lawes; but contrariwise on the other side, that the *Lacedemonians* should depart *Asia*, and leaue the Townes to the Kings pleasure. This Treatie was of none effect; onely it serued to free the *Greekes* from the present danger, and to gaine time vnto *Tissaphernes*, who desired to auoide the warre by procrastination, which he durst not aduenture to finish by triall of a battaile.

§. III.

How the Lacedemonians tooke reuenge vpon the Eleans for old displeasure. The discontents of the Corinthians and Thebans, conceived against the State of Sparta.

IN the meane season the *Lacedemonians*, who found none able to withstand them in *Greece*, beganne to call the *Eleans* to account for some disgraces receiued by them during the late warres, when leisure was wanting to the requital of such pettie iniuries. These *Eleans* being Presidents of the *Olympique* games, had set a fine vpon the Citie of *Sparta*, for Non-payment of which, they forbad them to come to the solemnitie; and publicly whipt one of them, that was of note, for presuming to contend against their decree. Likewise they hindered *Agis* King of *Sparta*, from doing sacrifice to *Iupiter*; and in all points vied great contempt toward the *Spartans*, who now had no businesse that could hinder them from taking reuenge: and therefore sent a peremptorie message to the *Eleans*, commanding them to let at libertie the Citie which they held in subiection. This was the vssual pretence which they made the ground of all their warres: though little they cared for the libertie of such Townes, which they caused afterwards to become followers, and little better than mere Vassals of the *Lacedemonians*. In their late warres with *Athens*, the strong opposition which they found, caused this goodly Title of libertie to worke very slowly: but hauing now to doe with a State of great spirit and small force, it gaue present successe to their desires. Two yeeres together they sent an Armie into the Countrey of the *Eleans*: the first yeere an earthquake (held in those times a prodigious signe, and which did alwayes forbid the prosecution of any enterprize in hand) caused them to retire: the second yeere, all the Townes of the *Eleans* did hastily reuolt, and the Citie it selfe was driuen to submission; consenting both to suffer their old subiects freely to enjoy their libertie, and to haue her owne wals throwne downe. Onely the Presidentship of the *Olympique* games was left vnto them, which, it was not to be doubted that they would in time comming vse modestly, finding themselves to stand at the mercy of *Sparta*. In this expedition all the *Greekes* were assistant to the *Lacedemonians*, excepting the *Corinthians* and *Boeotians*, whose aide hauing bene of as much importance in the late *Peloponnesian* Warre, as the force of *Sparta* it selfe, they could not smother their dislike of their vnequall diuision following the victory; which gaue to *Sparta* the command of all *Greece*; to *Thebes*, and *Corinth*, onely security against *Athens*, but such a security as was worse than the danger. For when the equall greatnesse of two mighty Estates did counterpoise each the other, it was in the power of these Neutrall Common-weales to adhere to either, as the condition of their affaires required; but when to reuenge iniuries, they had by mortall hatred prosecuted the warre to extremities, leauing the one Citie naked of power and friends, the other mightily encreased in both; it was then (if not necessary to obey the greatnesse which themselves had made, yet) foolish and dangerous to prouoke it. Neuertheless, it was not the purpose of the *Spartans* to take occasion of any quarrell, which they could not finish at pleasure, till such time as they had by victory or composition made some good end with the *Persian*, toward whom they bent all their care and forces.

§. IIII.

§. IIII.

The passage of Agefilas into Asia. His warre with Tissaphernes. How Tissaphernes was put to death; and the warre diuerted into another Prouince, through perswasion and gifts of Tithraustes his successor. How carelesse the Persian Lieutenants were of the Kings good.

AGEFILAS newly made King of *Sparta*, was desirous to haue the honour of the victory, which not without cause, he expected vpon those of *Asia*; and therefore procuring a great Armie to ioyne with that of *Dercyllides*, he tooke his way in great pompe to *Aulis* in *Boeotia*, a Haven, lying opposite to the Iland of *Enbrea*, in which place *Agamemnon* (leading the power of all *Greece* to the warre against *Troy*, many Ages before) had embarked his men. In imitation of *Agamemnon* he meant also to doe sacrifice in *Aulis*, which the *Thebans*, Lords of that Countrey, would not permit, but saying that the performance of such ceremonies in that place, belonged vnto their Officers; they were so vnable to conceale their malice, that sending some Companies of horse, they threw downe his sacrifice from the Altar. It was not then conuenient time for *Agefilas* to entangle himselfe and his Countrey in a new warre; therefore waiting better opportunitie of reuenge, he quietly swallowed the contumelie, and followed his maine intent. Hauing landed his men at *Ephesus*, he was entertained by *Tissaphernes* with a Treatie of peace, wherein *Agefilas* peremptorily requiring that the *Persian* should restore to libertie all the *Greeke* Townes in *Asia*, was promised that the King, being first informed of his demand, should send answer to his good liking, if he would in the meane while make truce. Truce was therefore made, which *Tissaphernes* had sought, onely to win time of making prouision for the warre, and getting supply of men and money from *Artaxerxes*; whilst *Agefilas* was busie in settling the estates of his confederate Citie on that side of the Sea. The end of this long vacation from warre was at the comming downe of these forces which *Artaxerxes* had sent: at what time *Agefilas* receiued a plaine message from *Tissaphernes*, that either he must forth-with depart out of *Asia*, or make good his abode by strong hand. *Agefilas* returning word, that he was glad to heare that his enemies had by perurie deserued vengeance from Heauen, prepared to invade them; and sending word to all the Townes which lay betweene him and *Caria*, that they should provide victuals and other necessaries for his Armie, did easily make *Tissaphernes* beleue, that his intent was to invade that Prouince wherein *Tissaphernes* dwelt, and which was vnto him, in which part of his forces the *Persian* had most confidence. Therefore *Tissaphernes* bestowing all his Companies of foot in *Caria*, entred with his horse into the plains of *Meander*, hoping thereby to stop the passage of a heauie foot-Armie, not suffering them to passe into that Countrey which was fittest for their seruice. But the *Greekes* left him waiting there in vaine, and marched directly into *Phrygia*, where they tooke a great spoyle without resistance, till such time as the Horse-men of *Pharnabazus* met him, who in a small skirmish hauing the better of the *Greekes*, were the occasion that *Agefilas* returned to *Ephesus*. Although in this last fight onely twelve men were lost, yet *Agefilas* perceiuing by that triall how hard it would be to preuaile, and hold the mastery of the field, without a greater strength of Horse, tooke all possible care to encrease that part of his forces. By which meanes hauing enabled himselfe, whilst winter lasted he entred vpon the Countrey of *Tissaphernes*, as soone as the season of the yeere would permit, and not onely tooke a great bootie, but finding the Horse-men of *Tissaphernes* in the plains of *Meander* without assistance of their infanterie, he gaue them battaile, and had a great victory, taking their Campe in which he found great riches. The blame of this losse fell because vpon *Tissaphernes*, who either vpon cowardise had absented himselfe from the battaile, or following some other businesse, was then at *Sardes*. For which cause his Master hauing him in distrust, and thinking that peace might be the sooner had, which he much desired, if the man, so odious to the whole Nation of the *Greekes*, were taken out of the way, he sent into those parts *Tithraustes* a *Persian*, to cut off the head of *Tissaphernes*, and succedee him in the government. Such was the end of this base and cowardly Politician, who little caring to offend Heauen, when by perurie he could aduance his purposes on Earth, failed at the last through too much ouer-weening of his owne wisdom, even in that part of cunning, wherein he thought himselfe most perfect; for sup-

posing, that by his great skill in subtile negotiation he should one way or other circumvent the *Greekes*, and make them wearie of *Asia*; he did not seeke to finish the warre, and according to his Masters wish, bring all things speedily to quiet, but rather to temporize, till he might finde some opportunitie of making such end as best might stand with the Kings honour and his owne. Wherein it seemes that he much mistooke his Princes disposition, who though he had highly rewarded him for the aide which he did bring in his time of danger, yet would he much more gladly haue taken it, if he could haue found such meanes whereby the danger it selfe might haue beene auoided: as not losing to haue warre, whilst by any conditions (honourable or not) he might obtaine peace. And this appeared well by the course which *Tibbraustes* tooke at his first possession of the low Countries. For he sent Embassadors to *Agessilaus*, in very friendly sort, letting him know, that the man who had beene Author of the warre, was now taken out of the way; and that it was the Kings pleasure to let the *Greekes* enioy their owne lawes and liberties, vpon condition, that they should pay him the tribute accustomed, and the Armie before him dismissed. The answer to this proposition, was by *Agessilaus* referred to the Council of *Sparta*; in the meane season he was content to transerre the warre into the Province of *Pharnabazus*, at the request of *Tibbraustes*, who bought his departure with thirtie Talents.

This was a strange manner of Warre, both on the offense and on the defense part. For *Agessilaus* hauing entertained great hopes of vanquishing the great King, was contented to forbear his seuerall Provinces, at the entreatie of the Lieutenants: and those Lieutenants being employed by the King to maintaine his Estates against all enemies (wherein if they failed, they knew that their heads might easily be taken from their shoulders) were little offended at any losse that fell on their next Neighbour-Princes, which were subiect likewise to the same Crowne of *Persia*, so long as their owne gouernement could be preferred free from waste and danger. The cause of this disorder on the *Persian* side, I can ascribe to nothing so desecrately, as to the corrupted estate of the Court, wherein *Eunuches*, *Concubines*, and *ministers* of pleasure, were able by partiall construction to countenance, or disgrace, the actions off such as had the managing of things abroad; and to that foolish manner of the Kings (which was so vsual that it might be called a rule) to reward or punish the Princiell Gouernour, according to the benefit or losse, which the Countrey giuen in charge vnto each of them, receiued, during the time of his rule. Whereby it came to passe, that as euery one was desirous to make his owne Territorie yeeld a large increase to the Kings treasure; so no man was carefull to assist his borders, if losse or danger might thereby grow to himselfe and his; but sat still as an idle beholder, when perhaps by ioyning their forces, it had not bene vnease to recompence the spoile of one Countrey, by conquering another, or defending a third from future greater miseries.

§. V.

The Warre and Treatie betwene Agessilaus and Pharnabazus.

Agessilaus hauing thus compounded with *Tibbraustes*, entred *Phrygia*, burning and wasting the Countrey without resistance. He tooke the Palace of *Pharnabazus*, and by his Lieutenant draue him out of his Campe. These actions, together with his honourable behauiour, which added much to their lustre, were more glorious then profitable. For he did not win Cities and Places of strength, which might haue increased his power, and giuen assurance to the rest of his proceedings: but purchased fame and high reputation, by which he drew vnto him some that were discontented and stood vpon bad termes with the great King, whom he lost againe as easily, by meanes of some slight iniurie done to them by his vnder-Captaines. *Pharnabazus* did not enclose himselfe in any Towne for feare of being besieged, but kept the field, lying as neere as he could safely to the enemies, with whom it was not his purpose to fight, but to make some good end by composition, which he found not vnease to doe. For the pleasures, by him formerly done to the State of *Sparta*, in the times of their most necessity, had bene so great, that when he (obtaining parley) did set before their eyes his bounty towards them, and his loue (which had bene such, that besides many other hazards of this person, he had for the rescue of their flect when it was driuen to runne a shore at *Abydos*, aduen-

adventured to ride into the Seas as farre as he could finde any ground, and fight on horsebacke against the *Athenians*) together with his faith which had neuer beene violated in word or deede: they knew not how to excuse their ingratitude, otherwise then by telling him, That hauing warre with his Master, they were informed, against their will, to offend him. *Agessilaus* did make a faire offer to him, that if he would reuolt from the King to them, they would maintaine him against the *Persian*, and establish him free Prince of the Countrey wherein he was at that time onely Deputie to *Artaxerxes*. But *Pharnabazus* told him plainly, That if the King his Master did put him in trust to make war against them, he would not faile to doe the best that he could as their enemy; if the charge were taken out of his hand, and he commanded to obey another, he would then shift side, and betake himselfe to their alliance. The issue of this parley was, That the Armie should no longer abide in *Phrygia*, nor againe returne into it, whilst employment could be found elsewhere. The excale made by *Agessilaus*, and the withdrawing of his forces out of those parts, were not sufficient to appeale *Pharnabazus*, whom he had not inuaded for more necessary businesse elsewhere; but because his Countrey would yeeld great bootie, and for the hire of thirtie Talents. By this meanes the *Lacedemonians* changed an honourable Friend into a hot Enemy, who afterwards required their vnthankfulness with full reuenge.

§. VI.

The great commotions raised in Greece by the Thebans and others, that were hyred with gold from the Persian.

IN the meane while *Tibbraustes*, perceiuing that *Agessilaus* meant nothing lesse then to returne into Greece, and let *Artaxerxes* rest quietly in *Asia*, tooke a wife course whereby the Citie of *Sparta* was not onely driuen to looke to her owne, and gae out her great hopes of subuerting the Empire, but was beaten out of all that had bene gotten by many late victories, and saw her Dominion restrained vnto the narrow bounds of her owne Territorie. He sent into Greece fiftie talents of siluer, to be employed in raising warre against the *Lacedemonians*; which treasure was, by the subtile practice of him that was put in trust with it, in such wise disperfed, among the principall men of the *Thebans*, *Argiues*, and *Corinthians*, that all those Estates hauing formerly borne seuerate to that of *Sparta*, were now desirous of nothing so much as of open warre. And let this great heate of the incensed multitude should, for want of present exercise, begin to smoulder, and vanish away in idle words, occasion was found out to thrust the *Lacedemonians* into Armes, that they themselves might seeme Authors of the quarrell. Some land there was in the tenure of the *Locrians*, to which the *Thebans* had in former time laid claime; but the *Phocians* either hauing the better title, or finding the greater fauour, had it adiuudged vnto them, and receiued yeerely money for it. This money the *Locrians* were either hired or perswaded to pay now to the *Thebans*, who readily accepted it. The *Phocians* not meaning so to lose their Rent, made a distresse by strong hand, recouering a great deale more than their owne; which the *Thebans* (as in protection of their new Tenants) requited with an inuasion made vpon *Phocia*, waiting that Countrey in the manner of open war. Such were the beginnings of professed hostilitie betwene *Thebes* & *Sparta*, & the first breaking out of their close enmitie, that had long time, though hardly, beene concealed. For when the *Phocian* Embassadors came to *Sparta*, complaining of the violence done by the *Thebans*, and requesting succour, they had very fauourable audience, & ready consent to their suite; it being the manner of the *Lacedemonians*, to deserre the acknowledgement of iniuries receiued, untill occasion of reuenge were offered, and then to discover their indignation in cold blood. At this time they had very good opportunitie to worke their owne wils, hauing no other war to disturbe them in Greece, and hearing out of *Asia* no newes, that could offend or trouble them. Wherefore they sent *Lysander* to raise all the Countreys about *Phocia*, and with such forces as he could leaue, to attend the coming of *Paufanias* King of *Sparta* (for *Sparta*, as hath bene shewed before, had two Kings) who should follow him with the strength of *Peloponnesus*. *Lysander* did as he was appointed, and being of great reputation in those parts, he drew the *Orchomenians* to reuolt from *Thebes*. *Paufanias* likewise raised all *Peloponnesus*, except the *Corinthians*, (who refused to assist him in that enterprife) meaning to ioync with *Lysander*, & make a speedy end

of the warre. The consideration of so great a danger, approaching so swiftly, caused the *Thebans* to seeke what helpe they could abroad, for as much as their owne strength was farre too little to make resistance against such mighty preparations. It was not unknowne to them, that many followers of the *Lacedaemonians* were otherwise affected in heart than they durst vnder in countenance; but the good wishes of such people were little available, considering that the most which could be expected from them, was, that they should doe as little hurt as they could: by which manner of tergiversation, the *Corinthians* did at that present cast themselves into the displeasure of the *Spartans*, to the no great benefit of *Thebes*. Wherefore it was thought the safest course, to procure the assistance of some Estate that might presently declare it selfe on their side, which would cause many others to follow the example, and make their partie strong. To this end they sent Embassadors to *Athens*, excusing old offences, as either not committed by publike allowance, or done in time of the generall warre, and recompensed with friendship lately shewne in their refusal of assisting *Pausanias*, when he came in behalfe of the thirty Tyrants, against the good Citizens of *Athens*. In regard of which, and for their owne Honour sake, they requested them of aide in the present warre, offering to doe the best that they could for the restoring of *Athens* to her former Estate and Dignitie. *Thrasybulus* and his Friends, who persecuted by the thirtie, had bene well entertained at *Thebes*, procured now the Citie to make a large requittall of the courtesie which they had received. For it was decreed, that the State of *Athens* should not onely refuse to aide the *Lacedaemonians* in this Warre, but that it should assist the *Thebans*, and engage it selfe in their cause. Whilest *Pausanias* lay still, waiting the arrivall of his Confederates, *Lysander* being desirous to doe somewhat that might advance the businesse in hand, came to *Halitus*, where, though *Pausanias* did not meet him, as had bene appointed, yet he attempted the Towne, and was slaine in fight by the *Thebans*, who came hastily to the rescue. As this victory did encourage the *Thebans*, so the comming of *Pausanias* with his great Armie did againe amaze them, with presentation of extreame danger; but their spirits were soone revived by the strong succour which was brought from *Athens*, in consideration of which, and of the late battaile, *Pausanias* durst not hazard a new fight with them, but receiving the bodies of those that were slaine, by composition, departed out of their Territorie, for which, either cowardise or indiscretion, he was in his returne to *Sparta* condemned as a Traitor, and driven to flie into *Teges*, where he ended his daies in banishment.

§. VII.

How Agesilaus was called out of Asia to helpe his Countrey. A victory of the Spartans. Conon the Athenian, assisted by Pharnabazus, overcomes the Lacedaemonian fleet; recovers the mastery of the Seas; and rebuilds the walls of Athens.

His good successe, and the confederacie made with *Athens*, gave such reputation to the *Thebans*, that the *Argives*, *Corinthians*, *Euboeans*, *Locrians*, and *Acarnanians*, did forthwith side with them, and raising a strong Armie, determined to give battaile to the *Lacedaemonians* as neere as they might, to their owne doores. Considering that the force of *Sparta* it selfe was not great, but grew more and more by the adunction of their Confederates. The Magistrates of *Sparta* perceiving the danger, sent for *Agesilaus*, who readily obeyed them, and promising his friends in *Asia* to returne speedily to their assistance, passed the Streights of *Hellespont* into *Europe*. In the mean time the Cities of the new league had given battaile to the *Lacedaemonians*, and the remainder of their Associates, but with ill successe. For when the right-wing of each part had gotten the better hand, the *Argives* and *Thebans* returning from the chafe in some disorder, were broken and defeated by the *Lacedaemonians*, who meeting them in good order, won from them the Honour which they had gotten, by forcing the left wing of the *Lacedaemonians*, and made the victory of that day entirely their owne. The report of this battaile meeting *Agesilaus* at *Amphipolis*, were by him sent over into *Asia*, wherein it is not likely that they brought much comfort vnto his friend, who had since his departure scene the *Spartan* fleet beaten, and *Lysander* the Admirall slaine. The same man, whose endeavour had brought the *Athenians* into order, by advancing the Sea-forces of the *Lacedaemonians* with money, and all manner of supplies, was now the occasion that the power

power of *Athens* grew strong at Sea, when the City was despoiled of her olde reputation, & scarcely able to maintaine an Army by Land for her defence. *Pharnabazus* considering how much it imported the King his Master, to have the *Greeks* divided into such factions, as might utterly disable them from vnder-taking abroad, thought it the safest way for himselfe, during these broyles, to take such order, that he should not need any more, to seeke peace by entreaty and commemoration of old benefits at their hands, who vnpromoted had sold his love for thirty Talents. To which purpose he furnished *Conon* the *Athenian* with eight ships, who had escaped, when the fleet of *Athens* was surprized by *Lysander* at *Argos-Potamos*; giving him the command of a great Navy, where with he recovered the losse received at *Argos-Potamos*, by repaying the *Lacedaemonians* with the like destruction of their fleet at *Cnidus*. After this victory *Conon* sailed to *Athens*, bringing with him, partly as the liberality of *Pharnabazus*, partly as the fruit of his victory, so strong a Navy, and so much golde, as encouraged the *Athenians* to rebuild their walls, and thinke more hopefully vpon recouering the Signiory which they had lost.

§. VIII.

Offensory small victories gotten on each part. The Lacedaemonians lose all in Asia; The Athenians recover some part of their old Dominion.

Euerthelesse the *Lacedaemonians*, by many victories at Land, maintained for some yeeres the honour of their Estate, endangered very greatly by this losse at Sea. For *Agesilaus* obtained the better with his horse-men from the *Thessalians*, who were accounted the best riders in *Greece*: He wasted *Beotia*, and fought a great battaile at *Coronea* against the *Thebans*, and their Allies, whom hee overthrew; and by his Marshall *Gylis* foraged the Countrey of *Laeris*: which done, hee returned home.

The gaine of these victories was not great, and the reputation of them was, by many losses, much defaced. For the *Thebans* did in the battaile of *Coronea* vanquish the *Orchomenians*, who stood opposite vnto them, and retired vnbroken to Mount *Helicon*, opening way perforce when *Agesilaus* charged them in the returne from the pursuit. Like-wise *Gylis* was slaine with a great part of his Army by the *Locrians*; and some other exploits by the *Lacedaemonians* performed against the *Corinthians*, were repayed with small damage received in the parts adjoining; many Townes being easily taken, and as easily recovered. The variety of which enterfeats was such, that the *Thebans* themselves were drawne by the losse of the haven of *Corinth*, to sue for peace, but could not get audience, till such time as the newes came of a great victory obtained by *Iphicrates*, General of the *Athenian* forces at *Lechaeum*; whereupon the *Theban* Embassadors being sent for, and willed to doe their message, required onely in scorn, to have a safe conduct given them, that they might enter into *Corinth*. From this time forward the Warre was made for a while onely by incursions, wherein the *Achaean* confederates of *Sparta*, felt most losse, their whole state being endangered by the *Acarnanians*, who held with the contrary side, vntill *Agesilaus* repayed these invaders with equall, or greater calamities, brought vpon their owne Lands, which did so affright the *Acarnanians*, that they were driven to sue for peace. But the affaires at Sea were of most consequence, vpon which the successe of all depended. For when the Towns of *Asia* perceived, that the *Lacedaemonians* were not onely intangled in an hard warre at home, but almost disabled to passe the Seas, having lost their fleet at *Cnidus*; they soone gave care to *Pharnabazus*, who promised to allow that they should vie their owne lawes, if they would expell the *Spartan* Generals. Onely the City of *Abidus* did stand firme, wherein *Dercylidas* lay, who did his best to contain all the Townes about *Hellespont*, in the alliance of the *Lacedaemonians*, which he could not doe, because the *Athenian* fleet vnder *Thrasybulus* tooke in *Byzantium*, *Chalcidion*, and other places thereabout, reducing the Ile of *Lesbos* to their ancient acknowledgement of *Athens*.

§. IX.

The base conditions offered vnto the Persian by the Lacedæmonians. Of sundry fights and other passages in their warre. The peace of Antalcidas.

ABout this time the Spartans began to perceiue how vnease a thing it would be, to maintaine the warre against men as good as themselves, assisted with the treasures of Persia: wherefore they craued peace of Artaxerxes, most basely offering, not onely to renounce the Greeks inhabiting Asia, and to leaue them to the Kings disposition, but withall to set the Ilanders, and euery Towne in Greece, as well the Iles as the great, at full and absolute liberty whereby they said that all the principall Estates of their Countrey would be so weakened, that no one, nor all of them should be able to resist against the great King. And sure it was, that the power of the Countrey being broken and rent into many small pieces, could neither haue disquieted the Persian, by an offensive warre, nor haue made any good defence against him, but would haue left it easie for him in continuance of time, to haue taken the Cities one after another, till he had made himselfe Master of all. The Spartans were not ignorant of this, but were so carried with enuie, that perceiuing how the dominion of the Seas was like to returne to Athens, they chose rather to giue all from themselves and others, and make all a-like weak, than to permit that any of their owne Nation should grow stronger than themselves, who so lately had commanded all. Yet this great offer was not at the first accepted, both in regard that the other Estates of Greece, who had in the Kings behalfe ioyned together against the Lacedæmonians, did by their severall Embassadours oppose themselves vnto it, and for that it was thought safest for Artaxerxes, rather to weaken the Lacedæmonians yet more, than by interposing himselfe to bring friends and foes on the suddaine to an equality. Especially Struthas, whom Artaxerxes had sent as his Lieutenant into the low Countries, did seeke to repay the harme done by Agesilaus in those parts: which his intent appearing plaine, and all hope of the peace being thereby cut off; Timbro was sent into Asia to make warre vpon Struthas, and others were appointed to other places, whereby the warre, being scattered about, all the Iles and Townes on the firme Land grew almost to the manner of piracie and robbrie, affording many skirmishes, but few great actions worthy of remembrance, Timbro was slaine by Struthas, & in his place Diphridas was sent, who demeaned himselfe more warily. Dircyllidas was removed from his charge at Abydos, because he had not impeached Thrasylbus in his enterprises about Hellepont; Amaxibius, who succeeded him, was surprisid and slaine in a skirmish by Iphicrates the Athenian. Thrasylbus, departing from Lesbos toward Rhodes, was slaine by the way at Aspendus. The Citie of Rhodes had long before ioyned with the Lacedæmonians, who erected there (as was their manner) an Aristocratie, or the Government of a few the principall Citizens; whereas contrariwise the Athenians were accustomed to put the Soueraignie into the hands of the people, each of them seeking to assure themselves, by erecting in the Towne of their Confederates a Government like vnto their owne: which doing (where more especiall cause did not hinder) caused the Nobilitie to fauour Sparta, and the Commons to incline to Athens. The people of Argina roused vpon the coast of Attica, which caused the Athenians to land an Armie in Argina, and besiege their Towne: but this sieg being raised by the assistance of the Lacedæmonian fleet, the Ilanders began anew to molest Attica, which caused the Athenians to man their ships againe, that returned beaten, hauing lost foure of thirtene. The losse of these ships was soone recompensed by a victorie which Chabrias the Athenian Generall had in Argina, whereupon the Ilanders were faine to keepe home, and leaue to the Athenians the Seas free. It may well seeme strange that the Citie of Athens, hauing but newly raised her wals, hauing not by any fortunate and important battaile secured her estate from dangers by Land; but onely depending vpon the assistance of such Confederates, as carried vnto different ends, had often discovered themselves irresolute in the common cause; would send a fleet and an Armie to Cyprus, in defence of Euagoras, when the mastery of the Seas was so ill assured, that an Iland lying in the eye of Pyrræus, had abilitie to vex the coast of Attica. But as the ouer-weaning of that Citie did cause it usually to embrace more then it could compass, so the insolency and shamelesse iniustice of the people, had now bred in the chiefe Commanders, a desire to keepe themselves farre out of sight, and to seeke employments at such distance

distance as might secure them from the eyes of the enuious, & from publike iudgements, out of which, few or none escaped. For which cause Timotheus did passe away much part of his time in the Ile of Lesbos; Iphicrates in Thrace; and Chabrias now did carry away into Cyprus a greater force than his Countrey well could haue spared: with which he returned not when the businesse in Cyprus came to an end, but sought new adventures in Egypt; whereby arose neither thanks to himselfe, nor profit to his Citie, though honour both to him and it. The Athenians being thus careless of things at hand, had a notable blow giuen vnto them, shortly after that Chabrias was gone to Cyprus, euen within their owne Hauens. For Teletias, a Lacedæmonian, being made Gouernour of Argina; conceived a strong hope of surprising the Naue of Athens, as it lay in Piræus; thinking a right that it was an harder matter to encounter with ten ships prepared for the fight, than with twenty lying in harbour, whose Mariners were asleepe in their Cabbins, or drinking in Tavernes. Wherefore he failed by night into the mouth of the Port, which entering at the breake of day, hee found (according to his expectation) most of the men on shore, and few or none left aboard to make resistance: by which meanes hee tooke many ships laden with merchandizes, many fisher-men, passengers, and other Vessells, also three or foure Gallies; hauing sunke or broken, and made vnfurtheable, as many of the rest as the time would suffer. About this time Pharnabazus, the Lieutenant of Phrygia, had one of the Kings Daughters giuen to him in marriage, with whom hee liued about the Court; and many Officers that fauoured the Lacedæmonians were placed in the lower Asia; by whose assistance the fleet of Sparta grew victorious about Hellepont; in suchwise, that perhaps they should not haue needed the peace, which they themselves procured by Antalcidas, from the great King, the conditions whereof were such as are mentioned before, giuing freedome to all the Cities of Greece; and diuiding the Countrey into as many severall States as were petty Boroughes in it. Thus Artaxerxes hauing bought his owne peace with money, did likewise by his money become Arbitrator and decider of Controversies betwene the Greeks, disposing of their businesse in such wisenes stood best with his owne good. The tenor of Artaxerxes his decree was, That all Asia and Cyprus should be his owne; the Iles of Lemnos, Imbros, and Scirus bee subiect to Athens; all other Greeke Townes, as well the Iles as the great, be set at liberty; and that whosoever should refuse this peace, vpon them the approouers of it should make warre, the King assisting them by Land and Sea, with men, and ships, and treasure. The Athenians were so discouraged by their losse at Sea; the Lacedæmonians by reuolt of their Confederates, and the necessity of maintaining many Garrisons, for which they wanted money; and other States by the miseries of the warre, whereof they saw no end; that all (excepting the Thebans) did consent vnto these Articles. This was called the peace of Antalcidas: whereof the Lacedæmonians taking vpon themselves the execution, did not onely compell the Argines to depart out of Corinth (which vnder pretence of defending they held by Garrisons, lately thrust into it, not as Patrons, but as Lords) and the Thebans to leaue Boeotia free, of which Province Thebes had alwaies held the government: the Thebans themselves being also comprehended vnder the name of the Boeotians; but caused the Mantineaans to throw downe their owne Citie, and to dwell in Villages: alleging that they had formerly bene accustomed so to doe, though purposing indeed to chastise them, as hauing bene ill affected to Sparta in the late Warre. By these courses the Lacedæmonians did hope that all the small Townes in Greece would, when occasion should require it, willingly follow them in their warres, as Authors of their liberty; and that the great Cities hauing lost all their dependants, would bee vnable to make opposition.

§. X.

The warre which the Lacedæmonians made vpon Olynthus. They take Thebes by treason; and Olynthus by famine.

Hilest these Warres, which ended without either victory or profit, consumed the riches and power of Greece, the Citie of Olynthus in Thrace was growne so mighty, that shee did not onely command her Neighbour Townes, but was also become terrible to places farre remooued, and to Sparta it selfe. Great part of Macedonia, together with Pella, the principall Citie of that Kingdome, was taken by the Olynthians.

Olynthians, who following the vssall pretence of the *Lacedæmonians*, to set at libertie the places ouer which King *Amintas* did tyrannize, had almost now driven him out of his Dominions, and taken all to themselves. The Citizens of *Acanthus* and of *Apollonia*, being neereſt vnto the danger of those incroaching neighbours, acquainted the *Lacedæmonians* with their feare, affirming that this Dominion of the *Olynthians* would be too strong for all *Greece*, if continuance of time should giue it reputation, which onely it wanted: wherefore they requested assistance, but in such termes as did found of composition: protesting that either they must warre vpon *Olynthus*, or become subject vnto her, and fight in her defence. Heereupon was made a hastie leuie of men, two thousand being presently sent away, with promise to be seconded by a greater Armie. Whilst these two thousand gaue such beginning to the warre, as agreed with their small number, the body of the Armie following them, surprized the Cittadell of *Thebes*, which was betrayed into the hand of *Phæbidas* the *Lacedæmonian*, by some of the Magistrates, who sought to strengthen their faction by the flauerie of their Country. The *Thebans* were ill affected to *Sparta*, but had not in any one point violated the peace lately made between them, which caused the *Lacedæmonians* to doubt whether this act of *Phæbidas* were more worthy of reward or of punishment; In conclusion, profit so farre ouer-weighed honestie, that the deece was approued, many principall Citizens of *Thebes* condemned to death, many driven into banishment, and the Traitors rewarded with the gouernment of the Citie: by whose authoritie, and the force of the Garrison, the *Thebans* were compelled to serue the *Lacedæmonians*, in all, and more than all that they could require. This successe of power hauing strengthened the *Lacedæmonians*, caused them to criteine the greater forces about *Olynthus*, which (notwithstanding the losse of one great battaile, and some other disasters) they compelled at length by famine to render it selfe vnto their obedience.

§. XI.

How the Thebans recovered their libertie, driving out the Lacedæmonian Garrison.

AFTER this *Olynthian* Warre, which endured almost three yeeres, it seemed that no Estate in *Greece* was able to make head against that of *Sparta*; but it was not long ere the *Thebans* found a means to shake off their yoke, and gaue both example and meane to others to do the like. One of the banished men found by conference with a Scribe of the *Theban* Magistrates, coming to *Athens*, that the tyrannie wherewith his Countie was oppressed, pleased him no better then it did those who for feare of it were fledde from home. Whereupon a plot was layd betwene these two, that some found very good successe, being managed thus. Seauen of the banished men forsooke *Athens* priuily, and entered by night into the fields of *Thebes*; where spending the next day secretly, they came late in the euening to the Gates like husband-men returned from worke, and so passed vndiscovered vnto the house of *Charon*, whom *Phylidas* the Scribe had drawne into the conspiracie. The day following, a solemne feast being then held in the Citie, *Phylidas* promised the Gouernors, who were insolent and lustfull men, that he would conueigh vnto them that night the most beautifull Dames of the Towne, with whom they should take their pleasure. Hauing cheered them with such hope, and plenty of good wine, he told them when the time of performance (which they vrged) came, that hee could not make good his promise, vnlesse they would dismisse their followers, because the Gentewomen, who attended without a Chamber, would not endure that any of the seruants should see their faces. Vpon this occasion the attendants were dismissed, and the Conspirators, attired like Ladies and their Maides, brought into the place; who taking aduantage of the Gouernours loose behauiour, slew them all vpon the sodaine with Daggers, which they brought hidden vnder their garments. Then presently casting off their disguise, they went to other places, where feigning themselves to come to the Gouernours vpon businesse, they got admittance, and likewise slew those which were of the *Lacedæmonian* faction. By the like deuice they brake into the prison, slew the Gaoler, and set at liberty such as they thought meet, and being followed by these desperate men, proclaimed libertie, making the death of the Tyrants knowne. The Captaine of the Castle hearing the sodaine Proclamation, thought the Rebels to bee stronger then indeede they were: the Citizens contrariwise mistrusted, that it was

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a practice to discover such, as would be forward vpon occasion of reuolting. But as soon as day-light revealed the plaine truth, all the people took armes & besieged the Castle, sending hastily to *Athens* for succour. The Garrison also sent for aide vnto the Townes adioyning, whence a few broken troups coming to the rescue, were defeated on the way by the horse-men of *Thebes*. On the other side the banished *Thebans* did not onely make speed to assist their Countymen, but procured some *Athenians* to ioine w.th them, and thereby came so strong into the Citie, that the Castle was yeelded, more through feare than any necessitie, vpon condition that the Souldiers might quietly depart with their Armes; for which composition the Captaine at his returne to *Sparta* was put to death. When the newes of the doings at *Thebes*, and the successe arrived at *Sparta*, an Armie was raised forth-wich, and all things prepared as earnestly for the recovering of that Citie, as if some part of their ancient inheritance had bene taken from the *Lacedæmonians*, and not a Towne perfidiously vsurped by them, restored to her owne libertie. *Leontidas*, one of the Kings, was sent on this expedition, who hauing wearied his followers, with toilsome Winters journey, returned home without any good or harme done; leaving *Sphodrias*, with part of his Armie, at *Thespies*, to infect the *Thebans*; who doing them some displeasures, made large amends by a foolish attempt vpon the Hauens of *Adonis*, which failing to take, he wasted the Countie adioyning, and draue away Cartell, causing by this outrage the *Athenians* to enter with all their power into the Warre, out of which they were before very carefully seeking how they might possibly with-draw themselves.

CHAP. XII.

Of the flourishing estate of Thebes, from the battaile of Lenctra, to the battaile of Mantinea.

§. I.

How Thebes and Athens ioined together against Sparta. How the Athenians made peace for themselves, and others, out of which the Thebans were excluded. The battaile of Lenctra, and beginning of the Theban greatnesse.



THE *Lacedæmonians* were men of great resolution, and of much grauitie in all their proceedings, but one dishonourable rule they held, That all respects withstanding the commoditie of *Sparta* were to be neglected; the practice of which doctrine, euen by the best and wisest of them, did greatly blemish that Estate: but when it was put in execution by insufficient ouer-weening men, it selfe failed to bring vpon them in stead of profit vniuſtly expected, both shame and losse. And so it befell them in these enterprises of *Phæbidas*, vpon the Castle of *Thebes*, and *Sphodrias* vpon the *Piræus*. For, howsoeuer *Agessilas* did spoyle the Countie about *Thebes*, in which hee spent two Summers, yet the diligence of the *Thebans* repaired all, who by the good successe of some attempts, grew stronger than they were at the first.

The *Athenians* likewise began to looke abroad, sayling to the Isle of *Corcyra*, where they ordered things at their pleasure, and hauing in some fights at Sea preuailed, began as in the *Peloponnesian* Warre, to surround *Peloponnesus* with a Nauie; affliction to the *Lacedæmonians*, that had not the *Thebans* by their insolencie wearied their friends, and caused them to seeke for peace, it had bene very likely that the end of this warre, should haue loone come to a good end, which neuerthelesse, being persecuted by the *Thebans* (who opposed at once both these two great Estates) left the City of *Sparta* as much dejected, as the beginning found it proud and tyrannous. But the *Athenians* perceiving how *Thebes* encroached every day vpon her weake Neighbours, not sparing such as had bene dependants vpon *Athens*, and finding themselves, whilst engaged in such a warre, vnable to relieue their complaining friends, resolved to settle the affaires of

Sparta

Greece,

of Greece, by renewing that forme of peace which *Analcidas* had brought from the *Persian*. Wherefore they sent Messengers to *Thebes*, peremptorily signifying, That it was their intent to finish the Warre; to which purpose they willed the *Thebans* to send Embassadors along with them to *Sparta*; who readily condescended, fearing otherwise that they should be left out of the Treaty of peace: which came to passe, being so wrought by the courageous wisdom of *Epaminondas*, who understood farre better than his Countymen, what was to be feared or hoped. In this Treatie the *Lacedemonians* and *Athenians* did soone agree; but when the *Thebans* offered to sweare to the Articles in the name of the *Boeotians*; *Agessilaus* required them to sweare in their owne name, and to leaue the *Boeotians* free, whom they had lately reduced vnder their obedience. Whereunto *Epaminondas* made answer, That the City of *Sparta* should giue example to *Thebes* by letting the *Lacedemonians* free; for that the Signorie of *Boeotia* did by as good right appertaine to the *Thebans*, as that of *Laconia* to the *Spartans*. This was well and truly spoken; but was heard with no patience: For *Agessilaus* bearing a vehement hatred vnto those of *Thebes*, by whom he was drawne backe out of *Asia* into *Greece*, and disappointed of all the glory which he had hoped to achieve by the *Persian* war, did now passionately vrge that point of setting the *Boeotians* at libertie, & finding it as obstinately refused, hee dasht the name of the *Thebans* out of the league. At the same time *Cleombrotus* the other King of *Sparta* lay in *Phocia*, who receiued command from the *Gouernours* of *Sparta* forthwith to enter vpon the Land of the *Thebans* with all his power; which hee did, and was there slaine at *Leuttra*, and with him the flowre of his Armie. This battaile of *Leuttra*, being one of the most famous that euer were fought betweene the *Greekes*, was not so notable for any circumstance fore-going it, or for the managing of the fight it selfe, as for the death of the King, and many Citizens of *Sparta*, but especially, for that after this battell (betweene which and the conclusion of the generall peace there passed but twentie daies) the *Lacedemonians* were neuer able to recouer the strength and reputation which had formerly made them redoubted farre and neere; whereas contrariwise the *Thebans*, whose great ambition had in former times confined it selfe vnto the little Region of *Boeotia*, did now begin to vndertake the leading and command of many People and Estates, in such wise, that soone after they brought an Armie of thre score and ten thousand strong vnto the Gates of *Sparta*. So much do the afflictions of an hard warre valiantly endured, aduance the affaires of the distressed, and guide them into the way of Conquest, by fitting that resolution with a manly temper, which wealth and ease had through luxurie, retchlesnes, and many other vices or vanities, made rustie and effeminate.

§. II.

How the Athenians tooke vpon them to maintaine the peace of Greece. New troubles hence arising. *Epaminondas* invades and wasteth the Territorie of *Lacedemon*.

THe *Athenians*, refusing to take aduantage of this ouerthrow fallen vpon their old Enemies, and new Confederates the *Lacedemonians*; did neuertheless finally giue them time to vnderstand, that their Dominion was expired, & therefore their pride might well be laid away. For taking vpon themselves the maintenance of the peace lately concluded, which *Agessilaus* (perhaps of purpose to make benefit of quarrells that might arise) had left vnperfected, they assembled the Deputies of all the Estates confederated at *Athens*, where the generall libertie of all Townes, as well small as great, was ratified, vnder the stile Of the *Athenians*, and their Associates. Hereupon began fresh garboiles. The *Mantineans*, claiming power by this decree to order their affaires at their owne pleasure, did (as it were) in despite of the *Spartans*, who had enforced them to leave their towne, rectifie it, and allie themselves with such of the *Arcadians* as stood worst affected to *Sparta*. The *Arcadians*, a strong Nation, consisting of many Cities, were distracted with factions; some desiring to hold good correspondency with the *Lacedemonians*; some to weaken & keepe them low; yet all pretending other ends. The *Lacedemonians* durst not giue impeachment to the *Mantineans*; nor take vpon them to correct their ill-willers among the *Arcadians*, till such time as the factions brake out into violence, and each part called in foraine helpe. Then was an Armie sent from *Sparta*, as it were in defence of the people of *Tegea*, against the *Mantineans*, but indeed against them both. *Agessilaus* had the leading of it, but effected nothing. The *Thebans* had by this time subdued the

the *Phocians*, and were become head of the *Locrians*, *Acarnanians*, *Euboeans*, and many others, with the power of which Countreies they entred *Peloponnesus* in fauour of the *Arcadians*, who had, vpon expectation of their coming, abstained from giuing battaile to *Agessilaus*. The Armie of the *Spartans* being dismissed, and *Epaminondas* ioyned with the *Arcadians*, the Region of *Laconia* was invaded & spoiled: a thing so strange, that no Oracle could haue found beliefe if any had foretold it. Almost 600. yeeres were spent, since the *Dorians*, vnder the posteritie of *Hercules*, had seized vpon *Laconia*, in all which time the sound of an enemies trumpet was not heard in that Countrey: Ten yeeres were not fully past, since all *Greece* was at the deuotion of the *Spartans*; but now the Region to which neither *Xerxes* with his huge Armie could once looke vpon, nor the mighty forces of *Athens*, and other enemy-States had dared to set foot on, lauing by stealth, was all on a light fire, the very smoke whereof the women of *Sparta* were ashamed to behold. All which indignitie notwithstanding, the *Lacedemonians* did not issue out of *Sparta* to fight, but sought how to preferue the Towne, setting at libertie as many of their *Helotes* or Slaves as were willing to beare Armes in defence of the State, & somewhat pitiuously entreated the *Athenians* to giue them succour. From *Corinth* & some Towns of *Peloponnesus* they receiued speedy assistance; the *Athenians* came forward more slowly, so that *Epaminondas* returned without battell, hauing re-built the Citie of *Messene*, and peopled it a-new by calling home the ancient inhabitants, whom the *Lacedemonians* many yeeres before had chased away to other Countreies, possessing their Territories themselves.

§. III.

The Composition betweene Athens and Sparta for command in warre against the Thebans; who againe invade and spoyle Peloponnesus. The unfortunate presumption of the Arcadians.

THis iourne therefore vterly defaced the reputation of the *Spartans*, in such wise, that they did no longer demand the conduct of the Army, which was to be trusted, nor any manner of precedence: but sending Embassadors from *Sparta*, and from all the Cities which held league with it, vnto *Athens*, they offered to yeld the Admiraltie to the *Athenians*, requesting that they themselves might be Generals by Land. This had bene a composition well agreeing with the situation and qualitie of those two Cities; but it was reiected, because the Mariners and others that were to be employed at Sea, were men of no marke or estimation, in regard of those companys of horse and foot, whereof the Land-Armie was compounded, who being all Gentlemen or Citizens of *Athens*, were to haue serued vnder the *Lacedemonians*. Wherefore it was agreed that the Authority should be diuided by time, the *Athenians* ruling five daies, the *Lacedemonians* other five, and so successiually that each of them should haue command of all, both by Land and by Sea. It is manifest, that in this conclusion vaine ambition was more regarded than the common profit, which must of necessitie be very slowly aduanced, where consultation, resolution, and performance are so often to change hands. This appeared by a second inuasion of *Peloponnesus*, wherein the *Thebans* found their enemies so unable to impeach them, that hauing fortified *Isthmus* from Seato Sea, as in former times they had done against *Xerxes*, they were driuen out of their strength by *Epaminondas*, who foraged the Country without resistance. But as the Articles of this league betweene *Athens* and *Sparta* did, by diuiding the conduct in such manner, disable the society, and make it insufficient to those ends for which it was concluded; so the example of it wrought their good, by filling the enemies heads with the like vanitie. For the *Arcadians* considering their owne numbers which they brought into the field, and hauing found by many trials that their people were not inferior to others in strength of body, in courage, or in good Souldiership, thought it good reason that they should in like manner share the government, with their friends the *Thebans*; and not alwaies continue followers of others, by increasing whole greatnesse they should strengthen their owne yoke. Hereupon they beganne to demean themselves very insolently, whereby they grew hateful to their Neighbors, and suspected of the *Thebans* in an ill time. For a motion of generall peace hauing bene made (which tooke not effect, because the Citie of *Messene* was not abandoned to the *Lacedemonians*) the next enterprize of the *Spartans* and their friends was vpon these *Arcadians*, who relying too much vpon their owne worth,

were ouerthrowne in a great battaile, their calamitie being as pleasing to their Confederates, as to their Enemies.

§. IIII.

The great growth of the Theban Estate. Embassages of the Greekes to the Persian; with the reasons why he most fauoured the Thebans. Troubles in the Persian Empire. The fruitlesse use of the Embassages.

THe Thebans especially reioyced at the Arcadians misfortune, considering, that, without their aide, the successe of all enterprises proued to ill; whereas they to them selfes had by their owne power accomplished very well whatsoever they tooke in hand, and were become not onely victorious ouer the Lacedaemonians, but patrons ouer the Thessalonians, and moderatours of the great quarrels that had risen in Macedonia, where compounding the differences about that Kingdom, as pleased them best, they carried Philip the Sonne of Amyntas, and Father of Alexander the Great, as an Hostage vnto Thebes. Hauing therefore obtained such reputation, that little seemed wanting to makethem absolute Commanders of all Greece, they sought meanes of alliance with the Persian King, to whom they sent Embassadour the great and famous Capitaine Pelopidas, whose reputation drew Artaxerxes to grant vnto the Thebans all that they desired; whereof two especial points were, That *Messene* should remaine free from the Lacedaemonians; and that the Athenians should forbear to send their ships of Warre to Sea; onely the latter of these two was somewhat qualified with reference to further aduice. The other States of Greece did also send their Embassadours at the same time, of whom few or none receiued much contentment. For the King hauing found by long experience, how farre it concerned him to maintaine a sure partie in Greece, did vpon many weightie considerations resolute, to binde the Thebans firmly vnto him; iustly expecting, that their greatnesse should be on that side his owne securitie. The Athenians had bene ancient enemies to his Crowne; and hauing turned the profit of their victories vpon the Persian to the purchase of a great Estate in Greece, maintained their Signorie in such pusill manner, that (sundry grieuous misfortunes notwithstanding) they had endured a terrible warre, wherein the Lacedaemonians being followed by most of the Greekes, and supplied with treasure, and all sorts of aide by *Darius Nothus*, were not able to vanquish them, till their owne indiscretion brought them on their knees. The Lacedaemonians being victorious ouer Athens, had no sooner established their Dominion at home, than they vnderooke the conquest of Asia, from which though by the commotion raised in Greece with Persian gold, they were called backe, yet hauing renewed their power, and settled things in Greece, it was not vnlkely, that they should vpon the next aduantage haue pursued the same enterprise, had not they bene empached by this Theban Warre. But the Thebans contrariwise had alwayes discouered a good affection to the Crowne of Persia. They had sided with Xerxes in his inuasion of Greece; with *Darius* and the Lacedaemonians against Athens: And finally, hauing offered much contumelie to *Agessium* when he put to Sea, they drew him home by making warre on the Confederates of Sparta. Besides all these their good deseruings, they were no Sea-men, and therefore vnlkely to looke abroad; whereupon if perchance they should haue any desire, yet were they disabled by the want of good haven townes, which they could not seize vpon without open breach of that peace, whereof they intended to become the Executors, giuing liberty to all Cities that had at any time bene free. Wherefore Artaxerxes did wholly condescend vnto the requests of Pelopidas, as farre forth as he might without giuing open defiance to the rest of Greece; and by that meane he purchased his owne quiet, being neuer afterward molested by that Nation in the lower Asia. The ill meanes which the Greekes had to disturbe Artaxerxes, was very beneficiall to the Estate of Persia shortly after these times, in that great rebellion of all the Maritime Provinces. For had then the affaires of Greece bene so composed, that any one Citie might without empachment of the rest haue transported an Armie, to assist the reuoluing *Satrapes*, or *Viceroyes* of Caria, Phrygia, Lydia, Mysia, Lycia, Pisidia, Pamphilia, Cilicia, Syria, and Phoenicia; humane reason can hardly finde the meanes, by which the Empire could haue bene preferred from that ruine, which the diuine Counsell had deferred vnto the dayes of Alexander. But this great conspiracie of so many large and wealthy Prouinces, wanting

ting a firme body of good and hardy Souldiers, was in short space discussed and vanished like a mist, without effect: these effeminate Asiatics wearied quickly with the troubles and dangers incident to warre, forsaking the common cause, and each man striving to be the first, that by treason to his company should both redeeme the former treason to his Prince, and purchase withall his owne promotion with encrease of riches. Of this commotion, which in course of time followed some actions not as yet related, I haue rather chosen to make short mention in this place, than hereafter to interrupt the Narration of things more important, but for that it was like a sudden storme, rashly commenced, idly followed, and foolishly layed downe, hauing made a great noise without effect, and hauing small reference to any other action regardable; as also because in the whole reigne of Artaxerxes, from the warre of Cyrus, to the inuasion of Egypt, I finde nothing (this inuersion, and a fruitlesse iourney against the Cadusians excepted) worthy of any mention; much lesse of digression from the course of the businesse in Greece. All, or the most of his time passed away so quietly, that he enjoyed the pleasures which an Empire so great and wealthy could afford vnto so absolute a Lord, with little disturbance. The troubles which he found were onely or chiefly Domestickall; growing out of the hatred which *Parysatis* the Queene-Mother bare vnto his wife *Statira*, and to such as had bene the greatest enemies to her sonne Cyrus, or gloried in his death: vpon whom, when by poyson and mischieuous practices he had satisfied her feminine appetite of reuenge; to thenceforth she wholly applied her selfe to the Kings disposition, cherishing in him the lewd desire of marrying his owne Daughter, and filling him with the perswasion, which Princes, not endued with an especiall grace, doe readily entertaine: That his owne will was the supreme law of his subiect, and the rule by which all things were to be measured and adiudged to be good or euill. In this imaginative happinesse Pelopidas, and the other Embassadours of Greece, both found and left him; but left him by so much more assured than they found him, by how much the conclusion of his Treatie with them, being altogether to his owne aduantage, did seeme to promise, if not the perpetuities, a long endurance of the same felicity to him and his, or (at the least) a full security of danger from Greece, whence onely could any danger be feared. But such foundations of eternitie laid by mortall men in this transitory world, like the Tower of Babel, are either shaken from heauen, or made vaine and vnprofitable, ere the frame can be raised to full heighth, by confusion of tongues among the builders. Hereof was found a good example in the Thebans, and other Estates of Greece that had sent Embassadours to the Persian. For whereas it had bene concluded, that all Townes, as well the little as the great, should be set at liberty, and the Thebans made Protectors of this common peace, who thereby should become the Iudges of all controuersies that might arise, and Leaders in warre of all that would enter into this Confederacy: the Kings letters being solemnly published at Thebes, in the presence of Embassadours, drawne thither from all parts of Greece, when an oath was required for obseruation of the forme of peace therein set downe, a dilatorie answer was made by the Embassadours, who said, that they were sent to heare the articles, not to swear vnto them. Hereby the Thebans were driuen to send vnto each of the Cities to requite the Oath: But in vaine. For when the Corinthians had boldly refused it, saying, That they did not neede it; others tooke courage by their example to doe the like, disappointing the Thebans of their glorious hopes, to whom this negotiation with Artaxerxes gaue neither addition nor confirmation of greatnesse, but left them as it found them to relie vpon their owne swords.

§. V.

How all Greece was diuided, betweene the Athenians and Lacedaemonians, on the one side, and the Thebans on the other. Of the great tumults rising in Arcadia.

THe condition of things in Greece at that time did stand thus. Athens and Sparta, which in former times had commanded all that Nation, and each vpon enuie of the others greatnesse drawne all their followers into a cruell intestine warre, by which the whole Countrey, and especially the Estate of these two Cities, was brought very low, did now conioyne their forces against the Thebans, who sought to make themselves Lords of all. The Eleans, Corinthians, and Achaeans, followed the party of these ancient governing Cities; either for the old reputation of them, & benefits receiued, or in dislike

dislike of those, who by strong hand were ready to become Rulers, to which authority they could not suddenly aspire without some iniurie and much enuie. The Citie of *Thebes* abounding with men, whom necessity had made warlike, & many victories in few yeeres had filled with great spirits; and being so mighty in dependants, that she had reduced all the continent of *Greece* without *Peloponnesus* (the Region of *Attica*, and very little part beside excepted) vnder such acknowledgement, as wanted not much of mere Vassallage, did hope to bring all *Peloponnesus* to the like obedience, wherein already she had set good footing by her coniunction with the States of *Argos*, and of *Arcadia*. The *Argives* had beene always bad Neighbours to the *Spartans*, to whom they thought themselves in ancient Nobilitie Superiours, but were farre vnder them in valour, having beene often beaten out of the field by them, and put in danger of losing all: which caused them to suspect and enuie nothing more than the greatnesse and honour of *Sparta*, taking truce with her when she was at rest, and had leisure to bend her whole force against them; but firmly ioyning with her enemies whensoever they found her entangled in a difficult Warre. As the *Argives* were, in hatred of *Sparta*, sure friends of *Thebes*, so the *Arcadians*, transported with a great opinion of their owne worthinesse, had formerly renounced and prouoked against them their old Confederates and Leaders, the *Lacedemonians*, and were now become very doubtfull adherents to the *Thebans*. In which regard it was thought convenient by *Epaminondas*, and the State of *Thebes*, to send an Armie into *Peloponnesus*, before such time as these wauering friends should fall further off, and become either Neutrall, or, which was to be feared open enemies. And surely great cause there was to suspect the worst of them, considering that without consent of the *Thebans*, they had made peace with *Athens*; which was very strange, & seemed no lesse to the *Athenians* themselves, who holding a firme league with *Sparta* at the same time when the *Arcadians* treated with them, did neuertheless accept this new Confederacy, not relinquishing the old, because they found that, howsoever these *Arcadians* were enemies to the *Lacedemonians*, they should hereby be drawne somewhat further from their alliance with *Thebes*, which without them was vnlikely to invade *Peloponnesus* with a strong Armie. But this did rather hasten, than by any means stay, the coming of *Epaminondas*; who finding the way somewhat more cleare for him (because the Citie of *Gazarith*, which lay vpon the *Isthmus*, and had beene aduerser to *Thebes*, was now, by miseries of this griuous warre, driven to become Neutrall) tooke occasion hereby, and by some disorders among the *Arcadians*, to visit *Peloponnesus* with an Armie, consisting of all the power of *Thebes*. A great tumult had risen in *Arcadia* about consecrated money, which many principall men among them had laied hands on, vnder pretence of employing it to publike uses. In compounding the differences growne vpon this occasion, such, as had least will to render account of the money which had come into their hands, procured the Captaine of some *Theban* Souldiers, lying in *Tegea*, to take prisoners many of their Countreymen, as people desirous of innoation. This was done: but the uproare thereby caused was so great, that the prisoners were forth-with enlarged, and the *Arcadians*, who had in great numbers taken Armes, with much a-doe scarce pacified. When complaint of the Captaines proceedings came to *Thebes*, *Epaminondas* turned all the blame vpon them, who had made the peace with *Athens*, letting them know that he would be shortly among them, to iudge of their fidelity, by the assistance which they should giue him, in that warre, which he intended to make in *Peloponnesus*. These Lordly words did greatly amaze the *Arcadians*; who needing not the aide of so mighty a power as he drew a-long with him, did vehemently suspect that great preparation to be made against themselves. Hereupon such of them as had before sought means to settle the affaires of their Countrey, by drawing things to some good conclusion of peace, did now forthwith send to *Athens* for helpe, and withall dispatched some of the principall among them as Embassadors to *Sparta*, by whom they offered themselves to the common defence of *Peloponnesus*, now ready to be invaded. This Embassage brought much comfort to the *Lacedemonians*, who feared nothing more than the coming of *Epaminondas*, against whom they well knew, that all their forces, and best prouisions, would be no more than very hardly sufficient. Forbearing therefore to dispute about prerogatives, they (who had beene accustomed vnto such a supremacie, as they would in no wise communicate with the powerfull Citie of *Athens*, till other hope of securing their owne Estate could not be thought vpon) did now very gently yeelde to the *Arcadians*, that the

the command of the Army in chiefe, should be giuen, for the time, to that Citie, in whose Territorie it lay.

§. VI.

A terrible invasion of *Peloponnesus* by *Epaminondas*.

Entaine it is, that the condition of things did at that time require a very firme consent, and vniorme care of the common safetie. For beside the great forces raised out of the other parts of *Greece*, the *Argives* and *Messenians*, prepared with all their strength to ioyne with *Epaminondas*; who hauing lien a while at *Nemee*, to intercept the *Athenians*, receiued there intelligence, that the Armie coming from *Athens* would passe by Sea, whereupon he dislodged, and came to *Tegea*, which Citie, and the most of all *Arcadia* besides, forthwith declared themselves his. The common opinion was, that the first attempt of the *Thebans*, would be vpon such of the *Arcadians* as had revolted; which caused the *Lacedemonian* Captaines to fortifie *Mantineia* with all diligence, and to send for *Agefilas* to *Sparta*, that he bringing with him all that small force of able men which remained in the Towne, they might be strong enough to abide *Epaminondas* there. But *Epaminondas* held for good espial vpon his Enemies, that had not an vnknowne fellow brought hastily aduertisement of his purpose, so that *Agefilas*, who was then well onward in the way to *Mantineia*, the Citie of *Sparta* had suddenly beene taken. For thither with all speede and secrecie did the *Thebans* march, who had surely carried the Citie, notwithstanding any defence that could haue beene made by that handfull of men remaining within it; but that *Agefilas* in all flying haste got into it with his Companies, whom the Armie of his Confederates followed thither to the rescue as fast as it was able. The arriual of the *Lacedemonians* and their friends, as it cut off all hope from *Epaminondas* of taking *Sparta*, so it presented him with a faire aduantage vpon *Mantineia*. It was the time of Haruest, which made it very likely, that the *Mantineans*, finding the warre to be carried from their walls into another quarter, would vse the commoditie of that vacation, by fetching in their come, and turning out their cattell into their fields, whilst no enemy was nere that might empeach them. Wherefore he turned away from *Sparta* to *Mantineia*, sending his horse-men before him, to seize vpon all that might be found without the Citie. The *Mantineans* (according to the expectation of *Epaminondas*) were scattered abroad in the Countrey; farre more intent vpon their haruest-businesse, than vpon the warre, whereof they were secure, as thinking themselves out of distance. By which presumption it fell out, that great numbers of them, and all their Cattell, being vnable to recover the Towne, were in a desperate case, and the Towne it selfe in no great likelihood of holding out, when the enemy should haue taken all their prouision of victuals with so many of the people, as had not ouer-decreely beene redeemed, by that Citizens returning to societic with *Thebes*. But at the same time, the *Athenians* coming to the succour of their Confederates, whom they thought to haue found at *Mantineia*, were very earnestly entreated by the Citizens to rescue their goods, and people, from the danger wherinto they were fallen, if it were possible by any couragious aduerture to deliuer those who otherwise were giuen as lost. The *Thebans* were knowne at that time to be the best Souldiers of all the *Greekes*, and the commendation of good horsemanship had alwayes beene giuen to the *Thebans*, as excelling in that qualitie all other Nations; yet the regard of honour so wrought vpon the *Athenians*, that for the reputation of their Citie, which had entred into this warre, vpon no necessity of her owne, but only in desire of relieuing her distressed friends, they issued forth of *Mantineia*, not abiding so long as to refresh themselves, or their horses with meate, and giuing a lustie charge vpon the enemy, who as brauely receiued them, after a long and hot fight, they remained masters of the field, giuing by this victory a safe and easie retreat to all that were without the walls. The whole power of the *Boeotians* arrived in the place soone after this battaile, whom the *Lacedemonians* and their Assistants were not farre behinde.

§. VII.

§. VII.

The great battaile of Mantinea. The honourable death of Epaminondas, with his commendation.

Epaminondas, considering that his Commission was almost now expired, and that his attempts of surprising *Sparta* and *Mantinea*, having failed, the impression of offence which his name had wrought in the *Peloponnesians*, would soon vanish, vnlesse by some notable act he should abate their courage in their first growth, and leaue some memorable character of his expedition; resolved to giue them battaile, whereby he reasonably hoped both to settle the doubtfull affections of his owne Associates, and to leaue the *Spartans* as weak in spirit and abilitie, as he found them, if not wholly to bring them into subiection. Having therefore warned his men to prepare for that battaile, wherein victory should be rewarded with Lordship of all *Greece*; and finding the alacritie of his Souldiers to be such as promised the accomplishment of his owne desire; he made shew of declining the enemy, and intrenching himselfe in a place of more advantage, that so by taking from them all expectation of fighting that day, he might allay the heate of their valour, and afterward strike their senses with amazement, when he should come vpon them vnexpected. This opinion deceived him not. For with very much tumult, as in so great and sodaine a danger, the enemy came to Armes, necessity enforcing their resolution, and the consequence of that dayes seruice vrging them to doe as well as they might. The *Theban* Armie consisted of thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse; the *Lacedamonians* and their friends were thors of this number, both in horse and in foot, by a third part. The *Mantineans* (because the warre was in their Countrey) stood in the right wing, and with them the *Lacedamonians*: the *Athenians* had the left wing, the *Achaens*, *Eleans*, and others of lesse account, filled the body of the Armie. The *Thebans* stood in the left wing of their owne battaile, opposit to the *Lacedamonians*, hauing by them the *Arcadians*; the *Eubœans*, *Locrians*, *Sicyonians*, *Messenians*, and *Thessalians* with others, compounding the maine battaile; the *Argiues* held the right wing; the horse-men on each part were placed in the flanks, one by a troupe of the *Eleans* were in reare. Before the footmen could ioine, the encounter of the horse on both sides was very rough, wherein finally the *Thebans* prevailed, notwithstanding the valiant resistance of the *Athenians*: who not yeelding to the enemy either in courage or skill, were ouer-laid with numbers, and so beaten vpon by *Thessalian* slings, that they were driven to forsake the place, and leaue their infanterie naked. But this retreat was the lesse disgracefull, because they kept themselves together, and did not fall backe vpon their owne foot-men; but finding the *Theban* horse to haue giuen them ouer, and withall discouering some Companies of foot, which had bene sent about by *Epaminondas*, to charge their battaile in the reare, they brake vpon them, routed them, and hewed them all in peeces. In the meane season the battaile of the *Athenians* had not onely to doe with the *Argiues*, but was hardly pressed by the *Theban* Horsemen, in such wise that it began to open, and was ready to turne backe, when the *Elean* Squadron of Horse came vp to the reliefe of it, and restored all on that part. With farre greater violence did the *Lacedamonians* and *Thebans* meete, these contending for Dominion, the other for the maintenance of their ancient honour, so that equall courage and equall losse on both sides made the hope and appearance of victory to either equally doubtfull: vnlesse perhaps the *Lacedamonians* being very firme abiders, might seeme the more likely to preuaile, as hauing borne the first brunt and furie of the on-set, which was not hitherto remitted; and being framed by Discipline, as it were by Nature, to excell in patience, whereof the *Thebans*, by practice of a few yeeres, cannot be thought to haue gotten a habite so sure and generall. But *Epaminondas* perceiving the obstinate stiffnesse of the Enemies to be such, as neither the bad successe of their owne horse, nor all the force of the *Bœotian* Armie, could abate so farre, as to make them giue one foote of ground: taking a choise Companie of the most able men, whom he cast into the forme of a Wedge, or Diamond, by the aduantage of that figure against a Squadron, and by his owne exceeding vertue, accompanied with the great strength and resolution of them which followed him, did open their rankes, and cleaue the whole battaile in despite of all resistance. Thus was the honour of that day won by the *Thebans*, who

who may iustly be said to haue carried the victory, seeing that they remained Masters of the ground whereon the battaile was fought, hauing driuen the Enemy to lodge farther off. For that which was alleged by the *Athenians*, as a token that the victory was partly theirs, the slaughter of those Mercenaries vpon whom they lighted by chance in their owne flight, finding them behinde their Armie, and the retaining of their dead bodies; it was a Ceremonie regardable onely among the *Greekes*, and serued merely for ostentation, shewing that by the fight they had obtained somewhat, which the Enemy could not get from them otherwise than by request. But the *Thebans* arrived at the generall immediate end of battaile; none daring to abide them in the field: whereof a manifest confession is expressed from them, who forsake the place which they had chosen or accepted, as indifferent for triall of their abilitie and prowess. This was the last worke of the incomparable vertue of *Epaminondas*, who being in the head of that Warlike troupe of men, which broke the *Lacedemonian* Squadron, and forced it to giue backe in dismay, was furiously charged on the sodaine, by a desperate Company of the *Spartans*, who all at once threw their Darts at him alone; whereby receiuing many wounds, he neuertheless with a singular courage maintained the fight, vsing against the Enemies many of their Darts, which he drew out of his owne body; till at length by a *Spartan*, called *Anticater*, he receiued so violent a stroke with a Dart, that the wood of it brake, leauing the yron and a peece of the tronchion in his brest. Hereupon he sunke downe, and was soone conueighed out of the fight by his friends; hauing by his fall somewhat animated the *Spartans* (who faine would haue got his body,) but much more inflamed with reuengfull indignation, the *Thebans*, who raging at this heauie mischance did with great slaughter compell their disordered enemies to leaue the field, though long they followed not the chafe, being wearied more with the sadnesse of this disaster, than with all the trauaile of the day. *Epaminondas* being brought into his Tent, was told by the Physicians, That when the head of the Dart should be drawne out of his body, he must needs dye. Hearing this, he called for his shield, which to haue lost, was held a great dishonour: It was brought vnto him. He bad them tell him which part had the victory; and were was made, that the *Bœotians* had won the field. Then said he, it is faire time for me to dye, and withall sent for *Solidas*, and *Diaphanes*, two principall men of Warre, that were both slaine; which being told him, Hee aduised the *Thebans* to make Peace, whilst with aduantage they might, for that they had none left that was able to discharge the office of a Generall. Herewithall he willed, that the head of the weapon should be drawne out of his body; comforting his friends that lamented his death, and want of issue, by telling them, that the victories of *Leuctra* and *Mantinea* were two faire Daughters, in whom his memory should liue.

So died *Epaminondas*, the worthiest man that euer was bred in that Nation of *Greece*, and hardly to be matched in any Age or Countrey: for he equalled all others in the several vertues, which in each of them were singular. His Iustice, and Sincerity, his Temperance, Wisdom, and high Magnanimity, were no way inferior to his Militarie vertue; in euery part whereof he so excelled, that he could not properly be called a Warrior, a Valiant, a Politique, a Bountifull, or an Industrious, and a Proud Captain. Neither was his priuate Conuersation vnanswerable to those high parts, which gaue him praise abroad. For he was Graue, and yet very Affable and Curteous, resolute in publique businesse, but in his owne particular case, and of much mildenesse: a lover of his People, bearing with mens infirmities, witty and pleasant in speech, farre from insolence, Master of his owne affections, and furnished with all qualities, that might win and keepe loue. To these Graces were added great abilitie of bodie, much Eloquence, & very deepe knowledge in all parts of Philofophy and Learning, wherewith his minde being enlightened not in the sweetnesse of Contemplation, but brake forth into such effects as gaue vnto *Thebes*, which had euer more been an vnderling, a dreadfull reputation among all people, adioyning and the highest command in *Greece*.

§. VIII.

Of the peace concluded in Greece after the battaile of Mantinea. The voyage of Agesilaus into Egypt. His death, and qualities; with an examination of the comparison made betwene him and Pompey the Roman.

THis battaile of *Mantinea* was the greatest that had euer beene fought in that Countre betwene the Naturals; and the last. For at *Marathon*, and *Plataea*, the populous Armies of the barbarous Nations gaue rather a great fame, than a hard triall to the *Grecian* valour; neither were the practice of Armes and Art Militarie, so perfect in the beginnings of the *Peloponnesian* Warre, as long continuance and daily exercise had now made them. The times following produced no actions of worth of moment, those excepted which were vnderaken against forraine enemies, prouing for the most part vnfortunate. But in this last fight all *Greece* was interessed, which neuer had more able Souldiers, and braue Commanders, nor euer contended for victory with greater care of the successe, or more obstinate resolution. All which notwithstanding the issue being such as hath beene related, it was found best for euery particular Estate, that a generall peace should be established, euery one retaining what he presently had, and none being forced to depend vpon another. The *Messenians* were by name comprised in this new league, which caused the *Lacedaemonians* not to enter into it. Their standing on 20 hindred not the rest from proceeding to conclusion; considering that *Sparta* was now too weake to offend her Neighbours, and therefore might well be allowed to shew their anger in ceremonies, which had no power to declare it selfe in execution. This peace, as it gaue some breath and refreshing to all the Countrey, so to the Cities of *Athens* and *Sparta* it afforded leisure to seeke after wealth by forraine employment in *Egypt*, whither *Agesilaus* was sent with some small forces to assist, or indeede, as a Mercenarie, to serue vnder *Tachos* King of *Egypt* in his warre vpon *Syria*. *Chabrias* the *Athenian*, who had before commanded vnder *Acoris* King of *Egypt*, went now as a voluntary, with such forces as he could raise, by entreatie, and offer of good pay, to the same seruice. These *Egyptian* Kings descended from *Amyrtæus* of *Sais*, who rebelled against *Darius* 30 *Nothus*, hauing retained the Countrey, notwithstanding all intestine dissensions, and forraine inuasions, during three Generations of their owne race, were so well acquainted with the valour of the *Greekes*, that by their helpe (easily procured with gold) they conceiued great hope, not onely to assure themselves, but to become Lords of the Provinces adioyning, which were held by the *Persian*. What the issue of this great enterprise might haue beene, had it not fallen by Domestically rebellion, it is vncertaine. But very likely it is, that the rebellion it selfe had soone come to nothing, if *Agesilaus* had not proued a false Traitor, ioyning with *Neitanebus*, who rose against his Prince, and helping the Rebelle with that Armie which the money of *Tachos* had waged. This fallhood *Agesilaus* excused, as tending to the good of his owne Countrey; though it seeme rather, that 40 he grudged because the King tooke vpon himselfe the Conduct of the Armie, vning his seruice onely as Lieutenant, who had made full accompt of being appointed the General. How soeuer it came to passe, *Tachos* being shamefully betraied by them, in whom he had reposed his chiefe confidence, fled vnto the *Persian*, who vpon his submission gaue him gentle entertainment; and *Neitanebus* (who seemes to haue beene the Nephew of *Tachos*) reigned in his stead. At the same time the Citizens of *Mendes* had ser 50 vpon another King, to whom all, or most of the *Egyptians* yeelded their obedience. But *Agesilaus* fighting with him in places of aduantage, preuailed so farre, that he left *Neitanebus* in quiet possession of the Kingdom; who in recompence of his treason to the former King *Tachos*, and good seruice done to himselfe, rewarded him with two hundred and thirtie Talents of silver, with which bootie sailed homewards; he died by the way. He was a Prince very temperate, and valiant, and a good Leader in Warre, free from couetousnesse, and not reproached with any blemish of lust; which praises are the lesse admirable in him, for that the discipline of *Sparta* was such as did endue euery one of the Citizens (not carried away by the violent streame of an ill nature) with all, or the chiefe, of these good qualities. He was neuertheless very arrogant, perverse, vniust and vaine-glorious, measuring all things by his owne will, and obstinately prosecuting those courtes, whose ends were beyond hope. The expedition of *Xenophon* had filled him

him with an opinion, that by his hand the Empire of *Persia* should be ouerthrowne, with which conceit being transported, and finding his proceedings interrupted by the *Thebans* and their Allies, he did euer after beare such hatred vnto *Thebes*, as compelled that Estate by mere necessity to grow war-like, and able, to the vtter dishonour of *Sparta*, and the irreparable losse of all her former greatnesse. The commendations given to him by *Xenophon* his good friend, haue caused *Plutarch* to lay his name in the ballance against *Pompey* the Great; whose actions (the solemne grauity of carriage excepted) are very disproportionable. Yet we may truly say, That as *Pompey* made great varres vnder sundry Climates, and in all the Provinces of the *Roman* Empire, exceeding in the multitude of imployments all that were before him; so *Agesilaus* had at one time or other, some quarrell with euery Towne in *Greece*, had made a Warre in *Asia*, and medled in the businesse of the *Egyptians*, in which variety he went beyond all his Predecessours: yet not winning any Countreies, as *Pompey* did many, but obtaining large wages, which *Pompey* neuer took. Herein also they are very like: Each of them was the last great Captaine which his Nation brought forth in time of liberty, and each of them ruined the liberty of his Countrey by his owne Lordly wilfulness. We may therefore well say, *Similia magis omnia quam paria*; The resemblance was neerer then the equality. Indeed the freedome of *Rome* was lost with *Pompey*, falling into the hands of *Caesar*, whom he had enforced to take Armes; yet the *Roman* Empire stood, the forme of Government onely being changed: But the liberty of *Greece*, or of *Sparta* it selfe, was not forsaied vnto the *Thebans*, whom *Agesilaus* had compelled to enter into a victorious warre; yet the

Signiorie, and ancient renowne of *Sparta* was presently lost; and the freedome of all *Greece*

being wounded in this *Theban* warre, and after much blood lost, ill healed by the peace ensuing, did very soone, vpon the death of *Agesilaus*, giue vp the Ghost, and the Lordship of the whole Countrey was seized by *Philip* King of *Macedon*, whose actions are now on foot, and more to be regarded than the Contemporarie passages of things, in any other Nation.

††

Finis Libri Tertii.

T t t

THE



THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORIE OF THE VVORLD:

INTREATING OF THE TIMES FROM THE
reigne of PHILIP of MACEDON, to the
establisling of that Kingdome; in the race of
ANTIGONVS.

THE FOVRTH BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Of Philip the Father of Alexander the Great,
King of Macedon.

§. I.

What Kings reigned in Macedon before Philip.



He Greekes, of whom we haue already made large discourse, not as yet wearied with intestine Warre, nor made wise by their vaine contention for Superiority, doe still as in former times, continue the inuasion and vastation of each other.

Against Xerxes, the greatest Monarch of that part of the World, their defended their libertie, with as happy success as cuer Nation had, and with no lesse honour, than hath cuer been acquired by deeds of Armes. And hauing had a tryall and experience, more then fortunate, against those Nations, they so little regarded what might come fro them, who had

so often forfeited the reputation of their forces, as whatsoever could be spared from their owne distraction at home, they transported ouer the Hellespont, as sufficient, to entertaine and busie them withall.

But, as it commonly falleth out with euery man of mark in the world, that they vnderfall, and perish, by the hands and harmes which they least feare; so fared it at this time with the Greekes. For of Philip of Macedon (of whom we are now to speake) they had so little regard, as they grew euen then more violent in deuouring each other, when the fast-growing greatnesse of such a Neighbour-King, should, in regard of their owne safeties, haue serued them for a strong argument of vniou and accord. But the glory of their Persian victories, wherewith they were pampered and made proud, taught them to neglect all Nations but themselves, and the rather to value at little the power and purposes of the Macedonians, because those Kings and States, which late neerer them than they did, had in the time of Amyntas, the Father of Philip, so much weakened them, and wonne vpon them, that they were not (as the Grecians perswaded themselves) in any one age, likely to

reouer

reouer their owne, much lesse to worke any wonders against their borderers. And, indeed, it was not in their Philosophie to consider, That all great alterations are storme-like, suddaine, and violent; and that it is then ouer-late to repaire the decayed and broken banks, when great Riueres are once swollen, fast-running, and enraged. No, the Greekes did rather employ themselves, in breaking downe those defences, which stood betweene them and this inundation, than seeke to rampare and re-enforce their owne fields, which by the little of reason they might haue found to haue liuen vnder it. It was therefore well concluded by Orosius: *Græci Civitates imperare singula cupiunt, imperium omnes perdidit*; The Cities of Greece lost their command, by striving each of them to command all.

The Kingdome of *Macedon*, so called of *Macedon*, the sonne of *Osira*, or, as other Authors affirme, of *Iupiter* and *Esbra*, is the next Region towards the North which bordereth Greece; It hath to the East, the *Egean Sea*; it is bounded on the North and North-west by the *Thracians* and *Illyrians*; and on the South and South-west, by the *Thracians* and *Illyrians*.

Their Kings were of the family of *Temenus*, of the race of *Hercules*, and by nation *Argians*; who are listed as followeth. About some fixe yeares after the translation of the *Assyrian* Empire, *Arbaces* then gouerning *Media*; *Caranus* of *Argos*, commanded by an Oracle, to leade a Colonie into *Macedon*, departed thence with many people, and as he was marching through that Country, the weather being raynye and tempestuous, he espied a great heard of Goats, which fled the storme as fast as they could, hasting them to their knowne place of couert. Whereupon *Caranus*, calling to minde, that he had also by another Oracle bene directed; to follow the first troupe of beasts, that should euer lead him, or sile before him; He pursued these Goats to the Gates of *Edessa*, and being vndiscovered by the Inhabitants, by reason of the darkenesse of the aire, he entred their Citie without resistance, and possessed it. Soone after this, by the ouerthrow of *Cisseus*, *Caranus* became Lord of the rest of *Macedon*; and held it eight and twentie yeeres.

Cisseus succeeded *Caranus*; and reigned twelue yeeres. *Tyrinus* followed *Cisseus*, and ruled eight and twentie yeeres. *Perdiccas* the first, the sonne of *Tyrinus*, gouerned one and fiftie yeeres: a Prince, for his great valour, and many other vertues, much renowned. *Solinus*, *Plinie*, *Iustine*, *Eusebius*, *Theophilus*, *Antiochenus*, and others affirme, that he appoynted a place of buriall for himselfe, and for all the Kings of *Macedon* his Successours, at *Agæ*: assuring them, that the Kingdome should so long continue in his line and race, as they continued to lay vpon their bodies in that Sepulchre; wherein it is said, that because *Alexander* the great failed, therefore the posteritie of the *Temenide* failed in him: a thing rather deified after the effect, as I conceiue, then fore-told by *Perdiccas*.

Argæus succeeded vnto *Perdiccas*, and ruled eight and twentie yeeres. *Philip* the first, his successeur, reigned eight and twentie yeeres.

Europus followed *Philip*, and gouerned six and twentie yeeres: in whose infancie the *Illyrians* invaded *Macedon*, and hauing obtained a great victorie, they pursued the same to the great danger of that State. Whereupon the *Macedonians*, gathering new forces, and resolving either to reouer their former losse, or to lose at once both their Kingdome and their King, they carried him with them in his Cradle into the field, and returned victorious; for they were either confident that their nation could not be beaten (their King being present); or rather they perswaded themselves that there was no man so void of honour and compassion, as to abandon their naturall Lord, being an infant, and no way (but by the hands of his seruants) able to defend himselfe from destruction. The like is reported by *Aimorius* of *Clotarius* the sonne of *Fredogunda*.

Alcetas succeeded *Europus*, and ruled nine and twentie yeeres.

Amyntas the first succeeded *Alcetas*, and reigned fiftie yeeres; He liued at such time as *Darius* *Hystaspes*, after his vnprosperous returne out of *Scythia*, sent *Megabazus* with an Armie into *Europe*, who in *Xerxes* name required *Amyntas* to acknowledge him for his Supreme Lord, by yeelding vnto him Earth and Water. But his Embassadors, as you haue heard before, were, for their insolent behaviour towards the *Macedonian* Ladies, laine by the direction of *Alexander*, who was the sonne of *Amyntas*, and his Successour.

Alexander, surnamed the Rich, the sonne of *Amyntas*, gouerned *Macedon* three and fortie

fortie yeeres. He did not onely appease the wrath of *Megabazus*, for the slaughter of the *Persian* Embassadors, by giuing *Gygæa* his Sister, to *Bubares* of the bloud of *Perjia*, but by that match hee grew to great in *Xerxes* grace, as hee obtained all that Region betwene the Mountaines of *Olympus* and *Hemus*, to be vnto the Kingdome of *Macedon*. Yet could not these benefites buy his affection from the *Greekes*. For *Xerxes* being returned into *Asia*, and *Mardonius* made Generall of the *Persian* Armie, *Alexander* acquainted the *Greekes* with all his intents and purposes against them. He had three sonnes, *Perdiccas*, *Alcetas*, and *Philip*.

Perdiccas the second, the sonne of *Alexander*, lived in the time of the *Peloponnesian* Warre, and reigned in all eight and twentie yeeres. The Warres which he made were not much remarkable: the storie of them is found here and there by pieces in *Thucydides* his first six bookes. He left behind him two sonnes, *Perdiccas*, who was very young, and *Archelaus*, who was base borne.

Perdiccas the third, being deliuered to the custody and care of *Archelaus*, was at seven yeeres of age cast into a Well and drowned by his false Guardian who excusing this fact to *Cleopatra* the mother of the young King, said, That the child in following a Goose hastily, fell therein by misadventure. But *Archelaus* stayed not here: for hauing thus dispatched his brother, he slew both his Vncle *Alcetas* the sonne of *Alexander* the Rich, and *Alexander* the sonne of this *Alcetas*, his Cousen Germaine, &c. enjoyed the Kingdome of *Macedon* himselfe foure and twentie yeeres.

This *Archelaus*, of whom both *Plato* and *Aristotle* make mention, though he made himselfe King by wicked murder, yet he performed many things greatly to the profit of his Nation. It is said, That he fought by all meanes to draw *Socrates* vnto him, and that he greatly loued and honored *Eurypides* the Tragedian. He had two sons, *Archelaus* and *Orestes*.

Archelaus the second succeeded his Father, and hauing reigned seven yeeres, hee was slaine in hunting, either by chance, or of purpose by *Craesus*.

Orestes his younger sonne was committed to the education of *Æropus*, of the royall bloud of *Macedon*, and had the same measure which *Archelaus* had measured to his Pupill, for *Æropus* murdered him and vsurped the Kingdome, which hee held some five yeeres: the same who denied passage to *Agæfilaus* King of *Sparta*, who desired after his returne from the *Asian* expedition, to passe by the way of *Macedon* into *Greece*.

This Vsurper left three sonnes, *Pausanias*, *Argæus*, and *Alexander*. *Pausanias* succeeded his father *Æropus*, and hauing reigned one yeere, hee was driven out by *Amyntas* the son of *Philip*, the son of the first *Perdiccas*, the son of *Alexander* the Rich, which *Philip* was then preferred, when *Archelaus* the Bastard slew his brother *Perdiccas*, his Vncle *Alcetas*, and his sonne *Alexander*. This *Amyntas* reigned (though very vnquietly) foure and twentie yeeres; for he was not only infested by *Pausanias*, assisted by the *Thracians*, and by his brother *Argæus*; encouraged by the *Illyrians*; and by the said *Argæus* for two yeeres dispossest of *Macedon*: but on the other side, the *Olynthians*, his Neighbors neare the *Ægean* Sea, made themselves for a while Masters of *Pella*, the chiefe Citie of *Macedon*.

Amyntas the second had by his Wife *Eurydice* the *Illyrian*, three Sonnes; *Alexander* the second, *Perdiccas* the third, and *Philip* the second, Father of *Alexander* the Great; and one Daughter called *Euryone* or *Exione*: Hee had also by his second Wife *Gygæa*, three Sonnes; *Archelaus*, *Argæus*, and *Menelaus*, afterward slaine by their brother *Philip*: He had more by a Concubine, *Ptolomie*, turnamed *Alorites*, of the Citie *Alorus*, wherein he was borne.

Alexander the second reigned not much about one yeere, in which time he was inuaded by *Pausanias*, the sonne of *Æropus*, but defended by *Iphicrates* the *Athenian*, while hee was at that time about *Amphipolis*. He was also constrained (for the payment of a great summe of money) to leaue his yongest brother *Philip* in Hostage with the *Illyrians*, who had subiected his father *Amyntas* to the payment of tribute. After this, *Alexander*, being inuited by the *Aleuada* against *Alexander* the Tyrant of *Pheres* in *Thessaly*, hauing redeemed his brother *Philip*; to draw the *Thebans* to his assistance, entered into confederacie with *Pelopidas*, being at that time in the same Countrey, with whom hee also left *Philip* with diuers other principall persons for the gage of his promises to *Pelopidas*. But *Eurydice* his mother falling in loue with her Sonne-in-law, who had married her

Daughter

Daughter *Euryone* or *Exione*, practized the death of *Alexander* her sonne, with a purpose to conferre the Kingdome on her Paramour, which *Ptolomy Alorites* did put in execution: by meanes whereof hee held *Macedon* for three yeeres; but was soone after slaine by *Perdiccas* the brother of *Alexander*. *Diodore* hath it otherwise of *Philip* being made pledge; and sayth, That *Amyntas* his Father deliuered him for hostage to the *Illyrians*, by whom he was conueyed to *Thebes*, there to be kept: others report that *Philip* (while his father was yet liuing) was first ingaged to the *Thebans*, and deliuered for hostage a second time by *Alexander* his brother.

Perdiccas the third, after hee had slaine *Alorites* his base brother, gouerned *Macedon* five yeeres, and was then slaine in a battaile against the *Illyrians*, according to *Diodorus*; but *Isidore* affirmeth, that he perished by the practice of *Eurydice* his mother, as *Alexander* did.

§. II.

The beginning of Philips reigne, and how he deliuered Macedon from the troubles wherein he found it entangled.

Philip the second, the yongest sonne of *Amyntas* by *Eurydice*, hauing beene instructed in all knowledge requisite vnto the gouernment of a Kingdome, in that excellent education which he had vnder *Epaminondas*, making an escape from *Thebes*, returned into *Macedon*, in the first yeere of the hundred and fifti Olympiad, which was after the building of *Rome* three hundred foure and thirteene yeeres: and finding the many enemies and dangers wherewith the Kingdome was enuironed, hee took on him, not as King (for *Perdiccas* left a sonne, though but an infant) but as the Protector of his Nephew, and Commander of the men of Warre. Yet his fruitfull ambition soone ouer-grew his modestie, and hee was easily perswaded by the people to accept both the Title of King, and withall, the absolute Rule of the Kingdome. And to say the truth, The necessitie of the State of *Macedon* at that time required a King both prudent and active. For, besides the incursions of the *Illyrians* and *Pannonians*, the King of *Thrace* did set vp in opposition *Pausanias*, the *Athenians*, *Argæus*, sonnes of the late Vsurper *Æropus*; each of these labouring to place in *Macedon* a King of their owne Election. These heauie burdens when *Philip* could not well beare, hee bought off the weightiest by money, and by faire promises vnload himselfe of so many of the rest, as hee ranne vnder the remainder happily enough. For, notwithstanding that his brother *Perdiccas* had his death accompanied with foure thousand *Macedonians*, beside these that were wounded and taken prisoners; and that the *Pannonians* were destroying all before them in *Macedon*; and that the *Athenians* with a flecte by Sea, and three thousand Souldiers by Land vnder *Mamias*, did beate vpon him on all sides and quarters of his Countrey: Yet after he had practised the men of warre of *Pannonia*; and corrupted them with gifts, and had also bought the King of *Thrace* from *Pausanias*, hee forthwith made head against the *Athenians*, his stiffest enemies; and for the first, he preuented their recovery of *Amphipolis*, a Citie on the frontier of *Macedon*: and did then pursue *Argæus* the sonne of *Æropus*, set against him by the *Athenians*, and followed him so hard at the heeles, in his retreat from *Æges*, that hee forced him to abide the battaile: which *Argæus* lost, hauing the greatest part of his Army slaine in the place. Those of the *Athenians*, and others which remayned vnbroken, tooke the aduantage of a strong peece of ground at hand, which though they could not long defend, yet auoyding thereby the present furie of the Souldiers, they obtained of the vanquishers life and libertie to returne into *Attica*. Whereupon a peace was concluded betwene him and the *Athenians*: for that present, and for this clemencie hee was greatly renowned and honoured by all the *Greekes*.

§. III.

The good succeffe which Philip had in many enterprises.

Now had *Philip* leisure to looke Northward, and to attend the *Illyrians* and *Pannonians*, his irreconcilable enemies and borderers: both which he inuaded with

so prosperous successe, as he slew *Bardilius*, King of the *Illyrians*, with seven thousand of his Nation, and thereby recovered all those places which the *Illyrians* held in *Macedon*: and withall, vpon the death of the King of *Pannonia*, he pierst that Countrey, and after a maine victory obtained, he enforced them to pay him tribute. This was no sooner done, than (without staying to take longer breath) he hastned speedily towards *Larissa*, vpon the Riuer *Peneus* in *Thessalie*, of which Towne he soone made himselfe master; and thereby he got good footing in that Countrey, whereof he made vse in time following. Now although he resolved either to subdue the *Thessalians*, or to make them his owne against all others, because the horse-men of that Countrey were the best, and most feared in that part of *Europe*; yet hee thought it most for his safety to close vp the entrances out of *Thrace*, least while he inuaded *Thessalie* and *Greece* towards the South, those ample Nations, lying towards the North, should either withdraw him, or ouer-runne *Macedon*, as in former times. He therefore attempted *Amphipolis*, seated on the famous Riuer of *Sirimon*, which parcell *Thrace* from *Macedon*, and wonne it. He also recovered *Pydna*; and (to the North of *Amphipolis*) the City of *Crenides* (sometime *Darus*) and called it after his name *Philippi*: to the people whereof *Saint Paul* afterward directed one of his *Epistles*. This place, wherein *Philippi* stood, is very rich in mines of gold, out of which, greatly to the aduancement of *Philips* affaires, he drew yeerely a thousand talents, which make fixe hundred thousand *French* Crownes.

And that he might with the more ease disburden the *Thracian* shores of the *Athenian* Garrisons, to which he had giuen a great blow by the taking in of *Amphipolis*, he entred into league with his Fathers malicious enemies the *Olynthians*; whom the better to listen vnto him, he gaue them the Citie of *Pydna* with the Territory, meaning nothing lesse than that they should enioy it, or their owne Estate, many yeeres.

Now that he might by degrees winne ground vpon the *Greekes*, he tooke the faire occasion to deliuer the City of *Pheres* in *Thessalie*, from the tyrants *Lycophron* and *Tisiphonus*: who, after they had conspired with *Thebe* the wife of *Alexander*, who vsurped vpon the liberty of that State, they themselves (*Alexander* being murdered) held it also by the same strong hand and oppression that *Alexander* did, till by the assistance of *Philip* they were beaten out, and *Pheres* restored to her former liberty. Which act of *Philip* did for-euer after fasten the *Thessalians* vnto him, and, to his exceeding great aduantage, binde them to his seruice.

§. IIII.

Of the Phocian Warre which first drew Philip into Greece.

ABout this time, to wit, in the second yeere of the hundred and sixth *Olympiad*, eight yeeres after the battaile of *Mantineia*, and about the eighth yeere of *Alexander Ochus*, beganne that Warre, called *Sacred*. Now, as all occasions concur towards the execution of eternall prouidence, and of euery great alteration in the World there is some preceding preparation, though not at the first easily discerned; so did this reuengefull hatred by the *Thebans*, *Thessalians*, and *Locrians*, conceived against the *Phocians*, not onely teach *Philip* how he might with halfe a hand wreat the sword out of their fingers; but the *Greekes* themselves, beating downe their owne defenses, to giue him an easie passage; and beating themselves, to giue him victory without perill, left nothing vnperformed towards their owne slavery, sauing the title and imposition. Of this Warre the *Thebans* (made ouer-proude by their victory at *Leuctra*) were the inflamers. For at the Councell of the *Amphyctiones*, or of the generall Estates of *Greece*, in which, at that time, they swayd most, they caused both the *Lacedaemonians* and *Phocians* to be condemned in greater summes of money than they could well beare; the one for surprizing the Castle of *Cadmea* in the time of peace, the other for ploughing vp a peece of ground belonging to the Temple of *Delphos*. The *Thebians* being resolved not to obey this Edict, were secretly secon and encouraged by the *Lacedaemonians*; and for refusal were exposed as *Sacrilegiers*, and accursed to all their Neighbour-Nations, for whom it was then lawfull to inuade, and destroy them at their pleasures.

The *Phocians* perswaded therunto by *Philomelus*, a Capitaine of their owne, cast the same dice of hazzard that *Cesar* after many Ages following did; but had not the same chance.

chance. Yet they dealt well enough with all the enemies of their owne Nation. And the better to beare out an vngracious quartrell, of which there was left no hope of composition, they resolved to sacke the Temple it selfe. For seeing that for the ploughing of a peece of *Apollon's* ground, they had so much offended their Neighbour-God, and their Neighbour-Nations, as worse could not befall them than already was intended; they resolved to take the gold with the ground, and either to perish for all, or to preuaile against all that had commission to call them to account. The treasure which they tooke out of the Temple in the beginning of the Warre, wastenne thousand talents, which in those dayes serued them to wage a great many men; and such was their successe in the beginning of the warre, as they wonne three great battailes against the *Thebans*, *Thessalians*, and *Locrians*; but being beaten in the fourth, their Leader *Philomelus* cast himselfe head-long ouer the Rockes.

In the meane while the Cities of *Cheroneia*, both to defend themselves against their bad neighbour *Philip*, who encroched vpon them, and to draw others into their quartrell, rendered themselves to the *Athenians*. *Philip* prepareth to get them into his hands, and at the siege of *Metone* lost one of his eyes. It is said, That hee that thor him, did purposely direct his arrow towards him, and that it was written on the shaft thereof: After *Philippus*, After to *Philip*; for so hee was called that gaue him the wound. This Citie hee euened with the foile.

The Tyrant *Lycophron* before mentioned, while *Philip* was busied on the border of *Thrace*, and the *Thessalians* engaged in the holy warre; entred *Thessalie* with new forces, being assisted by *Onomarchus*, Commander of the *Phocian* Armie, in place of *Philomelus*. For hereby the *Phocians* hoped so to entertaine the *Thessalians* at home, as they should not find leisure to inuade them. Hereupon was *Philip* the second time called into *Thessalie*; but both the *Thessalians*, and *Macedonians*, (*Philip* being present) were verily ouerthrowne by *Onomarchus*; and great numbers of both Nations lost. From *Thessalie*, *Onomarchus* drew speedily towards *Boeotia*, and with the same victorious Armie brake the forces of the *Boeotians*, and tooke from them their Citie of *Coronea*. But *Philip* impatient of his late misadventure, after hee had re-enforced his Armie, returned with all speed into *Thessalie*, there to find againe the honour which hee lately lost: and was the second time encountered by *Onomarchus*, who brought into the field twentie thousand foot, and five hundred horse. All this great preparation sufficed not; for *Onomarchus* was by *Philip* surmounted, both in numbers and in good fortune, his Armie ouerturned, fixe thousand slaine, and three thousand taken: of which number himselfe being one, was among others hanged by *Philip*. Those that fled, were in part receiued by the *Athenian* Gallies, which sailed along the coast, commanded by *Chares*; but the greater number of those that tooke the Sea, were therein deuoured ere they recovered them. *Lycophron* was now againe driuen out of *Thessalie*, and *Pheres* made free as before.

§. V.

Of the Olynthian Warre. The ambitious praetises of Philip.

Rom hence *Philip* resolved to inuade *Phocia* it selfe, but the *Athenians* did not fauour his entrance into those parts, and therefore with the helpe of the *Lacedaemonians*, they retrencht his passage at the Straits of *Thermopylae*. Whereupon he returned into *Macedon*, and after the taking of *Micyberne*, *Torone*, and other Townes, he quartrelled with the *Olynthians*, whom not long before he had wooed to his alliance, and bought his peace of them. For the *Olynthians* were very strong, and had euermore both braued and bearen the *Macedonians*. It is said, that *Philip* having put to death *Archelaus* his halfe brother (for *Amyntas* had three sonnes by *Eurydice* the Mother of *Philip*, and three other sonnes by *Gygae*: but *Philip's* elder brothers by the same Mother being dead, he determined to rid himselfe also of the rest) the two younger held themselves within *Olynthus*; and that the receiuing of them by the *Olynthians* was the cause of the war, *Iustine* affirmeth. But iust quartrels are balanced by iust Princes, for to this King all things were lawfull that might serue his turne; all his affections, & passions, how diuers better in other men, were in his ambition swallowed vp, and thereinto converted.

For

For he neither forbore the murder of his owne brothers, the breach of faith, the buying of other mens fidelitie; he esteemed no place strong where his Asse laden with gold might enter: Nor any Citie or State unconquerable, where a few of the greatest, to be made greater, could lose the sence of other mens sorrow and subiection. And because he thought it vaine to practise the winning of *Olympus*, till he had inclosed all the power they had within their owne walls, he entred their Territories, and by the aduantage of a well-compounded and trained Armie, he gaue them two overthrowes ere he came downe before the Citie it selfe: which done, he bought *Euthicrates* and *Lasthenes* from their people, and from the seruice of their Countie and Common-weale, by whose treason he entred the Towne, slew his brothers therein, sackt it, and sold the inhabitants for slaues by the drum. By the spoile of this place he greatly enriched himselfe, and had treasure sufficient to buy in other Cities withall, which he daily did. For so was he aduised by the Oracle in the beginning of his vndertaking, *That he should make his assault with silver speares*: Whereupon *Horace* well and truly said,

*Hor. carm.
Od. 16.*

Diffidit Vrbium
Portas vir Macedo, & subruit amulos
Reges muneribus.

By gifts the Macedon claue gates asunder,
And Kings enuying his estate brought vnder.

And it is true that he wonne more by corruption and fraude, then he did by force. For as he had in all the principall Cities of Greece his secret workers (which way of Conquest was well followed by *Philip* the second of *Spain*:) So when in the contention betwene the Competitors, for the kiagdome of *Thrace*, he was chosen the Arbitrator, became not to the Counsell accompanied with Pietie and Iustice, but with a powerfull Armie, and hauing beaten and slaine both Kings, gaue sentence for himselfe, and made the Kingdome his owne.

§. V I.

How Philip ended the Phocian Warre.

He warre still continued betwene the *Phocians*, and the Associates of the holy warre, the *Boeotians*, finding themselves vnable to subsist without some present aide, sent vnto *Philip* for succour, who willingly yeelded to their necessities, and sent them such a proportion of men, as were neither sufficient to master their enemies, nor to assure themselves; but yet to inable them to continue the warre, and to waste the strength of Greece. They also sent to *Artaxerxes Ochus* for supply of treasure, who lent them thirtie talents, which makes a hundred & fourescore thousand Crownes: but when with these supplies they had still the worst against the *Phocians*, who held from them three of the strongest Cities within *Boeotia* it selfe, they then besought *Philip* of *Macedon* that he would assist them in person, to whom they would giue an entrance into their Territory, and in all things obey his Commandements in Warre.

Now had *Philip* what he longed for; for he knew himselfe in state to giue the law to both, and so quitting all his other purposes towards the North, he marched with a speedie pace towards *Boeotia*, where being arrived, *Phalaechus* who commanded the *Phocian* Armie, fearing to flock with this victorious King, made his owne peace, and withdrew himselfe with a Regiment of eight thousand Souldiers into *Peloponnesus*, leaving the *Phocians* to the mercy of the Conquerour; and for conclusion he had the glorie of that warre called *Sacred*, which the *Gracians* with so many mutuall slaughters had continued for ten yeeres; and besides the glorie, he posselt himselfe of *Orchomene*, *Coronea*, and *Corsia*, in the Countie of the *Boeotians*, who inuited him to be victorious ouer themselves. He brought the *Phocians* into seruitude, & wasted their Cities, and gaue them but their Villages to inhabit, reseruing vnto himselfe the yerely tribute of threescore talents, which make fixe and thirtie thousand *French* Crownes. He also hereby (besides the fame of pietie for seruice of the Gods) obtained the same double voice in the Councell of the *Amphyctims*,

which the *Phocians* had, with the superintendencie of the *Pythian* games, forsake by the *Corinthians*, by being partakers in the *Phocian* sacriledge.

§. V II.

How Philip with ill successe attempted vpon Perinthus, Byzantium, and the Scythians.

Philip, after his triumphant returne into *Macedon*, by the Lieutenant of his *Archie* *Parmenio*, slaughtred many thousands of the *Thracians* and *Dardanians*; and brought the *Thracians* to pay him the tenth part of all their reuenues. But his next enterprise against the *Perinthians* staid his fury. *Perinthus* was a City of *Thrace*, seated vpon *Propontis*, in the mid-way betwene *Sestos* and *Byzantium*, a place of great strength, and a people resolute to defend their libertie against *Philip*, where the *Athenians* encouraged and assisted them. *Philip* came downe before it with a puissant Armie, made many faire breaches, gaue many furious assaults, built many ouer topping and commanding Towers about it. But he was repell'd with equall violence. For whereas *Philip* thought by his continuall assaults to wearie them, and waste both their men and munition, they were supplied, not only from the *Persian* with men and money, and succoured from *Byzantium* which stood vpon the same Sea-coast, but they were relieved from *Athens*, *Chio*, and *Rhodes*, by the conduction of *Phocion*, with whatsoever was wanting to their necessitie. But because those of *Byzantium*, by reason of their neighbourhood, and easie passage by water, gaue them often and ready helpe; *Philip* removed the one halfe of his Armie and besieged it, leaving fiftene thousand foot before *Perinthus*, to force it if they could; But to be short, he failed in both attempts, (as all Princes commonly doe that vnderake diuers enterprises at one time) and returned into *Macedon* with no lesse dishonour than losse: whereupon he made an Overture of peace with the *Athenians*, and greatly desired it, to which though *Phocion* perswaded them in all he could, and that by the occasion offered they might greatly aduantage their conditions; Yet *Demosthenes* with his eloquence prevailed in the refusal. In the meane while, *Philip* hauing digested his late affront, and supplied his expence, by the taking of an hundred and threescore and ten Merchants ships, he gathered new forces, and being accompanied with his sonne *Alexander*, led them into *Scythia*; but he was also vnprosperous in this enterprise: For the *Triballi*, a people of *Mosia* set on him in his returne; wounded him, and tooke from him the greatest part of the spoiles, which he had gathered.

§. V III.

How Philip overthrowing the Greekes in the battaile of Charonea, was chosen Capitaine-Generall of Greece. The death of Philip.

Among these Northren Nations (part of which he suppressed, and part quiered) he spent some eight yeeres; and in the ninth yeere, after the end of the holy warre, he was by his great aduantage inuited againe by the *Gracians* to their assistance. For the Citizens of *Amphissa* hauing disobeyed the decree of the *Amphyctims*, in which *Philip* had a double voice, and who by reason that the *Thebans* and *Laecians* gaue countenance and aide to the *Amphissenians*, the rest were not of themselves able to constrain them, they besought *Philip* to come in person to their assistance. Now you must thinke that *Philip* was not long in resolving vpon this enterprise; he needed no drawing on, whom nothing could keepe backe; nor other dissuasion than a mastering power could hold thence. He therefore commanded his Army forthwith to march; the same being compounded of thirty thousand foot, and two thousand horse; and with as much expedition as could be made, he entred *Phocis*, wanne *Plataea*, and brought into subiection all that Region.

Thereft, and especially the *Athenians*, although they had good cause to feare that a great part of this storme would fall on themselves, yet were they dissuaded by *Demosthenes* from accepting such reasonable conditions of peace as *Philip* offered, and rather made choice (hauing drawne the *Thebans* to ioyne with them) to leaue the enioying of their estates

citates and their freedome to the chance of one battaile, than to hold it either by composition, or by the grace of *Philip*. But this their Oratours eloquence cost them dear. It is true that he could farre more easily minde them of the vertue of their Ancestors, than makethem such as they were. He might repeat vnto them (with words moouing passion) the wonders they wrought at *Marathon*, but he could not transforme the *Macedonians* into *Perians*, nor draw from the dead, a *Miltiades*, an *Aristides*, a *Themistocles*, or a *Cimon*, or any of those famous Commanders, whose great vertues they had payed with the greatest ingratitude that euer Nation did. A *Phocion* they had, but by the strength of a contrary faction he was at this time in disgrace, and not employed so much as when the Armies of *Philip* and the Confederates encountered, although some thousand of the *Athenians* did abide the killing, and the like number well-near of the *Thebans* died with them; yet the want of the worthie men on that side to holde vp the rest, and to draw them on, and the many choise Captains of the *Macedonians*, encouraged by a King of a growing fortune, as it gaue to *Philip* so shining a victorie that *Alexander* by the light thereof found his way (in despite of all the Nations interiection) into *Persia*, *India*, and *Aegypt*, so it cut to the ground, and gaue end and date to all the *Gracians* glory: Yea their libertie (saith *Curcius*) with their large Dominion wonne with so many difficulties, continued for so many Ages, and so often defended against the greatest Kings, was now lost in a moment, and for euer lost.

Now this aduised King (neuer passionate to his disadvantage) to the ende hee might obtaine the Soueraignie tie ouer all *Greece*, and be acknowledged for their Captaine-Ge-
nerall against the *Perians*, without any further hazard or trouble, was content to let goe those *Athenians* that were taken at this battaile of *Cheronea*, as he also foresaw to attempt any thing against their Citie: but in *Thebes* (which lately by the vertue of *Aminondas* triumphed ouer the rest) hee lodged a Garrison of *Macedonians*. And being soone after (according vnto the long desire which he had nourished of this Soueraignie tie) by the generall States at *Corinth*, stiled the first Commander of all the *Gracians* and contribution of men and money granted him, he compounded an Armie of great strength, and vnder the Commandement of *Attalus* and *Parmentio*, transported the same ouer the *Hellestom* into *Asia*, to begin the warre. Of his enterprise against *Persia*, hee sought the successe from the Oracle at *Delphos*, from whence hee received such another conuertible riddle, as *Craesus* did when he attempted *Cyrus*, and was in like sort mistaken in the exposition.

But as it is hard to discern and withstand the flatteries of our owne appetites, so did *Philips* ambitious desire to inuade *Persia*, abuse his iudgement, so farre, that the death, wherewith himselfe was threatned, hee vnderstood to be deliuered of his enemy, whom he intended presently to inuade. Before his purposed departure into *Asia*, hee prepared for the marriage of his Daughter *Cleopatra*, with *Alexander* King of *Epirus*, to which feast and pastimes thereat appointed, hee inuited all his Friends, and Alleis, with the principall persons of the *Gracian* Cities, from whom hee received much honour and many rich presents, but this was indeed the feast of his Funerall. For hauing refused to doe iustice to one *Pausanias* a Gentleman of his Guard, whom *Attalus* (greatly fauoured by *Philip*) had first made drunke, and then left to be carnally abused by diuers base persons, this *Pausanias* grew into so great detestation of the Kings partiality in so foule a fact, as when *Philip* was passing towards the Theater, hee drew a sword from vnder his long garment and wounded him to death, when hee had liued sixe and fortie yeeres, and reigned sue and twenty. *Iustine* reports it, that *Olympias* incouraged *Pausanias* to murder the King her husband, which after his death shee boldly auowed; by the honor shee did vnto *Pausanias*, in crowning his dead body, in consecrating his sword vnto *Apollo*, by building for him a monument, and other like Graces.

§. IX

What good foundations of *Alexanders* greatness were laid by *Philip*.
Of his laudable qualities, and issue.

NOW although he were then taken from the World, when he had mastered all opposition on that side of the Sea, and had seene the fruits of his hopes, and labours, changing colour towards ripeness and perfection; yet hee was here

herein happy that hee liued to see his sonne *Alexander* at mans estate, and had himselfe been an eye-witnesse of his resolution, and singular valour in this last battaile.

The foundation of whose future greatness hee had laid so soundly for him, with so plaine a patterne of the buildings which himselfe meant to erect, as the performance and finishing was farre more easie to *Alexander*, though more glorious than the beginnings vnto *Philip*, though lesse famous. For besides the recovery of *Macedon* it selfe, in competition between him and the sonnes of *Arropus*, the one assailed by the *Thracians*, the other by the *Athenians*, and besides the regaining of many places possesed by the *Illyrians*, and the crushing of all those Northern Kings his Neighbours, the ouerthrow of *Olynth*, a State that despised the power of his Father, the many Maritime Cities taken, of great strength and ancient freedome, and the subiection of that famous Nation of *Greece*, which for so many Ages had defended it selfe against the greatest Kings of the World, and wonne vpon them; He left vnto his sonne, and had bred vp for him, so many chiefe Commanders, as the most of them, both for their valour and iudgement in the Warre, were no lesse worthy of Crownes, than himselfe was that were a Crowne: For it was said of *Parmentio* (whom *Alexander*, vngratefull to so great vertue, impiously murdered) That *Parmentio* had performed many things challenging eternall fame, without the King, but the King, without *Parmentio* neuer did any thing worthy of renowne; as for the rest of his Captaines, though content to obey the Sonne of such a Father, yet did they not after *Alexanders* death endure to acknowledge any man Superiour to themselves.

Of this Prince it is hard to iudge, whether his ambition had taught him the exercise of more vertues, than Nature and his excellent Education had enriched him with vertues. For besides that he was Valiant, Wise, Learned, and Master of his Affections, hee had this fauour of Piety, that he rather laboured to satisfie those that were grieved, than to suppress them. Whereof (among many other) we finde a good example in his dealing with *Araden*, and *Nicanor*; whom, when for their euill speech of *Philip*, his familiars perswaded him to put to death; He answered them, That first it ought to be considered, whether the fault were in them that gaue him ill language, or in himselfe: Secondly, that it was in euery mans owne power to be well spoken off; and this was shortly prooued, for after *Philip* relieued their necessities, there were none within his Kingdome that did him more honour than they did. Whereupon hee told those that had perswaded him to vse violence, that hee was a better Philition for euill speech than they were.

His Epistles to *Alexander* his sonne are remembered to *Cicero*, and *Gellius*; and by *Di-*
on; and *Chrysostome* exceedingly commended. His Stratagems are gathered by *Poly-*
mus and *Frontinus*, his wife sayings by *Plutarch*; And albeit he held *Macedon* as in his
owne right, all the time of his reigne, yet was hee not the true and next Heire thereof: for *Amyntas* the sonne of his brother *Perdiccas* (of whom hee had the protection during his infancy) had the right. This *Amyntas* hee married to his Daughter *Cyna*, who had by him
a Daughter called *Eurydice*, who was married to *Philips* base sonne *Arideus*, her Vncle
by the Mothers side: both which *Olympias*, *Philips* first Wife, and mother to *Alexander* the Great, put to death; *Arideus* by extreame torments: *Eurydice* hee strangled.

Philip had by this *Olympias*, the Daughter of *Neoptolemus*, King of the *Molossians* (of the race of *Achilles*), *Alexander* the Great, and *Cleopatra*. *Cleopatra* was married to her Vncle *Alexander*, King of *Epirus*, and was after her brother *Alexanders* death slaine at *Sardis*, by the commandement of *Antigonus*.

By *Andania*, an *Illyrian*, his second Wife, hee had *Cyna*, married as is shewed before.

By *Nicasipolis*, the Sister of *Iason*, Tyrant of *Pheres*, hee had *Thebais*, whom *Cassander*, after hee had taken *Pidna*, married, but shee was afterward by her Father-in-law *Antigonus* put to death.

By *Cleopatra* the Niece of *Attalus*, hee had *Caranus*, whom others call *Philip*: him, *O-*
lympias, the Mother of *Alexander* the Great, caused to be roasted to death in a copper Pan. Others lay this murder to *Alexander* himselfe. By the same *Cleopatra* hee had likewise a Daughter, called *Europa*, whom *Olympias* also murdered at the Mothers breast.

By *Phila* and *Meda* hee had no issue.

Hee had also two Concubines, *Arinoe*, whom after hee had gotten with childe, hee married to an obscure man, called *Lagus*, who bare *Ptolomie*, King of *Aegypt*, called the sonne of *Lagus*, but esteemed the sonne of *Philip*: by *Philinna*, his second Concubine.

a pub-

a publike Dancer, hee had *Aridans*, of whom wee shall haue much occasion to speake hereafter.

CHAP. II.

Of Alexander the Great.

§. I.

A briefe rehearsal of Alexanders doings, before he innuaded Asia.



Alexander, afterward called the Great, succeeded vnto Philip his Father; being a Prince no lesse valiant by Nature, than by Education, well instructed, and enriched in all sorts of Learning and good Arts. He began his reigne ouer the *Macedonians* foure hundred and seuentene yeeres after *Rome* built, and after his owne birth twenty yeeres. The strange dreames of Philip his Father, and that one of the gods in the shape of a Snake, begat him on *Olympias* his Mother, I omit as foolish tales; but that the Temple of *Diana* (a worke the most magnificent of the World) was burnt vpon the day of his birth, and that so strange an accident was accompanied with the newes of three severall victories, obtained by the *Macedonians*, it was very remarkable, and might with the reason of those times be interpreted for ominous, and fore-shewing the great things by Alexander afterward performed. Vpon the change of the King, the Neighbor Nations, whom Philip had opprest, began to consult about the recovery of their former liberty, and to adventure it by force of Armes. Alexanders yong yeeres gaue them hope of preuailing, and his suspected severity increased courage in those, who could better resolute to die, then to liue slauiishly. But Alexander gaue no time to those swelling humours, which might speedily haue endangered the health of his Estate. For after reuenge taken vpon the Conspirators against his Father, whom he slew vpon his Tombe, & the celebration of his Funerals, he first fastened vnto him his owne Nation, by firing them from all exactions, and bodily slavery, other than their seruice in his Warres; and vfed such kingly austerity towards those that contemned his young yeeres, and such clemency to the rest that perswaded themselves of the cruelty of his disposition, as all affections being passed at home, hee made a present journey into *Peloponnesus*, and so well exercised his spirits among them, as by the Councell of the States of *Greece*, he was according to the great desire of his heart, elected Capitaine-Generall against the *Persians*, vpon which warre Philip had not onely resolved, (who had obtained the same title of Generall Commander) but had transported vnder the leading of *Parmenio*, and *Attalus*, a part of his Army, to recover some places on *Asia*-side, for the safe descent of the rest.

This enterprise against the *Persian* occupied all Alexanders affections; those faire marks of Riches, Honour, and large Dominion, he now shot at both sleeping and waking: all other thoughts and imaginations were either grievous or hartfull. But a contrary wind ariseth; for he receiueith aduertisement that the *Athenians*, *Thebans*, and *Lacedaemonians*, had vntied themselves against him, and by assistance from the *Persian*, hoped for the recovery of their former freedom. Hereto they were perswaded by *Demosthenes*, himselfe being thereto perswaded by the gold of *Persia*; the deuce he vfed was more subtil then profitable; for hee caused it to be bruted that Alexander was slaine in a battaile against the *Triballes*, and brought into the assembly a Companion whom he had corrupted to affirme, That himselfe was present and wounded in the battaile. There is indeede a certaine Doctrine of Policy (as Policy is now a daies defined by falshood and knauery) that deuised rumors & lies, if they serue the turne, but for a day or two, are greatly available. It is true that common people are sometime mockt by them, as Souldiers are by false alarms in the Wars; but in all that I haue obserued, I haue found the successe as ridiculous as the inuention. For as those that find themselves at one time abused by such like brutes, doe at other times neglect their duties, when they are vpon true reports; and

in occasions perillous, summoned to assemblage; so doe all men in generall condemne the Veners of such trumperie, and for them, feare vpon necessary occasions to entertaine the truth it selfe. This labour vnlooked for, and losse of time, was not onely very grievous to Alexander, but by turning his sword from the ignoble and effeminate *Persians*, against which he had directed it, towards the manly and famous *Gracians*, of whose assistance he thought himselfe assured, his present vndertaking was greatly disordered. But he that cannot endure to striue against the winde, shall hardly attaine the Port which he purpoech to recover: and it no lesse becommeth the worthiest men to oppose misfortunes, than it doth the weakest children to bewaile them.

He therefore made such expedition towards these Reuolters, as that himselfe, with the Armie that followed him, brought them the first newes of his preparation. *Hercupon* all stagger, and the *Athenians*, as they were the first that mused, so were they the first that fainted, seeking by their Embassadors to pacifie the King, and to be receiued againe into his grace. Alexander was not long in resolving; for the *Persians* perswaded him to pardon the *Gracians*. Wise men are not easily drawne from great purposes by such occasions as may easily be taken off, neither hath any King euer brought to effect any great affaire, who hath intangled himselfe in many enterprises at once, not tending to one and the same certaine end.

And hauing now quietted his borderers towards the South, he resolved to assure those Nations which lay on the North-side of *Macedon*, to wit, the *Tracians*, *Triballes*, *Peones*, *Getae*, *Agrians*, and other saluage people, which had greatly vexed with incursions, not onely other of his Predecessours, but euen Philip his Father: with all which, after diuers overthrowes giuen them, he made peace, or else brought them into subiection. Notwithstanding this good successe, he could not yet finde the way out of *Europe*. There is nothing more naturall to man than liberty; the *Greekes* had enioyed it ouer-long, and losse too late to forget it; they therefore shake off the yoke once againe. The *Thebans*, who had in their Citadell a Garrison of a thousand *Macedons*, attempt to force it; Alexander hastneth to their succour, and presents himselfe with thirty thousand foot, all old Souldiers, & three thousand horse, before the Citie, & gaue the Inhabitants some daies to perswade, being euen heart-sicke with the desire of passing into *Asia*. So vnwilling, indeed, he was to draw blood of the *Gracians*, by whom he hoped to serue himselfe elsewhere, that he offered the *Thebans* remission, if they would onely deliuer into his hands *Phanice* and *Prothyte*, the stirrers vp of the Rebellion. But they, opposing the mounting fortune of Alexander, (which bare all resistance before it, like the breaking-in of the Ocean-Sea) in stead of such an answer, as men besieged and abandoned should haue made, demanded *Philotas* and *Antipater* to be deliuered vnto them; as if *Thebes* alone, then layed in the ballance of Fortune with the Kingdome of *Macedon*, and many other Prouinces, could either haue euened the scale or swaied it. Therefore in the end they perished in their obstinacie. For while the *Thebans* oppose the Armie assailing, they were charged at the backe by the *Macedonian* Garrison, their Citie taken and razed to the ground, sixe thousand slaine, and thirty thousand sold for slaves, at the price of foure hundred and fortie talents. This the King did to the terrour of the other *Gracians* Cities.

Many Arguments were vfed by *Cleandus* one of the prisoners, to perswade Alexander to forbear the destruction of *Thebes*. He prayed the King to belieue that they were rather misle led by giuing hasty credit to false reports, than any way malicious; for being perswaded of Alexanders death, they rebelled but against his Successour. He also brought the King to remember, that his father Philip had his education in that Citie, yea that his Ancestor *Hercules* was borne therein: but all perswasions were fruitlesse; the times wherein offences are committed, doe greatly aggravate them. Yet for the honour he bare to learning, he pardoned all of the race of *Pindarus* the Poet, and spared, and set at liberty *Timoclea*, the sister of *Theagenes*, who died in defence of the liberty of *Greece* against his Father Philip. This Noble woman being taken by a *Thracian*, and by him retained, he threatened to take her life vnlesse she would confesse her treasure: she led that *Thracian* to a Well, and told him that she had therein cast it: and when the *Thracian* stooped to looke into the Well, she suddenly thrust him into the mouth thereof, and stoned him to death.

Now because the *Athenians* had receiued into their City so many of the *Thebans*, as had

escaped and fled vnto them for succour, *Alexander* would not grant them peace, but vpon condition to deliuer into his hands both their Orators which perswaded this second reuolt, and their Capitaines; yet in the end it being a torment vnto him to retard the enterprise of *Persia*, he was content that the Orators should remaine, and accepted of the banishment of the Capitaines, wherein he was exceeding ill aduised, had not his fortune, or rather the prouidence of God, made all the resistance against him vnprofitable: for these good Leaders of the *Gracians* betook themselves to the seruice of the *Persian*, whom after a few dayes he inuaded.

§. II.

How Alexander passing into Asia, fought with the Persians vpon the River of Granicus.

When all was now quieted at home, *Alexander*, committing to the trust of *Antipater* both *Greece* & *Macedon*, in the first of the Spring did passe the *Hellepont*, and being ready to dis-inbarke, he threw a Dart towards the *Asian* shore, as a token of defiance, commanding his Souldiers not to make any waste in their owne Territorie, or to burne, or deface those buildings which themselves were presently, and in the future to possesse. He landed his Armie, consisting of two and thirty thousand foot, & six thousand horse, all old Souldiers, neere vnto *Troy*, where he offered a solemne sacrifice vpon *Achilles* Tombe, his maternall Ancestor.

But before he left his owne coast, he put to death, without any offence given him, all his Mother-in-lawes Kinsmen, whom *Philip* his Father had greatly aduanced, not sparing such of his owne as he suspected. He also tooke with him many of his tributary Princes, of whose fidelity he doubted, thinking by vniust cruelty to assure all things both in the present and future. Yet the end of all fell out contrary to the policy which his Ambition had commended vnto him, though agreeing very well with the iustice of God, for al that he had planted, was soone after withered, and rooted vp; those, whom he most trusted, were the most traitorous; his mother, friends, and children, fell by such another mercilesse sword as his owne, and all manner of confusion followed his dead body to the grave, and left him there.

When the knowledge of *Alexanders* landing on *Asia* side was brought to *Darius*, he so much scorned the Armie of *Macedon*, and had so contemptible an opinion of *Alexander* himselfe, as hauing stiled him his seruant on a letter which he wrote vnto him, reprehending his disloyaltie and audacitie (for *Darius* intituled himselfe King of Kings, and the Kinsman of the gods) he gaue order withall to his Lieutenants of the lesser *Asia*, that they should take *Alexander* aliuie, whip him with rods, and then conuay him to his presence: that they should sinke his ships, and send the *Macedons* taken prisoners beyond the Red-Sea, belike into *Ethiopia*, or some other vnhealthfull part of *Africa*.

In this sort did this glorious King, confident in the glittering, but heartlesse multitude which he commanded, dispose of the already-vanquished *Macedonians*; But the destinies of men beare them to the ground, by what strong confidence soeuer armed. The great numbers which he gathered together, and brought in one heape into the field, gave rather an exceeding aduantage to his enemies, than any discouragement at all. For besides that they were men vterly vnacquainted with dangers, men who by the name and countenance of their King were wont to preuaile against those of lesse courage than themselves, men that tooke more care how to embroder with gold and siluer their vpper garments, as if they attended the inuasion but of the Sunne-beames, than they did to arme themselves with yron and Steele against the sharpe pikes, swordes and darts of the hardie *Macedonians*; I say, besides all these, euen the opinion they had of their own numbers, of which euery one in particular hoped that it would not fall to his turne to fight, filled euery of them with the care of their owne safetie, without any intent at all to hazard any thing but their owne breath, and that of their horses, in running away. The *Macedonians* as they came to fight, and thereby to enrich themselves with the gold and jewels of *Persia*, both which they needed; so the *Persians*, who expected nothing in that Warre but blowes and wounds, which they needed not, obeyed the King, who had power to constrain them in assembling themselves for his seruice; but their owne feares and cowardice, which in time of danger had most power ouer them, they

they only then obeyed, when their rebellion against so seruile a passion did iustly and violently require it. For saith *Vegetius*: *Quemadmodum boni exercitatus miles prelium capit, et formidat inductus; nam sciendum est in pugna usum amplius prodesse quam vires.* As the well-practised Souldier desires to come to battaile, so the raw one feares it: for we must consider first, that in fight it more auaiseth to haue bene accustomed vnto the like, than vnused to haue made strength. What manner of men the *Persians* were, *Alexander* discovered in the first encounter, before which time it is said, by those that writ this Storie, That it was hard to iudge, whether his daring to vndertake the conquest of an Empire so well peopled, with a handfull of men, or the successe he had, were more to be wondred at. For at the River of *Granicus*, which seuereth the Territorie of *Troy* from *Proponis*, the *Persians* fought to stop his passage, taking the higher ground and banke of the River to defend, which *Alexander* was forced (as it were) to clime vp vnto, and scale from the Leul of the water; Great resistance (saith *Curtius*) was made by the *Persians*, yet in the end *Alexander* preuailed. But it seemes to me, that the victory then gotten was exceeding easie; altho the twenty thousand *Persian* foot-men, said to be slaine, were rather kill'd in the baste, in running away, than hurt in the bolomes by resisting. For had those twenty thousand foot, and two hundred and fiftie horse-men, or after *Plutarch*; two thousand and five hundred horse-men, dyed with their faces towards the *Macedonians*, *Alexander* could not haue bought their liues at so small a rate, as with the losse of foure and thirtie thousand of his owne. And if it were also true, that *Plutarch* doth report, how *Alexander* encountered two of the *Persian* Commanders, *Spithridates* and *Rhescaces*, and that the *Persian* horse-men fought with great furie, though in the end scattered; and lastly, how those *Gracians* in *Darius* his pay, holding themselves in one body vpon a piece of ground of aduantage, did (after mercy was refused them) fight it out to the last; how doth it then resemble truth, that such resistance hauing bene made, yet of *Alexanders* Armie there fell but twelue Foot-men, and two and twenty Horse-men?

§. III.

A digression concerning the defence of hard passages. Of things following the battaile of Granicke.

He winning of this passage did greatly encourage the *Macedonians*, and brought such terror vpon all those of the lesser *Asia*, as he obtained all the Kingdomes thereof without a blow, some one or two Townes excepted. For in all inuasions, where the Nations inuaded haue once bene beaten vpon a great aduantage of the place, as in defence of Rivers, Streights, and Mountaines; they will soone haue perswaded themselves, that such an enemy vpon equall tearmes and euen ground, can hardly be resisted. It was therefore *Machibaneels* counsell, that he which resoluth to defend a passage, should with his ablest force oppose the Assailant. And to say truth, few Regions of any great circuit are so well fenced, that Armies of such force as may be thought sufficient to conquer them, can be debarrd all entrance, by the naturall difficultie of the wayes. One passage or other is commonly left vnguarded: if all be defended, then must the forces of the Country be distracted, and yet lightly, some one place will be found that is defended very weakely. How often haue the *Alpes* given way to Armies, breaking into *Italie*? Yea, where shall we finde that euer they kept out an inuadour? Yet are they such, as (to speake briefly) afflict with all difficulties those that trauaile ouer them; but they giue no security to those that lye behinde them: for they are of too large extent. The Townes of *Lombardie* perswaded themselves that they might enjoy their quiet, when the Walike Nation of the *Switzers* had vndertaken to hinder *Francis* the French King from descending into the Duchie of *Milan*; but whilst these Patrons of *Milan*, whom their owne dwelling in those Mountaines had made fittest of all other for such a seruice, were busied in custodie of the *Alpes*; *Francis* appeared in *Lombardie*, to so much the greater terror of the Inhabitants, by how much the lesse they had expected his arrival. What shall we say of those Mountaines, which locke vp whole Regions in such sort, as they leaue but one gate open? The Streights, or (as they were called) the gates of *Taurus* in *Cilicia*, and those of *Thermopyle*, haue elsedome bene attempted, perhaps because they were thought impregnable: but how seldom (if euer) haue they bene attempted in vaine? *Xerxes* and long after him; the *Romans*, forced the entrance of

Thermopylae, *Cyrus* the younger, and after him *Alexander*, found the Gates of *Cilicia* wide open, how strongly soever they had beene locked and barred, yet were those Countreys open enough to a fleet that should enter on the backe-side. The defence of *Riuers* show hard a thing it is, we finde examples in all histories that beare good witness. The deepest haue many Forrds; the swiftest and broadest may be passed by Boates, in case it be found a matter of difficultie to make a bridge. He that hath men enough to defend all the length of his owne banke, hath also enough to beate his enemy; and may therefore doe better to let him come ouer, to his losse, than by striding in vaine to hinder the passage, as a matter tending to his owne disadvantage, fill the heads of his Souldiers with an opinion, that they are in ill case, hauing their meanes of safeguard taken from them, by the skill or valour of such as are too good for them. Certainly, if a *Riuier* were sufficient defence against an Armie, the Isle of *Mona*, now called *Anglesey*, which is diuided from North-Wales by an arme of the Sea, had beene safe enough against the *Roman*, inuading it vnder conduct of *Iulius Agricola*. But he wanting, & not meaning to spend the time in making vessels to transport his forces, did assaye the foords. Whereby he so amazed the enemies attending for ships and such like prouision by Sea, that surely beleeuing nothing could be hard or inuincible to men, which came so minded to Warre, they humbly intreated for peace, and yielded the Iland. Yet the *Britaines* were men stout enough, the *Persians* were very daffards.

It was therefore wisely done of *Alexander*, to passe the *Riuier of Granike* in face of the enemy, not marching higher to seeke an easier way, nor labouring to conuey his men ouer it by some safer meanes. For hauing beaten them vpon their owne ground, he did thereby cut off no lesse of their reputation, than of their strength, leauing no hope of succour to the partakers and followers of such vnable Protectors.

Soone after this victory he recovered *Sardis*, *Ephesus*, the Cities of the *Trallians* and *Magnesians*, which were rendred vnto him. The Inhabitants of which, with the people of the Countreys, he receiued with great grace, suffering them to be gouerned by their owne lawes. For he obserued it well; *Nouum Imperium inchoantibus utilis clementia sumus*. It is commodious vnto such as lay the foundations of a new Soueraignty, to haue the same of being mercifull. He then by *Parmenio* vvan *Admetus*, and by force mastered *Halicarnassus*, which because it resisted obstinately, he razed to the ground. From whence he entered into *Caria*, where *Ada* the Queene, who had bene cast out of all that she held (except the Citie of *Alinda*) by *Darius* his Lieutenants, presented her selfe vnto him, and adopted him her sonne and successeur, which *Alexander* accepted in so gracious part, as he let the whole Kingdome to her disposing. He then entered into *Lycia*, and *Pamphylia*, and obtained all the Sea-coasts, and subiecting vnto him *Pisidia*, he directed himselfe towards *Darius* (who was said to be aduanced towards him with a marvellous Armie) by the way of *Phrygia*: For all the Prouince of *Asia* the lesse, bordering vpon the Sea, his first victory layed vnder his feet.

While he gaue order for the gouernment and setting of *Lycia*, and *Pamphylia*, they 40 sent *Cleander* to raise some new Captaines in *Peloponnesus*, and marching towards the North, he entered *Celenas* seated on the *Riuier Alexander*, which was abandoned vnto him, the Castle onely holding out, which also after forty dayes was giuen vp: for so long time he gaue them to attend succour from *Darius*. From *Celenas* he past on through *Phrygia* towards the *Euxine* Sea, till he came to a City called *Gordium*, the Regall-seate in former times, of King *Midas*. In this City it was that he found the *Gordian*-knot, which when he knew not how to vndoe, he cut it a fender with his sword. For there was an ancient propheticke did promise to him that could vntie it, the Lordship of all *Asia*; whereupon *Alexander*, not respecting the manner how, so it were done, assumed to himselfe the fulfilling of the propheticke, by hewing it in pieces.

But before he turned from this part of *Asia* the lesse towards the east, he tooke care to cleare the Sea-coast on his backe, and to thrust the *Persians* out of the Ilands of *Lesbos*, *Chio*, and *Coos*: the charge whereof he committed vnto two of his Captaines, giuing them such order as he thought to be most conuenient for that seruice; and deliuering vnto them fiftie Talents to defray the charge, and withall out of his first spoyle gotten, he sent three-score Talents more to *Antipater* his Lieutenant in *Greece* and *Macedon*. From *Celenas* he remoued to *Ancira*, now called *Angora*, standing on the same *Riuier of Sangarius*, which runneth through *Gordium*: there he mustered his Armie, and then

then entered *Paphlagonia*, whose people submitted themselves vnto him, and obtained freedom of tribute: where he left *Catus* Governour with one Regiment of *Macedonians* lately arriued.

Here he vnderstood of the death of *Memnon*, *Darius* Lieutenant, which hartned him greatly to passe on towards him; for of this onely Capitaine he had more respect than of all the multitude by *Darius* assembled, and of all the Commanders he had besides. For so much hath the spirit of some one man excelled, as it hath vnderaken and effected the alteration of the greatest States and Common-weales, the erection of Monarchies, the conquest of Kingdomes and Empires, guided handiuls of men against multitudes of equall bodily strength, contriued victories beyond all hope and discourse of reason, conquered the fearefull passions of his owne followers into magnanimity, and the valour of his enemies into cowardize; such spirits haue beene stirred vp in sundry Ages of the world, and in diuers parts thereof, to erect and cast downe againe, to establish and to destroy, and to bring all things, Persons and States, to the same certaine ends, which the indigne Spirit of the *Vniuersall*, piercing, mouing, and gouerning all things, hath ordained. Certainly the things that this King did were marvellous; and would hardly haue bene vnderaken by any man else: and though his Father had determined to haue inuaded the lesser *Asia*, it is like enough that he would haue contented himselfe with some part thereof, and not haue discovered the *Riuier of Indus*: as this man did. The swift course of victory, wherewith he ran ouer so large a portion of the World, in so short a space, may iustly be imputed vnto this, that he was neuer encountered by an equall spirit, concurring with equall power against him. Hereby it came to passe that his actions being limited by no greater opposition, then desert places, and the meere length of tedious iournies could make, were like the *Colossus of Rhodes*, not so much to be admired for the workmanship, though therein also praise-worthy, as for the huge bulke. For certainly the things performed by *Xenophon*, discouer as braue a spirit as *Alexanders*, and working no lesse exquisitely, though the effects were lesse materiall, as were also the forces and power of command, by which it wrought. But he that would finde the exact pattern of a noble Commander, must looke vpon such as *Epaninondas*, that encountering worthy Captaines, and those better followed than themselves, haue by their singular vertue ouer-tooped their valiant enemies, and still preuailed ouer those, that would not haue yielded one foot to any other. Such as these are, doe seldome liue to obtaine great Empires. For it is a worke of more labour and longer time, to master the equal forces of one hardy & well-ordered State, than to tread downe and utterly subdue a multitude of ferule Nations, compounding the body of a grosse vniuersall Empire. Wherefore these *Parus Potentes*, men that with little haue done much vpon enemies of like ability, are to be regarded as choise examples of worth; but great Conquerours, to be rather admired for the substance of their actions, than the exquisite managing: exactnesse and greatnesse concurring so seldome, that I can finde no instance of both in one, save onely that braue *Roman*, *Caesar*.

Hauing thus farre digressed, it is now time that we returne vnto our Easterne Conqueror, who is trauielling hastily towards *Cilicia*, with a desire to recover the Streights thereof before *Darius* should arriue there. But first making a dispatch into *Greece*, he sent to those Cities, in which he reposed most trust, some of the *Persian* Targets which he had recovered in his first battaile; vpon which, by certaine inscriptions, he made them partakers of his victory. Herein he well aduised himselfe; for he that doth not as well imitate the honour which he gaires in the Warres, as he doth of the spoiles, shall neuer belong followed of those of the better sort. For men which are either well borne or well bred, and haue more of wealth than of reputation, doe as often satisfie themselves with the purchase of glory, as the weak in fortune, and strong in courage, doe with the gaine of gold and silver.

The Governour of *Cilicia* hearing of *Alexander* coming on, left some Companies to keep the Streights, which were indeede very defensible; and withall, as *Curtius* noteth, he began ouer-late to prise and put in execution the Counsell of *Memnon*: who in the beginning of the Warres aduised him to waite all the prouisions for Men and Horse, that could not be lodged in strong places, & alwayes to giue ground to the Inuader, till he found some such notable aduantage as might assuredly promise him the obtaining of victory. For the fury of an inuading Army is best broken, by delays, change

of diet, and want, eating sometimes too little, and sometimes too much, sometimes reposing themselves in beds, and more often on the cold ground. These and the like suddaine alterations bring many diseases vpon all Nations out of their owne Countreies. Therefore if *Darius* had kept the *Macedonians* but a while from meat and sleepe, and refusing to giue or take battaile, had wearied them with his light horse, as the *Parthians* afterward did the *Romans*, hee might perchance haue saued his owne life, and his estate. For it was one of the greatest encouragements giuen by *Alexander* to the *Macedonians*, in the third and last fatall battaile, that they were to fight with all the strength of *Persia* at once.

Xerxes, when he invaded *Greece* and fought abroad, in being beaten, lost onely his men; but *Darius* being invaded by the *Greekes*, and fighting at home, by being beaten, lost his Kingdome. *Pericles*, though the *Lacedamonians* burnt all in *Attica* to the Gates of *Athens*, yet could not be drawne to hazard a battaile: for the invaded ought euermore to fight vpon the aduantage of time and place. Because we reade Histories to informe our vnderstanding by the examples therein found, wee will giue some instances of those that haue perished by adventuring in their owne countreies, to charge an invading Armie. The *Romans*, by fighting with *Hannibal*, were brought to the brink of their destruction.

Pompey was well aduised for a while, when he gaue *Cesar* ground, but when by the importunity of his Captaine he adventured to fight at *Pharsalia*, he lost the battaile, lost the freedome of *Rome*, and his owne life.

Ferdinand, in the Conquest of *Naples*, would needs fight a battaile with the *French* to his confusion, though it was told him by a man of sound iudgement, that those Countreies which promise suretie in all things, are honourable enough.

The Constable of *France* made frustrate the mighty preparation of *Charles* the Fifth, when he invaded *Prance*, by waisting the Countreie, and forbearing to fight; so did the Duke of *Alua* wearie the *French* in *Naples*, and dissolve the boisterous Armie of the Prince of *Orange* in the low-Countries.

The *Leigers*, contrarie to the aduice of their Generall, would needs fight a battaile with the *Bourgonians*, invading their Countreie, and could not be perswaded to linger the time, and stay their aduantage; but they lost eight and twenty thousand vpon the place. *Philip* of *Valois* set vpon King *Edward* at *Cheslie*; and King *John* (when the *English* were well-nere tired out, and would in short time by an orderly pursuit haue bene wasted to nothing) constrained the blacke Prince with great furie, neere *Poitiers*, to ioyne battaile with him: But all men know what lamentable successe these two *French* Kings found. *Charles* the fifth of *France* made another kinde of *Fabian*-Warfare, and though the *English* burnt and wasted many places, yet this King held his resolution to forbear blowes, and followed his aduice which told him, That the *English* could neuer get his inheritance by smooke; and it is reported by *Bellay* and *Herrault*, that King *Edward* was wont to say of this *Charles*, that he wan from him the Dutchie of *Guien* without euer putting on his Armour.

But where God hath a purpose to destroy, wife men grow short-lived, and the charge of things is committed vnto such as either cannot see what is for their good, or know not how to put in execution any sound aduice. The course which *Memnon* had propounded, must in all appearance of reason haue brought the *Macedonian* to a great perplexity, and made him stand still a while at the Streights of *Cilicia*, doubting whether it were more shamefull to returne, or dangerous to proceede. For had *Cappadocia* and *Paphlagonia* been wasted whilest *Alexander* was farre off; and the Streights of *Cilicia* bene defended by *Arsenes*, Governour of that Prouince, with the best of his forces: hunger would not haue suffered the enemy, to stay the triall of all meanes that might be thought vpon, of forcing that passage; or if the place could not haue bene maintained, yet might *Cilicia*, at better leisure haue bene so thoroughly spoiled, that the heart of his Armie should haue bene broken, by seeking out miseries by painfull trauaile.

But *Arsenes* leauing a small number to defend the Streights, tooke the best of his Armie with him, to waste and spoile the Countreie, or rather, as may seeme, to finde himselfe some worke, by pretence of which he might honestly run further away from *Alexander*. He should rather haue aduencured his person in custody of the Streights, whereby he might perhaps haue saued the Prouince, and in the meane time, all that was in the fields,

would

would haue bene conueighed into strong Towns. So should his Armie, if it were driven from the place of aduantage, haue found good entertainment within walled Cities, and himselfe with his horse-men haue had the lesse worke in destroying that little which was left abroad. Handling the matter as he did, he gaue the *Cilicians* cause to wish for *Alexanders* coming, and as great cause to the Keepers of the passage not to hinder it. For cowards are wise in apprehending all formes of danger. These Guardians of the Streights, hearing that *Arsenes* made all haste to ioyne himselfe with *Darius*, burning downe all as he went, like one despairing of the defence, began to grow circumspect, and to thinke that surely their Generall, who gaue as lost the Countreie behinde their backs, had exposed themselves vnto certaine death, as men that were good for nothing else, but to dull the *Macedonian* swords. Wherefore, not affecting to die for their Prince and Countreie (which honour they saw that *Arsenes* himselfe could well forebear) they speedily followed the foot-steps of their Generall, gleaning after his Haruett. Thus *Alexander* without labour got both the entrance of *Cilicia*, abandoned by the cowardise of his Enemies, and the whole Prouince that had bene alienated from the *Persian* side by their perfidieion.

§. IIII.

Of the vniwarlike Armie leuied by *Darius* against *Alexander*. The vniadvised courses which *Darius* took in this Expedition. He is vanquished at *Issus*, where his Queen, Wife, and Children are made prisoners. Of some things following the battaile of *Issus*.

IN the meane season *Darius* approached, who (as *Curtius* reports) had compounded an Armie of more than two hundred and ninetie thousand Souldiers, our of diuers Nations; *Iustine* musters them at three hundred thousand Foot, and a hundred thousand Horse; *Plutarch* at fixe hundred thousand.

The manner of his coming on, as *Curtius* describes it, was rather like a masker than a man of Warre, and like one that tooke more care to set out his glorie and riches, than to provide for his owne safety, perswading himselfe, as it seemed, to beat *Alexander* with *Pompey* and sumptuous Pageants. For, before the Armie there was carried the holy fire which the *Persians* worshipped, attended by their *Priests*, and after them three hundred and threecore and fye young-men, answering the number of the daies of the yeere, covered with Scarlet; then the Chariot of *Jupiter* drawne with white Horses, with their Riders cloathed in the same colour, with rods of gold in their hands; And after it, the Horse of the *Summe*: Next after these follow ten sumptuous Chariots, in-laid and garnished with silver and gold; and then the Vantguard of their horse, compounded of twelue severall Nations, which the better to auoid confusion, did hardly vnderstand each others language, and these marshalled in the head of the rest, being beaten, might serue very fitly to disorder all that followed them; in the tail of these Horses the Regiment of foot marched, with the *Persians* called immortall, because if any died, the number was presently supplied: and these were armed with chaines of gold, & their coats with the same metall imbroidered, whereof the sleeves were garnished with pearle, baies, either to catch the hungry *Macedonians* withall, or to perswade them that it were great inciuillitie to cut and to deface such glorious garments. But it was well said: *Sumptuose indufus miles, se virtute superiorem alijs non existimet, cum in prelijs oporteat fortitudine animi, & non vestimentis muniri, quoniam hostes vestibus non debellantur*; Let no man thinke that hee exceedeth these in valour, whom hee exceedeth in gay garments; for it is by men armed with fortitude of minde, and not by the apparell they put on, that enemies are beaten. And it was perchance from the *Roman* *Papyrius* that this aduice was borrowed, who when he fought against the *Sannites* in that fatall battaile, wherein they all sware eyther to preuaile or die, thirty thousand of them hauing apparelled themselves in white garments, with high crests and great plumes of feathers, bade the *Roman* Souldiers to lay aside all feare: *Non enim crests velutera facere, & per picula atque aurata senta transire Romanum pilum*; For these plumed crests would wound nobody, and the *Romane* pike would bore holes in painted and gilded helms.

To exceed this Court-like company, fiftene thousand were appointed more rich and glittering than the former, but apparrelled like *Women* (belike to breede the more terror) & these were honoured with the Title of the Kings Kinsmen. Then came *Darius* himselfe,

himselfe, the Gentle-men of his Guard-robe, riding before his Chariot, which was supported with the gods of his Nation, cast and cut in pure gold; these the *Macedonians* did not serue, but they serued their turnes of these, by changing their masse-bodies into thin portable and currant coynce. The head of this Chariot was set with precious stones, with two little golden Idols, covered with an open-winged-Eagle of the same metall: The hinder part being raised high whereon *Darius* sat, had a covering of inestimable value. This Chariot of the King was followed with ten thousand Horse-men, their Lances plated with silver, and their heads gault; which they meant not to imbrow in the *Macedonian* blood, for feare of marring their beautie. Hee had for the proper Guard of his owne person, two hundred of the blood Royall, blood too Royall and precious to bee spilt by any valorous aduventure, (I am of opinion that two hundred sturdy fellows, like the *Switzers*, would haue done him more seruice) and these were backt with thirtie thousand foot-men, after whom againe were led foure hundred spare horses for the King, which if he had meant to haue vsed, hee would haue marshalled some what nearer him.

Now followed the Reareward, the same being led by *Sisygambis* the Kings Mother, and by his Wife, drawn in glorious Chariots, followed by a great traine of Ladies their attendants on horse-backe, with fifteene Wagons of the Kings children, and the wives of the Nobility, waited on by two hundred and fiftie Concubines, and a world of Nurses and *Eunuchs*, most sumptuously apparelled. By which it should seeme that *Darius* thought that the *Macedonians* had bene *Comedians* or *Tumblers*; for this troupe was far fitter to behold those sports than to be present at battailes. Betwene these and a company of light-armed slaues, with a world of Vallets, was the Kings treasure, charged on fixe hundred Mules, and three hundred Camels, brought, as it proved, to pay the *Macedonians*. In this sort came the *Maygame-King* into the field, incumbered with a most unnecessary traine of Strumpets, attended with troupes of diuers Nations, speaking diuers languages, and for their numbers impossible to be marshalled; and for the most part so effeminate, and so rich in gold and in garments, as the same could not but haue encouraged the nakedest Nation of the world against them. Wee finde it in daily experience, that all discourse of magnanimity, of Nationall Vertue, of Religion, of Liberty, and whatsoeuer else hath bene wont to moue and incourage vertuous men, hath no force at all with the common-Souldier, in comparison of spoyle and riches. The rich ships are boarded vpon all disadvantages, the rich Townes are furiously assaulted, and the plentifull Countries willingly inuaded. Our *English* Nation haue attempted many places in the *Indies*, and runne vpon the *Spaniards* head-long, in hope of their Royals of plate, and Pistoles; which, had they bene put to it vpon the like disadvantages in *Ireland*, or in any poore Countrey, they would haue turned their Peeces and Pikes against their Commanders, contesting that they had bene brought without reason to the Butchery & slaughter. It is true that the warre is made willingly, and for the most part with good successe, that is ordained against the richest Nations; for as the needie are alwaies aduenturous for plentie is wont to shunne perill, and men that haue well to liue, doe rather studie how to liue well, I meane wealthily, than care to die (as they call it) honourably. *Car ou il ny arien a gaigner que des coups, volontiers il ny va pas. No man makes haste to the market, where there is nothing to be bought but blowes.*

Now if *Alexander* had beheld this preparation before his consultation with his Sooth-saiers, hee would haue satisfied himselfe by the out-sides of the *Persians*, and neuer haue looked into the intrayles of Beasts for successe. For leauing the description of this second battell (which is indeed no-where wel described, neither for the confusion & hastie running away of the *Asians* could it be) we haue enough by the slaughter that was made of them, & by the few that fell of the *Macedonians*, to informe vs what manner of resistance was made. For if it be true that threecore thousand *Persian* footmen were slaine in this battaile, with ten thousand of their horsemen: Or (as *Curtius* saith) an hundred thousand footmen, with the same number of horsemen, and besides this slaughter, fortie thousand taken prisoners, while of *Alexanders* Armie there miscarried but two hundred & fourescore of all sorts, of which numbers *Arianus* and other Historians cut off almost the one halfe: I doe verily beleue, that this small number rather died with the ouer-trauail and paines-taking in killing their enemies, than by any strokes received from them. And surely if the *Persian* Nation (at this time degenerate, and the basest of the World) had

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any fauour remaining of the ancient valour of their fore-fathers; they would neuer haue sold so good cheape; and at so vile a price. The Mother, the Wife, the Daughters, and other the Kings children; had their owne honour bene valued by them at nothing, and the Kings sacrie and his estate at lesse. *Darius* by this time found it true, that *Charidemus* a banished *Gracian* of *Athens* had told him, when he made a view of his Army about *Babylon*, to wit, That the multitude which he had assembled of diuers Nations, richly attired, but poorly armed, would be found more terrible to the Inhabitants of the countrey, whom in passing by they would deuoure, than to the *Macedonians*, whom they meant to assaile; who being all old and obedient Souldiers, imbattailed in grosse squadrons, which they call their *Phalanx*, well covered with Armour for defence, and furnished with weapons for offence of great aduantage, would make so little accompt of his delicate *Persians*, louing their ease and their palat, being withall ill armed and worse disciplined, as except it would please him to entertain (hauing so great abundance of treasure and so much) a sufficient number of the same *Gracians*, and so to encounter the *Macedonians* with men of equall courage, he would repent him ouerlate, as taught by the miserable successe like to follow.

But this discourse was so vnpleasing to *Darius* (who had bene accustomed to nothing so much as to his owne praises, and to nothing so little as to heare truth;) as he commanded that this poore *Gracian* should be presently slaine: who while hee was a funding in the Tormentors hand, vsed this speech to the King, That *Alexander*, against whom hee had giuen this good counsell, should assuredly reuenge his death, and lay deserved punishment vpon *Darius* for despising his aduice.

It was the saying of a Wise man: *Desperata eius Principis salus est, cuius aures ita formate sunt, ut aspera que utilia, nec quicquam nisi iucundum accipiat*: That Princes safetie is in a desperate case, whose eares iudge all that is profitable to be too sharpe, and will entertaine nothing that is vnpleasing.

For libertie in counsell is the life and essence of counsell; *Libertas consilij est eius vita, & essentia, qua crepta consilium euanesce*.

Darius did likewise value at nothing the Aduice given him by the *Gracian* Souldiers gathered round him, who intreated him not to fight in the Streights: But had they bene Counsellers and directors in that Warre, as they were vnderlings and commanded by others, they had with the helpe of a good troupe of horse-men bene able to haue opposed the furie of *Alexander*, without any assistance of the *Persian* foot-men. For when *Darius* was overthrowne with all his cowardly and confused rabble, those *Gracians*, vnder their Captaine *Anymas*, held firme, and marched away in order, in delight of the vanquishers. Old Souldiers are not easily dismayed: wee reade in Histories ancient and moderne, what braue retraites haue bene made by them, though the rest of the Army in which they haue serued, hath bene broken.

At the battaile of *Rauenna*, where the Imperials were beaten by the *French*, a squadron of *Spaniards*, old Souldiers, came off vnbroken and vndismayed; whom when *Gaston de Foix*, Duke of *Nemures*, and Nephew to *Lewis* the twelfth, charged, as holding the victorie not entree by their escape, he was ouer-turned and slaine in the place. For it is truly said of those men, who, by being acquainted with dangers feare them not. That, *Negligens periculo imminens est malis opus ipsum quantumvis difficile aggrediuntur*; They goe about the businesse it selfe, how hard soeuer it be, not standing to consider of the danger, which the mischiefe hanging ouer their heads may bring: and as truly of those that know the warres but by heare-say. *Quod valentes sunt & prauales ante pericula, in ipsis tamen periculis descedunt*; They haue debilitie enough, and to spare, till dangers appeare; but when perill indeed comes, they get them gone.

These *Gracians* also that made the retract, aduised *Darius* to retire his Army into the plaine of *Mesopotamia*, to the end that *Alexander* being entred into those large fields and great Champions, hee might haue inuironed the *Macedonians* on all sides with his multitude; and withall they counsellled him to diuide that his huge Armie into parts, not committing the whole to one stroke of Fortune, whereby hee might haue fought many battailes, and haue brought no greater numbers at once than might haue been well marshalled & conducted. But this counsell was so contrary to the cowardly affections of the *Persians*, as they perswaded *Darius* to inuiron the *Gracians* which gaue the aduice, and to cut them in pieces as Traitors. The infinite wisdom of God doth not work alwaies

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by one and the same way, but very often in the alteration of Kingdomes and Estates, by taking vnderstanding from the Gouvernours, so as they can neither giue nor dissemble of Counsels. For *Darius* that would needs fight with *Alexander* vpon a straightened piece of ground, neere vnto the Citie of *Iffus*, where he could bring no more hands to fight than *Alexander* could, (who by the aduice of *Parmenio* staied there, as in a place of best aduantage) was vtterly ouerthrowne, his Treasure lost; his Wife, Mother, and Children (whom the *Gracians* his followers had perswaded him to leaue in *Babylon*, or elsewhere) taken prisoners, and all their traine of Ladies spoiled of their rich Garments, Jewels, and Honour. It is true, that both the Queene, with her Daughters, who had the good hap to be brought to *Alexanders* presence, were entertained with all respect due vnto their birth, their Honours preferred, and their Jewels and rich Garments restored vnto them; and though *Darius* Wife was a most beautifull Lady, and his Daughters of excellent forme, yet *Alexander* mastred his affections towards them all: onely it is reported out of *Aristobulus* the Historian, that he imbraced the Wife of the valiant *Memnon*, her Husband lately dead, who was taken flying from *Damascus* by *Parmenio*, at which time the Daughters of *Oebus*, who reigned before *Darius*, and the Wiues and Children of all the Nobility of *Persia* in effect, fell into captiuitie; at which time also *Darius* Treasure (not lost at *Iffus*) was seized, amounting to sixe thousand and two hundred talents of coine, and of *Bullum* sixe hundred talents, with a world of riches besides.

Darius himselfe leauing his brother dead, with diuers other of his chiefe Captaines (casting the Crowne from his head) hardly escaped.

After this ouerthrow giuen vnto *Darius*, all *Phenicia* (the Citie of *Tyre* excepted) was yielded to *Alexander*, of which *Parmenio* was made Gouvernour.

Aradus, *Zidon*, and *Biblos*, maritime Cities of great importance, of which one *Seruis* was King (but hated of the people) acknowledged *Alexander*. Good fortune followed him so fast that it trod on his heeles; for *Antigonus*, *Alexanders* Lieutenant in *Asia* the lesse, ouerthrew the *Cappadocians*, *Paphlagonians*, and others lately reuolted; *Aristodemus*, *Darius* Admirall, had his Fleet partly taken, and in part drowned by the *Macedonians* newly caued; the *Lacedamonians* that warred against *Antipater* were beaten, foure thousand of those *Greeks* which made the retrairt the last battaile, forsaking both the party of *Darius*; and of *Alexander*, and led by *Amyntas* into *Egypt*, to hold it for themselves, were buried there, for the time was not yet come to diuide Kingdomes.

Alexander to honour *Ephesius*, whom he loued most, gaue him power to dispose of the Kingdome of *Zidon*. A man of a most poore estate, that laboured to sustaine his life, being of the Royall blood, was commended by the people vnto him, who changed his Spade into a Scepter, so as he was beheld both a Begger and a King in one and the same houre.

It was a good desire of this new King, when speaking to *Alexander*, he wisht that he could beare his prosperity with the same moderation, and quietnesse of heart, that he had done his aduersitie; but ill done of *Alexander*, in that he would not performe in himselfe that which he commended in another mans desire: for it was a signe that he did but at company, and could not gouerne his felicitie.

While he made some stay in those parts, he receiued a letter from *Darius*, importing the ransom of his Wife, his Mother, and his Children, with some other conditions of peace, but such as rather became a Conqueror, than one that had now been twice shamefully beaten, nor vouchsafing, in his direction, to stile *Alexander* King. It is true, that the *Romans* after that they had receiued an ouerthrow by *Pyrrhus*, returned him a more respectfull answer vpon the offer of peace, than they did before the triall of his force. But as their fortunes were then in the Spring, so that of *Darius* had already cast lease, the one a resolu'd well armed and disciplined Nation, the other cowardly and effeminate. *Alexander* disdain'd the offers of *Darius*, and sent him word that he not onely directed his letter to a King, but to the King of *Darius* himselfe.

§. V.

How *Alexander* besieged and won the Citie of *Tyre*.

Alexander comming neere to the Citie of *Tyre*, receiued from them the present of a golden Crowne, with great store of victuals, and other presents, which he tooke very thankfully, returning them answer, That he desired to offer a sacrifice

sacrifice to *Hercules*, the Protector of their Citie, from whom he was descended. But the *Tyrrians* like not his companie within their Walls, but tell him that the Temple of *Hercules* was seated in the old City adioyning, now abandoned and desolate. To be short, *Alexander* resolu'd to enter it by force: and though it were a place in all mens opinion impregnable, because the Iland whereon it was built, was eight hundred furlongs from the Maine, yet with the labour of many hands, hauing great store of stone from the old *Tyre*, and timber sufficient from *Libanus*, he filled the passage of the Sea betweene the Iland and the Maine, which being more then once carried away by the strength of the Sea vpon a storme of winde, sometime by the *Tyrrians* fired, and sometime torne asunder, yet with the helpe of his Nauie which arriued (during the siege) from *Cyprus*, he ouercame all difficulties and preuailed, after he had spent seauen moneths in that attempt. The *Tyrrians* in the beginning of the siege had barbarously drowned the messengers sent by *Alexander*, perswading them to render the City, in respect whereof, and of the great losse of time and men, he put eight thousand to the sword, and caused two thousand of those, that escaped the first furie, to be hanged on Crosses on the Sea-shore, and refused for haies (saith *Diodore*) thirteene thousand, *Arrianus* reckons them at thirty thousand. Many more had died, had not the *Zidoniens*, that serued *Alexander*, conueied great numbers away by shipping vnto their owne Citie.

Happy it was for *Apollo* that the Towne was taken, for one of the *Tyrrians* hauing dreamt, that this god meant to forsake the Citie, they bound him fast with a golden chaine to the Idoll of *Hercules*; but *Alexander* like a gracious Prince loosened him againe.

It is true, that it was a notable enterprife and a difficult, but great things are made greater. For *Nabuchodonosor* had taken it before, and filled vp the channell, that lay betweene the Iland and the Maine.

The gouernement of this Territorie he gaue to *Philotas*, the Sonne of *Parmenio*; *Cilicia* he committed to *Socrates*, and *Andromachus* Lieutenant vnder *Parmenio*; *Ephesus* had the charge of the Fleet, and was directed to finde *Alexander* at *Gaza* towards *Egypt*.

§. VI.

How *Darius* offered conditions of peace to *Alexander*. *Alexander* wins *Gaza*; and deals graciously with the Iewes.

IN the meane while *Darius* sends againe to *Alexander*, sets before him all the difficulties of passing on towards the East, and laierh the losse of the last battaile: so the strenghtesse of the place: he hoped to terrifie him, by threatening to encompass him in the plaine Countries, he bids him to consider, how impossible it was to passe the Rivers of *Euphrates*, *Tigris*, *Araxes*, and the rest, with all such other fearefull things: for he that was now filled with nothing but feare, had arguments enough of that nature to present vnto another. All the Kingdomes betweene the River of *Alys*, and the *Hellypont*, he offered him in Dower with his beloued daughter. But *Alexander* answered, That he offered him nothing but his owne, and that which victory and his own vertue had posselt him of. That he was to giue conditions, and not to receiue any, & that he hauing passed the Sea it selfe, disdain'd to thinke of resistance in transporting himselfe ouer Rivers. It is said, that *Parmenio*, who was now old and full of honour and riches, told the King, that were he *Alexander*, he would accept of *Darius* his offers; to which *Alexander* answered, That so would he, if he were *Parmenio*.

But he goes on towards *Egypt*, and comming before *Gaza*, *Betis* a faithfull seruant to *Darius*, shuts the Gate against him, and defends the Towne with an obstinate resolution, at the siege whereof *Alexander* receiued a wound in the shoulder, which was dangerous, and a blow on his legge with a stone. He found better men in this place than he did at the former battailes, for he left so many of his *Macedonians* buried in the sands of *Gaza*, that he was fott to send for a new supply into *Greece*. Here it was that *Alexander* first began to change condition, and to exercise cruelty. For after that he had endured *Gaza* by assault, and taken *Betis* (whom *Iosephus* calleth *Babemesis*) that was weakened with many wounds, and who neuer gaue ground to the *Assilians*; he bored holes through his feet, and caused him to be drawne about the street, whilst he was as yet alive; who being as valiant

valiant a man as himselfe, disdained to aske him either life or remission of his torments. And what had he to countenance this his tyrannie, but the imitation of his Ancestor *Achilles*, who did the like to *Hector*: It is true, that cruelty hath alwayes somewhat to couer her deformity.

Lib. xi. c. vi.

From *Gaza* (saith *Iosephus*) he led his Army towards *Ierusalem*, a Citie, for the antiquitie and great fame thereof, well knowne vnto him while he lay before *Tyre*; He had sent for some supply thither, which *Iaddus* the high Priest, being subiect and sworne to *Darius*, had refused him. The *Tewes* therefore fearing his reuenge, and vnable to resist, committed the care of their estates and safetie to *Iaddus*, who, being taught by God, issued out of the Citie couered with his Pontificall Robes, to wit, an vpper garment of purple, embroidered with gold, with his Miter, and the plate of gold wherein the name of God was written, the Priests and Leuites in their rich ornaments, and the people in white garments, in a manner so vnusuall, stately and graue, as *Alexander* greatly admired it. *Iosephus* reports it, that he fell to the ground before the high Priest, as reuerencing the name of God, and that *Pernio* reprehended him for it; Howsoeuer it was, I am of opinion, that he became so confident in his enterprise, and so assured of the successe after the prophesie of *Daniel* had been read vnto him, wherein he saw himselfe, and the conquest of *Persia* so directly pointed at, as nothing thenceforth could discourage him or feare him. He confessed to *Parnenio* (saith *Iosephus*) That in *Dio* a Citie of *Macedon*, when his mind laboured the conquest of *Asia*, he saw in his sleepe such a person as *Iaddus*, and so apparelled, professing one and the same God, by whom he was encouraged to pursue the purpose he had in hand with assurance of victorie. This apparition, formerly apprehended onely by the light of his fantasie, he now beheld with his bodily eies, wherewith he was so exceedingly pleased and emboldened, as contrarie to the practice of the *Phenicians*, (who hoped to haue sackt and destroyed *Ierusalem*) he gaue the *Tewes* all, and more than they desired, both of libertie and immunitie, with permission to liue vnder their owne lawes, and to exercise and enioy their owne Religion.

§. VII.

Alexander winnes Egypt: and makes a iournie to the Temple of Hammon.

From *Ierusalem* *Alexander* turned againe towards *Egypt*, and entred it, where *Darius* his Lieutenant, *Asaces*, receiued him and deliuered into his hand the Citie of *Memphis*, with eight hundred talents of treasure, and all other the Kings riches. By this we see that the King of *Persia*, who had more of affection than of iudgement, gaue to the valiantest man he had but the command of one Citie, and to the verticst toward the government of all *Egypt*. When hee had set things in order in *Egypt*, he began to traualle after *God-head*, towards *Iupiter Hammon*, so foolish had prosperitie made him. He was to passe ouer the dangerous and drie sands, where, when the water which he brought on his Camels backe was spent, he could not but haue perished, had not a maruellous shewe of raine fallen vpon him, when his Armie was in extreme despair. All men that know *Egypt*, and haue written thereof, affirm, That it neuer raines there; but the purposes of the Almighty God are secret, and he bringeth to passe what it pleaseth him; for it is also said, That when he had lost his way in those vast deserts, that a flight of Crows flew before the Armie; who making falter wing when they were followed, and fluttering slowly when the Army was cast backe, guided them ouer those pathlesse sands to *Iupiters* Temple.

Arrian. l. 3.

Arrianus from the report of *Ptolomie*, the sonne of *Lagu*, saies, That hee was led by two Dragons, both which reports may bee a-like true. But many of those wonders and things prodigious, are fained by those that haue written the Storie of *Alexander*, as that so an Eagle lay hovering directly ouer his head at the battell of *Issus*; That a Swallow flew about his head when he slept, and could not be feared from him, till it had wakened him at *Halicarnassus*, fore-shewing the treason of *Aropus*, practised by *Darius* to haue slaine him; That from the yron barres of which the *Tyrans*, made their defensue engines, when *Alexander* besieged them, there fell drops of blood; and that the like drops were found in a loafe of bread, broken by a *Macedonian* Souldier, at the same time; That a Turfe of earth fell on his shoulder, when he lay before *Gaza*, out of which there flew a Bird into the aire. The *Spaniards* in the conquest of the West *Indies* haue many such

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pretie tales; telling how they haue beene assisted in battaile, by the presence of our *Lady*, and by *Angels* riding on white horses, with the like *Romish* miracles, which I thinke them selves doe hardly beleue. The strangest thing that I haue read of in this kinde being certainly true, was, That the night before the battaile at *Nousara*, all the Dogges which followed the *French* Armie, ranne from them to the *Switzers*, leaping and fawning vpon them, as if they had bene bred and fed by them all their liues, and in the morning following, *Triunzi* and *Tremouille*, Generals for *Lewis* the twelfth, were by these *Imperiall* *Switzers* utterly broken and put to ruine.

The place of this Idol of *Iupiter Hammon* is ill described by *Curtius*, for hee bounds it by the *Arabian* *Troglodites* on the South, betwene whom and the Territorie of *Hammon*, the Region *Thebaïs* or the superiour *Egypt*, with the Mountaines of *Lybia*, and the River of *Nilus*, are interacent; and on the North hee ioynes it to a Nation, called *Nassamones*, who bordering the Sea-shore, liue (saith he) vpon the spoyle of shipwracke: whereas the Temple or groue of this Idol hath no Sea neere it by two hundred miles and more, being found on the South part of *Lybia*; these *Nassamones* being due West from it, in the West part of *Marmarica*.

When *Alexander* came neere the place, hee sent some of his Parasites before him to pacifie the Priests attending the Oracle, That their answer might be giuen in all things, agreeable to his made ambition, who affected the title of *Iupiters* sonne. And so he was saluted, Sonne of *Iupiter*, by the Devils Prophet, whether prepared before to flatter him, or rather (as some thinke) defectiue in the *Greeke* tongue; For whereas hee meant to say *Opai dios*, he said *Opai dios*, that is, O sonne of *Iupiter*, in stead of, O deare sonne: for which Grammatical error he was richly rewarded, and a rumour presently spread, that the great *Iupiter* had acknowledged *Alexander* for his owne.

He had heard that *Poseidon* and *Hercules* had formerly consulted with this Oracle, The one, when he was employed against *Gorgon*, The other, against *Anteus* and *Bustris*; and seeing these men had deriued themselves from the gods, why might not hee? By this it seemes, that hee hoped to make his followers and the world fooles, though indeed hee made himselfe one, by thinking to couer from the Worlds knowledge his vanities and priuies; and the better to confirme his followers in the beleefe of his *Deitie*, he had practised the Priests to giue answer to such as consulted with the Oracle, that it should bee pleasing to *Iupiter* to honour *Alexander* as his Sonne.

Curt. li. 4.

Who this *Ammon* was, and how represented, either by a bosse carried in a Boat, or by a Ram, or a Rams-head; I see that many wise men haue troubled themselves to finde out, but as *Arrianus* speaks of *Dionysius*, or *Liber Pater* (who liued, saith *S. Augustine*, in *Moset* time) *Ea qua de dijs veteres fabulis suis conscripsero, non sum nimium curiose peruegigando; Nec must non ouer-curiously search into the fables, which the Ancients haue written of their gods.*

But this is certaine and notable, that after the Gospell beganne to bee preached in the world, the Deuill in this and all other Idols became speechlesse. For that this *Hammon* was neglected in the time of *Tiberius Caesar*, and in the time of *Traian* altogether forgotten, *Strabo* and *Plutarch* witness.

There is found neere his Temple a Fountaine called *Fons solis* (though *Ptolomie* in his third *African* Table sets it farther off) that at mid-nights as hot as boyling water, and at Noone as cold as any yce: to which I cannot but giue credit, because I haue heard of some other Wells of like nature, and because it is reported by *S. Augustine*, by *Diodore*, *Herodotus*, *Plinie*, *Mela*, *Solinus*, *Arrianus*, *Curtius*, and others; and indeed our Bathes in *England* are much warmer in the night, than in the day.

§. VIII.

How Alexander marching against Darius, was opposed very vnskillfully by the Enemy.

From the Temple of *Hammon* hee returned to *Memphis*, where among many other learned men, he heard the Philosopher *Psammones*, who, belike vnderstanding that he affected the Title of *Iupiters* Sonne, told him that God was the Father-king of all men in generall, and refining the pride of this haughtie King, brought him to say, That God was the Father of all mortall men, but that he acknowledged none for his children save good men.

Aaaa

He

Hegave the charge of the severall Prouinces of *Egypt* to severall Governours, following the rule of his Master *Aristotle*, That a great Dominion should not be continued in the hands of any one: whom therein the *Romane* Emperours also followed, not daring to commit the government of *Egypt* to any of their *Senators*, but to men of meaner ranke and degree. He then gave order for the founding of *Alexandria* vpon the Wester-most branch of *Nilus*. And hauing now settled (as he could) the estate of *Egypt*, with the Kingdomes of the lesser *Asia*, *Phenicia*, and *Syria*, (which being but the pawnes of *Darius* his ill fortune, one happie victory would readily haue redeemed,) he led his Army towards *Euphrates*, which passage though the same was committed to *Mazeus* to defend, yet was it abandoned, and *Alexander* without resistance past it. From thence hee marched towards *Tigris*, a Riuer for the swiftnesse thereof called by the *Persians* The Arrow. Heere, as *Curtius*, and Reason it selfe tells vs, might *Darius* easily haue repelled the invading *Macedonian*: for the violent course of the streame was such, as it draue before it many waigher stones, and those that moued not but lay in the bottome, were so round and well polished by continuall rolling, that no man was able to fight on so slipperie a footing; nor the *Macedonian* foot-men to wade the Riuer, otherwise then by ioyning their hands and entrelacing their armes together, making one waighy and enire body to resist the swift passage and furious race of the streame. Besides this notable helpe, the Channell was so deepe towards the Easterne shore, where *Darius* should haue made head, as the footmen were inforced to lift their Bowes and Arrowes, and Duts ouer their heads to keepe them from being mouised, and made vnsuicreable by the Waters. But it was truly and vnderstandingly said of *Homer*,

*Talis est hominum terrestrium mens,
Qualem quotide ducit pater virorumq; Deorumq;.*

The mindes of men are euer so affected,
As by Gods will they daily are directed.

And it cannot be denied, that as all Estates of the World, by the surfeit of misgouernment haue bene subiect to many grieuous, and sometimes mortall diseases: So had the Empire of *Persia* at this time brought it selfe into a burning and consuming Feauer, and thereby become franticke and without vnderstanding, for shewing manifestly the dissolution and death thereof.

But *Alexander* hath now recouered the Easterne shores of *Tygris*, without any other difficultie, than that of the nature of the place; where *Mazeus* (who had charge to defend the passage both of *Euphrates* and it) presented himselfe to the *Macedonians*, followed with certaine companies of Horse-men, as if with vncen forces hee durst haue charged them on euen ground, when as with a multitude farre exceeding them, hee forsooke the aduantage which no valour of his enemies could easily haue overcome. But it is commonly seene, that fearefull and cowardly men doe euer follow those waies and counsells, whereof the opportunity is already lost.

It is true that he set all prouisions a fire wherewith the *Macedonians* might serue themselves ouer *Tygris*, thinking thereby greatly to haue distressed them; but the execution of good counsell is fruitlesse, when vnsuicreable. For now was *Alexander* so well furnished with carriges, as nothing was wanting to the compencie of the Army which hee conducted. Those things also which he fought to waste, *Alexander* being now in fight, were by his Horse-men saved and recouered. This, *Mazeus* might haue done some daies before a good leisure; or at this time with so great a strength of horse-men, as the *Macedonians* durst not haue pursued them, leauing the strength of their foote out of sight, and far behinde.

§. IX.

The new prouisions of *Darius*. *Accidents foregoing the battaile of Arbela.*

Darius, vpon *Alexanders* first retume out of *Egypt*, had assembled all the forces, which those Regions next him could furnish, and now also were the *Arians*, *Scythians*, *Indians*, and other Nations arrived; Nations (saith *Curtius*) that rather iuried to make vp the names of men, than to make resistance. *Arrianus* hath numbered

named them with their Leaders; and findes offoot-men of all sorts ten hundred thousand, and of horse foure hundred thousand, besides armed Chariots, and some few Elephants. *Curtius* who musters the Armie of *Darius* at two hundred thousand foote; and necessarie thousand horse, comes (I thinke) neerer to the true number; and yet seeing hee had more confidence in the multitude than in the valour of his Vassalls, it is like enough that hee had gathered together of all sorts some three or foure hundred thousand, with which hee hoped in those faire plaines of *Assyria*, to haue ouer-borne the few numbers of the invading Armie. But it is a Rule in the Philosophie of the Warre: *In omni prelio non tam multitudo, & virtus indota, quam ars & exercitum solum prestare vult. iniquitatem in eury battaile skill and practice doe more towards the victory, than multitude and rude valencie.*

While *Alexander* gaue rest to his Armie after the passage ouer *Tygris*, there happened an Eclipse of the Moone, of which the *Macedonians*, not knowing the cause and reason, were greatly affrighted. All that were ignorant (as the multitude alwaies are) took it for certaine preface of their ouerthrow and destruction, in so much as they began not only to murmur, but to speake it boldly, That for the ambition of one man, a man that disdained *Philip* for his Father, and would needs be called the Son of *Iupiter*, they should all perish. For he not onely inforced them to make warre against VVorlds of enemies, but against Riuers, Mountaines, and the Heauens themselves.

Hereupon *Alexander* being ready to march forward made a halt, and to quiet the mindes of the multitude, he called before him the *Egyptian Astrologers*, which followed him thence, that by them the Souldiers might be assured that this defection of the Moone was certaine preface of good successe; for that it was naturall they neuer imparted to the common people, but reserved the knowledge to themselves, so as a sorry Almanack-maker had bene no small foole in those daies.

Of this kind of superstitious obseruation *Cesar* made good vse, when he fought against *Arminius* and the *Germans*: for they being perswaded by the casting of lots, that if they fought before the change of the Moone, they should certainly lose the battaile, *Cesar* forth them to abide it, though they durst not giue it; wherein hauing their mindes already pleased by their owne superstition, and being resolutely charged by the *Romans*, the whole armie in effect perished.

The *Egyptians* gaue no other reason than this, That the *Gracians* were vnder the aspect of the *Sunne*, the *Persians*, of the *Moone*; and therefore the Moone failing and being darkened, the state of *Persia* was now in danger of falling, and their glory of being obscured. This iudgement of the *Egyptian* Priests being noyled through all the Armie, all were furnished, and their courage redoubled. It is a principle in the Warre, which, though deuised since, was well obserued then: *Exercitum terrore plenum Dux ad pugnam non ducit; Let not a Captaine leade his Armie to the fight, when it is possessed with master of terrore.*

It is truly obserued by *Curtius*, that the people are ledde by nothing so much as by superstition; yea, wee finde it in all stories, and often in our owne, that by such inuentions, deuiled tales, dreames, and prophesies, the people of this Land haue bene carried head-long into many dangerous tumults and insurrections, and still to their own losse and ruine.

As *Alexander* drew neere the *Persian* Armie, certaine letters were surprized, written by *Darius* to the *Gracians*, perswading them for great summes of money, either to kill or betray *Alexander*. But these by the aduice of *Parmenio* he suppressed.

At this time also *Darius* his faire Wife, oppressed with sorrow, and wearied with trauell, died. Which accident *Alexander* seemed no lesse to bewaile than *Darius*, who vpon the first bruit, suspected that some dishonourable violence had bene offered her; but being satisfied by an Eunuch of his owne that attended her, of *Alexanders* Kingly respect towards her, from the day of her being taken, he desired the immortal Gods, That if they had decreed to make a new Master of the *Persian Empire*, then it would please them to conferre on so iust and continent an enenay as *Alexander*, to whom he once againe before the last battaile offered these conditions of peace.

That with his Daughter in marriage he would deliuer vp and resigne all *Asia* the lesse, and with *Egypt*, all those Kingdoms betweene the *Phenician* Sea, & the Riuer of *Euphrates*; That he would pay him for the ranfome of his Mother, and his other Daughters 30. thousand

thousand talents, and that for the performance thereof, hee would leave his son *Ochus* in hostage: To this they fought to perswade *Alexander* by such arguments as they had, *Alexander* causing the Embassadors to be removed, advised with his Council, but heard no man speak but *Parmenio*, the very right hand of his good fortune, who perswaded him to accept of these faire conditions. He told him, that the Empire between *Euphrates* and *Hellefont* was a faire addition to *Macedon*; that the retaining of the *Persian* prisoners was a great cumber, and the treasure offered for them of farre better use then their persons, with diuers other arguments; all which *Alexander* reiected. And yet it is probable that if he had followed his aduice, and bounded his ambition within those limits, hee might haue liued as famous for vertue as for fortune, and left himselfe a Successor of able age to haue enioyed his estate, which afterward, indeede, hee much enlarged, rather to the greating of others than himselfe: who to assure themselves of what they had vsurped vpon his issues, left not one of them to draw breath in the world within a few yeeres after. The truth is, That *Alexander* in going so farre into the East, left behinde him the reputation which he brought out of *Macedon*; the reputation of a iust and prudent Prince, a Prince temperate, aduised and gratefull: and being taught new lessons by abundance of prosperitie, became a loue of wine, of his owne flatterie, and of extreme cruelty. Yea, as *Seneca* hath obserued, the taint of one vniust slaughter, amongst many, defaced and withered the flourishing beauty of all his great acts and glorious victories obtained. But the *Persian* Embassadors stay his answer, which was to this effect, That whatsoeuer hee had bestowed on the Wife and children of *Darius*, proceeded from his owne naturall clemencie and magnanimitie, without all respect to their Master, but thanks to an enemy was improper; that he made no warres against aduersitie, but against those that resisted him; not against Women and Children, but against armed enemies: and although by the reiterated practice of *Darius*, to corrupt his Souldiers, and by great summes of money to perswade his friends to attempt vpon his person, he had reason to doubt that the peace offered was rather pretended than meant, yet he could not were it otherwise & faithfull, resolute in haste to accept the same, seeing *Darius* had made the Warre against him, not as a King with Royall and ouer-force, but as a Traitor by secret and base practice. That for the Territorie offered him, it was already his owne, and if *Darius* could beat him back so againe ouer *Euphrates*, which he had already past, he would then belecue that hee offered him somewhat in his owne power: Otherwise he propounded to himselfe for the ward of the Warre which hee had made, all those Kingdomes as yet in *Darius* possession; wherein whether hee were abused by his owne hopes or no, the battaile which hee meant to fight in the day following should determine. For in conclusion, he told them, that he came into *Asia* to giue, and not to receive; That the Heauens could not hold two *Sunnes*: and therefore if *Darius* could be content to acknowledge *Alexander* for his Superior, hee might perchance be perswaded to giue him conditions fit for a second Prisoner, and his Inferiour.

§. X.

The battaile of Arbela: and that it could not bee so strongly fought as reports hath made it.

With this answer the Embassadors returne; *Darius* prepares to fight, and sends *Mazæus* to defend a passage, which hee neuer yet dared so much as to hazard. *Alexander* consults with his Captaines, *Parmenio* perswades him to force *Darius* his Campe by night; so that the multitude of enemies might not moue retreat in the *Macedonians*, being but few. *Alexander* disdaines to steale the victory, and resolves to bring with him the day-light, to witness his valour. But it was the successe that made so good *Alexanders* resolution, though the counsell given by *Parmenio* was more found: For it is a ground in Warre, *Stipaci necessarij cum multitudine pugnare cogantur, consilium est noctis tempore belli fortunam tentare*. Notwithstanding vpon the view of the multitude at hand, hee tatters and trenches himselfe vpon a ground of aduantage, which the *Persian* had abandoned: And whereas *Darius* for feare of surprise had stood with his Armie in armour all the day, and forborne sleepe all the night; *Alexander* gave his men Rest and store of foode, for reason had taught him this Rule in the Warre, *In pugna Milius validius resistunt, si cibo potuque refecti fuerint, nam fames intrinsecus*

magis pugnat, quam ferrum exterius; Souldiers doe the better stand to it in fight, if they haue their bellies full of meate and drinke; for hunger within, fights more eagerly than Steele without.

The numbers which *Alexander* had, saith *Arrianus*, were fortie thousand foot, and seuen thousand horse; these belike were of the *European* Armie; for hee had besides both *Syrian*, *Indians*, *Egyptians*, and *Arabians*, that followed him out of those Regions. Hee vied but a short speech to his Souldiers to encourage them; and I thinke that hee needed little Rhetoricke; for by the two former battailes vpon the Riuer of *Granick* and in *Cilicia*, the *Macedonians* were best taught with what men they were to encounter. And it is a true saying, *Victoria Victoriam parat, animusque victoribus augebit, aduersarijs auferet*. One victorie begets another, and puts courage into those that haue already had the better, taking spirit away from those that haue beene beaten.

Arrianus and *Curtius* make large descriptions of this battaile, fought at *Gangamela*; They tell vs of many charges and re-charges; That the victory inclined sometime to the *Persians*, sometime to the *Macedonians*; That *Parmenio* was in danger of being ouerthrowne, who led the left wing; That *Alexanders* Rear-guard was broken, and his carriages lost; That for the fierce and valorous encounters on both sides; *Fortune* her selfe was long vnresolved on whom to bestow the Garland: And lastly, That *Alexander* in person wrought wonders, being charged in his retreat. But, in conclusion, *Curtius* deliuereth vs in account but three hundred dead *Macedonians*, in all this terrible daies worke, saying, That *Ephesion*, *Perdiccas* and others of name were wounded. *Arrianus* findes not a third part of this number slaine; of the *Persians* there fell fortie thousand (saith *Curtius*), thirty thousand according to *Arrianus*: Ninety thousand, if wee beleue *Dionysius*. But what can we iudge of this great encounter, other than that, as in the two former battailes, the *Persians* vpon the first charge ranne away, and that the *Macedonians* pursued? For if of these foure or fise hundred thousand *Asians* brought into the field by *Darius*, every man had cast but a Dart, or a Stone, the *Macedonians* could not haue bought the Empire of the East at so easie a rate, as fixe or seuen hundred men in three notorious battailes. Certainly, if *Darius* had fought with *Alexander* vpon the banks of *Euphrates*, & had armed but fiftie or threecore thousand of this great multitude, one lie with Spades (for the most of all hee had were fit for no other weapon) it had beene impossible for *Alexander* to haue past that Riuer so easily, much less the Riuer of *Tygris*. But as a man whose Empire God in his prouidence had determined, hee abandoned all places of aduantage, and suffered *Alexander* to enter so farre into the bowells of his kingdom, as all hope and possibilitie of escape by retreat being taken from the *Macedonians*, they had presented vnto them the choise, either of death or victorie; to which election *Darius* could no way contraine his owne, seeing they had many large Regions to runne into from those that inuaded them.

§. XI.

Of things following the battaile of Arbela. The yeelding of Babylon and Susa.

D*arius* after the rout of his Armie recovered *Arbela* the same night, better followed in his flight, than in the fight. He propounded vnto them that ranne after him his purpose of making a retreat into *Media*, perswading them that the *Macedonians*, greedy of spoyle and riches, would rather attempt *Babylon*, *Susa*, and other Cities, filled with treasure, than pursue the vanquished. This miserable resolution his Nobilitie rather obeyed than approved.

Alexander soone after *Darius* his departure arrives at *Arbela*, which with a great masse of treasure, and Princely ornaments, was rendred to him: for the feare which conducted *Darius*, took nothing with it but shame and dishonour. Hee that had beene twice beaten, should rather haue sent his treasure into *Media*, than brought it to *Arbela*, so neer the place where hee abid the comming of his enemies; if he had beene victorious, hee might haue brought it after him at leisure; but being ouercome, he knew it vnpossible to drive Mules and Camels laden with gold from the pursuing Enemy, seeing himselfe, at the ouerthrow hee had in *Cilicia*, cast the Crowne from his head, to runne away with the more speed. But errors are then best discerned when most incurable. *Et prateritis magis reprehendi possunt quam corrigi; It is easier to reprehend than amend what is past.*

From *Arbels* *Alexander* tooke his way towards *Babylon*, where *Mazæus* in whom *Darius* had most confidence rendred himselfe, his children and the Citie. Also the Captaine of the Castle, who was keeper of the treasure, frowed the streets with flowers, burnt frankincence vpon Altars of silver as *Alexander* passed by, and deliuered vnto him whatsoever was committed to his trust. The *Magi* (the *Chaldean* Astrologers) followed this Captaine in great solemnitie to entertaine their new King: after these came the *Babylonian* horsemen, infinite rich in attire, but exceeding poore in warlike furniture. Betwene these (though not greatly to be feared) and himselfe, *Alexander* caused his *Macedonian* foote-men to march. When he entred the Castle, he admired the glory thereof, and the abundance of treasure therein found, amounting to fiftie thousand talents of silver vncoyned. The Citie it selfe I haue elsewhere described vnder the *Wall*, the *Towers*, the *Gates* and *Circuite*, with the wonderfull place of pleasure about two miles in Circuite, surrounded with a Wall of foure score foote high, and on the top thereof (being vnder-borne with Pillars) a Groue of beautifull and fruitfull trees, which it is said that one of the Kings of *Babylon* caused to be built, that the *Queen* and other *Princesses* might walke priuately therein. In this Citie, rich in all things, but most of all in voluptuous pleasures, the King rested himselfe and the whole Army foure and thirty daies, consuming that time in banquetting and in all sorts of effeminate exercise, which so much softened the mindes of the *Macedonians*, not acquainted till now with the like delicacies, as the seuerer discipline of warre which taught them the sufferances of hunger and thirst, of painefull traualle, and hard lodging, began rather to be forgotten, than neglected.

Ans. b. Alex.

Heere it was that those bands of a thousand Soldiers were erected, and Commanders appointed ouer them, who thereupon were stiled *Chiliarchi*. This new order *Alexander* brought in, was to honor those Captaines which were found by certaine selected Iudges to haue deserved best in the late warre. For before this time the *Macedonian* companies consisted but of five hundred. Certainly the drawing downe of the foot-bands in this latter age hath bene the cause (saith the *Marshal Monluc*) that the title and charge of a Captaine hath been bestowed on euery *Pique* *Baif* or *Spurn-Cow*, for when the Captaines of foote had a thousand Souldiers vnder one Ensigne, and after that five hundred, as in the time of *Francis* the first, the title was honorable, and the Kings were lesse enlarged, and farre better serued. *K. Henry* the eight of *England* neuer gaue the commandement of any of his good ships, but to men of known valour, and of great estate, nay sometime he made two Gentlemen of qualitie Commanders in one ship: but all orders and degrees are fallen from the reputation they had.

While *Alexander* was yet in *Babylon*, there came to him a great supply out of *Europe*, for *Antipater* sent him fixe thousand foote and five hundred horse, out of *Macedon*; of *Thracians* three thousand foot, and the like number of horse; and out of *Greece* foure thousand and foure hundred horse, by which his Armie was greatly strengthened: for those that were infected with the pleasures of *Babylon*, could hardly bee brought againe, *Deo* *quitter la plume pour dormir sur la dave; To change from soft beds to hard boards.*

Hee left the Castle and Citie of *Babylon* with the Territories about it in charge with three of his owne Captaines, to wit, *Agathon*, *Minetus*, and *Appollodorus*; to supply all wants, a thousand talents: but to grace *Mazæus*, who rendred the Citie vnto him, hee gaue him the title of his Lieutenant ouer all, and tooke with him *Bagistines* that gaue vp the Castle, and hauing distributed to euery Souldier a part of the Treasure, he left *Babylon*, and entred into the Province *Satrapene*: from thence hee went on towards *Susa* in *Persia*, the same which *Ptolomie*, *Herodotus*, and *Elianus* call *Memnonia*, situate on the River *Euleus*, a Citie sometime gouerned by *Daniel* the Prophet. *Abulites* also, gouernour of this famous Citie, gaue it vp to the Conqueror, with fifty thousand talents of silver in bullion, and twelue *Elephants* for the warre, with all other the treasures of *Darius*. In this sort did those Vassalls of fortune, louers of the Kings prosperitie, not of his person; for so all ambitious men are) purchase their owne peace and safetie with the Kings treasures. And heerein was *Alexander* well aduised, that whatsoever titles hee gaue to the *Persians*, yet hee left all places of importance in trust with his owne Captaines, to wit, *Babylon*, *Susa*, and *Persepolis*, with other Cities and Provinces by him conquered; for *Darius* (as yet liuing) had beaten the *Macedonians* but in one battell, all the Nobilitie of *Persia* would haue returned vnto their naturall Lord. Those that are Traitors to

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than foure
thousand ta-
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on, and of nine
Millions of
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to their owne Kings, are neuer to be vied alone in great enterprises by those Princes that entertaine them, nor euer to be trusted with the defences of any frontier-Towne, or Fortresse of weight, by the rendring whereof they may redeeme their liberty and estates lost. Hereof the *French* had experience, when *Don Pedro de Nauarra*, being banished out of *Spain*, was trusted with *Fontenay*, in the yeere 1523.

While *Alexander* spoiled *Arbels*, *Mazæus* might haue furnished the King from *Babylon*, and while he stayed foure and thirty daies at *Babylon*, *Abulites* might haue holpen him from *Susa*; and while he feasted there, *Tridates* from *Persepolis* might haue relieved him, for the great masse of treasure was laied vp in that Citie. But who hath sought out and friended fearefull aduersitie? It is certaine, that benefits binde not the ambitious, but the honest: for those that are but greedy of themselves, doe in all changes of fortune onely consult the conseruation of their owne greatness.

The gouernment of *Susa*, with the Castle and Treasure, he committed to his owne *Macedonian*, making *Abulites* who rendred it vnto him his Lieutenant, as he had done *Mazæus* and others, in giuing them Titles, but neither trust nor power; for he left three thousand old Souldiers in Garrison to assure the place; and *Darius* Mother and her children to reside themselves.

It is said, that *Charles* the fift hauing promised *Charles* of *Bourbon* the gouernement of *Marcellis*, if he could haue fort it, and whereof he made sure accompt, told some of his nearest Counsellors, that he meant nothing lesse than the performance of that promise; because hee should thereby haue left the Duke (reioled from his Master) very well wherewithall to haue recouered his fauour.

§. XII.

How *Alexander* came to *Persepolis*, and burnt it.

From *Susa* *Alexander* leadeth his Armie toward *Persepolis*, and when he sought to passe those mountains which sunder *Susiana* and *Persia*, he was soundly beaten by *Ariobarzanes*, who defended against him those Steights, called *Pyle Persepolis*, or *Susiana*, and after the losse of many Companies of his *Macedonians*, he was forced to force himselfe by reuair, causing his foote to march close together, and to couer themselves with their Targets from the stones tumbled on them from the Mountaine top. Yet in the end he found out another path, which a *Lygian*, liuing in that Countrie, discovered vnto him, and came thereby suddenly in view of *Ariobarzanes*, who being in sort to fight vpon euery ground, was by *Alexander* broken, whereupon he fled to *Persepolis*; but (after that they of *Persepolis* had refused to receiue him) he returned and gaue a second charge vpon the *Macedonians*, wherein he was slaine. In like manner did King *Francis* the first, in the yeere 1515, finde a way ouer the *Alpes*, the *Switzers* vnder taking to defend all the passages, who, if their footman ship had not saued them vpon the Kings descent on the other side; they had bene ill paid for their hard lodging on those Hills.

Foure thousand *Greekes*, saith *Curtius* (Iustine numbers them but at eight hundred) having bene taken, prisoners by the *Persians*, presented themselves to *Alexander* now in sight of *Persepolis*. These had the barbarous *Persians* so maimed and defaced, by cutting off their Hands, Noses, Eares, and other Members, as they could no way haue bene knowne to their Countrey-men, but by their voices; to each of these *Alexander* gaue three hundred Crownes, with new garments, and such Lands as they liked to liue vpon.

Tridates, one of *Darius* his false-hearted Grandses, hearing of *Alexanders* approach, made him know that *Persepolis* was ready to receiue him, and prayed him to double his speed, because there was a determination in the people to spoyle the Kings treasure. This Citie was abandoned by many of her Inhabitants vpon *Alexanders* arrivall; and they that staid followed the worst counsell, for all was left to the liberty of the Souldiers, to spoyle and kill at their pleasure. There was no place in the world at that time, which, if it had bene layed in the ballance with *Persepolis*, would haue weighed it downe. *Babylon*, *Indecus*, and *Susa*, were very rich; but in *Persepolis* lay the bulke and maine store of the *Persians*. For after the spoyle that had bene made of money, curious plate, bullion, Images of gold and silver, and other Jewells; there remained to *Alexander* himselfe one hundred and twenty thousand talents. Hee left the same number of three thousand *Macedonians*

Macedonians in Persopolis, which he had done in *Susa*, and gaue the same formall honour to the Traitor *Tiridates*, that he had done to *Abulites*; but he that had the trust of the place was *Nicariades*, a creature of his owne. The body of his Armie hee left here for thirte dayes, of which the Commanders were *Parmentio* and *Craterus*, and with a thousand horse and certaine troopes of chosen foote, hee would needes view in the Winter-time those parts of *Persia*, which the Snow had couered, a fruitlesse and foolish enterprise, but as *Seneca* saies: *Non uilire oult, sed non potest stare; He hath not a will to goe, but he is unable to stand still.* It is said and spoken in his praise: That when his Souldiers cried out against him, because they could not endure the extreame frost, and make way, but with extreame difficulty, through the snow, that *Alexander* forooke his horse, & led them the way. But what can be more ridiculous than to bring other men into extremitie, thereby to shew how well himselfe can endure it? His walking on foote did no otherwise take off their wearinesse that followed him, than his sometime forbearing to drinke did quench their thirst, that could lesse endure it. For mine owne little iudgement I shall rather commend that Capitaine, that makes carefull prouision for those that follow him, and that seeks wisely to prevent extreame necessity, than those witlesse arrogant fooles, that make the vaunt of hauing endured equally with the common Souldier, as if that were a matter of great glory and importance.

We finde in all the Warres that *Cæsar* made, or the best of the *Roman* Commanders, that the prouision of victuals was their first care. For it was a true saying of *Cæsar*, Adm. ill. of France; *That who so will shape thus beast* (meaning Warre) *must begin with his belly.*

But *Alexander* is now returned to *Persopolis*, where those Historians, that were most amorous of his vertues, complaine, that the opinion of his valour, of his liberality, of his clemencie towards the vanquished, and all other his Kingly conditions, were drowned in drinke; That he smothered in carrowling cups all the reputation of his actions past, and that by descending, as it were, from the reuerend Throne of the greatest King, into the company and familiarity of base Harlots, he began to be despised both of his owne and all other Nations. For being perswaded, when he was enflamed with wine, by the infamous Strumpet *Thais*, he caused the most sumptuous and goodly Castle and Citie of *Persopolis*, to be consumed with fire, notwithstanding all the arguments of *Parmentio* to the contrary, who told him that it was a dishonour to destroy those things by the perswasions of others, which by his proper vertue and force he had obtained; and that it would be a most strong perswasion to the *Assians*, to thinke hardly of him, & thereby aliene their hearts: For they might well beleue that he which demolished the goodliest Ornaments they had, meant nothing lesse than (after such vastation) to hold their possession. *Per uolentiam crudelitas sequitur; Crueltie doth commonly follow drunkenness:* For so it fell out soone after, and often, in *Alexander*.

§. XIII.

The Treason of *Bessus* against *Darius*. *Darius* his death.

ABOUT this time he receiued a new supply of Souldiers out of *Cilicia*, and goes on to finde *Darius* in *Media*. *Darius* had there compounded his fourth and last Armie, which he meant to haue increased in *Bactria*, had he not heard of *Alexander* coming on, with whom (trusting to such companies as he had, which was numbered at thirty or forty thousand) he determined once againe to trie his fortune. He therefore calls together his Captaines and Commanders, and propounds vnto them his resolution, who being desperate of good successe vsed silence for a while. *Artabazus*, one of his eldest men of Warre, who had sometime liued with *Philip of Macedonia*, brake the yce, and protesting that he could neuer be beaten by any aduersitie of the Kings, from the faith which he had euer ought him, with firme confidence, that all the rest were of the same condition (whereof they likewise assured *Darius* by the like protestation) he approved the Kings resolution. Two onely, and those the greatest, to wit, *Naburzanes*, and *Bessus*, whereof the latter was Gouvernour of *Bactria*, had conspired against their Master, and therefore aduised the King to lay a new foundation for the Warre, and to pursue it by some such person for the present, against whom neither the gods nor Fortune had in all things declared themselves to be an enemy: this preamble *Naburzanes* vied, and

and in conclusion aduised the election of his fellow Traitor *Bessus*, with promise that the warres ended, the Empire should againe be restored to *Darius*. The King swollen with disdain preist towards *Naburzanes* to haue slain him, but *Bessus* and the *Bactrians* whom he commanded, being more in number than the rest, with-held him. In the meane while *Naburzanes* with-drew himselfe, and *Bessus* followed him, making their quarter a-part from the rest of the Armie. *Artabazus*, the Kings faithfull seruant, perswaded him to be aduised, and serue the time, seeing *Alexander* was at hand, and that he would at least make shew of forgetting the offence made, which the King being of a gentle disposition, willingly yielded vnto. *Bessus* makes his submission and attends the King, who recognoseth his Armie, *Patron*, who commanded a Regiment of foure thousand *Greekes*, which had in all the former Battailles serued *Darius* with great fidelity, and alwayes made the remain in spite of the *Macedonians*, offered himselfe to guard his person, protesting against the Treason of *Bessus*, but it was not his destinie to follow their aduice who from the beginning of the Warre gaue him faithfull counsell, but hee chafed: still to *Bessus*, who told him, that the *Greekes* with *Patron* their Capitaine were corrupted by *Alexander*, and practised the diuision of his faithfull seruants. *Bessus* had drawne vnto him thirte thousand of the Armie, promising them all those things, by which the loouers of the World and themselves are wont to beallured, to wit, riches, safetie, and honour.

Now the day following *Darius* plainly discovered the purposes of *Bessus*, and being ouercome with passion, as thinking himselfe vnable to make head against these vngratefull and vnnatural Traytors, he prayed *Artabazus* his faithfull seruant to depart from him, and to prouide for himselfe. In like sort hee discharged the rest of his attendants, all save a few of his *Eunuchs*, for his Guards had voluntarily abandoned him: His *Persians* being most base Cowards, durst not undertake his defence against the *Bactrians*, nor wishing that they had foure thousand *Greekes* to fight with him, who had bene able to haue beaten both Nations. But it is true, that him, which forsakes himselfe, no man follows. It had bene farre more Man-like and King-like, to haue dyed in the head of those foure thousand *Greekes*, which offered him the disposition of their liues, (to which *Artabazus* perswaded him) than to haue lien bewailing himselfe on the ground, and suffering himselfe to be bound like a Slave by those ambitious Monsters that layd hand on him, whom neither the consideration of his former great estate, nor the honour he had giuen them; nor the trust reposed in them, nor the world of benefits bestowed on them, could moue to pittie: no, nor his present aduersitie, which about all things should haue moued them, could pierce their viperous and vngratefull hearts. Vaine it was in deede to hope it, for insidelitie hath no compassion.

Now *Darius*, thus forsaken, was bound & laid in a Cart, couered with Hides of Beasts, no more than by any other ornament he might nor be discovered; and to adde despight and denision to his aduersity, they fastned him with Chaines of Gold, and so drew him among their ordinary Carriages and Carts. For *Bessus* and *Naburzanes* perswaded themselves to redeeme their liues and the Provinces they held, either by delivering him a Prisoner to *Alexander*, or if that hope failed, to make themselves Kings by his slaughter, and then to defend themselves by force of Armes. But they failed in both. For it was against the nature of God, who is most iust, to pardon so strange villany, yea though against a Prince purely Heathenish and an Idolater.

Alexander hauing knowledge that *Darius* was retied towards *Bactria*, and durst not tise his coming, halstayed after him with a violent speede, and because he would not face his Foore-men beyond their powers, he mounted on horse-backe certaine selected Companies of them, and best armed, and with fixe thousand other Horse, rather ran than marched after *Darius*. Such as hated the Treason of *Bessus*, and secretly forsooke him, gaue knowledge to *Alexander* of all that had happened, informing him of the way that *Bessus* took, and how neere he was at hand for many men of worth daily to run from him. Hereupon *Alexander* againe doubled his pace, and his Vnt-guard being discovered by *Bessus* his Reare, *Bessus* brought a Horse to the Cart, where *Darius* lay bound, perswading him to mount thereon, and to save himselfe. But the vnguard King refusing to flye, knowing that he had betrayed him, they cast *Darius* his Cart, wounded him to death, and wounded the Beasts that drew him, & slew two poore seruants that attended his person. This done, they al fled that could, leauing the rest to the mercy of the *Macedonian* souldiers.

Polyhistor

Polystratus a *Macedonian*, being by pursuite of the vanquished prest with thirst, taste was refreshing himselfe with some water that he had discovered, espying a Cart with a Teame of wounded beasts breathing for life, and not able to moue, searched the same, and therein found *Darius* bathing in his owne blood: And by a *Persian* captiue which followed this *Polystratus*, he vnderstood that it was *Darius*, and was informed of this barbarous Tragedie. *Darius* also seemed greatly comforted (if dying men ignorant of the liuing God can be comforted) that he cast not out his last sorrowes vheard, but that by this *Macedonian*, *Alexander* might know and take vengeance on those Traitors, which had dealt no lesse vnworthily than cruelly with him, recommending their reuenge to *Alexander* by this messenger, which he besought him to pursue, not because *Darius* had desired it, but for his owne honour, and for the safetie of all that did, or should after weare Crownes. He also, hauing nothing else to present, rendered thanks to *Alexander* for the Kingly grace vsed towards his Wife, Mother, and Children, desiring the immortal gods to submit vnto him the Empire of the whole World. As he was thus speaking, impatient death pressing out his few remaining spirits, he desired water, which *Polystratus* presented him, after which he liued but to tell him, that of all the best things that the world had, which were lately in his power, he had nothing remaining but his last breath, where-with to desire the gods to reward his compassion.

§. XIII.

How *Alexander* pursued *Bessus*, and took into his grace *Darius* his Captiues.

IT was now hoped by the *Macedonians*, that their trauels were neere an end, euery man preparing for his returne. Hereof when *Alexander* had knowledge, he was greatly grieved; for the bounded earth sufficed not his boundlesse ambition. Many arguments he therefore vsed to draw on his Armie farther into the East, but that which had most strength was, that *Bessus*, a most cruell Traitor to his Master *Darius*, hauing at his deuotion the *Hyrcanians* and *Bactrians*, would in short time (if the *Macedonians* should returne) make himselfe Lord of the *Persian* Empire, and enioy the fruits of all their former trauailes. In conclusion, he wan their consents to goe on: which done, leaving *Craterus* with certaine Regiments of foote, and *Amynas* with fixe thousand Horse in *Parthenia*, he enters not without some opposition into *Hyrcania*; for the *Mardons*, and other barbarous Nations, defended certaine passages for a while. He passeth the Riuer of *Ziobertis*, which taking beginning in *Parthia*, dissolues it selfe in the *Caspian* Sea: it runneth vnder the ledge of Mountaines, which bound *Parthia* & *Hyrcania*, where hiding it selfe vnder ground for three hundred furlongs, it then riseth againe and followeth its former course. In *Zadracarta* or *Zendracarta*, the same Citie which *Ptolomie* writes *Hyrcania*, the Metropolis of that Region, he rested fiftene dayes, banquetting and feasting therein.

Phataphernes, one of *Darius* his greatest Commanders, with others of his best followers, submit themselves to *Alexander*, and were restored to their places and gouernments. But of all other he graced *Artabazus* most highly for his approued and constant faith to his Master *Darius*. *Artabazus* brought with him ten thousand and five hundred *Greeks*, the remainder of all those that had serued *Darius*. He treats with *Alexander* for their pardon, before they were yet arrived, but in the end they render themselves simply without promise or composition: he pardons all but the *Lacedaemonians*, whom he imprisoned, their Leader hauing slaine himselfe. He was also wrought, (thought to his great dishonour) to receiue *Nabarzanes* that had ioyned with *Bessus* to murder *Darius*.

§. XV.

Of *Thalestris* Queene of the *Amazons*; where, by way of digression it is shewed, that such *Amazons* haue beene, and are.

HERE it is said, that *Thalestris* or *Minothea*, a Queene of the *Amazons*, came to visite him, and her suite was, (which she easily obtained) That she might accompany him till she were made with childe by him: which done (refusing to follow him into *India*), she returned into her owne Countrie.

Plutarch

Plutarch citeth many Historians, reporting this meeting of *Thalestris* with *Alexander*, and some contradicting it. But, indeede, the letters of *Alexander* himselfe to *Antipater*, recounting all that befell him in those parts, and yet omitting to make mention of this *Amazonian* businesse, may iustly breed suspition of the whole matter as forged. Much more iustly may we suspect it as a vaine tale, because an Historian of the same time reading one of his bookes to *Lysimachus* (then King of *Thrace*) who had followed *Alexander* in all his voyage; was laugh at by the King for inserting such newes of the *Amazons*; and *Lysimachus* himselfe had neuer heard of. One that accompanied *Alexander* tooke vpon him to write his acts; which to amplify, he told how the King had fought single with an Elephant, and slaine it. The King hearing such stuffe, caught the booke, and threw it into the Riuer of *Indus*, saying, that it were well done to throw the writer after it, who by inserting such fables, disparaged the truth of his great exploits. Yet as we beleue and know that there are Elephants, though it were false that *Alexander* fought with one; so may we giue credit vnto writers, making mention of such *Amazons*, whether it were true or false that they met with *Alexander*; as *Plutarch* leaves the matter vnderdetermined. Therefore I will here take leave to make digression, as well to shew the opinions of the ancient Historians, Cosmographers, and others, as also of some moderne discoverers touching these warlike Women, because not onely *Strabo*, but many others of these our times make doubt, whether, or no, there were any such kinde of people. *Iulius Solinus* seates them in the North parts of *Asia* the lesse. *Pom. Mela* finds two Regions filled with them: the one, on the Riuer *Thermoodon*; the other, neere the *Caspian* Sea; *Quas* (saith he) *Sauromatidas* appellant; Which the people call *Sauromatidas*. The former of these two had the *Cimmerians* for their Neighbours; *Cerium est*, (saith *Vallianus*, who hath Commented vpon *Mela*) illos proximos *Amazonibus* fuisse. It is certain that the *Cimmerians* were the next Nations to the *Amazons*. *Ptolomie* letsthem farther into the Land North-wards, neere the Mountaines *Hippaci*, not farre from the Pillars of *Alexander*. And that they had Dominion in *Asia* it selfe toward *India*, *Solinus* and *Pliny* tels vs; Where they gouerned a people called the *Pandæans*, or *Pandæans*, so called after *Pandæa* the Daughter of *Hercules*, from whom all the rest deriue themselves. *Claudian* affirmes, That they commanded many Nations: For he speaks (largely perhaps as a Poet) thus:

Medis leuibufq; Sabæis
Imperat hic sexus: Reginarumq; sub armis,
Barbarie pars magna iacet.

Claud. de corp. Prejergina.

ouer the Medes, and light Sabæans, raignes
This female sexe: and vnder armes of Queene,
Great part of the Barbarian Land remains.

Diodorus Siculus hath hard of them in *Zybia*, who were more ancient (saith he) than those which kept the banks of *Thermoodon*, a Riuer falling into the *Euxine* Sea, neere *Heralcum*. *Herodotus* doth also make report of these *Amazons*, whom he tels vs that the *Scythians* call *Asopæas*, which is as much as *Viricidas*, or Men-killers. And that they made incursion into *Asia* the lesse, sackt *Ephesus*, and burnt the Temple of *Diana*, *Manethon* & *Athenæus* report, which they performed fortie yeeres after *Troy* was taken. At the siege of *Troy* it selfe wereade of *Penthesilea*, That she came to the succour of *Priamus*.

A. Enclid. l. 1. §. 3

Am. Marcellinus giues the cause of their inhabiting vpon the Riuer of *Thermoodon*, speaking confidently of the Warres they made with diuers Nations, and of their overthrow.

L. 2. §. 7.

Plutarch in the life of *Thesem*, out of *Philocharus*, *Hellenicus*, and other ancient Historians, reports the taking of *Antiope* Queene of the *Amazons* by *Hercules*, and by him giuen to *Thesem*, though some asseme, That *Thesem* himselfe got her by stealth, when she came to visit him aboard his ship. But in substance there is little difference, all confessing, That such *Amazons* there were. The same Author in the life of *Pompey* speaks of certaine companies of the *Amazons*, that came to aide the *Albanians* against the *Romans*, by whom after the battaile, many Targets and Buskins of theirs were taken vp: and he saith farther, That these women entertaine the *Gels* and *Lelages* once a yeere, Nations inhabiting betwixt them and the *Albanians*.

But

Hist. Ind.
part. 1. c. 28.

But to omit the many Authors, making mention of *Amazons* that were in the old times, *Fran. Lopez* who hath written the nauigation of *Orellana*, which he made down the Riuer of *Amazons* from *Peru*, in the yeere 1542. (vpon which Riuer, for the diuers turnings, he is said to haue sailed fixe thousand miles) reports from the relation of the said *Orellana*, to the Councell of the *Indies*, That he both saw those women and fought with them, where they sought to impeach his passage towards the East-Sea.

It is also reported by *Viricius Schmidt*, that in the yeere 1542. when he sailed vpon the Riuers of *Paragua* and *Parabol*, that he came to a King of that Countrey, called *Scherues*, inhabiting vnder the Tropick of *Capricorne*, who gaue his Captaine *Ernando Rieffere*, a Crowne of silver, which he had gotten in fight from a Queene of the *Amazons* in those parts.

Ed. Lopez, in his description of the Kingdome of *Congo*, makes relation of such *Amazons*, telling vs, That (agreeable to the reports of elder times) they burne off their right breasts, and liue a part from men, saue at one time of the yeere, when they feast and accompany them for one moneth. These (saith he) possesse a part of the Kingdome of *Momotapa* in *Africa*, nineteene degrees to the Southward of the line: and that these women are the strongest guards of this Emperour, all the East *Indian Portugals* know.

I haue produced these authorities in part, to iustifie mine owne relation of these *Amazons*, because that which was deliuered me for truth by an ancient *Cacique* of *Guiana*, how vpon the Riuer of *Papamena* (since the *Spanish* discoueries called *Amazons*; that these women still liue and gouerne, was held for a vaine and vnprobable report.

§. XVI.

How Alexander fell into the Persian Luxurie: and how he further pursued Bessus.

NOW as *Alexander* had begun to change his conditions after the taking of *Perspolis*: so at this time his prosperie had so much over-wrought his vertue, as he accomplished clemency to be but basenesse, & the temperance which he had vsed all his life time, but a poore and dejected humour, rather becoming the instructors of his youth, than the condition and state of so mighty a King, as the world could not equal. For he perswaded himselfe that he now represented the greatnesse of the gods; he was pleased that those that came before him, should fall to the ground, & adore him; he wore the Robes and garments of the *Persians*, & commanded that his Nobility should doe the like, he entertained in his Court and Campe, the same shamelesse rabble of Curians, and Sodomiticall Eunuchs, that *Darius* had done, & imitated in all things the proud, voluptuous, & detested manners of the *Persians*, whom he had vanquished. So licentious is felicity, as notwithstanding that he was fully perswaded, that the gods whom he serued (desisting the vices of the invaded) assisted him in all attempts against them, he himselfe, contrary to the Religion he profest (which how Idolatrous soeuer it were, could not be but fearfull vnto him by neglecting it) became by imitation, & not by ignorance or education, a more foule and fearefull Monster than *Darius*, from whose tyranny he vaunted to haue deliuered so many Nations. Yea, those that were dearest and neerest vnto him, began to be ashamed of him, entreaining each other with this, and the like scornfull discourse; That *Alexander* of *Macedon* was become one of *Darius* his licentious Courtiers; That by his example, the *Macedonians* were in the end of so many trauailes, more impouerished in their vertues, than enriched by their victories; and that it was hard to iudge whether the Conquerors, or the Conquered were the baser slaves. Neither were these opinions so reſerued, but that the noise of them came to his eares. Hee therefore with great gifts sought to pacifie the better sort, and those of whose iudgements he was most ialous; and making it knowne to the Armie, that *Bessus* had assumed the title of a King, and called himselfe *Artaxerxes*, and that he had compounded a great Armie of the *Bactrians*, and other Nations, he had arguments enow to perswade them to goe on, to the end that all already gotten, might not with themselves (so farre engaged) be cast away. And because they were pestered with the spoiles of so many Cities, as the whole Armie seemed but the guard of their carriages, (not much unlike the warfare of the *French*) hauing commanded euery mans fardeels to be brought into the market-place, he together with his owne, caused all to be consumed with fire. Certainly, this could not but haue prouoked most

most dangerous vnto him, seeing the common-Souldiers had more interest in these things which they had bought with their painfull trauailes, and with their blood; than in the Kings ambition; had not (as *Seneca* often obserued) his happy temeritie ouercome all things. As he was in his way, newes came to him, that *Satibarzanes*, whom he had established in his former gouernment ouer the *Arrians*, was reuolted; whereupon leaving the way of *Bactria*, he sought him out; but the Rebell, hearing of his coming, fled to *Bessus*, with two thousand Horſe. He then went on towards *Bessus*, and by setting a great pile of wood on fire, with the aduantage of a strong winde, won the passage ouer an high and vnacceſſable Rocke, which was defended against him, with thirtie thousand foote. For the extremitie of the Flame and smoake, forced them from the place, otherwise inuincible. I saw in the third ciuill warre of *Cruce*, certaine Caues in *Langedoc*, which had but one entrance, and that very narrow, cut out in the mid-way of high Rockes, which we knew not how to enter by any ladder or engine, till at last, by certaine bundels of straw, let downe by an yron chaine, and a weighty ſtone in the midst, those that defended it, were so smothered, as they rendered themselves with their plate, monie, and other goods therein hidden. There were also some three yeeres before my arrival in *Guiana*, three hundred *Spaniards* well mounted, smothered to death, together with their Horſes, by the Countrey-people, who did set the long dry grasse on fire to the Eastward of them, (the winde in those parts being alwayes East) so as notwithstanding their flying from the smoake, there was not any one that escaped. Sir *Iohn Barrowes* also, with a hundred *English*, was in great danger of being lost at *Margaria*, in the *West-Indies*, by hauing the grasse fired behinde him, but the smoake being timely discovered, he recovered the Sea-shore with the losse of sixteene of his men. I remember these things, but to giue caution to those that shall in times to come invade any part of those Countreies, that they alwayes, before they passe into the Land, burne downe the grasse and sedge to the East of them; they may otherwise, without any other enemy, than a handfull of straw set on fire, dye the death of hony-Bees, burnt out of the Hue.

§. XVII.

A Conſpiracie against Alexander. The death of Philotas and Parmenio.

ALEXANDER was, after he parted hence, no where resisted, till he came into *Aria*, to the East of *Bactria*, where the chiefe Citie of that Prouince, called *Artacocana*, was a while defended against him, by the reuolt of *Satibarzanes*; but in the end he receiued the Inhabitants to mercy. At this place his Armie was re-enforced with a new supply of five thousand and five hundred foote, and nere five hundred Horſe, out of *Greece*, *Thessalie*, and other places. His iourne out of *Persia* into these parts, is very confusedly described. For hauing (as all his Historians tell vs) a determination to finde *Bessus* in *Bactria*, he leaves it at the very entrance, & takes the way of *Hyrcania*, from thence he wanders Northwards towards the obscure *Mardi*, vpon the *Caspian-Sea*, and thence ouer the Mountaine *Coronus* into *Aria*, and *Drangians*.

At this time it was that the treason of *Dimnius* brake out, of which *Philotas* the sonne of *Parmenio* was accused, as accessarie, if not principall. This *Dimnius*, hauing (I know not vpon what ground) conspired with some others against the life of *Alexander*, went about to draw *Nicomachus*, a young man whom he loued, into the same treason. The Youth, although he was first bound by oath to secrecie, when he heard so foule a matter uttered, began to protest against it so vehemently, that his friend was like to haue slaine him for security of his owne life. So, constrained by feare, he made shew as if he had bene won by perswasion; and by seeming at length to like well of the businesse, he was told more at large what they were, that had vndertaken it. There were nine or ten of them, all men of ranke, whose names *Dimnius* (to countenance the enterprife) reckoned vp to *Nicomachus*. *Nicomachus* had no sooner freed himselfe from the company of this Traitor *Dimnius*, than he acquainted his owne brother *Ceballinus* with the whole Historie; whereupon it was agreed betwene them, that *Ceballinus* (who might with least suspicion) should goe to the Court, and utter all. *Ceballinus*, meeting with *Philotas*, told him the whole businesse, desiring him to acquaint the King therewith: which he promised to doe,

but did not. Two dayes passed, and *Philotas* neuer brake with the King about the matter, but still excused himselfe to *Ceballinus* by the Kings want of leisure. This his coldnesse bred suspition, and caused *Ceballinus* to addresse himselfe to another, one *Metron*, Keeper of the Kings Armourie, who forth-with brought him to *Alexanders* presence. *Alexander*, finding by examination what had passed betwene *Ceballinus* and *Philotas*, did fully perswade himselfe that this concealement of the treason, argued his hand to haue bene in the businesse. Therefore when *Dimmus* was brought before him, he asked the Traitor no other question than this: *Wheremane I so offended thee, that thou shouldst thinke Philotas more worthy to be King than I? Dimmus* perceiving when he was apprehended, how the matter went, had so wounded himselfe, that he liued no longer, than to giue his last groane in the Kings presence. Then was *Philotas* called, and charged with the suspition, which his silence might iustly breede. His answer was, That when the practice was reuealed vnto him by *Nicomachus*, he iudging it to be but frivolous, did forbear to acquaint *Alexander* therewithall, vntill he might haue better information. This error of his, (if it were onely an error) although *Alexander*, for the notorious seruices of his Father *Parmenio*, of his brother *Nicanor* lately dead, and of *Philotas* himselfe, had freely pardoned and giuen him his hand for assurance; yet by the instigation of *Craterus*, he againe swallowed his Princely promise, & made his enemies his Iudges: *Curtius* giues a note of *Craterus* in this businesse; How he perswaded himselfe, that he could neuer finde a better occasion to oppress his priuate enemy, than by pretending pietie, and dutie towards the King. Hereof a Poet of our owne hath giuen a note as much better, as it is more generall in his *Philotas*:

See how these great men cloathe their priuate hate,
In these faire colours of the publike good,
And to effect their ends, pretend the State,
As if the State by their affection stood:
And arm'd with power and Princes calousies,
Will put the least conceit of discontent
Into the greatest ranke of treacheries,
That no one action shall seeme innocent;
Yea valour, honour, bounty, shall be made
As accessaries vnto ends vnjust:
And euen the seruice of the State must lide
The needfull st vnder taking with distrust;
So that base vilenesse, idle Luxurie,
Seeme safer fare, than to doe worthily, &c.

Now although it were so, that the King, following the aduice of *Craterus*, had resolved the next day to put *Philotas* to torment, yet in the very evening of the same night in which he was apprehended, he called him to a banquet, and discoursed as familiarly as with him as at any other time. But when in the dead of the night *Philotas* was taken in his lodging, and that they which hated him began to binde him, he cryed out vpon the King in these words: O *Alexander*, the malice of mine Enemies hath surmounted thy mercy, and their hatred is farre more constant than the word of a King. Many circumstances were vrged against him by *Alexander* himselfe, (for the Kings of *Macedon* did in person examine the accusations of treason) and this was not the least (not the least offence, indeede, against the Kings humour, who desired to be glorified as a God) That when *Alexander* wrote vnto him concerning the title giuen him by *Iupiter Hammon*, He answered, That he could not but reioyce that he was admitted into that sacred Fellowship of the gods, and yet he could not but withall grieve for those that should liue vnder such a one as so would exceede the nature of man. This was (saith *Alexander*) a firme perswasion vnto me, that his heart was changed, and that he held my glory in despiight. See what a strange Monster Flatterie is, that can perswade Kings to kill those that doe not praise and allow those things in them, which are of all other most to be abhorred. *Philotas* was brought before the multitude, to heare the Kings Oration against him: he was brought forth in vild garments, and bound like a Theefe, where he heard himselfe, and his absent Father the greatest Capitaine of the World, accused, his two other Brothers, *Hector* and *Nicanor* hauing bene lost in the present Warre. He was so greatly oppress with griefe,

as for a while he could vter nothing but teares, and sorrow had so waisted his spirits, as he lank vnder those that led him. In the end, the King asked him, In what language he would make his defence; he answered, In the same wherein it had pleased the King to accuse him, which he did, to the end that the *Persians*, as well as the *Macedonians*, might vnderstand him. But hereof the King made his aduantage, perswading the assembly, that he despised the language of his owne Countie, and so with-drawing himselfe, left him to his mercilesse enemies.

This proceeding of the Kings, *Philotas* greatly lamented, seeing the King, who had so sharply inueyed against him, would not vouchsafe to heare his excuse. For not his enemies onely were imboldened thereby against him; but all the rest, hauing discouered the Kings disposition and resolution, contending among themselves, which of them should exceede in hatred towards him; Among many other arguments, which he vs'd in his owne defence, this was not the weakest; That when *Nicomachus* desired to know of *Dimmus*, what men of marke and power were his partners in the conspiracie (as seeming vnto him) willing to aduicere himselfe with meane and base Companions) *Dimmus* named vnto him *Demetrius* of the Kings Chamber, *Nicanor*, *Amyntas*, and some others; but spake not a word of *Philotas*, who by being Commander of the Horse, would greatly haue valued the party, and haue encouraged *Nicomachus*. Indeece, as *Philotas* said well for himselfe, it is likely that *Dimmus*, thereby the better to haue heartned *Nicomachus*, would haue named him, though he had neuer dealt with him in any such practice. And for more certaine proofe, that he knew nothing of their intents that practised against the King, there was not any one of the Conspirators, being many, inforced by torments, or otherwise, that could accuse him; and it is true, that aduicery being seldom able to beare her owne burden, is for the most part found so malicious, as she rather desires to draw others (not alwayes deserring it) into the same danger, than to spare any that it can accuse. Yet at the last, whosoeuer it were, to auoide the extremity of cruellest and vnnatural torments, deuised by his proffest enemies *Craterus*, *Census*, *Ephesion*, and others, *Philotas* accused his owne selfe; being perswaded that they would haue slaine him forthwith. But he failed euen in that miserable hope; and suffering all that could be laid on flesh and bloud, he was forced to deliuer, not what he knew, but whatsoeuer best pleased their eares, that were farre more mercilesse than death it selfe.

Of this kinde of iudiciall proceeding *S. Augustins* greatly complaineth as a matter to be bewailed, saith he, with Fontaines of teares. *Quid cum in sua causa quisque torquetur: et cum queritur utrum sit nocens, cruciatur: et innocens laus pro incerto sceleris certissimas penas: non quia illud commississe detegitur, sed quia non commississe nescitur: what shall we say then, when one is put to torture in his owne case; and tormented whilst yet it is in question whether he be guilty; and being innocent, suffers assured punishment for a fault of which there is no certaintie, not because he is knowne to haue committed the offence, but because others doe not know that he hath not committed it?*

It had bene enough for *Alexanders* safety, if *Philotas* had bene put to death without torment, the rest would not much haue grieved thereat, because he was greatly suspected. But *Hemolans*, who afterward conspired against him, made the Kings cruelty and delight in bloud, the greatest motive of his owne ill intent. Therefore, *Seneca*, speaking of *Alexander*, saith thus: *Cruelitas minime humanum malum est, indignum amicitia animi; serina ista rabies est sanguine gaudere et vulneribus, et abiecto homine, in suis seire animal transire; Cruelty is not a humane vice, it is unworthy of so milde a spirit. It is euen a beastly rage to delight in bloud and wounds, and casting away the nature of man, to become a savage Monster.*

For the conclusion of this Tragedie, *Curtius* makes a doubt, whether the confession giuen by *Philotas* made, were to giue end to the torments which he could not any longer endure, or that the same was true indeede; For (saith he) in this case, they that speake truly, or they that deny falsly, come to one and the same end. Now, while the Kings hands were yet wet in bloud, he commanded that *Lyncestes*, sonne-in-Law to *Antipater*, who had bene three yeeres in prison, should be slaine: The same dispatch had all those that *Nicomachus* had accused: others there were that were suspected, because they had followed *Philotas*, but when they had answered for themselves that they knew no way so direct to winne the Kings fauour, as by louing those whom the King fauoured; they were dismiss. But *Parmenio* was yet liuing; *Parmenio*, who had serued

with great fidelities well Philip of Macedon the Kings Father, as himselfe; *Parmenio* that first opened the way into *Asia*; That had depicte *Attalus* the Kings enemy; that hadelways, and in all hazards, the leading of the Kings Vant-guard, that was no lesse prudent in counsell, than fortunate in all attempts; A man beloued of the men of War, and, to say the truth, he that had made the purchase for the King of the Empire of the East, and of all the glory and fame he had: That he might not therefore reuenge the death of his Sonne, though not vpon the King, (for it was vnlkely that he would haue dishonoured his fidelity in his eldest age, hauing now liued threecore and ten yeeres) yet vpon those that by the witchcraft of flattery had posselt themselves of his affection; it was resolved that he should be dispatcht. *Polydamas* was employed in this businesse, a man whom of all other; *Parmenio* trusted most, and loued best, who (to be shory) finding him in *Media*, and hauing *Cleander* and other Murderers with him, slew him walking in his Garden, while he was reading the Kings letters. *Hic exitus Parmenionis fuit, militie domig, clari viri; Multa sine Rege prosperè, Rex sine illo nihil magnare ei gesserat; This was the end of Parmenio* (saith *Curtius*) who had performed many notable things without the King, but the King, without him, did neuer effect any thing worthy of praise.

Lib. 7.

§. XV III.

How Alexander subdued the *Bactrians*, *Sogdians*, and other people. How *Bessus* was deliuered into his hands. How he fought with the *Scythians*.

When these things had end, *Alexander* went on with his Armie, and brought vnder his obedience the *Arasians* or *Euergetians*; he made *Amenides* (sometime *Darius* his Secretarie) their Gouvernour; then he subdued the *Arachosians*, and left *Menon* to command ouer them. Here the Armie, sometimes led by *Parmenio*, findes him, consisting of twelue thousand *Macedons* and *Greekes*, with whom he past through some cold Regions with difficultie enough. At length he came to the foote of the Mountaine *Taurus* towards the East, where he built a Citie which he honoured with his own name, and peopled it with seuen thousand of his old *Macedons*, iorne with age and with trauailes of the warre. The *Arians*, who since he left them were reuolted, he subdued againe by the industry and valour of *Caranus* and *Erigius*; And now he reloses to finde out the new King *Bessus* in *Bactria*. *Bessus*, hearing of his coming, prepares to passe ouer the great Riuer of *Oxus* which diuides *Bactria* from *Sogdiana*; *Artabazus* is made Gouvernour of *Bactria* abandoned by *Bessus*; The *Macedonian* Armie suffereth for want of Water, in so much as when they came to the Riuer of *Oxus*, there died more of them by drinking inordinately, then *Alexander* had lost in any one battaile against the *Persians*. And it may well be; For (as *Clytus* did after obiect vnto him) he fought against women, not against men, and not against their persons, but their shadowes. He found on the banks of this great Riuer no manner of Timber or other materials, to make either boates, bridges, or raffe, but was foor to sew together the Hides that couered his carriages, and stuffe them with straw, and on them in fixe daies to passe ouer his Armie, which *Bessus* might easily haue distrust, if he had dared but to behold the *Macedonian* Armes farre off. He had formerly complained against *Darius* for neglecting to defend the banks of *Tigris*, and other passages, and yet now, when this traiterous slaue had styled himselfe King, he durst not performe any thing worthy of a slaue. And therefore those that were neere vnto him, and whom he most trusted, to wit, *Spitamenes*, *Dataphernes*, *Catanes*, and others the Commanders of his Armie, moued both by the care of their owne safety, and by the memory of *Bessus* his Treason and cruelty against *Darius*, bound him in the like manner that he had done his Master, but with this difference, that he had the chaine clost about his necke like a mastiffe Cog, and so was dragged along to be presented to his enemy.

In the meane while *Alexander* was arriued at a certaine Towne inhabited with *Greekes* of *Mileum*, brought thither by *Xerxes*, when long before he returned out of *Greece*; whose issues had well neere forgotten their Country-language. These most cruelly (after they had receiued him with great ioy) he put to the sword, and destroyed their Citie. At this place he receiued *Bessus*, and hauing rewarded *Spitamenes* with the rest that deliuered him, he gaue the Traitor into the hands of *Oxartes*, *Darius* his brother, to be torment.

But

But while he now thought himselfe secure, some twenty thousand Mountainers assailed his Campe; in repelling whom he receiued a shot in the legge, the arrow head sticking in the flesh, so as he was carried in a Horse-Lytter, sometime by the horse-men, sometime by the foote.

Some after he came vnto *Maracanda*, which *Petrus Peronidius* takes to be *Samarchand*, the regall Citie of the great *Tamerlaine*. It had in compass threecore and ten furlongs (*Curtius* saith.) Here he receiued the Embassadors of the *Scythians* (called *Anians*) who offered to serue him.

The *Bactrians* are shortly again with the *Sogdians* stirred to Rebellion, by the same *Spitamenes* and *Catanes*, who had lately deliuered into his hands the Traitor *Bessus*. Many Cities were resolutely defended against him, all which, after victory, he defaced and raised, killing all therein. At one of these he receiued a blow on the necke, which struck him to the ground, and much disabled him for many dayes after. In the meane while *Spitamenes* had recovered *Maracanda*, against whom he employed *Menemenus* with three thousand foote and eight hundred horse.

In the heare of these tumults, *Alexander* marched on (if we may beleue *Curtius* and others) till he came to the Riuer of *Tanais*, vpon whose banke he built another *Alexandria* threecore furlongs in compass, which he beautified with houses within seuentene daies after the walls built. The building of this Citie is said to haue bene occasion of a war betwene him and the *Scythians*; the *Scythian* King perswading himselfe, that this new Towne was fortified of purpose to keepe him vnder. I doe not well vnderstand, why the *Scythians*, offering war in such terrible manner, that *Alexander* was iudged by his owne Souldiers to counterfeit sicknesse for very feare, should neuertheless make suit for peace: neither finde I the reason why *Alexander* (not intending the conquest of those Northerne daies, but only the defence of his owne banke) should refuse to let them alone, with whom he could not meddle further then they should agree to suffer him. Yet herof is made a great matter; & a victory described; in pursuit of which the *Macedons* ran beyond the bounds and monuments of *Bacchus* his expedition.

The truth is, That *Curtius* and *Tragus* haue greedily mistaken this Riuer which they call *Tanais*. For it was the Riuer of *Iaxartes*, that runs betwene *Sogdiana* and *Scythia*, which *Alexander* past ouer, while *Menemenus* was employed in the recovery of *Samarchand*. But *Tanais* which diuides *Asia* from *Europe*, is neere two thousand miles distant from any part of *Bactria* and *Sogdiana*, and the way desart and vnknowne. So that *Alexander* had (besides *Iaxartes*) the great Riuer of *Volga* and many others to swim ouer, ere he could recover *Tanais*: which (from the place where he was) he could hardly haue discovered with the Armie that followed him, if he had imployed all the time that he liued in *Asia* in this trauaile.

Wherefore it is enough to beleue, that the *Asiaticke Scythians*, making some offer to disturbe the erection of this new Citie, which was like to giue some hindrance to their excursions, were driven away by the *Macedonians*; and being naked of defensie Armes, easily chased some ten or twelue miles; which is the substance of *Curtius* his report. As for the limits of *Bacchus* his iourne, like enough it is that *Bacchus* (if in his life time he were as sober a man, as after his death he was held a drunken god) went not very far into this waste Countrey, where he could finde nothing but trees and stones, nor other businesse than to set vp a monument.

Threecore of the *Macedons* are said to haue bene slaine, and one thousand one hundred hurt in this fight, which might easily be in passing a great Riuer, defended against them by good Archers. Of *Scythian* horses one thousand eight hundred were brought into the Campe, and many prisoners. It is forbidden by some Historians, and indeede it is hardly possible, to set down the numbers of such as perish in battell: yet *Cæsar* commonly did it. And where the diligence of the victors hath bene so inquisitiue into the greatnesse of their owne successe, that writers haue bene able to deliuer such particulars by credible report, I hold it not vnlawfull to set downe what wee finde; especially when it serues to giue light to the businesse in hand. The small number which the *Macedonians* lost; the omission of the number which they slew (a thing not vsual in *Curtius*, who forbears nothing that may set out the greatnesse of *Alexander*) & the little booty that was gotten; doe make it probable, that this war was no better than the repulsion of a few rowing *Tartars* (the like being yeerly performed by the *Moscouites*, without

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any

any boast) and therefore better omitted by some Historians, than so highly extolled as a great exploit by others.

While *Alexander* was affuring himselfe of those *Scythians* bordering vpon *Iaxartes*, he receiued the ill newes that *Menendemus* was slaine by *Spitamenes*, the Armie (by him led) broken, and the greatest numbers slaine, to wit, two thousand four, and three hundred horse. Heretofore, to appeale the rebellion; and to take reuenge of *Spitamenes*, stakes all the haste he can; but *Spitamenes* flies into *Bactria*. *Alexander* kills, burns, and lies waste all before him; not sparing the innocent children, and so departs, leauing a new Governour in that Prouince.

To repaire this losse he receiued a great supply of nineteene thousand Souldiers out of *Greece*, *Lycia*, and *Syria*; withall which, and the old Armie, he returnes towards the South, and passeth the Riuier of *Oxus*; on the South-side whereof he built fixe Townes neere each other for mutuall succour. But he findes a new start-up-Rebell, called *Arimazes*, (a *Sogdian*) followed with thirty thousand Souldiers that defended against him a strong piece of ground on the top of a high Hill; whom when *Alexander* had fought in vaine to win by faire words, he made choice of three hundred young men, and promised ten talents to the first, nine to the second, and so in proportion to the rest, that could finde a way to creepe vp to the top thereof. This they performed with the losse of some two and thirty of their men, and then made a signe to *Alexander*, that they had performed his commandement. Hereupon he sent one *Cophes* to perswade *Arimazes* to yeeld the place, so who, being shewed by *Cophes* that the Armie of *Macedon* was already mounted vp, yeelded simply to *Alexanders* mercy, and was (with all his kined) scourged and crucified to death, which punishment they well deserved for neglecting to keepe good watch in so dangerous a time. For the place, as seemes by the description, might easily haue been defended against all the Armies of the World. But, what strength cannot doe, Mans wit, being the most forcible engine, hath often effected; Of which I will giue you an example in a place of our owne.

The Island of *Sarke*, ioyning to *Garnsey* and of that gouernement, was in Queene *Maries* time surpris'd by the *French*, and could neuer haue beene recovered againe by strong hand, having cattell and corn enough vpon the place to feede so many men as will forte 30 to defend it, and being every way so inaccessible, that it might be held against the Great *Turke*. Yet by the industry of a Gentleman of the *Netherlands*, it was in this fort regained. He anchored in the roade with one Ship of small burden, and pretending the death of his Merchant, befought the *French*, being some thirty in number, that they might burie their Merchant in hallowed Ground, and in the Chappell of that Isle; offering a present to the *French* of such Commodities as they had aboard; whereto (with condition that they should not come a-shore with any weapon, no not so much as with a Knife) the *French men* yeelded. Then did the *Flemings* put a Coffin into their Boat, not filled with a dead carkasse, but with Swords, Targets, and Harquebusses. The *French* receiued them at their landing, and searching euery of them so narrowly as they could not 40 hide a Pen-knife, gaue them leaue to draw their Coffin vp the Rockes with great difficulty; some part of the *French* tooke the *Flemish* Boat and rowed aboard their Ship, to fetch the commodities promised, and what else they pleased, but being entred, they were taken and bound. The *Flemings* on the Land, when they had carried their Coffin into the Chappell, shut the doore to them, and taking their weapons out of the Coffin, set vpon the *French*; they run to the Cliffe and cry to their Company aboard the *Fleming* to come to their succour, but finding the Boat charged with *Flemings*, yeelded themselves and the place. Thus a Fox-taile doth sometimes helpe well to piece out the Lions-skin, that else would be too short.

§. XIX.

How *Alexander* slew his owne friends.

After these *Sogdian* and *Scythian* Warres, we reade of *Alexanders* killing of a Lion, and other frivollous matters, and that he committed the Gouernment of *Macedonia*, and the Country about it, to *Chlysus*, and how he slew him soone after, for valuing the vertue of *Philip* the father before that of *Alexander* the son, or rather because he objected to the King the death of *Parmenio*, and decided the Oracle of *Hammon*: for

for that hee toucht him to the quicke, the same being defauoured in publike; and ara drunken Banquet. *Chlysus*, indeed, had deferred as much at the Kings hands, as any man living had done, and had in particular saved his life, which the King well remembered when he came to himselfe, and when it was too late. Yet to say the truth, *Chlysus* his insolencie was intolerable. As he in his Cups forgat whom he offended, so the King in his (for neither of them were themselves) forgat whom he went about to slay, for the griefe whereof hee tare his owne face and sorrowed so inordinately, as, but for the perswasions of *Calisthenes*, it is thought he would haue slaine himselfe.

Wine begat Furie, Furie matter of Repentance: but preceding mischiefs are not amended by succeeding bewailings: *Omne vitium ebrietas & incendit, & detegit; oblationem malis conatus verecundiam remouet; ubi posedit animum nimia vis vini, quicquid mali latet, emergit: non facit ebrietas vitia, sed protrahit*. Drunkennesse both kindles and layes open euery vice; it remooues out of the way that shame which giues impediment vnto badde attempts; where wine gets the mastery, all the ill that before lay hidden breakes out: drunkennesse indeed rather discouers vices, than makes them.

Soone after this, *Spitamenes*, who slew *Bessus*, and had lately revolted from *Alexander*, was murdered by his Wife; and his head presented to *Alexander*. *Spitamenes* being taken away, the *Dahans* also seized vpon his fellow conspirator *Dathaphernes*, and deliuered him vp. So *Alexander* being now freed from all these pettie Rebels, disposed of the Prouinces which he past ouer, and went on with his Armie into *Gabaza*, where it suffered so much Hunger, Cold, Lightning, Thunder, and Storme, as he lost in one Tempest a thousand of his Trainee. From hence he invaded the *Scians*, and destroyed their Countie. Then came he into the Territorie of *Cohortanes*, who submitted himselfe vnto him, feasted him greatly, & presented him with thirtie beautifull Virgins, among whom *Roxane*, afterward his Wife, was one: which although all the *Macedonians* disdained, yet none of them durst vse any freedom of speech after *Chlysus* his death. From hence he directed his course towards *India*, having so increased his numbers, as they amounted to an hundred and twenty thousand armed men.

In the meane while he would needs be honoured as a God: whereto that hee might allure the *Macedonians*, hee employed two pernicious Parasites, *Hegis* and *Cleus*; whom *Calisthenes* opposed: For, among many other honest arguments vied to the assembly, he said *Cleus*, That hee thought, that *Alexander* would disdaine the gift of God-head from his Vassalls; That the opinion of Sanctity, though it did sometime follow the death of those, who in their life-time had done the greatest things, yet it neuer accompanied any one as yet living in the world. Hee further told him, That neither *Hercules* nor *Bacchus* were Deified at a banquet, and vpon drinke, (for this matter was propounded by *Cleus* at a crowning feast) but that, for the more than manly acts by them performed while they lived, they were in future and succeeding Ages numbered among the gods. *Alexander* stood behinde a partition and heard all that was spoken, waiting but an opportunitie, to reuenge on *Calisthenes*, who being a man of free speech, honest, learned, and a louer of the Kings honour, was yet soone after tormented to death; not for that hee had betrayed the King to others; but because he neuer would condescend to betray the King to himselfe, as all his detestable flatterers did. For in a conspiracie against the King made by one *Hermolus* and others (which they confest) he caused *Calisthenes* without confession, accusation, or triall, to be torne a-lunder vpon the racke: This deed, vnworthy of a King, *Seneca* thus censureth. *Hoc est Alexandri crimen aeternum, quod nulla virtus, nulla belorum felicitas redimet. Nam quotiens quis dixerit, Occidit Persarum multa milia: opponitur, & Calisthenem: Quotiens dixerit, Occidit Darium: opponitur, & Calisthenem. Quotiens dixerit, Omnia Oceano tenuis vixit, ipsum quoque tentauit nohis clasibus, & Imperium ex angulo Thracie usque ad Orientis terminos protulit: dicitur, sed Calisthenem occidit. Omnia licet antiqua Ducum Regumque exempla transierit, ex his que fecit viri tam magni erit quam scelus Calisthenes; This is the eternall crime of Alexander, which no vertue or felicity of his in Warre shall ever bee able to redeme. For as often as any man shall say, Hee slew many thousand Persians; it shall bee replied, Hee did so, and hee slew Calisthenes: When it shall be said, Hee wanne all as farre as the very Ocean; thereon also bee aduentured with vnusall daring; and extended his Empire from a corner of Thrace; to the utmost bounds of the Orient, it shall be said withall, But hee killed Calisthenes. Let him haue out gone all the ancient examples*

examples of Captaines and Kings; none of all his acts make so much to his glory, as Callisthenes to his reproach.

§. XX.

Of Alexanders journey into India. The battaile betwene him and Porus.

With the Armie before remembred, of one hundred and twenty thousand foot and horse, Alexander did enter the borders of India, where such of the Princes, as submitted themselves vnto him, he entertained lovingly, the rest he constrained; killing Man, Woman, and Child, where they resisted. He then came before Nisa to build by Bacchus, which after a few daies was rendred vnto him. From thence he removed to a Hill at hand, which on the top had goodly Gardens filled with delicate fruits and Vines, dedicated to Bacchus, to whom hee made feasts for ten daies together. Now when hee had drunke his fill, he went on towards Dedala, and from thence to Acadera, Countreys spoiled and abandoned by the Inhabitants, by reason whereof, victuall failing, hee diuides his Armie: Ptolomie led one part, Cemon another, and himselfe the rest. They take many Townes, whereof that of greatest fame was Masage, which had in it 3. hundred thousand men; but after some resistance, it was yielded vnto him by Cleopbe the Queene, to whom againe he restored it; at the siege of this Citie he received a wound in the legge. After this, Nora was taken by Polyperchon, and a Rocke of great strength by himselfe: he wanne also a passage vpon one Eryx, who was slaine by his companie, and his head presented to Alexander. This is the summe of Alexanders doings in those parts, before such time as he arrived at the Riuer of Indus. Comming to Indus, he found there Ephestian, who (being sent before) had prepared boates for the transportation of his Army, and ere Alexanders arrival, had perswaded Omphis King of that part of the Countrey, to submit himselfe to this great Conquerour. Therefore, soone vpon Alexanders comming, Omphis presented himselfe with all the strength of his Countrey, and fixe and fiftie Elephants, vnto him; offering him his seruice and assistance. He made Alexander know, that hee was an Enemye to the next two great Kings of that part of India, named Abisares and Porus; wherewith Alexander was not a little pleased, hoping by this division to make his owne victorie by farre the more easie. Hee presented Alexander with a Crowne of gold, to do hee the rest of his Commanders, and withall fourecore talents of siluer coyne; which Alexander not onely refused, but to shew that he was covetous of glory, not of gold, hee gaue Omphis a thousand talents of his owne treasure, besides other Persian rarities. Abisares, hauing heard that Alexander had received his enemye Omphis into his protection, resolved to make his owne peace also: For, knowing that his owne strength did but equall that of Omphis, and that there was no other difference betwene them, than that which the chance of Warre gaue, hee thought it an ill march when Alexander, who had already beaten vnder foote all the greatest Princes of Asia, should make himselfe a Party and Head of the quarrell. So had Alexander none else now to stand in his way but Porus, to whom he sent a commandement, that hee should attend him at the border of his Kingdome, there to doe him homage. But from Porus hee received this manly answer; That he would satisfie him in his first demand, which was to attend him on his borders, and that well accompanied; but for any other acknowledgement hee was resolved to take counsell of his Sword. To be short, Alexander resolved to passe ouer the Riuer Hydaspes, and to finde Porus at his owne home. Porus attends him on the farther banke with thirtie thousand foot, fourecore and ten Elephants, and three hundred armed Chariots, and a great troope of Horse. If Darius had done the like on Tigris, Alexander had surely stayed somewhat longer ere he had seene India. The Riuer was foure furlongs broad, which makes halfe a mile, and withall deep and swift. It had in it many Ilands, among which there was one well shadowed with wood, and of good capacitee. Alexander sent Ptolomie vpon the Riuer with a great part of the Army, shrowding the rest from the view of Porus: who by this deuice being drawne from his first incamping, sent himselfe downe opposite to Ptolomie, supposing that the whole Armie of Macedon meant to force their passage there. In the meane while Alexander recouers the farther shore without resistance. Hee orders his troopes and aduanceth towards Porus, who at first rather beleues, that Abisares his Confederate (but now the Confederate of fortune) had bin come ouer Hydaspes to his aide, than that Alexander had past it.

But

But he findes it otherwise, and sends his Brother Hages with foure thousand horse, and a hundred armed waggons to entertaine him. Each waggon had in it foure to fight, and two to guide it; but they were at this time of little vse: for there had fallen so much raine, and thereby the fields were so moistned, as the horses could hardly trot. The Scythians and Dahians had the Vanguard, who so galled these Indians, as they brake their reines, & other furniture, ouerturning the waggons, and those in them. Perdicas also gaue vp the Indian horse-men, and the one and the other were foor to recoile. Porus moues forward with the grosse of his Armie, that those of his Vanguard scattered might recouer his Reare: Alexander being followed with Ephestian, Ptolomie, and Perdicas,ooke on him to charge the Indian horsemen on the left wing, commanding Cemon or Cemon to inuade the right; Antigonus and Leonatus, he directed to breake vpon Porus his battaile of foot, strengthened with Elephants, Porus himselfe being carried vpon one of them, of the greatest stature. By these beasts the Macedonian foot were most offended; but the Archers and Darters being well guarded with the long & strong Pikes of the Macedonians, so galled them, as being enraged, they turned head, and ranne ouer the foot that followed them: In the end, and after a long and doubtfull fight, by the aduantage of weapon, and by the courage and skilfulnesse of the Macedonian Captaines, the victory fell to Alexander, who alwaies exceeded Porus in number: for besides the Macedonians and other Easterne and Northerne Nations, Porus was assailed by his owne Confederate and Countrey people. For his owne person hee neuer gaue ground otherwise than with his sword towards his enemies, till being weakened with many wounds, and abandoned by his Armie, he became a prisoner to the Conquerour, from whom againe hee received his estate with a great enlargement.

§. XXI.

How Alexander finished his expedition, and returned out of India.

For beare to trouble my selfe and others with a fruitles discourse of Serpents, Apes and Peacocks, which the Macedonians found in these their traualles: or of those pettie Warres which Alexander made betwene the ouerthrow of Porus, and his falling downe the Riuer of Indus. The descriptions of places about the head and branches thereof are better knowne vnto vs in this Age, by means of our late Navigations into those parts, than they were in any former times. The magnificence and riches of those Kings we could in no sort be perswaded to beleue, till our own experience had taught us, that there were many stranger things in the World, than are to be seene betwene London and Stanes.

Our great trauelier Mandeuile, who died in the yeere 1372. and had seene so much of the World, and of the East India, we accompted the greatest fabler of the World; yet had hee another reputation among other Nations, as well able to iudge as we. Witnesse the Monument made of him in the Couent of the Friers Guillelmus in Liege, where the religious of that place keep some things of his, Comme pour honorable memoire de son Excellence. For an honorable memorie of his Excellencie, saith Guichardine.

Guic. in Disg.
of the Low
Countreys.

The Countreys towards the Springs of Indus, and where those many Riuers of Hydaspes, Zaradré, Acesines, and the rest, fall into the maine streame, are now possesed by the great Mogor, the ninth from Tamberlane, who commands all that tract betwene Persia and Indus towards the West, as also a great extent of Countrey towards Ganges. In the mouth of Indus, the Ascension, a shippe of London, suffered shipwracke, in the yeere 1609. and some of the company travelled ouer Land till they came to Agra, the same great Citie (as I take it) which our later Cosinographers call Nagra, being named of gold Dimyopalis.

Plinius in the life of Apollonius Tyanæus, speaking of the expedition of Bacchus and Hercules into the East India, tells vs, that those two great Captaines (whom Alexander sought by all means to out-fame) when they indeuoured to subiect to them the Oxadrace, a people inhabiting betwene the Riuers of Hyphasis and Ganges, they were beaten from the assault of their Cities with thunder and lightning. This may well be vnderstood by the great Ordinance that those people had then in vse. For it is now certainly knowne, that the great Kings of the vttermost East, haue had the vse of the Canon many hundreds of yeeres since, and euen since their first ciuilitie and greatnesse, which was long before Alexander.

Alexander's time. But *Alexander* pierst not so farre into the East: It sufficed, that hauing alreadye ouer-wearied his Armie, hee discouered the rest of *India* byt me. The *Indian* Kings whom he had subdued, informed him, that a Prince called *Aggramenes*, who commanded many Nations beyond the Riuer *Ganges*, was the powerfullst King of all those Regions: and that he was able to bring into the field two hundred thousand Foot, three thousand Elephants, twenty thousand Horse, and two thousand armed Chariots. With this report, though *Alexander* were more inflamed than euer to proceed in this discovery and conquest, yett all the heart hee had, could not perswade the Souldiers to wander ouer those great Deserts beyond *Indus* and *Ganges*, more terrible vnto them than the greatest Armie that the East could gather. Yet at the last contented they were, after many vnto swasue Orations, to follow him towards the South, to discouer such part of the Ocean Sea, as was neerer at hand, whereunto the Riuer of *Indus* was their infallible guide. *Alexander* seeing that it would be no otherwise, deuised a prettiestricke, wherewith he hoped to beguile posteritie, and make himselfe seeme greater than he was. Hee enlarged his Campe, made greater trenches, greater cablines for Souldiers, greater Horse-stalles, and higher mangers than Horses could feede in. Hee caused all furniture of Men and Horses to be made larger than would serue for vse, and scattered these Armourous and Bridles about his Campe, to be kept as reliques, and wondered at by the Sauges. Proportionable to these he raised vp twelue great Altars to be the monument of his Iourneys end. This was a readie way to encrease the fame of his bignesse; to his greatnesse it could adde nothing faue a suspicion, that it was lesse than is thought, seeing he strove to earnestlie to make it thought more than it was.

This done, he returned againe to the banke of *Acefinis*, and there determined to set vp his fleet where *Acefinis* and *Hydaspis* encounter, where to testifie by a furer monument, how far he had past towards the East, he built by those riuers two Cities: the one he called *Nicaea*, & the other *Bucephalon*, after the name of his beloued Horse *Bucephalus*. Hee againe hee received a fourth supply of fixe thousand *Thracian* Horse-men, seven thousand Foot, and from his Lieutenant at *Babylon* fixe and twenty thousand Armourers, garnished with siluer and gold, which he distributed among his Souldiers. About these Riuer he wanne many Townes, and committed great slaughter on those that resisted; it is then written of him, that assailing a Citie of the *Oxidracans*, he leapt from the top of the wall into it, and fought, I know not how long, against all the Inhabitants; takes like those of *Benis* of *Southampton*, fituolous and incredible. Finally, hee past downe the Riuer with his fleet, at which time also the newes came vnto him of a rebellion in *Bactria*, and then of the arriuall of an hundred Embassadors from a King of *India*, who submitted himselfe vnto him. Hee feasted these Embassadors vpon a hundred beds of gold, with all the sumptuosity that could be deuised, who soone after their dispatch, returned againe with a present of three hundred Horse, one hundred and thirty Waggon, and to each of them foure Horses, a thousand Targets, with many other things rare and rich.

Their entertainments ended, hee sailed towards the South, passed through many obscure Nations, which did all yeeld vnto him either quietly, or compelled by force; among these hee builded another *Alexandria*. Of many places which he tooke in this passage, *Samus* was one, the Inhabitants whereof fought against him with poysoned Swords, with one of which *Ptolome* (afterward King of *Egypte*) was wounded, and cured by an herb which *Alexander* dreamt he had seene in the mouth of a Serpent.

When he came neere the out-let of *Indus* (being ignorant of the tides of the Sea) his Gallies as they were on a sudden thrust into one vpon another by the Floud, so on the Ebbe they were left on the drie ground, and on the fancie bankes of the Riuer, wherewith the *Macedonians* were much amazed; but after he had a few daies obserued well the course of the Sea, hee past out of the riuers mouth some few miles, and after Sacrifices offered to *Neptune*, returned: and the better to informe himselfe, hee sent *Nearchus* and *Onesicritus*, to discouer the coast towards the mouth of *Indus* at length, with the manner of the Vessels in which he transported his Army, the Commanders that were vied therein, and other the maruellous prouisions made.

Neere the out-lets of this Riuer, he spent some part of the Winter, and in eightene daies march from thence recovered *Gedrosia*, in which passage his Armie suffered such

miserie

miserie for want of food, that of a hundred and twenty thousand foot, and twelue thousand horse, which hee carried into *India*, not the fourth part returned aliue.

§. XXII.

Of *Alexander's* Riot, Crueltie, and death.

From *Gedrosia*, *Alexander* led his Armie into *Carmania*, and so drawing neere to *Perfia*, hee gaue himselfe wholly to feasting and drinking, imitating the triumphs of *Bacchus*. And though this Swinish vice be hatefull enough in it selfe, yett it was alwaies inflamed this King to Crueltie. For (saith *Curtius*) the Hang-man followed the feast, for Aspatres one of his Provinciall Governours hee commanded to bee slaine, so as neither did the excesse of voluptuousnesse qualifie his crueltie, nor his crueltie binder in ought his voluptuousnesse.

While hee refreshed his Army in these parts, a new supply of fixe thousand foote and a thousand horse, was brought him by *Cleander*, and his fellows, that had been employed in the killing of *Parmanio*. Against these Murderers great complaint was made by the Deputies of the Prouinces, in which they had commanded; and their offences were so outrageous, as *Alexander* was perswaded, that had they not altogether despoired of his returne out of *India*, they durst not haue committed them. All men were glad of the occasion, remembering the vertue of him, whom they had slaughtered. The end was, That *Cleander*, and the other chiefe, with fixe hundred Souldiers by them employed, were deliuered ouer to the Hang-man: every one reioycing that the Ire of the King was at last executed on the ministers of his Ire.

Nearchus and *Onesicritus* were now returned from the coast, and made report of an blanch in gold, and of other strange things; whereupon they were commanded to make some farther discouerie: which done, that they should enter the mouth of *Euphrates*, and finde the King at *Babylon*.

As he drew neere to *Babylon*, hee visited the Sepulchre of *Cyrus* in *Pasargada*, now called *Chalquera*: where he was presented with many rich gifts by *Orsines*, one of the Princes of *Perfia*, of the race of *Cyrus*. But because *Bagoas*, an Eunuch in especiall fauour with the King, was neglected, hee not onely practised certaine loofe fellows to witness against *Orsines*, that hee had robbed *Cyrus* tombe, for which hee was condemned to die; but hee assisted the Hang-man with his own hands in tormenting him. At which time also *Alexander* caused *Phradites* to be slaine, suspecting his greatnesse. *Caperat* (saith *Curtius*) esse preps ad representanda supplicia, item ad deteriora credenda: Hec began head-longly to shed blood, and to beleue false reports. It is true, that hee tooke a way to make all men weary of his government, seeing crueltie is more fearefull, than all aduentures that can bee made against it.

At this time it is said, that *Calanus* the Philosopher burnt himselfe, when hee had liued 49. yeeres and threene yeeres. Whether herein he followed the custome of his Countie, being an *Indian*, Or sought to preuent the griefe and incommoditie of elder age, it is vncertaine: but in this the Historians agree, that fore-seeing and fore-shewing *Alexander's* death, hee promised to meet him shortly after at *Babylon*.

From *Pasargada* hee came to *Susa*, where he married *Statira*, *Darius* his eldest Daughter, giuing her younger sister to his beloued *Ephestion*, and fourscore other *Perfian* Ladies to his Captiains. There were fixe thousand guests invited to the feast, to each of which he gaue a cup of gold. Here there came vnto him three thousand yong souldiers, one of his conquered Prouinces, wherewith the *Macedonians* greatly murmured, *Harpalus*, his Treasurer in *Babylon*, hauing laushly consumed the monies in his keeping, got him yeasing with fixe thousand Talents; and fixe thousand hired Souldiers, but hee was rejected in *Greece*, and there slaine. *Alexander* greatly reioyced at the fidelity of the *Greeks*, whom *Harpalus* with these forces and treasures could not stirre: yet hee sent commandements; that they should againe receive their banished men; whereunto (fearefull of his indignation) all submitted themselves (except the *Athenians*) though they resolutely, that was a manifest preparation towards their bondage. After this there followed a marvellous discontentment in his Army, because hee had resolved to send into *Macedon* all the olde Souldiers which could no longer endure the trauell of Warre, and to keepe the rest in *Asia*. Hee vied many Orations to satisfie them, but it was in vaine during the tempest

tempest of their fury. But afterward, as Whales are drawne to the Land with a twine-
threed, when they have tumbled a while, so are the vnconferate multitude easily con-
ducd when their first passions are evaporate. With such as were licenced to depart,
he sent *Craterus*, to whom he gaue the Lieutenantship of *Macedon*, *Thessaly*, and *Thrace*,
which *Antipater* had held from his first departure out of *Europe*, who had beaten the re-
bellious *Greekes* in his absence, discharged the trust committed vnto him with great fe-
litie, and sent him so many strong supplies into *Asia* from timeto time. Certainly if *A-*
lexander had not taken counsell of his cups, hee would haue cast some better colour on
this alteration, and giuen *Antipater* a stronger reason for his remouce, than to haue im-
ployed him in the conduction of a new supply to be brought him to *Babylon*, the Warre to
being now at an end. For *Antipater* saw nothing in this remouce, but the Kings disposi-
tion to send him after *Parmentio*, and the rest. With this *Antipater*, the King, notwithstanding
his great courage, had no great appetite to grapple: Princes, though ielous, doe
not stand in doubt of euery man ill affected, though valiant: but there is a kinde of King-
ly courage, compounded of hardinesse and vnderstanding, which is many times so feare-
full vnto them, as they take leue both of Law and Religion, to free themselves thereof.

After hee had sent for *Antipater*, hee made a iourney into *Media* to settle things there;
where *Ephesius*, whom hee fauoured most of all men, dies. The King according to the
greatnesse of his loue, laments his losse; hangs his Physicion, and bestowes vpon his Mo-
nument twelue thousand talents: After which he returns to *Babylon*. Thither *Antipater* so
came not, but fear; and not to excuse himselfe, but to free himselfe. For if wee beleue
Curtius (whom *Plutarch* and others gaine-say) *Antipater* by his sonnes, *Cassander*, *Philip*,
and *Della*, who waited on *Alexanders* cup, gaue him poyson; *Thessalus* (who was of the
conspiracie) hauing inuited him to a drinking feast of purpose. For after hee had taken a
carouse in *Hercules* his cup, a draught of drinke stronger than *Hercules* himselfe, hee quit-
ted the World within a few daies.

Certainly the Princes of the World haue feldome found good, by making their Mi-
nisters ouer great, and thereby suspicious to themselves. For hee that doth not acknow-
ledge fidelitie to be a debt, but is perswaded, that Kings ought to purchase it from their
Vassalls, will neuer please himselfe with the price giuen. The onely restorative, indeed, so
that strengthens it, is the goodnesse and vertue of the Prince, and his liberality makes it
more diligent; so as proportion and distance be obserued. It may bee that *Antipater* ha-
uing commanded two or three Kingdomes ten or twelue yeeres, knew not how to play
any other part; no more than *Cesar* did, after he had so long a time gouerned the *Gauls*,
where he utterly forgot the art of obedience. A most cruell and vngratefull traitor *Anti-*
pater was, if *Curtius* doe not belie him: For though he feared some ill measure vpon his
remouce (the Tragedies of *Parmentio*, *Clytus*, and *Callisthenes*, hauing bene so lately
acted) yet hee knew nothing to the contrary, but that the King had resolved to haue gi-
uen him some other great gouernment in *Asia*: The old Souldiers thence returned, ha-
uing perchance desired to be gouerned by *Craterus*, whom they had followed in all the for-
mer Warre.

§. XXIII. Of Alexanders person and qualities.

Now whether it were, *Alexanders* former cruelties cannot be excused, no mor
than his vanitie to be esteemed the sonne of *Iupiter*, with his excessive delight in
drinke and drunkennesse, which others make the cause of his feuer and death. In
that he lamented his want of enterprising, and grieved to consider what hee should doe
when hee had conquered the World, *Augustus Caesar* found iust cause to deride him, as if
if the well-gouerning of so many Nations and Kingdomes, as he had already conquered,
could not haue offred him matter more than abundant, to busie his braines withall.
That hee was both learned and a lover of learning, it cannot bee doubted. *Sir Francis*
Bacon, in his first booke of the Advancement of Learning, hath prouoed it sufficiently.
His liberality I know not how to praise, because it exceeded proportion. It is said, That
when he gaue a whole Citie to one of his Seruants, He, to whom it was giuen, did out of
modestie refuse it, as disproportionable to his fortune: to whom *Alexander* replied, That
he did not enquire what became him to accept, but the King to giue: of which *Seneca*;
Ammonius

Ammonius vix videtur ex regia, cum suis iustissima. Nihil enim penes quenquam decet. Re-
fert quid quis, quando, quare, ubi, &c. sine quibus facti ratio non conuenit; habeatur persona-
rum et dignitatum proportio, et cum sit ubique, virtus in modum, eoque peccat quod excedit, quam
modis debet; et tamen a diuina et regali spe, ubi eas incedit, est vix iustitia. For making
things considered by it selfe becomes a man. We must regard what so whom, when, why, where,
and the like, passions which considerations no act can be approved. Les honours be proportioned
vnto the persons: for where as vertue is euer limited by measure, the excess is as faultie as
the defect.

For his Person, it is very apparent, That he was as valiant as any man, a disposition
taken by it selfe, not much to be admired: For I am resolved that he had ten thousand in
his Armie as daring as himselfe. Surely, if aduenturous natures were to be commended,
simply, we should confound that vertue with the hardinesse of *Thebes*, *Ruffians*, and
maligne Dogges. For certainly it is no way praise-worthy but in daring good things;
and in the performance of those lawfull enterprises, in which wee are imployed for the
seruice of our Kings and Common-weales.

If we compare this great Conquerour with other troublers of the World, who haue
bought their glory with so great distraction, and effusion of blood, I thinke him farre in-
feriour to *Cesar*, and many other that liued after him, seeing he neuer vnderooke any
warlike Nation, the naked *Scythians* excepted, nor was euer encountered with any Armie
of which he had not a most mastering aduantage, both of weapons & Command: is, euery
one of his Fathers old Captaines by far exceeding the best of his Enemies. But it seemes,
forme and Destinies (if we may vse those termes) had found out and prepared for him,
without any care of his owne, both heaps of Men, that willingly offered their neckes to
the yoke, and Kingdomes, that inuited and called in their owne Conquerours. For con-
clusion, we will agree with *Seneca*, who speaking of *Philip* the Father, and *Alexander* the
Sonne, giues this iudgement of them: *Quod non immores fuere pestes mortalium quam inuasi-*
ona, quæ pluviam omne perfunctum est, quàm conflagratio quæ magnâ pars animantium exaruit;
They were no lesse plagues to mankind, than an ouerflow of Waters, drowning all the kinde, or
some turning through, whereby a great part of liuing creatures are scorched up.

CHAP. III.

The reigne of Aridæus.

§. I.

Of the question about succession to Alexander.



THE death of *Alexander* left his Armie (as *Demades* the *Athenian*
then compared it) in such case, as was that monstrous Giant *Pol-*
iphemus, hauing lost his onely eye. For, that which is reported
in fables of that great *Cyclops*, might well be verified of the *Mace-*
donians: their force was intolle able, but for want of good gui-
dance vneffectuall, and harmefull chiefly to themselves. The
causes whereof vnder the diuine ordinance) were, partly the vn-
certainty of Title to succession in the Kingdom of *Macedon*,
partly the stubborn pride of *Alexander* himselfe, who thinking none worthy to bee his
Heir, did refuse to establish the right in any one, leauing euery one to his owne fortune.
But especially the great ambition of his followers, who all had learned of their Master to
batter no equals; a lesson soone taught vnto spirits reflecting vpon their owne worth,
when the reuerence of a greater object faileth.

It hath formerly bene shewed, That *Philip* (the Father of *Alexander*) gouerning
in *Macedon* as Protector, assumed vnto himselfe the Kingdom, not rendering it vnto
Ammonius, (the Sonne of his elder brother *Perdiccas*) when hee grew to mans estate, but
only bestowing vpon him in marriage a Daughter of his owne: by which bond,
and much more by his owne proper strength, hee assured the Crowne vnto himselfe:
Ammonius neuer attempting ought against *Philip*, though with price of his life) he did
against

against *Alexander* in the beginning of his reigne. Wherefore *Eurydice* the sole issue of this marriage, ought in reason to haue beene acknowledged Queene after *Alexander*, as hauing better Title thereto, than either He or *Philip* had, when they liued, vlesse (peraduenture) some Law of that Nation forbade the reigne of Women. But the excellent vertue of these two Princes had vtterly defaced the right of all Pretenders, not claiming from their owne bodies : and so great were their conquests, that *Alexander* it selfe was (in regard of them) a very small Appendix, and no way deserving to bee laid in ballance against the demand of their posteritie, had they left any able to make challenge of the Royall seare.

Alexander hauing taken many wiues, had issue by none of the principall of them. *Bar-tine* the Daughter of *Artabazus* a Persian had borne vnto him a yong Sonne : and *Roxane* the Daughter of *Oxyartes* (whom hee had more solemnly married) was left by him great with childe. But the basenesse of the Mothers, and contempt of the conquered Nations, was generally alleaged in Barre of Plea made for them, by some that would (perhaps) haue wrought out their owne ends, vnder the name of *Alexanders* children.

Cleopatra a sister of *Alexander*, widow to the King of *Epirus*, & *Aridaus* his base brother (sonne to *Philip* by a Concubine of no account) who had married the Lady *Eurydice* before mentioned, were next in course. Of *Cleopatra* there was no speech, which may giue suspicion, that either Law or Custome had made that sexe vncapable of the Soueraignty : *Aridaus* (besides his bastardie) was neither for person nor qualitie fit to rule as a King, yet vpon him the election fell, but slowly, and (as happeneth often) for lacke of a better : when the Counsaillers hauing ouer-laboured their disagreeing wis in deuling what was best, were content for very wearinesse to take what came next to hand.

Ptolomie (soone after King of *Aegypt*) concurring with them who reiected all mention of the halfe-Persian brood, King *Alexanders* children, was of opinion, that the rule of all should be giuen to the Capitaines, that going for law which by the greater part of them should bee decreed : so faire was hee from acknowledging any one as true Heire to the Crowne.

This *Ptolomie* was called the sonne of *Lagus*, but reputed of *Philip* : who hauing vsed the company of *Arstnoe Ptolomeis* mother, deliuered her in marriage to *Lagus* being great with childe. Therefore, whether it were so, that hee hoped well to worke his owne fortune out of those dissensions, which are incident vnto the consultations of many ambitious men, equall in place, forcing them at length to redeme their quiet with submission to one, deservng regard by his blood, and trust for his euen carriage ; or whether he desired onely to get a share to himselfe, which could not haue come to passe, had all beene giuen to one : plain enough it is, that he thought not on preferring *Aridaus* before himselfe ; and therefore gaue such counsaile as fitted his owne and other mens purposes. Yea, this deuice of his tooke place indeed, though not in forme as hee had propounded it : For, it was in effect all one, to haue assembled at *Alexanders* empty chaire, as *Ptolomie* had conceived the forme of their consultations, or to set in the chaire such a King as *Aridaus*, no wiser then the chaire it selfe. Also the controuersies arising were determined by the greater part of the Capitaines ; by the greater part, if not in number, yet in puissance.

But as these counterfaint shewes of dissembling aspirers, doe often take checke by the plaine dealing of them, who dare to go more directly to worke : so was it like to haue fared with *Ptolomie* & the rest, when *Arstnoe*, another of the Capitaines, interpreted the very words of *Alexander* ; saying, That he left his Kingdome to the worthiest, as designing *Perdiccas* : to whom (lying at the point of death) he deliuered his ring. It seemed good intention, that *Alexander* should bee disposer of his owne purchases : and those tokens of *Alexanders* purpose appeared plain enough, so long as no man would interpose anothers construction : every one being vncertaine how the secret affections of the rest might be inclined. Many therefore, either out of their loue, or because they would not bee of the latest, vrged *Perdiccas* to take vpon him the estate Royall. Hee was no stranger to the Royall blood ; yet his birth gaue him not such reputation, as the great fauour of his dead King, with whom he had bin very inward, & that especially since the death of *Ephesius* (a powerful Minion) into whose place he was chosen. For his own worth he might well be commended, as a good man of Warre, and one that had giuen much prooffe of his private valour. But very surly he was : which quality (ioyned with good fortune) carried a shew of

Maistie:

Maistie : being checkt with misaduenture, it was called by a true name *Pride* ; and rewarded with death.

In the present businesse a foolish ouer-weening did him as great harme, as it had been great happinesse to haue succeeded *Alexander*. For not content to haue the acclamation of the Souldiers, approving the sentence of *Arstnoe*, he would needs counterfaint modelly thinking that every one of the Princes would haue intreated him to take the weighty burden of an Empire, which would be the lesse enuious, the more solemnly he vsed in the acceptance. It is truly said, He that fauoureth himselfe a sheepe, may chance to be eaten by a Wolfe. *Melager* (a man by nature enuious, and bearing a particular hatred to *Perdiccas*) tooke aduantage of his irresolute behaviour, and very bitterly enuighed against him. In conclusion, he pronounced, That whosoever was Heire to the Crowne, the Souldiers ought to be Heires to the treasure ; and therefore he invited them, who were nothing flow, to share it. This disturbed all the Consultation. The Capitaines were left alone, faire enough from agreeing, and not able to haue brought any conclusion to good effect without consent of the Souldiers, who greedie of spoile thronged about *Melager*.

§. II.

The Election of *Aridaus*, with the troubles there about arising ; the first diuision of the Empire.

During this vp-rore, mention was made of *Aridaus* by some one, and entertained with good liking of many, vntill at last it grew to the voice of the Armie. *Melager* hauing withdrawn himselfe tumultuously from the company of the Lords, was glad of so faire an occasion to make himselfe great : therefore he produced *Aridaus*, commended him to the Souldiers, who called him by his Fathers name *Philip*, and brought him into the Paice, inuicting him in *Alexanders* Robes, and proclaiming him King. Many of the Nobles withstood this election, but in vaine : for they could not resolve what course to follow, reiecting this. Only *Pythion*, a hot-headed man, tooke vpon him to proclaim the Sonne of *Alexander* by *Roxane*, according to the counsaile which *Perdiccas* at first had giuen, appointing *Perdiccas* and *Leontius* his Protectors. But this childe was not yet borne, which made that attempt of *Pythion* vaine. Finally, *Perdiccas* with fixe hundred men, and *Ptolomie* with the Kings Pages tooke vpon them to defend the place where *Alexanders* body lay : but the Army conducted by *Melager*, who carried the new king about whither he listed, easily brake in vpon them, and enforced them to accept *Aridaus* for their Soueraigne Lord. Then by the intercession of the ancient Capitaines, a reconciliation was propounded and admitted, but on neither side faithfully meant.

Leontius, who was of Royall blood, a goodly Gentleman and valiant, issued out of *Babylon*, being followed by all the horse, which consisted (for the most part) of the Nobility. *Perdiccas* abode in the City (but standing vpon his guard) that he might be ready to take the opportunity of any commotion, that should happen among the infantry. The king (who was gouerned by *Melager*) commanded or gaue leaue to haue *Perdiccas* made away ; which attempt succeeded ill, being neither secretly carried, nor committed to sure executioners. Their comming was not vncpected : and they were by *Perdiccas* rebuked with such grauitie, that they departed honeste then they came ; being sorry for their bad enterprife. Vpon the newes of this attempt the campe was in an vp-rore, which the King seeking to pacifie, wanted authority, as hauing newly got the Crowne by them, and holding it by their courteisie. The matter it selfe afforded no good excuses, and his indiscretion made them worse. He said, that no harme was done, for *Perdiccas* was aliue : but their exclamations were against the tyrannous enterprife, which he impured to *Melager*, abandoning the surest of his friends to the rage of the multitude, who were not appeased, vntill the King by offering to resigne his estate vnto them, renewed out of their pittie that fauourable affection, which had moued them to set him vp at the first.

Perdiccas hauing now ioyned himselfe with *Leontius*, kept the fields, intending to cut off all prouision of victuals from the City. But after sundry Embassies passing betweene

the King and the Nobles, (they requiring to haue the Autors of sedition giuen vp into their hands; the King, that *Meleager* might be ioyned with *Leonatus* and *Perdiccas*, as a Third in government of the Army) things were compounded according to the Kings desire. *Meleager* should haue done well to consider, that such men as had one day demanded his head, were not like the day following to giue him a principall place among them without any new occasion offered, had not some purpose of treacherie lurked vnder their great facilitie. Generall peace was renewed, and much loue proceeded where little was intended. The face of the Court was the same which it had bene in *Alexanders* time: but no longer now did the same heart giue it life; and windy spirits they were which moued in the arteries. False reports were giuen out by appointment of *Perdiccas*, tending to his owne disgrace, but in such termes as might seeme to haue proceeded from *Meleager*: who finding part of the drift, but not all, tooke it as an injury done to himselfe; and (as desirous of a true friendship) desired of *Perdiccas*, that such authors of discord might be punished. *Perdiccas* (as a louer of peace) did well approve the motion; and therefore agreed that a generall Muster should be made, at which time the disturbers of the common quiet should receiue their punishment (as was the manner for Souldiers offending) in presence of the Army. The plot was mischieuously laied: Had *Meleager* giuen way to seditious rumours, he must needs haue incurred the generall hatred of al, as a fower of dissension. & thereby with a publike approbation might haue bene cut off, as hauing often offended in that kinde: his Prince being too weake a Patron. Now seeking redresse of these disorders, he hastened his owne ruine, by a lesse formally, but more speedie way. This kinde of Muster was very solemne, and practised with many ceremonies, as for cleansing of the Army. The Horse-men, the Elephants, the *Macedonian* foot, the Mercenaries, were each according to their qualitie set in aray, apart from others, as if they had bene of sundrie sorts, met at aduantage: which done, the manner was to skirmish (as by way of exercise) according to direction of their severall Captaines. But at that time the great battaile of *Macedonian* Pikes, which they called the *Phalanx*, led by *Meleager*, was of purpose bestowed in a ground of disadvantage; and the countenance of the horse and Elephants beginning to giue charge vpon them, was such, as discouraged no jesting pastime nor good intent. Kings were alwaies wont to fight among the horsemen: of which custome *Perdiccas* made great vie that day, to the vtter confusion of his enemies. For *Aridemus* was alwaies gouerned by him, which for the present had him in possession. Two or three dayes before he fought the death of *Perdiccas* at the instigation of *Meleager*: now he rides with *Perdiccas* vp and downe about the foot-men, commanding them to deliuer vnto the death all such as *Perdiccas* acquired. Three hundred they were who were cast vnto the Elephants, and by them slaine in the presence of the King, who should haue defended them, and of their affrighted companions. But these three hundred were not the men whose punishment *Meleager* had expected: they were such as had followed him, when he disturbed the first consultation that was held about the election of a new King, and some of them his especiall friends. Hauiug therefore kept himselfe quiet a while, as vnwilling to giue offence to them which had the aduantage; when he saw their proceedings tend very manifestly to his destruction, he fled away into a Temple, which he found no Sanctuary: for thither they sent and slew him.

The Army being thus corrected was led into the City, where a new Councell of the Princes was held, who finding what manner of man their King was, diuided all the Preuincies of the Empire among themselves; leaving to *Aridemus* the office of a *Visior*, and yet making *Perdiccas* his *Protector*, and Commander of the forces remaining with him. Then were the funerals of *Alexander* thought vpon; whose body hauing been seuen dayes neglected, was opened, and embalmed by the *Aegyptians*: no signe of poison appearing, how great soeuer the suspicion might be. The charge of his buriall was committed to *Aridemus*: one of the Captaines, who was two yeeres preparing of a great and costly shew, making a stately Chariot in which the corps was laid; many coarces of his friends being layed in the ground before that of *Alexander* was bestowed in *Alexandria*, a City of his owne building, in *Aegypt*.

§. III.

The beginning of the Egyptian Warre.

¶ Hilest these things were in doing, or presently after, *Antipater* and *Craterus*, two principall Noble-men, and inferiour to none of *Alexanders* followers, if not greater than any otherest, were united in their will with a Warre, which the *Athenians* more binarily than wisely had begun in *Alexanders* life, but now did prosecute more boldly than before, vpon the courages which they had taken by his death. *Alexander*, not long before he died, had commanded that all the banished *Greekes* (few excepted) should be restored vnto their former places. He knew the factious quality of the *Grecian* Estates, and therefore thought so to provide, that in euery City he would haue a sureparty. But it fell out otherwise: For he lost the hearts of many more than he wanted by this proud injunction. His pleasure indeede was fulfilled; yet not without great mourning of the whole Nation, as being against all order of Law, and the beginning of open tyranny. The *Athenians* greatly decayed in estate, but retaining more than was needfull of their ancient spirits, forbade the execution of this decree in their Dominions, so did also the *Asiatics*, who were valiant men, and inhabited a Region well fortified by nature: yet neither of them tooke Armes, but seemed to beare themselves; as men that had done no more than they might well iustifie by reason: neuertheless to prevent the worst, the *Athenians* gaue secret instructions to *Leosthenes* a Captaine of theirs, willing him to leaue an Army, but in his owne name, and to keepe it in a readinesse for their vie. This was no hard thing for *Leosthenes* to doe: great numbers of *Grecie* Souldiers being lately returned from the *Asian* Warre in poore estate, as defrauded of their pay by the Captaines. Of these he had gathered vp eight thousand, when the certaine newes were brought of *Alexanders* death: at which the Citie of *Athens* declared in selfe, and more honourably than wisely, proclaimed open War against the *Macedonians* for the libertie of *Greece*. Hereupon *Leosthenes* drew in the *Asiatics*, and some other Estates, gaue battaile to the *Grecians*, who sided with *Antipater*, and ouerthrew them; growing so fast in reputation, and so strong in Adherents; That *Antipater* (standing in all haste, yet suspecting his owne strength) was faine to send into *Asia* to *Craterus* for succour.

Nothing is more vaine than the feares and hopes of men; shunning or pursuing their delinies atfarr off, which deceiue all mortall wife dome, euen when they seeme nere at hand. One month was scarcely past, since nothing so heauily burthened the thoughts of *Antipater* as the return of *Craterus* into *Macedon*; which he then feared as death, but now desired as the most likly assurance of his life. *Craterus*, whom *Alexander* held as of al men the most assured vnto him, was sent into *Macedon* to conuigh home the old Souldiers (that was the pretence,) and to succed *Antipater* in the gouernment of *Macedon* and *Greece*. The suspitions were strong that he had a priuy charge to put *Antipater* to death: neither did that which was commonly published sound much better; which was, That *Antipater* should be sent vnto the King, as Captaine of the young Souldiers, newly to be leauened in *Europe*. For *Alexander* was much incensed against him by his Mother *Olympias*; and would sometimes giue out speeches testifying his owne ialousie and hatred of him; but yet he stroue to smother it, which in a cruell Prince betokeneth little good. Few of *Alexanders* Lieutenants had escaped with life: most of them indeede were weare persons in regard of those who followed him in his *Indian* expedition; and were therefore (perhaps) removed to make place for their betters. But if the Kings rigour was such, as could sinne rebellious purposes (for so he interpreted euen lewd gouernment) in base persons yittie might *Antipater* hope for, who hauing sitted *Persia* tenne yeeres in the strongest part of the Empire, was called away to the presence of so fell a Master, and the enuy of a Court, wherein they had bene his inferiours, which would now repine to see him their equall. Therefore whether his feare drew him to preuention, working first the kings death by poison, giuen by his sonne *Isolus*, *Alexander* cup-bearer; or whether it brake not forth vntill opportunitie had changed it into the passion of reuenge, which was cruell performed by his sonne *Cassander*: great cause of much rare he had; which I note in this place, as the ground of effects to be produced in very few yeeres.

¶ And the present *Craterus* was sent for, and all the Captains of companies lying nere, solicited

solicited to make haste. Not without cause. For in *Macedon* there could not at that time be raised more than thirteene thousand foot, and sixe hundred horse; which *Muller* was of raw Souldiers, all the force of the Country being emptied into *Asia*. The *Thessalians* indeede who had long stood firme for *Philip* and *Alexander*, who also were the best horse-men of *Greece*, furnished him with very brave troupes, that might have done great service; had their faith held out, which they changed for the liberty of *Greece*. With these forces did *Antipater* in *Thessalie* trie the fortune of a battaile with *Leosibenes*; rather (as may seeme) fearing the increase of his enemies power: and rebellion of the *Greekes*, (were they not checkt at the first) than presuming on his strength. For *Leosibenes* had of *Athenians*, *Aetolians*, and Mercenaries, two and twenty thousand foot, besides the assistance of many petty Signories, and of some *Illyrians*, and *Thracians*: of horse he brought into the field about two thousand and five hundred; but over-strong he was that way also, when once the *Thessalians* had revolted vnto him. So *Antipater* lost the day: and his losse was such, that he neither was able to keepe the field, nor to make a safe retreat into his owne Country: therefore he fled into the Towne of *Lamia*, which was well fortified, and well provided of all things necessary to beare out a siege. Thither did *Leosibenes* follow him, present him battaile againe, and vpon refusal closevpe the Towne with earth-workes, and a wall. There will we leave him for a while, tauling in the last honourable enterprife that euer was vnderaken by that great Citie of *Athen*.

§. IIII.

How *Perdiccas* employed his Army.

King *Arideus* living vnder the rule of *Perdiccas*, when all the Princes were gone each to his owne Prouince, kept a naked Court: all his greatnesse consisting in a bare title, supported by the strength of his Protector, who cared not for him otherwise than to make vse of him. *Perdiccas* had no Prouince of his owne peculiar, neither was he like to be welcome to any whom he should visit in his gouernement. A stronger Armie then any of these he had, which he might easily hope in that vntested condition of things to make better worth to him, than many Prouinces could haue been. The better to accomplish his desires, he closely sought the marriage of *Cleopatra*, the sister of *Alexander*; yet about the same time he either married *Nicas* the Daughter of *Antipater*, or made such loue to her as blinded their eyes, who did not somewhat narrowly search into his doings.

Ariarathes the *Cappadocian*, the second of that name, and tenth King of that Country, had continued faithfull to the *Persian* Empire as long as it stood: following the example of his forefathers, euen from *Pharnaces* the first that reigned in *Cappadocia*, who married *Aroass* a sister to the great *Cyrus*. Some of his Ancestors had (indeede) bene oppressed by the *Persians*: but what Fortune tooke from them at one time, Vertue restored at another, and their faithfull Princes had much increased all. But now in the fatal Period of so great an Empire, with much wildome, and (*Darius* being slaine) with sufficient honour, he might haue acknowledged the *Macedonian* in the *Persians* toome. This he did not: neither did *Alexander* call him to account, being occupied with great cares. But *Perdiccas*, who had no greater businesse wherein to entertaine his Army, found it expedient both for the honour of the Empire, to take that in-land Kingdome, surrounded with Prouinces of the *Macedonian* conquest, and for his owne particular to haue one opportune place of sure retreat, vnder the gouernment of a stedfast friend. Therefore he entred *Cappadocia*, fought with *Ariarathes*, who drew into the field thirty thousand foot, and fiftene thousand horse (a strong Army, had it not incountred a stronger, and better trained) wanne the victorie, and thereby the whole kingdome. But with much crueltie did he vse the victorie: for hauing taken *Ariarathes* prisoner with many others, he crucified him, and as many of his Kindred as he could light vpon: and so deliuered that Prouince to *Eumenes*, whom of all men living he trusted most.

Another part of his forces he had committed to *Pythion*, rather as to the most honorable of such as remained about him, than as to the most assured. *Pythion* was to subdue the *Greekes*, rebelling in the high Countries of *Asia*. About twenty thousand foot, and three thousand horse they were, (all old Souldiers) who planted in Colonies by *Alexander*, to bridle the barbarous nations, were soon weary of their vnpleasant habitations, and the rude people

people, among whom they liued: and therefore tooke aduantage of the present troubles to seeke vnto themselves a better fortune. Against these *Pythion* went, more desirous to make them his owne, than to destroy them: which intent of his *Perdiccas* discovering, did both giue him in charge to put all those Rebels to the sword, giuing the spoyles of them to his Souldiers, and further enioyned it vnto *Pythion* Captaines (his owne creatures) that they should see this commandment executed. These directions for vse of the victorie might haue proued needlesse; so vncertaine was the victorie it selfe. A Captaine of the Rebels commanding ouer three thousand, corrupted by *Pythion*: did in the heate of the fight (which was very doubtfull) retire without necessitie to a hill not farre off. This dismayed the rest, and gaue the day to *Pythion*: who being farre enough from *Perdiccas*, offered composition to the vanquished, granting vnto them their liues and libertie, vnder condition of laying downe their armes; and hereupon he gaue them his faith. Being master of these companies, he might well haue a good opinion of his owne power: all power being then valued by strength in followers, when as none could vaunt himselfe as free Lord of any Territory. He had thirteene thousand foot, and eight thousand eight hundred horse, besides these new Companions, whom needlesse feare without great losse had caused to leaue the field: but in true estimation all the greatnesse wherof *Pythion* might thinke himselfe assured, was (and soone appeared to be) inherent in *Perdiccas*. For by his command were ten thousand foot, and eight thousand horse, of those which followed *Pythion*, leauied; the Rulers of the Prouinces carefully obeying the letters of *Perdiccas*, by which they were enioyned to giue assistance to that businesse: and by vertue of the precept giuen vnto them by *Perdiccas*, did the *Macedonians* cut in peeces all those poore men who had yeilded themselves; leauing *Pythion* as naked as he came forth to retaine vnto his great Master.

Now was *Perdiccas* mighty aboute the mighty, and had faire leisure to pursue his hopes of marriage with *Cleopatra*, and thereby to make himselfe Lord of all: but this must be secretly carried for feare of opposition. How it succeeded will appeare, when the *Lamian* warre taketh ending.

§. V.

The proceffe of the *Lamian* warre.

The left *Antipater* hardly besieged, wanting meanes to free himselfe without succours from his friends in *Asia*. Those helps not appearing so soone as he expected, he came to parley with *Leosibenes*, and would haue yeilded vnto any termes of treason, wherewith men possessed with hope of victorie, doe seldom limit their desires. *Leosibenes* willed him without further circumstance to submit himselfe to discretion. This was too much for him, that had once commanded ouer them, who now required of him such a dishonourable composition. Wherefore knowing that the extremities, from which as yet he was farre enough, could bring no worse with it, *Antipater* prepared for the defence; and the other for winning the Towne, which felt great want of victuals.

In this lingring warre, the *Aetolians* (whether weary of sitting still at a siege, or hauing businesse which they pretended at home) tooke their leaue, and returned into their owne Country. Their departure left the trenches so thinly manned, that *Antipater* found meanes to fall out vpon his enemies to the great losse: for many were slaine, and *Leosibenes* himselfe among them, ere he could be repulsed into the Towne. Yet hereby the *Macedonians* were nothing relieved, their victuals wasted, and they were not strong enough to deale with the *Greekes* in open fight, *Craterus* was long in coming. *Lyfimaachus*, who was nextest at hand in *Thrace*, had worke too much of his owne, leading no more than foure thousand foote, and two thousand horse, against *Sentibus* the *Thracian* King, who brought into the field about foure times that number; and though *Lyfimaachus* got without losse, had gotten one victory, yet the enemy abounding in multitude, felt not the blow so much as might haue been. Therefore *Leontatus* was earnestly solicited by *Antipaters* friends, to make all haste to the rescue. He had the gouernment of *Phrygia* the lesse, and was able to raise an Army of more than twenty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse, whether leauied out of his Prouince, or appointed vnto him out of the maine Armie, it is vncertaine. Certaine it is, that he was more wil-
ling

ling to take in hand the journey into Greece, than *Antipater* was to have him come. For *Cleopatra* had written vnto him, desiring his presence at *Pella*, the chiefe Citie of *Macedon*, and very kindly offering her selfe to be his wife; which letters he kept not so close as had beene requisite, and therefore brought himselfe into great suspicion; that soone ended with his life. *Amphilus*, chosen Generall by the *Athenians* in place of *Leophanes*, hearing of his approach, forsooke the siege of *Lamia*, and tooke the ready way to these great Conquerors of *Asia*, with purpose to giue them an euill welcome home, before *Antipater* and they should ioyne in one. He had (notwithstanding the departure of the *Asians*) the advantage of *Leonatus* in horse, by the ods of 2000. *Thessalians*; in other things he was (quall with him) in cause he thought himselfe Superior; in the forme of that day he proued so: for he wan a great victorie (chiefly by vertue of the *Thessalians*) which appeared the greater by the end of *Leonatus* himselfe; who fighting valiantly, was driuen into a marshy piece of ground, where he found his death, which he desperately had sought among the *Indians*, but it waited for him at home, not far from the place of his natiuitie. He was the first of *Alexanders* Capitaines which died in battaile, bucall, or most of the rest, shall follow him the same way. After this day, the *Athenians* did neuer any thing futable to their ancient glory.

The vanquished *Macedonians* were too weake to renew the fight, and too prouid to flie. They betooke themselves to high grounds, vsnit for seruice on horse backe, and so abode in the sight of the enemy that day; the day following *Antipater* with his men came into their campe, and tooke the charge of all. The *Athenians* perceiving their strength to be at the greatest, and fearing lest that of the enemy should increase, did earnestly seeke to determine the matter quickly by another battaile. But still *Antipater* kept himselfe on ground of advantage; which gaue more than reasonable confidence to the *Greekes*, many of whom departed to their homes, accounting the enemy to be vanquished. This ratchlesse (incorrigible in an Army of voluntaries) was very inexcusable; seeing that the victories by Land were very much detaced by losses at Sea, where the *Athenians* labouring to haue made themselves once againe Masters, were put to the worst.

But now the fatal captiuitie of Greece came on, of which she neuer could be deliuered vnto this day. *Craterus* with a strong Army having made great marches from *Gilicia*, passed ouer into *Europe*, and comming into *Thessalie*, ioynd himselfe with *Antipater*. The forces of *Leonatus*, *Antipater*, and *Craterus*, being ioynd in one, contained fortie thousand waighfully armed, three thousand light armed men, and fise thousand horse; of which numbers the *Greekes* wanted a thousand and fise hundred in horse, in foot eightheene thousand. Carefully therefore did *Amphilus* labour to auoide the necessity of a battaile, vntill such time as the Townes confederate, should returne vnto the campe those bands which had straggled from it. But those companies were so slow in comming, and *Antipater* so vrgent vpon the *Greekes*, that compelled they were to put the matter in hazard without further attendance. Like enough it is, that with a little more helpe they had carried away the victorie: for the *Thessalians* had the vpper hand, and held it, vntill such time as they perceiued their battailes (ouer-leid with multitude) retire vnto the higher ground, which caused them also to fall backe. So the *Macedonians* became Lords of the field, hauing little else to boast of, considering that with the losse of an hundred and thirty men, they had onely purchased the death of some fise hundred enemies. Yet herof was great vse made. For the *Greekes*, as not subiect vnto the full command of one Generall, and being euery one desirous to preserve his owne estate, and City; concluded to make a treaty of peace with *Antipater*; who being a subtle artificer, and well vnderstanding their aptnesse to diuision, refused to harken to any generall composition, but willed euery City to deale apart for it selfe. The intent of this deuce was so apparent, that it was reiected; the *Greekes* choosing rather to abide the comming of their Assistants, whose vnreasonable carelesnesse betrayed the cause. *Antipater* and *Craterus* besieging & winning some townes in *Thessalie*, which the Army of the Confederates wanted means and courage to relieue, waited that Nation from attending any longer vpon other mens valikelie hopes, with their owne assured and present calamity.

§. VI.

§. V I.

Of the peace granted to Athens by Antipater. Of Demosthenes his death.

He *Thessalians* falling off, all the rest soone followed feuerally, and fled for peace; the gentle conditions giuen to the most forward, inuiting such as were lacke. Onely the *Athenians* and *Asolians* held out. Little fauour could they hope for, hauing bene Authors of this tumult; and their feare was not great; the feare of the warre being farre from them. But the celeritie of *Antipater* confounded all their imaginations; who sate still at *Athens*, deuising vpon courses of prosecuting the Warre to come, which came to their dores, before their consultation could finde issue. He was ready to enter vpon their Frontiers; they had no abilitie to resist, and were as heartlesse as friendlesse. All that remained was to send Embassadors, desiring peace vpon some good termes: necessitie enforcing them to haue accepted euen the very worst. *Phocion*, with *Demades* the Orator, and *Xenocrates* the Philosopher, were chiefe of this Embassage, *Phocion* as the most Honorable; *Demades* a strong Perswader; (both of them well respected by *Antipater*) and *Xenocrates*, as one admired for wisdom, grauitie of manners, and vertue; but all these ornaments consisting in speculation, and therefore of little regard, when their admiration was to cost much in reall effects.

Antipater calling to minde the pride of *Leophanes*, required of the *Athenians*, that they should wholly submit themselves to his pleasure; which being (perforce) granted, he commanded them to defray the charges of the warre past, to pay a fine, and entertaine a Garrison. Further, he abrogated the popular estate, committing the gouernment of the City to those of most wealth, depriving of the right of suffrage all such as wanted a competent proportion of riches.

About nine thousand they were, all men of good substance, to whom the administration of the Common-wealth was giuen; a number great enough to retaine the name and forme of a *Democratie*. But the rascall multitude of beggerly persons, accustomed to get their liuings out of the common troubles, being now debarred from bearing offices and giuing their voices, cried out, that this was a mere *Oligarchie*, the violent usurpation of a few ineroaching vpon the publike right. These turbulent fellows (of whom King *Philip* had been wont to say, That warre to them was peace, and peace warre) *Antipater* planted in *Thrace*, and gaue them lands to manure; leauing as few of them as he could to molest the quiet of *Athens*.

To the same end (yet withall for satisfying his owne suspicions and hatred) he caused *Demosthenes* and *Hyperides* famous Orators, with some others to be slaine. Had the death of these two, especially of *Demosthenes*, bene forborne, the rest of his proceedings in this action might well haue passed for very milde: whereas now all such, as either are delighted with the Orations of *Demosthenes*, or haue surrendered their iudgements to Authors iustly admiring him, as the most eloquent of all that euer did speake and write, condemne him vterly, calling him a bloody tyrant. Such grace and reputation do the learned arts finde in all ciuill Nations, that the euill done to a man, famous in one of them, is able to blemish any action, how good soeuer otherwise it be, or honorably carried.

Demosthenes had taken Sanctuary in the Temple of *Neptune*, in the Isle of *Calauria*; there did *Archias* (sent with Souldiers by *Antipater* for the purpose) finde him, and gently perswaded him to leaue the place, but not so preuailling, he threatned violence. Then *Demosthenes*, entreating a little respite as it had bene to write somewhat, secretly took poison, which he had kept for such a necessity, and so died; rather choosing to do the last execution vpon himselfe, than to fall into the hands of such as hated him. Only this act of his (commendable, perhaps, in a Heathen man) argued some valour in him; who was otherwise too much a coward in battaile, howsoeuer valiant in perswading to cruelties, wherein the way to very honourable ends was to be made through passages exceeding dangerous. He loued money well, and had great summes giuen him by the *Persians*, to encourage him, in finding worke for the *Macedonians* at home. Neither did hee (he thinkes) in taking from the *Persians* which loued not his Country, great reward, for speaking such things as tended to his Countreys good; which hee did not cease

cease to procure, when the *Persians* were no longer able to giue him recompence. Such as in tender contemplation of his death can endure no honourable, though true, mention of *Antipater*, may (if they can) beleue *Lucian*, who tells vs, That it was *Antipaters* purpose to haue done him great honour. Sure it is, that he was a stedfast enemy to the *Macedonians*; therefore discretion required that he should be cut off.

The matters of *Athens* being thus ordered, the chiefe command was left in the hands of *Phocion*, a vertuous man, and loue of his Country, yet applying himselfe to the necessity of the times; by which commendations he had both at other times done the City much good, and now procured this peace, which (though grieuous to free-men, yet fauourable to the vanquished) he endeouored carefully to preferue.

§. VII.

How *Craterus* and *Antipater* were drawne from their *Ætolian* warres into *Asia*.
The grounds of the first Ciuill Warre betwene the *Macedonian* Lords.

SO *Antipater* with *Craterus* returned into *Macedonia*, where they strenghtened their friendship with a new alliance; *Craterus* taking *Phila*, the Daughter of *Antipater*, to Wife.

Shortly after they went against the *Ætolians*, whose pouerty was not so easily danted, as the luxurious wealth of the more powerfull State of *Athens* had bene. Their Country was rough and mountainous, hauing many places of great fastnesse, into which they conuicd such of their goods as they most esteemed, and of their people, as were least fit for warre: with the rest they fortified the strongest of their Cities, and so abode the coming of the *Macedonians*, whom they manfully resisted. With great obstinacy did the *Macedonians* contend against the difficulties of the places, which the *Ætolians* made good as long as their victuals held out. But when *Craterus* had shut vp all passages, and viterly debated them of reliefe, then were they put to a miserable choice; either to descend from their strong holds, and fight vpon equall ground, with vncquall numbers, or to endure the miseries of hunger and cold, against which they could make no long resistance; or to yeeld themselves to the *Macedonians*: who incensed by the losse of many good Souldiers, were not like to leaue so stubborne enemies in places, which might giue confidence to rebellion. In cases of extremity, much finess of wit apprehending all circumstances of danger, commonly doth more hurt than a blunt consideration of that only, which at the present is in hand. These *Ætolians* did not as yet want meat; but their enemies daily molested them: wherefore as yet they thought vpon nothing but fighting. Fortune was gracious to their courage. For such newes came out of *Asia* into the *Macedonian* campe, as made *Antipater* and *Craterus* thinke every houre a month, till they had rid their hands of these *Ætolians*, giuing them whatsoever conditions they would aske: yet with purpose to call them to squire account; yea, to roote them out of *Greece* by death, or by captiuitie, when once they should haue settled the affaires of *Asia*; as they hoped and desired. But of mens purposes God is disposer: in whose high counsell it was ordained, that this poore Nation should continue a trouble some bare to the proceedings of *Macedon* and *Greece*, and (when time had ripened the next Monarchie) an open gate to let the *Roman* Conquerors into those and other Provinces. Likewise concerning the matters of *Asia*, the reformation intended by *Antipater* & *Craterus*, was so far from taking effect, that it serued merely as an introduction to all the ciuill warres ensuing.

The grounds of the *Asiaticke* expedition, which did set the world in an vp-rove, were these. *Antipater* and *Craterus* were of *Alexanders* Captaines the mightiest in reputation: The one, in regard of his ancient precedency, and the present rule which he bare in the parts of *Europe*. The other, as of all men the best beloued, and most respected, both of *Alexander* and of the whole Army. Next vnto these had *Perdiccas* been; whom the aduantage of his presence at the Kings death did make equall, or superior, to either of these, if not to both together. The first intents of *Perdiccas* were, to haue consorted with these two, and to haue been with them a third partner in the government of all; to which purpose he entertained the discourse of marriage with one of *Antipaters* Daughters. But feeling in short space the strength of that gale of winde which bore him vp, he began to take wing and soare quite another way. *Arideus* was a very simple man,

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performed well enough to weare the title of that Maiestie, whereof *Perdiccas* being Administrator, and hoping to become proprietarie, the practice was more leuere than had bene in the dayes of *Alexander*: the desire to seeme terrible, being very familiar with weak Princes, and their ambitious Officers, who know no other meanes of preferring themselves from contempt, and of giuing such a fiery lustre to their actions, as may dazzle the eyes of the beholders. How cruelly the poore *Greekes* in the higher *Asia* were all put to the sword, and how tyrannously the King and Princes of *Cappadocia* were crucified, hath already bene shewed. The *Pisidians* were the next who felt the wrath of these ouerbear *Alexanders*. One Citie of theirs was vtterly razed; the children sold for slaues, and all the rest massacred. The *Isaurians* by this example growne desperate, when after two or three dayes triall they found themselves vnable to continue the defence, lockt themselves into their houses, and set the Town on fire, into the flame whereof the young men did throw themselves, after that they had a while repelled the *Macedonians* from the walls.

These exploits being performed, the Armie had no other worke than to sift the ashes of the burnt Citie for gold and siluer; but *Perdiccas* had businesse of greater importance troubling his braines. Nothing was more contrary to his ends, than to sit still without employment: letting his Souldiers grow idle about him, whilst others grew great, and poked deeper roote in their seuerall Provinces. He purposed therefore to transport his armies into *Europe*, vnder pretence of bringing the King into *Macedonia*, the seat of his ancestors, and head of the Empire. The Kings presence would make the offices of his *Secretaries* (during the time) actually void; *Antipater* with *Craterus* being once in case of dispute men, and onely *Perdiccas* holding authoritie; the match with *Cleopatra* might easily be made. So should greatnesse meete with a good title; and what more could be wished? Some impediment the power of *Ptolomie* might giue, who held *Egypt* well fortified with men, but much better with loue of the people; yet if the businesse proposed in *Macedonia*, like enough it was that either *Ptolomie* would follow of himselfe, or be drinen to come to reason. *Antigonus* likewise then governing in *Phrygia*, a buisie-headed man, and ill affected to the side, was to be looked into, and made away, for feare of further trouble. So thought *Perdiccas*, and was deceiued in so thinking. *Antigonus* was as good a man of warre, of as deepe a iudgement, as high a spirit, and as great vnderstanding, as any of *Alexanders* Captaines. His impliments had bene lesse than some of theirs, which made him also the lesse respected. But his thoughts were as proud as theirs: for, he valued himselfe by his owne worth, not by the opinions of other men; with careful attention had he watched *Perdiccas*, and founded the depth of his purposes, which it was now high time to discouer. For *Perdiccas* hauing with a ialous eye pried into the demeanour of *Antigonus*, and finding him no way fit for his turne, caused him to be charged with such accusations, as might suffice to take away his life, especially by a Iudge that sought his death. This deuice *Antigonus* would not seeme to perceiue, but prepared himselfe in shew to make answer, indeede, to make escape, which easily he did, putting himselfe and his sonne *Demetrius* aboard of some *Athenian* Gallies, that carried him to *Antipater*, laden with such tidings, as finished the *Ætolian* warre before mentioned.

As the coming of *Antigonus* made *Craterus* and *Antipater* manifestly perceiue their owne danger: so his flight gaue *Perdiccas* to vnderstand that his intentions were laied open, and must now be iustified by the sword. Therefore he prepared as fast as he could, not onely for defence, but (as hauing on his side the Kings name) to meete with them at home, who were nothing slacke in providing to encounter him. *Ptolomie* being aduertised of these proceedings, and considering how neerely they concerned him, sided with *Antipater*. To his government of *Egypt* he had annexed the Dominion of *Cyrene*, not without consent of the chiefe Citizens; and now in the midst of these garboiles he celebrated the funerall of *Alexander* with great solemnitie, purchasing thereby to himselfe much good wil and many partakers, notwithstanding the terrible report of the Kings Amiccomming against him.

§. VIII.

§. VIII.

Perdiccas his voyage into Egypt, and his death.

Perdiccas, vncertaine which way to bend his maine power; at length resolved to set vpon *Ptolomie*, leaving *Eumenes* to keepe to his vie, against *Craterus* and *Antipater*, the parts of *Asia* bordering vpon *Europe*.

It may seeme strange, that he did not rather make head against those who were to come out of *Greece* with a great number, and of more able men than *Ptolomie* could bring. Perhaps he thought to make a quicke end with *Ptolomie*; of beleeeed that *Craterus* would not be ready for him soone enough. Sure it is that he tooke a bad course, and made it worse with ill handling.

Ptolomie by his sweet behauiour allured many to his party, without helpe of any bad arts. *Perdiccas* as contrariwise was full of insolencie, which neuer failed to be rewarded with hatred; that is truly defined, An affliction founded vpon opinion of an vnjust contempt. The whole storie of his proceedings in *Egypt* is not worth relation: for he did nothing of importance; but (as a wilfull man) tired his followers, and wasted them in hard enterprises without successe. His most forceable attempt was vpon a little Towne, called the *Camels wall*: thither he marched by night, with more haste than good speede, for *Ptolomie* preuenting him, did put himselfe into the place, where behauing himselfe not onely as a good Commander, but as a stout Souldier, he gaue the foile to *Perdiccas*, causing him to retire with losse; after a vehement, but vaine, assault continued one whole day. The night following, *Perdiccas* made another iourne, (which was his last) and came to the diuisions of *Nilus*, ouer against *Memphis*. There with much difficulty he began to passe ouer his Armie into an Island, where he meant to incampe. The current was strong, the water deepe, and hardly foordable. Wherefore he placed his Elephants about the p. fl. go, to breake the violence of the streame, and his horse-men beneath it; to take vp such as were carried away by swiftnesse of water. A great part of his Armie being arrived on the further banke, the channell began to waxe deepe; so, that whereas the former companies had waded vp to the chin, they who should haue followed could finde no footing. Whether this came by rising of the water, or sitting away of the ground; the earth being broken with the feete of so many Men, Horse, and Elephants) no remedy there was, but such as had passed must repasse againe, as well as they might: for they were too weak for the enemy, and could not be relieved by their fellowes. With great confusion therefore they committed themselves to the Riuer, wherein about two thousand of them perished, a thousand were deuoured by *Crocodiles*; a miserable spectacle euen to such as were out of danger; such as were strong and could swim, recovered the Campe; many were carried downe the streame, and driuen to the contrary banke, whereby they fell into the hands of their enemies.

This misfortune exasperated the Souldiers against their Generall, giuing liberty to their tongues, which long time had concealed the euill thoughts of their hearts. While they were thus murmuring, newes came from *Ptolomie*, which did set them in an vprare. *Ptolomie* had not onely shewed much compassion on those who fell into his handes, but performed all rights of funerall to the dead carcases, which the Riuer had cast vpon his side: and finally, sent their bones and ashes to be interred by their Kinsmen or Friends. This did not onely moue the common Souldiers, but made the Captaines fall to mutinie, thinking it vnreasonable to make warre vpon so vertuous and honourable a person, to fulfill the pleasure of a Lordly ambitious man, vsing them like slaves. The sedition growing strong wanted onely a head, which it quickly found. *Pythion* was there, who inwardly hated *Perdiccas*, for the disgrace which he had suffered by his procurement, after the victory vpon the rebellious *Greekes*. *Pythion* had liued in honourable place about *Alexander*; he was in the diuision of the Prouinces made Gouverneur of *Media*; he had followed *Perdiccas*, and being in all things (the Protectorship excepted) equal to him, had neuertheless bene scornfully vsed by him, which now he requiied. Drawing together a hundred of the Captaines, and a good part of the horse, which consisted of the Gⁿtrie, (the footmen hauing declared themselves before) he entred the Tent of *Perdiccas*, where without further circumstance they all ranne vpon him, and slew him. Such end had the proud mis-gouerning authoritie of *Perdiccas*. He might haue liued

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as great as any, could he haue suffered any as great as himselfe; yea, peraduenture master of all, had he not bene too masterly ouer those which were already his.

The next day *Ptolomie* came into the Campe, where he was ioyfully receiued; hee excused himselfe of things past, as not hauing bene Author, or giuen cause of the Warre, and was easily beleeeed: the fauour of the Armie being such toward him, that needes they would haue made him Protector in the roome of *Perdiccas*. But this hee refused. It was an Office fit for one, that would seeke to increase his greatnesse with his trouble. *Ptolomie* was well enough already; wherefore, for his owne quiet he forbore to accept it, and for their well-deferuing of him he procured that honourable charge to *Pythion*, and to *Aridemus* the Captaine, who hauing had some companies of Souldiers, to furnish with their attendance the solemnities of *Alexanders* Funerals, did with them adhere to him against *Perdiccas*.

In the midst of these busineses came newes of two great victories obtained by *Eumenes*; which newes, had they arrived two or three daies sooner, had bene entertained with ioyfull acclamations; and would haue giuen such reputation to *Perdiccas*, as had caused both his priuate maligners to continue his open flatterers, and his open enemies to haue accepted any tolerable composition. But these good tidings coming in ill time, when death had stopped the eares which would haue giuen them wel-come, found bad acceptance, as shall be shewed hereafter.

§. IX.

Victories of Eumenes in the lower Asia.

BEfore we proceed in the relation of things, happening about the person of the King, it is meete that wee speake of those bulinities in the lower *Asia*, which were handled by *Eumenes* with notable dexteritie, whilst *Perdiccas* was occupied in the *Egyptian* warres. *Alectas* the brother of *Perdiccas*, and *Neoptolemus*, had received command from *Perdiccas* to be assistant to *Eumenes*, and to follow his directions. But *Alectas* made flat answere that he would not; alleaging the backwardnesse of his men to beare Armes against so great a person as *Antipater*, and a man so much honoured as *Craterus*. *Neoptolemus* was content to make faire shew, but inwardly hee repined at the Precedency giuen to *Eumenes*, as thinking himselfe the better man. *Eumenes* discouering, through the counterfained lookes of *Neoptolemus*, the mischiefe lurking in his heart, wisely dissembled with him, in hope to winne him by gentle behauiour, and (sweete language, that commonly are lost, when bestowed vpon arrogant creatures. Yet the better to fortifie himselfe, that he might stand vpon his owne strength, hee raised out of the Countie vnder his iurisdiction, about fixe thousand horse, giuing many priuiledges to such as were seruicable, and training them well vp. Not without great need. For when vpon advertisement of the great preparations made by *Craterus* and *Antipater* (who had newly upped the *Hellepont*) for the inuasion of his Prouinces, hee willed *Neoptolemus* to come to him with all his power, *Neoptolemus* did (indeed) aduance, but in hostile manner, though vnprouoked, presented him battell. *Neoptolemus* had secretly couenanted with *Antipater* to lay open the way for him to the conquest of *Asia*, which now intending to performe, hee was shamefully disappointed. For though his foot-men, being all *Macedonians*, had much the better, and preuailed farre vpon *Eumenes* his battailes; yet were his horse driuen out of the field, and himselfe compelled, with a few of them, to runne away, leauing naked the backes of his *Macedonian* foot-men, to be charged by *Eumenes* who forced them in such wise, that casting downe their Pikes, they cried for mercie, and gladly tooke their oath to doe him faithfull seruice. *Antipater* and *Craterus* endeouored with many goodly promises to draw *Eumenes* into their societie, who contrariwise offered himselfe, as meane of reconciliation, betwene *Perdiccas* and *Craterus*, whom hee dearly loued; professing withall his hatred to *Antipater*, and constant faith to the cause which hee had undertaken to maintaine.

Whilst these negotiations were on foote, *Neoptolemus* came with his broken crue to *Antipater*, and his Associates, vilifying *Eumenes*, and calling him a scribe (at which foolish railing they laughed,) but extolling the vertue of *Craterus* (as well he might) with high commendations; assuring them, that if *Craterus* did but once appeare, or that his voyce were but heard by any *Macedonian* in *Eumenes* his Campe, the victory was wonne; for

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they would all forth-with revolt vnto him. Earnestly therefore he desired them to giue him aide against *Eumenes*, and especially requested that *Craterus* might haue the leading of the Armie to be sent. Their owne affections did easily leade them to condescend to his motion; and good hope there was, that the reputation of *Craterus* might preuaile as much, as the force which he drew along. For hee had in the midst of *Alexanders* vanities, when others (imitating their King) betooke themselves to the *Persian* fashions of garments and customes, retained the ancient *Macedonian* forme of behauiour, and apparel; whereby he became very gracious with the common Souldiers, who beheld these new trickes of *Asia*, with discontented eyes, as reprochfull and derogatorie to the manners of their native countrie. So *Antipater* took the way toward *Cilicia*, to hold *Per-To diccas* at bay, and to ioyne with *Ptolomy*. *Craterus* vsed great celeritie, to haue taken *Eumenes* reauelling (as he hoped) according to the common fashion of Captaines, after a great victory. But he had a warie and well-aduised enemy to encounter, who kept good espiall vpon him, and with much wisdom fore-saw all that was to be feared, and the means of preuention, which his courage did not faile to execute. *Eumenes* was no ignorant, that *Craterus* was able to defeat him without battell, yea without stroke; him therefore hee feared more than the Army following him: (yet the Armie following him was such, as much exceeded his own in footmen, but was inferior in horse-men) & tho' ghir more vneasie to keepe the *Macedonians* from revolting to him, than from knowing him. Hereupon he took in hand a strange peece of worke, which desperation of all courtes else to taught him, & wise managing, prosperously accomplished. He gaue out reports, that *Neopolemus* was returned with such company as he could gather together, & had gotten *Pisagres* (a Captaine of no great estimation, who lay not far off) to ioyne with him. Having animated his men against *Neopolemus*, whom he knew to be despised & hated among the, (as hauing bin vanquished by some of them, & forsaken others in plain field, whilst they valiantly fought in his quarrell) he took great care to keep them from receiuing any intelligence of the enemies matters. Peremptorily he comanded, that no Messenger nor Trumpeter should be admitted; and not heere-with satisfied, he placed against *Craterus* no one *Macedonian*, nor any other that much would haue regarded him had he bin knowne; but *Thracians*, *Cappadocians*, and *Persians*, vnder the leading of such, as thought more highly so of none, than of *Perdiccas* & himselfe. To these also he gaue in charge, that without speaking or hearkning to any word, they should run vpon the enemy, & giue him no leisure to say or do any thing, but fight. The directions which he gaue to others, he did not faile to execute in his own person: but placing himselfe in the right wing of his battaile, opposite to *Neopolemus*, who (as he vnderstood) conducted the left wing on the contrary side, he held the *Macedonians* arranged in good order, & ready to charge the enemy as soon as the distance would giue leaue. A rising peece of ground lay between them, which hauing ascended, the Armies discovered each other: but that of *Eumenes* euery way prepared for the fight, the other wearied with long iournies, which ouer-hastily they had made, seeking the deceitfull issue of fruitlesse hopes. Then was it high time for *Craterus* (hauing failed in 40 surpriuing them as enemies) to discouer himselfe to his old friends & fellow-souldiers of whom he could see none. *Phenix* a *Tenidian*, and *Artabazus* a *Persian*, had the leading of that side, who mindefull of their instructions, began to giue vpon him, with such countenance as told him his error; which to redeem, he bad his men fight & redeem the day, and take the spoyle to themselves. But the Beare whose skin he fels is not yet caught. The ground whereon the battaile was fought gaue most aduantage to the horse, who encountered very roughly on all parts: especially about *Eumenes* & *Neopolemus*, who as soone as they had discovered one another, could not containe themselves, but with great rage met body to body, and letting loose their bridles, grappled so violently together, that their horses ran from vnder them, leaving both of them tumbling on the ground. *Neopolemus* rose first vp, but *Eumenes* had his sword first drawne, wherewith he houghed the other, causing him to fall downe and fight vpon one knee. In this conflict they receiued many wounds, but *Neopolemus* giuing slight ones tooke such as were deadly, by which hee died in the place, and was there (being halfe-dead halfe-alive) stripped by his mortall enemy, whose reuilings he requested, lying euen at the last gaspe, with one wound in the groine, dangerous had it not wanted force. The death of *Neopolemus* caused his followers to runne away vpon the spur, and seeke shelter behinde the battailes of their foote. They were nothing hotly pursued. For *Eumenes* pained himselfe to carrie

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foucut to his left wing, which he suspected much to be distressed; but found accompanied with the same fortune, that had assisted him when he fought in person. *Craterus* had gallantly borne himselfe a while, and sustained the impression of *Artabazus* and *Phenix*, with more courage than force; holding it nothing agreeable with his honour to retire and protraie the fight, when he was charged by men of little estimation or note. Otherwise it is not vnlkely, that he might haue either carried the day, or preferred himselfe to a better aduantage by giuing ground, as the rest (when he and *Neopolemus* were slaine) did. But whilst hee fought to preserve his reputation, hee lost his life by the fall of his horse, or his falling from his horse, through force of a wound receiued; vpon which accident hee was trampled vnder foote by many that knew him not, and to perished vnknewing, till it was too late to know it. *Eumenes* coming to the place where he lay, made great lamentation, as hauing alwaies loued and honoured *Craterus*, of whose death hee was now become the instrument. The vanquished Armie entertained a Treatie of peace with *Eumenes*, making shew of willingness to become his followers; but their intent was onely to refresh themselves, which (by his permission) hauing done, they stole away by night, and fled toward *Antipater*.

This battaile fought within ten daies of the former, wanne to *Eumenes* more reputation than good will: for his owne Souldiers took the death of *Craterus* heauily; and the Armies lying further off were enraged with the newes. But other matters there were which incited men against him, besides the death of *Craterus*, whereof it manifestly appeared, that he was as sorry as any that pretended greater heauinesse. His Army wanted pay. This was a great fault; which he wisely amended, by giuing to them the spoyle of such Townes as were ill-affected to him. So he redeemed the loue of his own men, who of their mere motion appointed vnto him a guard for defence of his person. Others were not so easie to be reconciled. They who had bene Traitors to *Perdiccas*, hated him for his faithlesse, as greatly, as they thought he would hate them for their falsehood; neither found they any fairer way of excusing their late reuolt, than by accusing and condemning the side which they had forsaken. Wherefore they proclaimed *Eumenes* a Traitor, and comended him to die: but it was an easier matter to giue that sentence, than to put in execution.

§. X.

Quarrell betwene *Eurydice* the *Queene*, and *Python* the *Protector*. *Python* resignes his office, into which *Antipater* is chosen.

Python and *Aridaeus* being chosen *Protectors* of King *Aridaeus* and the children of *Alexander*, took the way to *Asia* the lesse, conducting the Armie through *Syria*. Of these two, *Python* was the greater in reputation, yet farre too weak to undertake so important a charge. For *Eurydice*, wife to King *Aridaeus*, was come to her husband, a Ladie of a masculine spirit, well vnderstanding what she was or should be, and thinking her selfe able to support the waight which Fortune laid vpon her foolish husband, being due to her owne title. Her Mother *Cyna*, sister to *Alexander* by her Father King *Philip*, was married (as hath bene shewed) to *Amyntas*, who was the right Heire to the Kingdom of *Macedon*, being the onely sonne of King *Perdiccas*, *Philips* elder brother.

This *Cyna* was a warlike woman, she had led Armies, and (as an true sister of *Alexander*) fighting hand to hand with *Caria* *Queene* of the *Phrygians*, a *Virago* like vnto her selfe, had slaine her. Shee brought vp this *Eurydice* in the same vnmannerly Art of Warre, who now among the Souldiers began to put in practice the rudiments of her education, to the small contentment of *Python*, that could not brooke her too curious intermeddling in his charge. Whether it were so, that *Python* had some purpose to aduance the sonne of *Alexander* by *Roxane*, to the Kingdom; (as once he had sought to doe) or whether the *Queene* did suspect him of some such intent; or whether only desire of rule called her to quarrell with him; quarrell shee did, which disturbed the proceeding against *Eumenes*. The Armie hauing shaken off such a ranke-rider as *Perdiccas*, would not afterward beereinced with a twined thred: *Python* bearing himselfe vpon his office, took vpon him to giue directions in the Kings name, which the *Queene* did oftentimes controuert, using the same name, with more authoritie, and better liking of the Souldiers.

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Pythou, seeing this, would needs resigne his office, whether vpon wearinesse of the contentions daily growing, or on purpose to bring the Queene into enuie, it is vncertaine. Perhaps he thought, that now being the farre worthiest man in the Campe, hee should be intreated to retaine the place, and haue his authoritie confirmed, or (as might be) increased, were it but for want of a fit Successor. *Eurydice* was nothing forrie at this count; for now he thought to manage the affaires of the Empire at her owne will, being freed from the troublefome assistance of a Protector. But the Souldiers disappointed both her and *Pythou*, of their contrarie expectations: choosing *Antipater*, the onely powerfull man of *Alexanders* Captaines, then liuing, into the roome of *Pythou*. Hereat the Queene fretted exceedingly, and began to deale earnestly with the *Macedonians*, that they should acknowledge no Lord saue onely the King their Soueraigne. Yet shee failed of her purpose, being hindred (as may seeme) by three things: the apparent weaknesse of her husband: the growth of *Alexanders* children, who (though borne of our-landish women) were bred in the *Macedonian* Campe; and the mightinesse of *Antipater*, who commanding a great Armie neere at hand, arrived in few daies at the Campe, and enforced *Eurydice* to hold her selfe content. *Antipater* was of such power, that he needed not to worke by any close deuices, as *Perdiccas* had done: he had no concurrents, all the Governours of Prouinces that remained aliue, acknowledged him their better: yea, many of them he displaced out of hand, putting others in their roomes. This done, hee tooke the King, Queene, and Princes along with him into *Macedonia*, leaving *Antigonus* Generall of the Royall Armie: to whom for his good seruices done, and to be done against *Eumenes*, he gaue the rule of *Susiana*, besides his former Prouinces, and committed into his hands the government of *Asia* during that warre.

§. XI.

Antigonus Lieutenant of *Asia*, winnes a battell of *Eumenes*, and besiegeth him in *Nora*: He vanquisheth other followers of *Perdiccas*.

Here begins the greatnesse of *Antigonus*, whose power in few yeeres ouer-growing the rest, wanted little of spreading it selfe ouer the whole Monarchie. Hee was to make warre vpon *Eumenes*, *Alcetus* the brother, and *Attalus* the brother in-law to *Perdiccas*: worke enough to keepe his Armie employed in the publike seruice, till such time as he might finde occasion to make vse of it in his owne businesse. The first of these which he vnderooke was *Eumenes*, with whom *Alcetus* and *Attalus* refused to ioyne, having vnreasonably contended with him in time of common danger about the chiefe place. *Eumenes* had an Army strong in number, courage, and all needfull provisions; but obedient onely at discretion. Therefore *Antigonus* tried all waies of corrupting his Souldiers, tempting first the whole Armie with letters: which practice failing by the cunning of *Eumenes* (who made shew as if hee himselfe had scattered abroad those letters, to trie the faith of his men) he dealt apart with such Captaines, as he thought most easie to be wonne. Of these Captaines one rebelled, breaking out too hastily before any helpe was neere him, yet looking so carelesly to himselfe, that he and his were surprised, when hee thought his enemies farre off. Another follower of *Eumenes* (or rather of good fortune, which hee thought now to bee in company with *Antigonus*) kept his treachery secret, reseruing it for the time of execution. Vpon confidence of the treason which this false man *Apollonides* had vnderaken, *Antigonus* presented battaile to *Eumenes*; in the heate whereof *Apollonides*, Generall of the Horse to *Eumenes*, fled ouer to the contrarie side, with such as he could get to follow him: but was closely followed by some, whose company he desired not. *Eumenes*, perceiuing the irrecoverable mischiefe which this traitorous practice had brought vpon him, pursued the villain, and cut him off before hee could thrust himselfe into the troops of *Antigonus*; and boast of his treachery. This was some comfort to *Eumenes* in the losse of that battel, which disabled him vtterly to keepe the field, and left it very hard for him to make a safe retreat. Yet one thing hee did which much amazed his enemies, and (though a matter of small importance) caused *Antigonus* himselfe to admire his high resolution. It was held no small part of the victorie to get possession of the dead bodies. *Eumenes*, whilst *Antigonus* held him in chafe, turned out of the way, and fetching a compasse, returned to the place where the battaile had bene fought; there he burned (according to the manner of the time) the bodies of his owne men,

men, and interred the bones and ashes of the Captaines, and common Souldiers, apart; raising vp heapes of earth as Mountaines ouer them, and so went his way. As this bold aduventure bred in the *Macedonians*, (returned to their camp) great admiration of his braue spirit: so the newes which *Menander* (who was set to looke vnto their carriages, brought and published among them, enticed them to loue him as their honourable friend. Hee had found *Menander* in an open Plaine, carelesse, as after an assured victorie, and laden with the spoyle of many Nations, the rewards of their long seruice; all which he might haue taken: but fearing least such a purchase should proue a heauie burthen to him, whose chiefe hope consisted in swift expedition, hee gaue secret warning to *Menander* to flee to the mountaines, whilst he detained his men (whom authority could not haue restrained) by this sleight, setting them to bait their horses. The *Macedonians* extolled him for this courtesie, as a noble Gentleman, that had forborne when it lay in his power to strip them out of all their wealth, and make their children slaues, and to rauish their wiues: but *Antigonus* told them, that he had not forborne to doe this out of any good will to them; but out of meer subtile had auoyded those precious fetters, which would haue hindered his speedie flight. He told them true. For *Eumenes* did not onely thinke all cariages to bee ouer-burdenfome, but the number of his men to be more troublefome than auailable in his intended course. Wherefore he sent them from him as fast as he could, wishing them to thurst for themselves; and retaining onely fife hundred horse, and two hundred foote. When hee had wearied *Antigonus* a while in following him vp and downe, hee came to *Nora*: where againe, keeping no more about him, than necessity required to make good the place, hee louingly dismissed all the rest. *Nora* was a little Fortresse in the borders of *Lyconia* and *Cappadocia*, so strongly situated that it seemed impregnable, and so well victualled and stored with all necessaries, that it might hold out for many yeeres. Thither did *Antigonus* follow him, with more desire to make him his friend, than to vanquish him in warre. To this purpose hee entertained parlee with him, but in vaine. For whereas *Antigonus* offered him pardon, and his loue, *Eumenes* required restitution of his Prouinces, which could not be granted without *Antipaters* consent. Then was *Nora* closed vp; where *Antigonus* leaving sufficient strength for continuance of the siege, tooke his iourney into *Pisidia* against *Alcetus* and *Attalus*, with whom he made short worke. He came vpon them vnexpected, and seized on passages, which wanted not men, but such a Capitaine as *Eumenes* to haue defended them. *Alcetus* and *Attalus*, as they had bene too secure before his coming, so were they too aduenturous, in fighting at the first sight, vpon all disadvantages: and their folly was attended with futable euent. *Attalus* with many principall Captaines was taken; *Alcetus* fled to the Citie of *Termessus*, where the loue of the younger fort toward him was so vehement, that stopping their cares against all persuasions of the ancient men, they needs would hazard their liues and their Countrie in his defence. Yet this auailed him nothing: For the Governours of the Towne having secretly compounded with *Antigonus*, caused the yong men to fall out; and vsing the time of aduantage, they with their seruants did set vpon *Alcetus*, who vnable to resist slew himselfe. His dead body was conueied to *Antigonus*, and by him barbarously torne, was cast forth without buriaill. When *Antigonus* was gone, the yong men interred the carcasse with solemne funerals, hauing once bene minded to set on fire their owne towne in reuenge of his death. Such fauor had hee purchased with courteous liberalitie: but to make an able Generall, one vertue, how great soeuer, is insufficient.

§. XII.

Ptolomie winnes Syria and Phœnicia. The death of *Antipater*.

Hilest these things were in doing, the rest of the Princes lay idle, rather seeking to enioy their Governments for the present, than to confirme or enlarge them. Onely *Ptolomie* looking abroad, wan all Syria and Phœnicia: an action of great importance, but not remarkable for any circumstance in the managing. He sent a Lieutenant with an Armie, who quickly took *Laomedon* prisoner, that ruled there by appointment of *Antipater*, and formerly of *Perdiccas*; but (as may seeme) without any great strength of Souldiers, farre from assistants, and vainly relying vpon the authority which had given him that P. ouince, and was now occupied with greater cares, than with seeking to maintaine him in his Office.

Antipater was old and sickly, desirous of rest, and therefore contented to let *Antigonus* pursue the dispatch of those businesses in *Asia*. He had with him *Polyperchon*, one of the most ancient of *Alexanders* Captaine, that had lately suppressed a dangerous insurrection of the *Atolians*, which Nation had stirred in the quarrell of *Perdiccas*, prevailing far at the first, but soone losing all that they had gained, whilst *Antipater* was abroad in his *Cilician* expedition. In this *Polyperchon*, *Antipater* did repose great confidence; so farre forth, that (suspecting the youth of his own Sonne *Cassander* of insufficiency in so great a charge) hee bequeathed vnto him on his death-bed the Government of *Macedon* and *Greece*, together with his Office of *Proectorship*. So *Antipater* died, being foure-score yeeres old, hauing alwaies travelled in the great affaires of mighty Princes, with such reputation, that *Alexander* in all his greatnesse was zealous of him, and the successe of *Alexander* did either quietly giue place vnto him, or were vnfortunate in making oppositions. In his priuate qualities he was a subtle man, temperate, frugall, and of a Philosophicall behaviour, not vnlearned, as hauing bene Scholler to *Aristotle*, and written some Histories. He had bene much molested by *Olympias*, *Alexanders* mother, whom after the death of her Sonne, he compelled to abstaine from coming into *Macedonia*, or entremedling in matters of Estate: yet, at his owne death hee gaue especiall direction, that no woman should be permitted to deale in the administration of the Empire. But this precept was soone forgotten; and yet ere long, by sorrowfull experience approved to haue bene sound and good.

§. XIII.

Of *Polyperchon* who succeeded vnto *Antipater* in the *proectorship*. The insurrections of *Cassander* against him.

P*olyperchon* was very skilfull in the Art of Warre, hauing long time bene Apprentice in that occupation; other qualities, requisite in to high an Office as hee vnder-went, either Nature had not giuen to him, or Time had robbed him of them. He managed his business more formally than wisely, as a man of a second wime, fitter to assist, than command in chiefe. At the first entrance vpon the stage, he called to counsaile all his friends, wherein, for waigthy considerations (as they who weighed not the contrary reasons held them) the Queene *Olympias* was reuoked out of *Epirus* into *Macedon*, that the presence of *Alexanders* mother might countenance and strengthen their proceedings. For the condition of the times requiring, that the Governours of Provinces abroad should keepe greater Armies, than were needfull or easie to be retained about the person of the King in *Macedonia*; it seemed expedient, that the face of the Court should be filled with all Maiestie, that might giue authoritie to the Iniunctions from thence proceeding, and by an awfull regard containe within the limited bounds of dutie such as could not by force haue bene kept in order, being strong, and lying too farre off.

Such care was taken for preuention of imaginarie dangers and out of sight, whilst present mischiefe lay vnregarded in their bosomes. *Cassander*, the Sonne of *Antipater*, was not able to discouer that great sufficiency in *Polyperchon*, for which his father had reposed in him so much confidence: neither could he discern such odds in the quality of himselfe and *Polyperchon*, as was in their fortune. He was left Captaine of one thousand; which Office by practice of those times was of more importance, than the title now seemes to implice. Hee should thereby haue bene as Campe-master, or Lieutenant generall to the other: a place no way satisfying his ambition, that thought himselfe the better man. Therefore he began to examine his owne power, and compare with the forces likely to oppose him. All that had relied on his Father, were his owne assured, especially such as commanded the Garrisons bestowed in the principall Cities of *Greece*. The like hope was of the Magistrates, and others of principall authoritie, in those Common-weales, whose formes had bene corrected by *Antipater*, that they would follow the side, and draw in many partakers: it concerned these men in their owne particular to adhere vnto the Captaine, by whom their faction was vp-held; and by whom the rascall multitude, covetous of regaining the tyrannous power which they had formerly exercised ouer the principall Citizens, were kept in order, obeying their betters perforce. Besides all these helps, *Cassander* had the secret loue of Queene *Eurydice*,

Eurydice, who had in priuate rendred him such curtesie, as was due onely to her husband. But neither the Queenes fauour, nor all his other possibilities, gaue him confidence to breake out into open rebellion; because he saw *Polyperchon* much reuerenced among the *Macedonians*, and strong enough to suppress him, before he could haue made head. Therefore he made shew of following his pleasures in the Countrey, and calling many of his friends about him, vnder pretence of hunting, aduised with them vpon the safest course, and most free from all suspicion. The necessitie was apparent of raising an Army, before the business was set on foot; and to doe this, opportunitie presented him with faire means. *Ptolomie* had by fine force, without any commission, annexed *Syria* to his government of *Egypt* and *Cyrene*: this was too much either for the King to trust him with, or for him to part with. *Antigonus* vpon the first newes of *Antipaters* death, began to lay hold vpon all that he could get, in such sort, that he manifestly discouered his intent of making himselfe Lord of all *Asia*. These two therefore stood in neede, of a ciuill Warre, which *Cassander* well noted, and presumed withall, That the friendship which had passed betwene his Father and them, would auail him somewhat. Wherevpon he secretly dispatched messengers to them both, and within a little while conuined himselfe on a sudden ouer the *Hellepont*, that he might in person aduance the business with greater speede. Much perswasion is needefull in winning a man to what he desireth. *Antigonus* coveted nothing more, than to finde *Polyperchon* worke, by raising some commotion in *Greece*. Yet (as formalities must not be neglected) *Cassander* did very earnestly presse him, by the memory of his Father, and all requisite coniuurations, to assist him in this enterprise; telling him, that *Ptolomie* was ready to declare for them, and vrging him to a speedy dispatch. *Antigonus* on the other side repaid him with the same coine; saying, That for his owne sake, and his dead Fathers, whom he had very deere-ly loved, he would not faile to giue him all manner of succour. Having thus stealed one another with words, they were nothing slacke in perparing the common means; leading to their severall ends.

§. XIII.

The unworthy courses held by *Polyperchon*, for the keeping downe of *Cassander*.

Great necessity there was of timely prouision. For *Polyperchon* needed no other instructions to informe him of *Cassanders* drift, than the newes of his departure. He was not ignorant of the ready disposition, which might be found in *Antigonus* and *Ptolomie*, to the strengthening of rebellion; and well he knew that one principall hope of *Cassander* was reposed in the confidence of such as ruled in the *Gracian* Estate. Therefore (louing to worke circumspectly) he called another Councell, wherein was concluded, That the Popular forme of Government should be erected in all the Cities of *Greece*; the Garrisons with drawne; and that all Magistrates and principall Men; vnto whose hands *Antipater* had committed the supreme authority, should forthwith be either slaine or banished. This was a sure way to diminish the number of *Cassanders* friends, and to raise vp many enemies to him in all quarters. Yet hereby was disclosed both an vnthankfull nature in *Polyperchon*, and a factious malice in his adherents. For how could he be excused of extreme ingratitude, that for hatred of the Son went about to dishonour the Fathers actions, whose onely bountie had enabled him to doe it? Or what could be said in their defence, who sought to destroy many worthy men, friends to the State, by whom the *Greekes* were held restrained from stirring against the *Macedonians*? and in opposition to their priuate Enemy, gaue the rule of things to base Compaions, and such as naturally maligned the Empire? But as in mans body, through sinewes newly issuing from one branch, a finger is more vexed by inflammation of his next neighbour, than by any distemper in the contrary hand: so in bodies politique, the humours of men, subdivided in faction, are more iraged by the disagreeable qualities of such as curbe them in their neere purposes, than they are exasperated by the generall opposition of such as are diuided from them in the maine trunk. Hereby it comes to passe, that contrary religions are inuited to helpe against Neighbour Princes; bordering enemies drawne in, to the part in ciuill warres; and ancient hatred called to counsaile against iniurious friends. Of this fault Nature is not guiltie; she hath taught the way to offer it selfe vnto manifest losse in defence of the head: They are depraved affections,

affections, which render men sensible of their owne particular, and forgetfull of the more generall good, for which they were created.

The decree, whereby the *Greekes* were presented with a vaine shew of liberty, ran vnder the Kings name; but so, as one might easily discern, that *Polyperchon* had guided his pen. For the maine point was, That they should follow such directions, as *Polyperchon* gaue, and treat with him about all difficulties. In the rest it contained such a deale of kindnesse, as proceeding on a sudden from those who had kept them in hard subiection, might well appeare to haue some other root than the pretended good will; and was of it selfe too base and vnfit for a King to vse toward his conquered Subiects, and oftensubdued Rebels.

§. XV.

Of the great commotions raised in Athens by Polyperchons decree. The death of Phocion.

Neither the *Athenians* with immoderate ioy entertained this happy-seeming Proclamation, and sought how to put it in execution without further delay. But *Nicanor*, Capitaine of the Garrison, which kept one of their Hauens, called *Munychia*, in the lower part of the Towne, would needes take longer time of deliberation, than was pleasing to their hasty desires.

Nicanor, as a trusty follower of *Cassander*, was by him shifted into the place, and *Antipater* (that was Capitaine there before) discharged, when *Antipater* was newly dead. His coming to *Athens* was no way gratefull to the Citizens, who soone after hearing the newes of *Antipaters* death, cried out vpon *Phocion*, saying, That he had sufficient intelligence of that accident, and might by aduertising them in due time, haue put into their hands a faire opportunity of thrusting out the *Macedonians*. But these explanations argued no more than a desire to shake off the *Macedonian* yoke. Far more grievously would they haue bene offended, had they knowne the instructions which *Cassander* had giuen to *Nicanor*, and his resolution to follow them. It was concluded, That he should not onely retaine *Munychia*, any iniunction to the contrary notwithstanding, but that he should finde meanes to thrust some Companies into *Piræus*, and fortifie that also, which was the principall Hauen, against the high-Towne. How to accomplish this, he rather wanted some reasonable pretence, than good ability. But the *Athenians* were not long in giuing him sufficient cause to do that, which he would haue done without any cause giuen. They desired him to come vnto their Councell, assembled in the *Piræus*, there to consider of the Kings Proclamation: whither vpon *Phocions* word and safe conduct he came, and earnestly pressed them to hold with *Cassander* in the warre which was ready to break forth. Contrariwise they vrged him first of all, to make them Masters of their own, which how to vse, they might consult afterwards. Each of them refusing to condescend vnto the others demand; the *Athenians* (who did alwaies measure iustice by profit, yet seldom) thrived by that course) praisted with *Dercylus*, a Capitaine following *Polyperchon*, and then lying neere at hand, that he should enter into the Towne, and take *Nicanor* prisoner. But *Phocion*, who then gouerned in *Athens*, a man very vnlike to the rest of the Citizens, being nothing pleased with such a trick of politique dishonesty, did quietly suffer him to depart and saue himselfe.

Nicanor hereupon began to deuise vpon taking *Piræus*; not as following now the project of *Cassander*, but prof: curing his owne iust revenge. He leaued as many Souldiers as he could, and drew them closely into *Munychia*; which done, he issued into *Piræus*, tooke it, and intrenched himselfe therein, to the exceeding discomfort of the *Athenians*, who lately impatient of his keeping the one Hauen, saw him now Master of both. *Alexander*, the sonne of *Polyperchon*, came thither shortly after with an Armie. Then were the Citizens in great hope of recouering all, and addressed themselves vnto him; who made faire shewes, intending meer mischief, which they perceived not, being blinded with the vaine Epistles of his Father, and of *Olympias* the old Queene. *Olympias* taking vpon her to command, before the durst well aduenture to returne into *Macedon*, had premporarily charged *Nicanor* to restore to the *Athenians* the places which he held: but he would first consider more of the matter. *Polyperchon* had further ordained, that the Ile of *Samos* should be rendred vnto them: a goodly offer, had it accorded with his power and

and meaning. He was (indeede) so farre from purposing to let them haue *Samos*, that as yet he did not thoroughly intend to let them haue themselves. The commoditie of their Hauens was such, as he would rather get into his owne hands, than leaue in theirs; yet rather wished in theirs, than in *Cassanders*. His son *Alexander* not ignorant of this, made faire shew to the *Athenians*, and spent much labour in communing with *Nicanor*, but suffered not them, for whom he seemed to labor, to intermeddle with the businesse. Hereupon the Citizens grew ielous, and the displeasure they conceived against him, they poured out vpon *Phocion*, depriving him of his office. This was done with much tumult: hamilted men and strangers, thrusting themselves into the assembly of the Citizens, who so distracted with sundry passions, growing out of their present misfortunes, thought euery one that best could inuicigh against things past, a most likely man to finde some remedy for the euill threatening them. In this hurly-burly was *Alexander* deuising how he might come to some good point of composition with *Nicanor*, and held much priuie conference with him; which he could not so secretly carry, but that his negotiation was discovered, whereby the vp-rore in the Towne was so farre increased, that *Phocion* with many of his friends, were accused, and driuen to seeke safeguaid of their liues by flight. So they came to *Alexander*, who entertained them gently, and gaue them his letters of commendation to his Father, desiring him to take them into his protection.

Polyperchon was in the Countrie of *Phocia*, ready to enter with an Armie into *Attica*. Thither came *Phocion* with his Companions, hoping well that the letters which they brought, and their owne deserts, (hauing alwaies bene friends to the *Macedonians*, as far as the good of their Countrie gaue leaue) should be enough to get patronage to their innocency. Besides all this, *Dinarchus* a *Corinthian*, *Polyperchons* familiar friend, went along with them (in an euill houre) who promised to himselfe and them great fauour, by means of his acquaintance. But *Polyperchon*, was an vnstable man, very earnest in what he tooke in hand, yet, either for want of iudgement in following them, or of honesty in holding the best of them, easily changing his intended courses, and doing things by the halues, which made him commonly faile of good successe. For feare of *Cassander*, he had offered wonderfull kindnesse to the *Athenians*; this had caused them to loue him: out of priuie houre he gathered hope of deceiuing them, which made him to change his minde, and seeke how to get into his owne hands those keys, with which *Cassander* held them fast lockt vp: finding himselfe disappointed of this purpose, and suspected as a false dishonourable man, he stood wauering betwene the contrary allurements of profit and reputation. To keepe the *Athenians* perforce at his deuotion, would indeede haue done well: but the effecting of this beganne to grow desperate, and many Townes of importance in *Greece* began to cast their eyes vpon his proceeding in that action. Wherefore he thought it the wisest way to redeeme their good opinion, by giuing all contentment vnto the popular faction, which was then growne to be Master of that Citie. And in good time for this purpose were the *Athenian* Embassadors come, treading (as one may say) vpon *Phocions* heeles, whom they were sent to accuse. These had solemn audience giuen to them in the Kings presence, who was attended by many great Lords, and for ostentations sake was glorified with all exteriour shewes of maiestie; yet all too little to change *Aridaus* into *Alexander*: for hee did nothing there, but either laugh or chafe, as he saw others doe. For beginning of the businesse *Polyperchon* commanded that *Dinarchus* should be tortured and slain. This was enough to testifie his hearty affection to the Commonaltie of *Athens*, in that he spared not his old acquaintance for their sake; whole Embassadors he then bad to speake. When their errand was done, and answer made by the accused, who had no indifferent hearing, *Phocion* and the rest were pronounced guilty of treason; but to giue sentence, and doe the execution vpon them, was (for Honours sake) referred vnto the Citie of *Athens*, because they were Burgeses. Then were they sent away to *Athens*, where the small multitude, not suffering them to speake for themselves, condemned them to dye. So they perished being innocent. But the death of *Phocion* being very conspicuous, made the fortune of the rest to be of the lesse regard. Fieue and fortie times had he bene, chosen Gouernour of the Citie, neuer suing for the place, but sent for when he was absent: so well was his integritie knowne, and so highly valued, euen of such as were no pretenders to the same vertue. He was a good Commander in Warre, wherein though his actions were not very great, yet were they of good importance, and

and neuer vnfortunate. Neuer did the Citie repent of hauing followed his counsaile: nor any priuate man of hauing trusted his word. *Philip of Macedon* highly esteemed him; so, and much more did *Alexander*, who (besides other signes of his loue) sent him two hundred talents of siluer, and offered to bestow vpon him of foure Cities in *Asia*; any one which he would cloofe. But *Phocion* refused these and other gifts, howsoever importunately thrust vpon him; resting well contented with his honest pouerty: wherein he liued aboute fourecore yecres, and then was compelled by the vniust iudgement of wicked men to drinke that poyson, which by iust iudgement of the righteous God, so infected the Citie of *Athens*, as from that day forwards it neuer brought forth any worthy man resembling the vertue of their Ancestors.

§. XVI.

Of *Polyperchon* his vaine expedition against *Cassander*.

Not long after these things were done, *Cassander* with such forces as *Antigonus* lent him, entred into *Piræus*; which newes drew *Polyperchon* head-long into *Attica*, with a great Army, but so ill victualled, that he was faine to depart without any thing done. Onely he had giuen some impediment to the enemy; who not contented with defending what he held, began to looke out, and make new purchases abroad. Finding therefore himselfe vnable to driue *Cassander* out of *Athens*, he left his sonne *Alexander*, with such number of men, as exceeded not the proportion of victuals, to withstand his further inroaching. The greatest part of his Armie he carried into *Peloponnesus*, to make the Countrey sure to himselfe, wherein *Cassander* had many Friends.

His doings in *Peloponnesus* were such, as they had beene in other parts of *Greece*. First, he began to fight with Edicts, restoring the *Democratie*, or Popular forme of gouernement. Hee commanded that the principall Citizens, that had by *Antipater* beene made Rulers, should be either slaine, or driuen into exile. This decree tooke immediate effect in most places: The vulgar sort being very ready to scale the Charter of their freedom and authoritie, with the blood of those who had kept them in subiection. Yet many Cities there were, which delighted in the rule of the chiefe Citizens; and many which withed well to *Cassander*, especially they of *Megalopolis*, on whom *Polyperchon* intente to inflict an exemplarie punishment of disobedience to him, which he termed Rebellion. *Megalopolis* had in it fiftene thousand seruicible men, well furnished of necessaries, and resolved to endure the worst. And neede there was of such resolution. For *Polyperchon* comming thither with all his power, did so much, that he ouerthrew, by a Mine, three of their Bulwarks, and all the space of wall betwene them. But the Defendants manfully repelled the *Macedonians* which came vp to the breach; and at the same time with great labour they raised vp an inner wall, to beare out the next assault. The *Affiliens* hauing failed to carry the Towne at the first attempt, tooke much paine to cleare the ground, and make faire way for their Elephants, whose violence was likely to ouerthrow all that came in their way. But the Towns-men perceiuing their drift, prepared boords driuen through with long nailes, which they vfed as gall-throps, bestowing them sleighly, covered with the points vpwards, in the way by which the beasts were to passe. Neither did they let any to encounter them in front, but appointed certaine light-armed men to beate vpon their sides with Arrowes and Darts, as they were instructed by some that had learned the manner of that fight in the *Asian* Warres. Of these prouisions they made happy vse in the next assault. For by them were the Elephants (wherein the enemy chiefly trusted) either sorely hurt, or driuen backe vpon the *Macedonians*, whom they trampled vnder feet. *Polyperchon* came as ill furnish for long abode to *Megalopolis* as before to *Athens*. Therefore being neither able to dispatch the businesse quickly, nor to take such leisure as was requisite, he forooke the siege, with some losse, and much dishonour; leaving some part of his Armie to lye before the Towne for his credit.

After this he sent *Clitus*, his Admirall, to Sea, to flyne with *Ardeus* that was come out of *Phrygia*, and to cut off all succour, which might come to the enemy out of *Asia*. *Cassander* also sent his whole Fleet vnder *Nicanor*, who taking along with him some ships of *Antigonus*, came to the *Propontis*; where he fought with *Clitus*, and was beaten. But *Antigonus* hearing of the ouerthrow; gathered together the ships that were escaped, and

rest manning them very well, sent out *Nicanor* againe, assuring him of the victory, as well he might. For he sent out sufficient numbers of light-armed men, whom he caused to be waited over the Straights in small Vessels by night; these before day-light setting vpon *Clitus*, draue his men, that lay securely on the land, head-long into their ships; in which tumult *Nicanor* arriuing did assaile them so lustily, that few or none escaped him.

This losse at Sea, together with his bad successe by Land, brought *Polyperchon* in great contempt. He had a good facility in penning bloody decrees, but when the execution was referred to his owne sword, he could finde the matter more difficult. Wherefore the *Athenians*, perceiuing that he had left them to shift for themselves, and was not able to give them Protection against the enemy which lay in their bosomes, came to agreement with *Cassander*; accepting a Gouernour of his appointment; and restoring all things to the same state wherein *Antipater* had left them. The like inclination to the party of *Cassander*, was found in very many Cities of *Greece*, which daily and willingly resolved vnto him; as to an industrious man, and likely to preuaile in the end. Thus was the whole Countrey set in a combustion, vnease to be quenched; which presented vnto *Antigonus* an opportunity, that he neglected not, of making himselfe Lord of *Asia*.

§. XVII.

Antigonus seeks to make himselfe an absolute Lord: and thereupon treats with *Eumenes*, who doth disappoint him. *Phrygia* and *Lydia* wonne by *Antigonus*.

Antigonus had in *Antipaters* life time a firme resolution, to make vnto himselfe the utmost benefit that he might of the Army committed to his charge. And in faire season for aduancement of his purposes came the newes of *Antipaters* death; when then, when all the businesse in *Pisidia* was dispatched, and no more employment for the Army remaining, saue onely the continuance of the siege of *Nora*, a small thing of it selfe, but as hard as a greater matter; and requiring few men, but much time; when time of all things was most precious. *Eumenes* lay in that Fort of *Nora*, able to make the place good, and hoping that the mutability, to which the present estate was manifestly subiect, would in continuance of some yeeres (which he might abide) worke more for him, than his enemies in that space could worke against him. His most feare was, that for want of exercise in that narrow Castle, his men & horses might grow sickly and seruicible: which made him to practise many deuices of keeping them in health and lustie. But when he had continued thus vp in this manner about a yeere, his hopes came to good passe, and he was eased of his cares by *Antigonus* himselfe, whose forces held him besieged.

Antigonus knowing the great sufficiencie of *Eumenes*, and considering his fidelity shewed vnto *Perdiccas*, thought that he could not finde in all the world a fitter man than him, to employ in managing those high defenses, wherein he doubted not that he should be withstood by the mightiest Princes of the empire. He sent therefore to *Eumenes* by one that was friend to them both, acquainting him with some part of his intent, and promising to make him a better Lord than euer hee had beene, and the next man to himselfe, if things fell out as he desired: in regard whereof hee required onely his friendship, and thereupon sent him an oath to take; which done, he might at his good pleasure issue safely out of *Nora*, and enioy his perfect libertie. *Eumenes* perusing the forme of the oath, did perceiue the meaning of *Antigonus*; which was, rather to make him his follower than his fellow. For whereas, in a few words, it mentioned the King and Princes of the blood, rather to keepe the *Decorum*, than vpon any loyall intent; the binding words and summe of all were such, as tied him fast onely to *Antigonus*, omitting all seruatiou of duty to the King or any other. This hee liked not, holding it vnwisely to become a sworne man to him, with whom hee had sought for the masterie; and being assured that his voluntary assistance, which way soeuer he gave, would be more acceptable, and farre more honourable, than the course propounded. Yet would he not therefore breake off for the negotiation, and waite for some better occasion of enlargement, which might perhaps be long in comming; but seeming to be well agreed with *Antigonus*, he prepared to giue vp his Hold and depart. As for the oath it selfe, when he came to take it, he made shew of dislike, in that it was not solemne enough

enough for such personages as they were, who could not be too ceremonious in testifying their Allegiance. The *Macedonians* which lay incamped before *Nova*, liked his words, and gaue him leaue to put in *Olympias*, and the children of *Alexander*, binding himselfe to them and their adherents, as well as to *Antigonus*; and so he departed.

Antigonus had taken vpon him, as soone as he came downe to the Sea-side, to remove some of the Gouvernours of the Prouinces, behauing himselfe according to the authority which he had receiued of *Antipater*, to exercise in the time of warre. Neither did he want sufficient pretence whereby to iustifie his proceedings. For if *Polyperchon* might lawfully hold the *Protector-shipp*, which the old man dotting on his death-bed bequeathed vnto him, as a legacie, without consent of the Princes or Souldiers; why might not he himselfe aswell retain the *Lieutenants-shipp* of *Asia*, that was granted vnto him for the generall good of the State, in presence of the whole Armie, by the King, and by *Antipater*, who had power to ordaine what should seeme convenient whilst he liued, not to dispose of things that should happen after his death? To giue a faire colour to his ambition, this was enough: if any were not herewith satisfied, he had threescore thousand footmen, ten thousand horie, and thirtie Elephants in a readinesse to answer them.

The first that perceiued his drift, and provided to resist him, was *Arideus* Gouvernour of *Phrygia*, who fortified the Townes of his owne Prouince, and fought to haue won *Cyzicus*, a faire Haven Towne, and seated very conveniently for him, but was faine to goe away without it. Hereupon *Antigonus* tooke occasion to command him out of the Countie. *Arideus* was so farr from obeying him, that he sent forces to relieue *Eumenes*. Neuerthelesse finding that he was vnable of himselfe to make long resistance, heooke such companies as he could draw along with him, and so passed ouer into *Europe*, to complaine at the Court. The like fortune had *Clitus*, who ruled in *Lydia*, and sought the like remedy of his fortune, with some hope at the first (for both of them were entertained with very good words) which quickly vanished, and grew desperate, when they were beaten at Sea, as hath already bene declared.

§. XVIII.

Antigonus pursues Eumenes. Eumenes hauing authoritie from the Court, raiseth great war against Antigonus in defence of the Royall house.

Antigonus hauing thus gotte into his hands all, or most of all *Asia* the lesse, was able to haue entred *Macedon*, and seized vpon the Court; which that he foreware to doe, it proceeded (as may seeme) for some of these reasons. It would haue bred as much ialousie in *Cassander*, as feare in *Polyperchon*, which might haue brought them to teames of reconciliation; It would aske more time than he could spare; and the enuie which followed the *Protector-shipp* was such, as he that had power enough without the Office, ought rather to shun, than to pursue. Besides all this, it was manifest that *Eumenes* would not onely refuse to take his part, but would make warre vpon him in defence of the Royall house, to which it was found that *Antigonus* did not stand well affected. Against him therefore he bent his course, and with an Army of twenty thousand foot, and foure thousand Horie, made great haste toward *Cilicia*, hoping to suppress him before he should be able to make head.

Eumenes was one of those few that continued faithfull to their dead master, which being well knowne in the Court, he had commission sent vnto him from thence to raise an Armie, and make warre vpon *Antigonus*, taking of the Kings treasure as much as he should neede. Other letters also there were directed to all the Gouvernours of Prouinces, requiring them to giue assistance to *Eumenes*, and be ordered by his direction: especially to the Captaines of the old Souldiers; called the *Argyraspides*, or silver-shielded bands, commandment was giuen to be at his appointment. He had of his old followers gathered together two thousand foot, and five hundred horie, before this authority was giuen him: but now he purposed with all the strength which he could make, to fight with *Antigonus* in defence of the Royall blood. *Olympias* had written to him, desiring him to bring helpe to her and to her Nephew the sonne of *Alexander*; and in the meane time to giue her his aduice in that which *Polyperchon* required of her: for she was desirous

desirous to returne into *Macedon*, but suspected his ambition, as not contained within lawfull bounds. *Eumenes* therefore counsell'd her to remaine in *Epirus*, till such time as he could bring the warre to a good issue; which done, he promised that his faith and care should not be wanting to the seede of *Alexander*.

Strange it is to consider, that in all the Empire, scarce any one could be found among the Noble men, in whom *Alexander's* mother, wiues, and children, might repose firme confidence, sauing onely this *Eumenes*, a stranger to the *Macedonian* blood, borne at *Gordis*, a Citie of *Thrace*. His reputation was no more than his owne vertue had made it; his followers obeyed at their owne discretion; and compelled he was to trauaile as fast as *Persia*, to gather together an Armie sufficient, to resist the enemies that pursued his heeles.

§. XIX.

How the Princes of Macedon stood affected mutually. Olympias takes Aridaeus and Eurydice, whom she cruelly puts to death.



OW, forasmuch as in this present warre all the Rulers of the Prouinces did entermiddle; and great alterations happened, not onely in the parts of *Asia*, but *Macedon* it selfe, which brought a new face vnto the State, by the extirpation of the royall house of *Philip* and *Alexander*: I hold it convenient in this place, before we enter into the particulars of the warre it selfe, to shew briefly how the great ones did mutually stand affected; and by what passions they were drawne into those courses, which ouer-threw most of them, and out of their ruines built the greainesse of a few: as likewise to what extremitie the faction brake out in *Macedon* it selfe, about the maine controuersie of the title to the Crowne, whereupon all other quarrels were or should haue bene depending.

Arideus the King, being simple and fearefull, did onely what hee was bidden.

Polyperchon, desirous to continue long in Office, had a purpose to aduance the sonne of *Alexander* by *Roxane* to the kingdome, and become Gouvernour to a King of his owne making.

Eurydice the Queene discouering plainly this intent, and meaning nothing lesse than to let her husband serue as a Stale, keeping the throne warme till another were growne old enough to sit in it, grew acquainted with *Cassander*, who hated the memory of *Alexander*, and was therefore the fitter for her turne.

Cassander held fresh in minde the danger wherein his family had bene through *Alexander's* malice, together with the indignitie offered to himselfe by *Alexander*, who knocked his head against a wall for deriding one that adored him after the *Persian* manner. The displeasure hereof; and the pleasure which he tooke in the amorous Queene, made him to resolue, both to suppress the linage which he hated, and to maintaine his beloued mistresse, either by supporting her weak husband, or by taking her to be his owne wife.

The rest of the Lords held it a thing indifferent who reigned ouer all, so as they might reigne in their severall Countreies, and establish their authority in such wise, that it might not be taken from them.

Among these, *Ptolomie* and *Antigonus* were well enough already, if their ambition would haue suffered them to see it.

Phib and *Selenus* lying farr off, and being strong, had some good hope to encroach vpon their neighbours. Against these, *Pencestes* and some others with much ado hardly made

Eee

made

made resistance, vntill such time as *Eumenes* came to them; who propounded to himselfe great matters, which he liued not to accomplish.

Olympias the old Queene (as it is common with step-dames) hated the children of her husband by his other wiues. It was thought that she had giuen poyson to *Aridaus*, which failing to take away his life, had much impaired both his body and wits. Now she considering, that *Eumenes* was too full of businesse to come home so soone as she wished that he should; and that *Cassander* daily preuailed in *Greece*: thought it the best way to ioyne with *Polyperchon*, and set vp, as King, her Nephew *Alexander*, the son of *Roxane*, remouing *Aridaus* before *Cassander* were able to defend him. To this intent she procured men among her kindred in *Epirus*, and so rooke her way towards *Polyperchon*, who to ioyning with her, entred into *Macedon*.

Eurydice hearing these newes, wrote very earnestly to *Cassander*, praying him to let aside all other businesse, and come to succour her. She herselfe by entreatie, gifts and promises, drew to her partie as many of the *Macedonians* as she could, vntill she thought her owne side strong enough; and then taking her husband with her, went boldly forth against *Olympias*, and the Traitor *Polyperchon*.

These two Queens met armed, as if the matter should haue beene determined by their own hands, which ended without any stroke stricken, by the reuolt of those who followed *Eurydice*. For as soone as the *Macedonians* beheld *Olympias*; calling to minde her former Estate, and the victorious reignes of her husband and sonne, they refused to lift any weapon against her. *Eurydice* finding her selfe thus forsaken, fled towards *Amphipolis*, but was intercepted and made prisoner with her husband.

Olympias hauing obtained this victory without blood, thought that all things would succeed as easily, and that vpon the same considerations for which they had refused to beare Armes against her, the *Macedonians* would not sticke to maintaine her, whatsoever her proceedings were. Hauing therefore shut vp *Aridaus* and his wife in a close room, where they could scarce turne round, she fed them through a little hole, till after a while it came in her head, (for she least the people should haue commiseration of him, that had reigned almost fixe yeeres and a halfe) to put them to death. So she deliuered *Aridaus* to some barbarous *Thracians*, who rooke away his life by cruell torments: to *Eurydice* she sent a sword, a halter, and a cup of poyson, willing her to chooſe the instrument of her owne death; who praying that the like presents might one day be sent to *Olympias*, yeilded her necke to the halter, hauing spent her last curses not in vaine. *Nicanor* the brother of *Cassander*, and a hundred the chiefe of his friends, did *Olympias* then chooſe out, all whom she commanded to be slaine. His brother *Solus* that was already dead and buried, she accused of poyson giuen to *Alexander*, & thereupon caused his Tomb to be throwne downe, and his bones to be scattered abroad. The *Macedonians* wondering at this furiie, began to condemne themselves, and the folly of *Polyperchon*, who had, quite contrarie to *Antipaters* charge giuen on his death-bed, called this outrageous woman to the gouernment of the Empire.

§. XX.

How Cassander was renewed upon Olympias.

†. I.

The great expedition of Cassander. *Olympias* shut her selfe into *Pydna*, where Cassander besieged her. *Acides* King of *Epirus*, coming to succour *Olympias*, is forsaken, and banished by his owne Subjects.

Cassander at that time lay before *Tegea*, in *Peloponnesus*; whither when all these ill tidings were brought to him, he neuer itaied to take the Citie, nor to giue any order for the State of things in that Countrie, (though *Alexander* the sonne of *Polyperchon* were there with an Armie) but compounding with them of *Tegea*, he willed his associates to looke to themselves as well as they could, till his returne; and so in all haste he tooke his journey toward *Macedon*, carried headlong with the greedie desire of iust reuenge. The *Aetolians* had taken the Streights of *Thermopyle*, in fauour of the Queene and *Polyperchon*, to hinder his passage; but he, not willing to mispend any time in

in dealing with them, got together as many shippes as he could, great and small, with which he transported his Army into *Thessaly*. There he diuided his companies, appointing some vnder *Callas*, a subtile Capitaine, to hold *Polyperchon* busied, who then lay incamped neere to *Perbebia*; with the rest he marched directly against *Olympias*. She, hauing once preuailed by the respect giuen to her dignitie, tooke more care how to appeare Majestically, than to make her selfe strong. To this end she made a solemne progresse to *Pydna*, a Sea-towne, and well fenced, hauing in her companie all the flower of the Court, especially the great Ladies, among whom was *Roxane*, and her yong son *Alexander*, heire to the great *Alexander*, by his grandmothers designation: who, during his minority kept the Soueraigne power in her owne hands. But all this pompe serued to little vse, against the violence of the enemy, that soone presented himselfe before the wals, onely it fed the besieged with a vaine hope of succour, that would from all parts arrive, to rescue persons of their quality. And hercof there soone appeared faire likelihood, which as soone vanished, and went away in smoke.

For *Acides* King of *Epirus*, made great haste to bring succour to *Olympias*, his cosen, with whom *Deudamia* his daughter was also shut vp. Neuertheless, his Subjects were nothing forward in this expedition; but finding certaine passages taken in the way by *Cassanders* taken, they called vpon him to retire, and quit the enterprise. The Kings importunitie vrging them to proccede, and the obstinate refusal of the Armie, brake out at length into such termes, that when he had raged in vaine against the multitude, his authority, with which he thought to haue preuailed vpon them, was by them taken from him, and he compelled to forsake his Kingdome, and to wander vp and downe in forraigne Countreies a banished man, his people ioyning with the enemy, against whom he had led them forth to warre.

Pydna in the meane time was closed vp streightly, both by Sea and Land, so that neither any could issue out of the Citie, nor any reliefe be conueyed into it; but it held out as long as any food was left, no memorabie seruice being done there, whilst great actions were managed abroad.

†. II.

Continuation of Olympias her storie. *Polyperchon* defeated. Extreme famine in *Pydna*. *Olympias* yeeldes to Cassander.

NOW, though order of time require it, that we should rehearse the doings of *Eumenes* and *Antigonus* in this place, leaving *Olympias* yet a while to the howre of her destiny, which grows the faster vpon her, because she may discern it coming; yet that wee may not be compelled to interrupt the courtie of our narration, by inserting her Tragedie in the midst of things, not manifestly coherent with it; we will here (as elsewhere we haue done, and elsewhere must) continue to an end one History, that we may not be therewith distracted, when we shall come to the relation of another. All the hope of the besieged, remaining in *Polyperchon*, was in like manner disappointed, as their former trust had beene, which was reposed in the succours of the *Epiros*. For *Callas*, who was sent against him, found the means to corrupt the greatest part of his Armie with money, leaving him within a little while so slenderly accompanied, that he was fit for no other businesse of warre, than a swift retreat. When famine had so sore preuailed in the Citie, that the horses were killed as a precious food, many men feeding on the dead carcasses of their fellowes, and sawdust being giuen to the Elephants for prouender; some of the Souldiers obtaining the Queenes leaue, (who could not denie it) others, without asking leaue, yeilded themselves to the enemy, and were by him gently relieued, and sent abroad into the Countrey. The newes of the Queenes affaires, dispersed by these men, did so affright her wel-willers, that such as had referred themselves to the euent, came in apace, and submitted them to Cassander. At length, when the mortalitie was so great in the Towne, that the liuing were euen poysoned with the noysome sent of the dead; *Olympias* bethought her selfe of stealing away by Sea in a Galley that she had: wherewith her successe was as bad as in the rest. For God had appointed this Towne, by her chosn as a place of refuge, to be vnto her as a house of torment, and a laile, out of which she should not be deliuered, but vnto an euill death. Being therefore vterly broken with miseries, which daily afflicted her

her and the other Ladies, vnaccustomed to so wretched a kind of life, she offered composition, & with much labor hardly obtained of *Cassander* (who hauing fetcht her Gally out of the Hauen, accounted himselfe as good as master of her body) a grant of her own life. Immediately vpon her apprehension, *Pella*, the chiefe Citie of the Kingdome, was yielded to *Cassander*. *Amphipolis* did stand out: for *Aristonius* (to whom *Olympias* had giuen charge of such forces as were left abroad in the Countrey, taking courage from the successe of some petty seruices wherein he had preuailed) began to promise himselfe great vnlikelihoods. But *Olympias*, to win *Cassanders* fauour, very earnestly required him vpon his faith to her, that he should giue it vp. He did so, and presently after was killed by his priuate enemies, that were set on by *Cassander*, who partly hated him vpon old respects, partly doubted him, as a man likely to seeke inuouation.

†. III.

The death of *Olympias*, and her conditions.

WHEN *Olympias* had now heard forrowfull tidings of all her friends, shee herselfe was called into question, and accused in an assembly of the *Macedonians*, for the murders (they were so stiled in her affliction, which in time of prosperitie she called iustice) by her committed. There was she (being not heard nor called to speake) condemned to die. The suite was commenced and prosecuted against her, by the kindred of those whom she had slaine. But it was at *Cassanders* instigation; who (to hasten the execution) sent her word, that he would furnish her with a ship, and other necessities, to saue her selfe by flight: which when she refused, saying, that she would plead for herselfe, and tell her owne tale; he dissembled no longer, but sent vnto her such men as hated her most, who tooke away her miserable life. She was daughter, and sister, vnto two Kings of *Epirus*; wife, and mother, vnto two the mightiest Kings, of that, or many other ages; a stout Lady, and of vnreproueable chastitie; but her ambition was boundlesse, her hatred vnappaeable, and her furie in reuenge, most vnwomanly. Her peruerse conditions made her husband seeke other wiues and Concubines, which caused her to hate both him, and them. She was thought priuie to her husbands death; after which, very cruelly she slew his late wife *Cleopatra*, hauing first murdered one of her two children in her armes, and with a beastly fury broiled the other aline in fire, in a copper bason. For these things, her sonne *Alexander* (otherwile louing her well) forbade her to meddle in the gouernement of *Macedon*. But God more seuerely vnto cruell Tyrants, than onely to hinder them of their wils, permitted her to liue and fulfill the rest of her wickednesse, (which was his iustice vpon the adulteries of *Philip*, and the oppression done by him and others;) after all which, He rewarded her malice, by returning it vpon her owne head.

†. IIII.

Cassander celebrates the funeral of *Aridæus* and *Eurydice*; and seekes to make himselfe King of *Macedon*.

AFTER her death, *Cassander* gaue honourable buriall to *Aridæus* and *Eurydice*, among their Progenitors, Kings of *Macedon*. And looking further into his owne possibilities of greatnesse, he married the Lady *Thebælonica*, whom he had taken at *Pydna*, being the daughter of King *Philip*, by another of his wiues; that by her he might haue some title to the Crowne. For the same end he committed *Roxane*, and her young sonne, to close prison, removing thereby some part of his impediment. And, the better to encrease his fame, and purchase loue, built a Citie, called by his owne name *Cassandria*, that soone grew to be very great and powerfull. He reedified likewise *Thebes* in *Greece*, and restored it vnto the old inhabitants, after it had laine twenty yeeres waste, being utterly razed by *Alexander*. By these meanes, especially by the reedification of *Thebes*, whereunto all *Greece* voluntarily contributed, he grew so strong, that few remained enemies vnto him; and they, with much labour, hardly could resist him. Leaving this, therefore daily premeditating in *Greece*, we will returne to them, who contended in *Asia*, for lesse titles, but larger Prouinces, with greater forces.

CHAP.

CHAP. IIII.

Of the great Lordship which *ANTIGONVS* got in *Asia*.

§. I.

The journey of *Eumenes* into *Persia*. His wife dealing with those that ioynd with him.



Eumenes, hauing ioynd vnto his company the *Argyraspides*, made haste into the Easterne parts. to take possession of those Countreies, according to his commission, and strengthen himselfe against *Antigonus*. He tooke his journey through *Caesofrya* and *Phenicia*, hoping to reclaime those Prouinces, vsurped with the rest of *Syria* (as hath bene shewed) by *Ptolomie*, to the Kings obedience. But to effect this, his haste of his passing forward was too great, his Armie too litle; and the readinesse of the people, to returne to their due obedience, none at all. Besides all which inconuenience troubled him in all his proceedings, making them the lesse effectfull. The Captaines of the *Argyraspides* were so froward, that they scorned to obay him, and take his directions; and their fidelity was so vnsteady, that he might more easily haue dealt with open traitors. It was not expedient, that he, being Generall, should weaken his authority by courting them; neither lay it in his power to keepe them in order by compulsion. Therefore he fained, that *Alexander* had appointed vnto him in a dreame, a place for their meeting, namely, in a rich pavilion, wherein an empty throne was placed, as if *Alexander* himselfe had bene present at their consultations. Thus he freed himselfe from their vaine pride; but of their faith he could haue no assurance. Yet when *Ptolomie* requested them, and *Antigonus* bribed them to forsake him, they continued (though not without considering of the matter) to take his part. So hee marched on, sending before him the Kings warrant; which *Pytho* and *Seleucus* refused to obey; not as reiecting the Kings authority, but excepting the person of *Eumenes*, as a man condemned to die by the *Macedonian* Armie, for the death of *Craterus*. *Eumenes*, knowing well that hee was not to relye vpon their assistance, who stood otherwise affected then his affaires required, and were not to be dealt with by persuasion, sought passage by strong hand, through the Countrey of *Babylon*, in such wise that *Seleucus*, hauing in vaine assailed to hinder him, by opening the sluices of *Euphrates*, was glad at length to grant him friendly way, as desirous to be rid of him. Thus he came to *Peucestes* and the rest of the Easterne Lords, who were glad of his company, because of the differences betwene *Pytho*, *Seleucus*, and themselves. Yet the contention about superiority, grew very hot among them; every one finding matter enough, to feede his owne humour of selfe-worthinesse. But the former deuice of assembling in one pavilion, made all quiet; the conclusion euer being sure to follow that which *Eumenes* propounded, who was both wisest in giuing aduice, and best able to reward, by means of the authority giuen him, to take what he pleased of the Kings treasures. By these meanes he won to himselfe many of those, who had most power to doe good or hurt.

§. II.

How *Antigonus*, coming to set vpon *Eumenes*, was driuen off with losse.

Antigonus, hearing that *Eumenes* lay in the Prouince of *Susa*, had an earnest desire to follow him, and driue him further from the Kings treasures, which were kept there. To which end, as soone as he had made himselfe strong enough, he removed out of *Mesopotamia*, where he had wintered; and taking to him *Pytho* and *Seleucus*, with their men, he marched directly against the enemies, with intent to giue them battaile. *Eumenes* had fortified the Castle of *Susa*, & was retired back toward *Persia*, keeping

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keeping the River of *Tygris* betweene him and his pursuers. The passages of the River were well guarded, and good espial kept vpon *Antigonus*, to obserue which way he took. Before he came to *Tygris* it selfe, he was to passe ouer *Coprates*, a great River, and not foordable, which he sought to doe by small vessels, whereof he had no greater store. A great part of his Armie had gotten ouer, when *Eumenes*, who kept a bridge vpon *Tygris*, came with a thousand horse, and foure thousand foot, to see their demeanour: and finding them out of order, charged them, brake them, and draue them headlong backe into *Coprates*, wherein most of them were drowned; very few escaping with life, except foure thousand that yeelded themselues prisoners, in sight of *Antigonus*, that was not able to relieue them. This losse made *Antigonus* glad to fall off, and the heate of that Countrie in the dog dayes, breeding diseases in his Armie, by which many perished, caused him to remoue as farre as into *Media*: So he tooke *Python* with him; (leaving *Selenus* to besiege the Castle of *Susa*) and seeking to goe the neere way, passed through savage Nations, that continually vexing him with skirmishes, slew great numbers of his men, before he could arrive in *Media*, with his troupes that were quite heart-broken.

§. III.

Of *Eumenes* his cunning. A battaile betweene him and *Antigonus*.

After his departure, *Eumenes* with his associates fell into consultation, about the mainder of their businesse. Faine he would haue had them to enter vpon those Provinces, which *Antigonus* had left behinde him; to which also the Captaines of the *Argyraspides* or Silver-shields were very inclinable, as desiring to draw neerer to *Greece*. But *Peucestes*, and the rest, whose dominions lay in the high Countries, had more care of their owne particular Estates, and would needs march Eastward. These carried it; for the Armie was not strong enough to diuide it selfe into parts.

When they came into *Persia*, *Peucestes*, ruling there, feasted them royally, and sought by all means to win the Souldiers loue to himselfe. *Eumenes* perceiuing wherunto those doings tended, suffered him a while to keepe good cheare, till the time of war drew neere. Then did he faine an Epistle, directed, as from *Orontes* Governour of *Armenia*, to *Peucestes* himselfe: The purport whereof was, that *Olympias* had vanquished *Cassander*, and sent ouer a great Armie vnder *Polyperchon*, to ioine with *Eumenes*. These newes, as they filled the Campe with vaine ioy, so they wrought in all mens mindes a great willingness to obey *Eumenes*, by whom was the likeliest apparance of their preferment; wherein they dealt wisely, he being farre the most sufficient Commander, as they found soone after. For when *Antigonus*, coming out of *Media*, drew neere vnto them, *Eumenes* by some mischance was fallen sicke, and faine to be carried in a Litter, the Armie marched in very bad array, and was likely to haue bene forced to take battaile in that disorder. But *Eumenes*, when the rest of the Captaines were amazed, was carried about the Armie in his Litter, and vpon the sodaine did cast his men into so good forme, that *Antigonus*, perceiuing him a farre off, could not reframe from giuing him deferred commendations. Yet he did not cease to promise great rewards to the Captaines, and all sorts of men, if they would forsake *Eumenes*: which hopes deceiuing him, he came to the trial of a battaile. *Eumenes* had more Elephants than *Antigonus*, otherwise, he was inferiour in number both of horse and foote by a third part. The battaile was fought with variable success, and great losse on both sides, continuing a great part of the day, and of the night following. Yet the victory was vncertaine. For *Eumenes* could not force his men to lye farre from their carriages: by which means *Antigonus* (who had a more absolute command ouer his incamping on the ground whercon they fought, had in his power the dead bodies; which was accounted the signe of victory; for he buried his owne, and gaue leaue to his enemies craning it, to doe the like. But a greater signe of victory had *Eumenes*. For he abode still in the same place, and not onely buried his men very honourably, at great leisure, but held the Countrie round about; whereas *Antigonus* was glad (hauing tarried but one day) to steale away by night, and returne into *Media*, from whence he came.

§. IIII.

Of diuers stratagems practised by *Antigonus*, and *Eumenes*, one against the other.

Hus did the Warre continue doubtfull, and was protracted to a greater length, each part hauing stout Souldiers, and skillfull Generals: but the side which had hitherto preuailed, being hindred by the equal authority of many, from pursuing all advantages to the best. *Antigonus* grew daily weaker, in men and reputation, so that to repaire himselfe he could finde no way safer, than to put all to aduenture. Hee knew that his enemies lay in their wintering places, quartered farre asunder, so that if hee could suddenly come among them, he was likely to put them in great distresse. Between him & them, the way was not long, being only nine daies iourney, but very bad, through a rough drie wilderness, hardly passable. Another way, fairer and leading through a Countrie well peopled, but requiring 25. daies iourney, he forooke, partly for the length, partly, and chiefly, because he would come vndiscovered. So therfore taking his iourney in the dead of winter, he forbade vnto his men the vse of fire by night, because hee would not haue them descried a farre off. This commandement had bene well obserued foure or five daies, when continuance of time (as commonly) breeding negligence, and the cold weather pinching them, they were bold to cherish themselues, being neere to their waies end. The light of these fires gaue notice of their coming; which being reported to *Peucestes*, and other Captaines, they were so astonished with the sodaine danger, that in all hastie they betooke themselues to flight. But *Eumenes*, meeting with the newes, began to hearken his affrighted companions, promising to make *Antigonus* march leisurly, and willing them to abide, and draw vp their men together. They could scarce beleuee him; yet they were content to be ruled, and did as he appointed, who failed not in making his word good. He tooke with him some companies of the readiest men, wherewith he occupied certaine tops of mountaines, looking toward the Campe of *Antigonus*: there he chose a conuenient ground to incampe vpon, and made great store of fires in sundry places, as if the whole Armie had bene present. This was a sorrowfull spectacle to *Antigonus*, who thought himselfe preuented of his purpose; and began to feare lest he should be compelled to fight, whilst his men were tired with a long & painfull iourney. Therefore he resolved to turne aside, and take the way to such places, as might better serue to refresh his Armie. This he did with great care and circumspection, at the first, as knowing how ready *Eumenes* would be vpon all advantages. But after a while, considering that no enemy stirred about him, he began to pause, and thinke in himselfe, that somewhat or other was not fallen out according to his opinion. To be the better informed in the matter, he caused some Inhabitantes of that Desert to be taken, and brought before him; of whom he learned, that they had seene no other Armie than his thereabout, but onely a few men that kept fires on the hill-tops. It vexed him exceedingly to finde that hee had bene so deluded. Therefore he went against these troupes with great furie, meaning to take tharpe vengeance on them, for hauing so deceiued him. But by this time, sufficient strength was arrived there, which could not be forced without much businesse, and long stay. All the Armie was come, saue onely *Eudamus*, Captaine of the Elephants, who, besides those beasts, had no more than foure hundred horsemen in his company. *Antigonus* hearing of this supply coming to his enemies, sent aboue two thousand horse, and all his light-armed footmen, to cut it off by the way. *Eudamus* being fallen into this danger, was faine to place his Elephants round about his carriages, and so to defend himselfe as well as he could; for his horsemen, overlaid with multitudes, were quickly broken, and driuen to runne away vpon the spurre. Neither knew they, who fate vpon the Elephants, which way to turne them; for on all sides they receiued wounds, and were not able to requite them with the like. In this extremitie there appeared braue troupes of horse and foot, that came v unexpected to the rescue, and charging the assailants vpon the backe, draue them to seeke their owne safety by speedy flight. These were sent by *Eumenes*; who though he knew not what his aduersarie meant to doe, yet he knew very well what was fittest for him to doe: and therefore, playing both games himselfe, provided the remedie.

§. V.

The conspiracie of Peucestes and others, against Eumenes his life.

BY these meanes *EUMENES* wanne great honour, and was by the whole Armie acknowledged a most expert Generall, and well worthy of the chiefe command. But *Peucestes*, and the other Capitaines, guilty of their owne much infidelity, were so transported with enuie, that they could no longer containe their vile thoughts, but held communication, as vpon a necessary point, how they might finde meanes to murder him.

Surely, it is great iniustice to impute the mischief contriued against worthy men, to their owne proud carriage, or some other ill deseruing: For, though it often happen, that small vices do serue to counterpoise great vertues; (the sense of euill being more quicke and lasting than of good) yet hee shall bewray a very foolish malice, that, wanting other testimonie, will thinke it a part of wisdom, to finde good reason of the euills, done to vertuous men, which oftentimes haue no other cause than vertue it selfe. *Eumenes*, among many excellent qualities, was noted to bee of singular court sicke, of a very sweet conuersation among his friends, and careful by all gentle meanes to winne their loue, that seemed to beare him any secret ill affection. It was his meere vertue that ouerthrew him, which euery they that fought his life acknowledged. For they concluded that hee should not be slaine, before the battaile were fought with *Antigonus*, wherein they confessed that it stood best with their safety, to be gouerned by his direction. Of this treason he was quickly aduertised by *Eudamius*, to whom hee had done many pleasures, and by some others of whom hee vsed to borrow money when hee needed not, to the end that they should be careful of his good, for feare of losing their owne. Considering therefore, and discouering with himselfe of the villany intended against him, he made his last Will, and burnt all his Writings that contained any matter of secret: which done, hee resolu'd many things in his minde, being doubtfull what course he were best to follow. All the Nobles of the Empire stood ill affected to the Royall blood, excepting those which were with him, that were more in number than in worth. How things at that time stood in *Macedon* and *Greece*, either he knew not, or, knowing the truth, knew nothing that might encourage him to seeke their helpe, that needed his. To make his owne peace with *Antigonus*, had bene against his faith to *Olympias*, and the Princes, that had committed this great power into his hands. For which cause also it may be thought, that he forbore either to lose the battaile willingly, or to flee into *Cappadocia*, and make shift for himselfe among his old friends. At length he resolu'd to do his best against the common enemy, and afterwards to looke to himselfe as well as he might.

§. VI.

The last battaile betwene Antigonus and Eumenes.

HIS Souldiers, especially those olde bands of the *Siluer-shields*, finding *Eumenes* perplexed, and not knowing the cause, entreated him not to doubt of the victory, but onely to bring them into the field, and set them in array; for the rest, they alone would take sufficient order. The like alacritie was generally found in the common Souldiers faces; but the chiefe Commanders were so mischieuously bent against him, that they could not endure to thinke of being beholding to him for the victory. Yet hee ordered the battaile so well, that, without their owne great fault, they could hardly faile of getting the vpper hand.

Before the Armies came to ioyning, a horse-man from the side of *Eumenes*, proclaimed with a loud voice vnto the followers of *Antigonus*, That their wickednes in fighting against their owne Fathers, would now be punished, as it well deserved. This was not spoken in vaine. For the *Siluer-shields* were men of threecore or seuen yeeres olde, and strengthened more by continuall exercise than decayed by age, and excelling in courage, as hauing passed through greater dangers, than any like to be presented in that fight. Therefore *Antigonus* his men (who had often bene beaten by them, and were now to trie their last hope with these resolute warriors, the most Ancient and best regarded of all *Alexanders* Souldiers) grew very pensive, and advanced

heavily, suspecting their owne cause, and fearing that the threatenings vttered would proue true.

Antigonus was now againe farre the stronger in horse, which gaue him cause of great hope; the ground, on which they were to fight, being a plaine leuelled field. Placing therefore himselfe and his sonne *Demetrius* in the right wing, and committing the left wing to *Pithon*, hee did set forward courageously against the enemies, that were ready to giue him a sharpe entertainment.

Eumenes tooke vnto him *Peucestes*, with the rest of the Lords, and stood in the left wing of his battaile, in the face of *Antigonus*; meaning both to preuent the Traitors, his Companions, of all meanes to make head against him on the sodaine; and (withall) to giue proofe of his owne valour, which perhaps he should no more doe, in the face of all his enemies. In the right wing, opposite vnto *Pithon*, he bestowed the weakest of his Horse and Elephants, vnder one *Philip*, an honest man, and (which was enough at such a time) obedient: commanding him to protract the fight, and make a reasonable retreat, expecting the euent of the other side.

So they ioynd very fiercely; *Antigonus*, labouring to make himselfe master of all; *Eumenes*, to die an honourable death, or to winne such a victorie vpon his open enemies, as might giue him leisure and opportunitie to deal with his false friends.

The footmen of *Antigonus*, being euen in their owne opinions, farre inferior to those whom they must encounter, were at the first brunt presently defeated by the *Siluer-shields*, who slew about five thousand of them, losing of their owne not one man. But in horse, *Eumenes* was so ouer-matched, that hee could not repell *Antigonus*, who pressed him very hard, but was faine to stand wholly vpon defence. Yet his courage wrought he well by example, among his followers, that the enemy could not winne one foot of ground vpon him, vntill such time as *Peucestes*, with one thousand five hundred horse, withdrew himselfe out of the battell, leaving his companions fighting to defend his backe.

Then did *Eumenes* desperately rush amongst his enemies, labouring to breake open the way vnto *Antigonus* himselfe. And though he failed of his purpose; yet with great slaughter hee did so beat vpon them which came in his way, that the victorie hung a long time in suspense, vncertaine which way to incline.

The ground whereon they fought, being of a slight sandie mould, through the trampling of horses, men, and Elephants, did cast vp such a cloud of dust, as hindred the prospect, so that no man could see what was done a little from him. *Antigonus* finding this advantage, dispatched away some companies of horse, that passed vndiscovered beyond *Eumenes* his battailes, and came to his carriages, which lay about halfe a mile from the place of fight, slenderly guarded, (for that the whole body of the Army lay betweene them and danger) and therefore easily taken. Had *Peucestes* retired himselfe no further than vnto the carriages, he might not onely haue defended them, but peraduenture haue surprised those which came to surprize them, and so haue done as good a piece of seruice as a better man. But he was gotten somewhat further, to a place, where out of danger he might expect the euent: and *Eumenes* was so ouer-laboured both in body and minde, that hee could not possibly giue an eye to euery place, being not well able to continue where he was.

It happened so, that the Elephants meeting together, those of *Antigonus* had the better hand; whereupon *Eumenes*, finding himselfe euery way ouer-charged, beganne to giue backe, and withdrew himselfe and his companies in good order, to the other side of the battaile, where *Philip* (as he was directed) had by fighting and retiring together, kept them from losse. The *Antigonians* had felt so much of *Eumenes* that day, that they were well content to let him depart quietly, and wished not to see him come againe; as faine he would haue done.

The losse of the carriages was reported vnto him, as soon as he had any leisure to heare how things went: whereupon he presently ordered his men for a fresh charge, and sent for *Peucestes* that was not far off, requesting him to bring in his men, and renew the fight, whereby he trusted, not only to recouer their owne goods, but to enrich themselves with the spoiles of the enemies. *Peucestes* not onely refused to ioyne with him, but immediately withdrew himselfe into a safer place, where hee might be further from such dangerous temptations.

By this, the night grew on; and both Armies, wearied with fighting, were desirous to returne into their Campes. Yet *Antigonus* conceiued hope of doing somewhat more; and therefore taking halfe his horsemen, he waited vpon *Eumenes* a part of his way home-wards, but found no opportunity to offend him: the other halfe he committed to *Pithon*, willing him to set vpon the *Silver-shields* in their retreat; which yet he forbore to doe, because it appeared too full of danger. So the battaile ended; wherein *Antigonus* had not so much the better in horse, as the worse in foot: but the spoyle which he got, by surpri- sing his enemies carriages, made amends for all his other losses.

§. VII.

How Eumenes was betrayed to Antigonus, and slaine.

E*umenes*, comming into his Campe, and finding the *Silver-shields* extremely dis- contented with their misfortune, began to cheere them vp, and put them in hope of recouering all with aduantage. For their braue demeanor that day had so cru- shelled the enemy, that hee had no power left, wherewith to abide them in open field, and was much lesse able to draw their Carts after him, through that great Wildernesse, ouer the high mountaines.

But these persuasions auailed nothing. *Pencestes* was gone; the other Captains would needs returne into the high Countries; and the Souldiers had no desire either to sit or to fight, but only to recouer their goods. Wherefore *Teutamus*, one of therwo Cap- taines of the *Silver-shields*, (who had in former times readily consented vnto traitorous motions, in hope of gaine, but was letted by his partner *Antigenes*) finding, as hee thought, a fit occasion of making himselfe great, and winning the loue of those bands, dealt secretly with *Antigonus*, requesting him to restore vnto those olde Souldiers their goods, which hee had taken, being the only reward of their seruices, in the warres of *Philip* and *Alexander*.

Antigonus, as a subtle man, knew very well, that they which requested more than they had reason to expect, would also with little entreaty, performe a great deale more than they promised; and therefore hee louingly entertained the messengers, filling them with hopes of farre greater matter than they desired, if they would put *Eumenes* into his hands, by whom they were seduced to make warre against him. This answer pleased them so well, that they forthwith deuised how to deliuer him aliuie. Wherefore com- ming about him, as at other times, to doe their dutie, and pretending more ioy of their victorie, than sorrow of their losse, which they said they would redeem by another fight, in the midst of this goodly talke, they leapt vpon him, caught hold of his sword, and bound him fast. So they halde him away; and stopping their cares against all persua- sions, would not yeeld so farre, as to loosen one of his hands and let him kill himselfe, but brought him aliuie (that was their owne Generall, vnder whom they had obtained many victories) as it had beene in triumph, into the Campe of their enemies.

The preste of men, running out of the Campe to see him, was so great, that *Antigonus* was faine, to send a guard of horsemen and Elephants, to keepe him from being smothered; whom hee could not sodainly resolute, either to kill or saue. Very few they were that surued his life, but of these, *Demetrius* the sonne of *Antigonus* was one; therst were desirous to be rid of him quickly, thinking belike, that if he were saued, hee would soone be the chiefe in reputation, for his great abilitie. So after long deliberation, *Antigonus* concluded, that it was the safest way, to put him to death, which intending to haue done by famine (perhaps because he would keepe it a while in his owne power, to reverse the sentence, as desiring, if it might be, to haue him liue his friend) haste of other busines made him doe it by the sword.

To this end came all the trauailes of that worthy Generall *Eumenes*; who had with great wisdome, fidelitie, and patience laboured in vaine, to vphold the family which God had purposed to cast downe. Hee is reckoned among the notable examples of Fortunes mutabilitie; but more notable was his government of himselfe, in all her changes. Ad- uersitie neuer lessened his courage, nor Prosperitie his circumspection. But all his vertue, industrie, and wit, were cast away, in leading an Armie, without full power, to keepe it in due obedience. Therefore it was not ill answered, by *Gaspard de Colligne*, Admiral of *France* in our daies, to one that foretold his death, which ensued soone after in the mas-

saire of *Paris*; That rather than to leade againe an Armie of Voluntaries, he would die a thousand times.

Antigonus himselfe gaue to the body of *Eumenes* honourable Funerall; and rewarded the Treason, wrought against him, with deserved vengeance. One chiefe Captaine of the *Silver-shields* he burnt aliuie; many of the other Capitaines he slew; and to the whole multitude of the *Silver-shields*, that had betrayed for worthy a Commander, he appointed a Leader that should carry them into farre Countries, vnder pretence of warres; but with a priuie charge, to consume them all, as periured wretches, letting none of them returne aliuie vnto his friends and kindred, or so much as once behold the Seas that beat vpon the shores of *Greece* and *Macedon*.

§. VIII.

How Antigonus slew Pithon, and occupied Media. How he removed Gouvernours of Prouin- ces, and made himselfe Lord of Persia, carrying away Peucectes.

Thetwo Armies being ioyned thus in one, were carried into *Media*, where they spent the rest of the Winter; the common Souldier idly; the principall men in- tentuently bent vnto the businesse ensuing. *Pithon* began to consider his owne defences; for that the whole warre had bene chiefly maintained by the strength and riches of his Prouince. Besides, he thought himselfe as good a man as *Antigonus*, vnlesse it were in the Souldiers opinion, which hee iudged easie to be purchased with gifts, and therefore spared not to assay them with great liberality. But in following this course, hee was driuen by necessitie to trust many, of whom hee stumbled vpon some, that were unsecret, and others, bearing him no sincere affection. Thus was his purpose discour- aged to *Antigonus*, who (nothing like to *Pithon*) diffembled his indignation, and rebuked the informers, as breeders of dissention betwene him, and his honourable friend, vnto whom he meant to commit the Government of all those Countries: his owne businesse calling him into the lower *Asia*. These reports, comming daily to his eares, did finelie delude *Pithon*. By his greauesse with *Alexander*, his authority in that Prouince where they lay, wherof he was Governour; and the loue of the Souldiers which he had bought with money; hee was strong enough to maintaine, euen an offensive warre. But what need had he to vie the sword, when hee was likely without contention, to obtaine more than his owne asking? Therefore he came as soone as he was sent for, to take his farewell of *Antigonus*, and to diuide the Prouinces with him, that meant nothing lesse than to yeeld to any such diuision. As soone as he came, he was taken, and accused, condemned to die, and slaine out of hand. For *Antigonus*, hauing begun with *Eumenes* his ancient friend, was not afterward restrained by any consideration of olde acquaintance, from cutting downe indifferently all that stood in his way; but swamme carelesly through the blood, wherein at the first hee doubtfully waded.

When this businesse was ended, hee appointed a new Gouvernour in *Media*, to order the Prouince, and a Captaine, to suppress all commotions: thinking belike, that the power and authoritie, so diuided, would hardly agree in one against him, from whom both were deriued.

After this hee marched into *Persia*, where hee was entertained, as absolute Lord of *Asia*. There began hee to shew how well hee vnderstood his owne mightinesse. For hee placed and displaced at his owne pleasure, Gouvernours in all Prouinces, leauing none in Office, that were not his owne creatures, excepting such as lay too farre off to bee dis- lodged easily.

Pencestes, who ruled in *Persia*, thought with good cheere to redeeme olde offences, but was decieued, hauing to doe with one that could not bee taken with such baies: hee was caried away, and feasted with goodly words of promise, that neuer after tooke effect. Thus hee, that eniued the vertue of his friend, was driuen to flatter (in vaine) the fortune of his enemy, after which he led a most contemptible life, till hee died obscurely as a man forgotten.

§. IX.

How Seleucus was chased out of Babylon by Antigonus. The great riches of Antigonus.

Seleucus was the next in this visitation; one that had from time to time continued in the same tenor of good will to *Antigonus*, & now gave proofe of his hearty affection toward him, by making the Capitaine of the Castle of *Susa* to meete him on the way, rendering vnto him that strong Peece, and all the treasures therein bestowed. This offer was so great, that *Antigonus* (though hauing in his hands the Keeper of the place) could hardly beleue it; but vied him with excessive kindnesse, for feare to good a mood should change. In that Castle he found all the treasures of *Alexander*, with the Jewels of the *Persian* Kings, which added to his former store of money, made vp 25. thousand talents. Hauing all this, he might well account himselfe a happy man, if riches were sufficient to happincesse. But large dominion was the marke at which hee aimed; therefore he proceeded, with intent to leaue no Countrey behinde his backe, that should not acknowledge him for Soueraigne Lord. Coming to *Babylon*, hee was entertained by *Seleucus* with all possible demonstration of loue, and honoured with presents, bestowing the Maistie of a King. All this he accepted with great grautie, as being due to him, and began to require an account of the reuenues of that Prouince. This demand *Seleucus* held vnreasonable; saying, That it was not needfull for him to render vnto any man an account of that Prouince, which was giuen vnto him, in respect of his many good seruices to the State. But whether he spake reason or no, it sufficed, that *Antigonus* was powerfull; who urged him daily to come to a reckoning. Manifest it was, that neither want of money, nor any other necessity, moued *Antigonus* to presse him thus, but onely the desire to picke matter of quarrell against him, whereof it was likely that hee should finde such issue, as *Pithon* and *Pencestes* had done. Therefore taking with him onely fifty horse, he conueied himselfe away, and fled into *Ptolomies* Dominions; desiring him to protect him from such a man as went about to oppresse all, that in former times had bene his betters, or at least his equals. *Antigonus* was glad of his flight; for now all those Countreies were yielded vnto him without battaile, whereas to fight with *Seleucus* for them, hee wanted all pretence; and to kill him it was not his desire, hauing receiued many benefits of him, and those not intermixed, as commonly it happens, with any injuries. Yet it is reported, that the *Chaldeans* brought a strange Prophesie to *Antigonus*, bidding him look well to himselfe, and know, that if *Seleucus* did escape his hands, he should recouer *Babylon*, yea, winne all *Asia*, and kill *Antigonus* in battaile. Easie beleeuers may giue credit to this tale. Had it bene true, I me thinke, *Antigonus* rather should haue hangd those *Chaldeans*, for giuing him no warning till it was too late, than sent pursuers (as they say that he did) after him, whom the destinies preferred for so great purposes. When he had settled things at *Babylon*, he tooke his iourne into *Cilicia*, where he wintered. There hee took vp ten thousand talents more of the Kings treasures, and casting his accounts, found 40 his yeerely income to amount vnto eleuen thousand Talents.

CHAP. V.

Of the great Warre betweene ALEXANDERS Captaines: and how they assumed the name and state of Kings.

§. I.

The combination of Ptolomic, Cassander, and others against Antigonus. Their demands and his answer.

This great riches, and the rest of his power, made *Antigonus* dreaded, emied, and suspected, whereby he quickly was embarked in a new Warre. *Ptolomic*, *Cassander*, and *Lyfimachus*, had priuily combined themselves together, intending to hinder his further growth, and bring him to more reason, than of his owne accord he seemed like to yeeld vnto. Of their practices hee had some notice; the good

good entertainment giuen vnto *Seleucus*, giuing him sufficient cause of mistrust. Therefore he sent Embassadors to them severally, entreating them to continue firme in their louetoward him, that would be ready to requite them with the like. The cold answers which they made, occasioned his hasty preparation against the most forward of them, which was *Ptolomie*, it being likely that a good armie should preuaile more than a faile message. Therefore, as soone as the season of the yeere would permit, he tooke the way toward *Syria*, & was encountred by Embassage from them all. These told him, that their Lords did much reioyce at his victorie, obtained against *Eumenes* their common enemy, and the honour that he had thereby gotten. In which warre, forasmuch as they being his contrary faction had preuailed; they held it very iust, that all should bee partakers in the fruits of that voyage, wherein they had bene all aduenturers. Wherefore they desired him, that making betweene them all an equall diuision of the treasures that were in his hands, (a thing easie to be done) he would also take some conuenient order for enlarging their Dominions, according to the rate of his new purchases. This might best be to euericous liking, if he would make out *Cappadocia*, with *Lycia*, to *Cassander*; and *Phrygia*, bordering vpon the *Hellepont*, to *Lyfimachus*; for whereas his owne Dominions were so much extended Eastward by his late victorie, he might well spare some of those western Prouinces, to those that were seated in the West. As for *Ptolomie*, he would not craue any new addition, but rest contented within his owne Territories. Provided alwaies, that *Seleucus* their common friend, and partner in the late warre, might be restored to his owne, out of which hee had bene driuen so iniuriouly, that all of them were forced to take it deeply to heart; requiring amends, with his friendly consent vnto their demands, which otherwise they must labour to obtaine with armed hands.

Antigonus knew, that after many losses receiued, hee should yet be able to redeeme peace whensoever he listed, with these, or perhaps with easier conditions. Neither was hee so weak, to giue away quietly any part of his strength into the hands of such bad Friends, for feare onely, lest it should be taken from him perforce. Rather he hoped that he should be able to finde them worke, more then enough to defend their owne. Therefore he roundly answered the Embassadors, that it was no part of his meaning to communicate with other men the profit of that victorie, which he alone without other means had obtained. Though indeed they had already sufficiently gained by him, if they could see it, hauing by his meanes kept their governments, whereof they were like to be dispossest by *Polyperchon*, and the councill of estate in *Macedon*. But what maruell was it, if they considered not how he had saued them, seeing one of them had forgotten the time, when comming to him as a fugitiue, and begging succour, he was by his mere bountie relieued, and enabled to get all that he now held? *Cassander* did not (saide hee) in those daies command mee to surrender Prouinces, and giue him his equall share of my treasures; but (for his Fathers sake) desired mee to pittie him, and helpe him against his enemies; which I did; by lending him an Armie, and Fleet, on confidence whereof he now presumes to threaten me. As for *Seleucus*, how can hee complaine of wrong, that durst not stay to plead his right? I did vse him well; but his conscience told him that he had deserved ill: else he would not haue fled. Let them that so curiously search into my doings, consider well their owne, which some of them can hardly iustifie. I am now in the way to *Syria*, meaning to examine *Ptolomies* proceedings, and after him to deale with others, if they continue to prouoke me.

§. II.

The preparation and beginnings of the Warres.

When the Embassadors were dismissed with this answer, nothing was thought vpon but warre. *Antigonus* perceiving that he should be invaded from *Europe*, as soone as he were entred into *Syria*; lest his Nephew *Ptolomie* to guard the *Sassanians*, and hinder *Cassander* from landing in *Asia*; giuing him also in charge, to driue out of *Cappadocia* some that were already sent out to molest him. Likewise he dispatched Messengers into *Greece* and *Cyprus*, not vnfurnished of money, to draw friends to his side, and raise vp troubles to his enemies. Especially, hee laboured to make himselfe the

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strongest

strongest by Sea; to which purpose he rather hastened, than forewilled his journey into *Syria*, that he might get possession of Mount *Libanus*, which afforded many excellent commodities for building of a Naue. Therefore, hauing erected Beacons, and laid poll-horles throughout all *Asia*, to giue swift aduertisement of all occurrences, hee invaded *Syria*, that was not held against him by any power sufficient to maintaine the field.

Ptolomie lay in *Aegypt*, the strength and heart of his Dominion, where he was beloued and honoured of the people as their naturall Lord: his other Prouinces hee kept with a few Garrisons, better serving to containe the people within obedience, than to confront a forraine enemy. So *Antigonus* took many Cities, and Places, of that Countrey, and began to set great numbers of Artificers on worke in making ships, which was one of his most earnest cares. In these busineses he consumed a yeere and three moneths; not idly. For he tooke *Ioppe*, and *Gaza*, which were yielded vnto his discretion, and well used. The strong Citie of *Tyrrus* held out long, but was compelled in the end by famine; to render it selfe vpon composition, that *Ptolomies* Souldiers might depart with their Armes, which was permitted.

Ptolomie was not asleepe, whilest these things were in doing, though hee kept himselfe within the bounds of *Aegypt*, as indeed it behoued him to doe. His forces were not able to stand against *Antigonus* in plaine field, but likely they were to increase, which made him willing to protract the time. Neuertheless by Sea (where his enemy was as yet vnrady) he sent his Fleet into all quarters, whereof *Seleucus* had the chiefe command.

Seleucus passed with an hundred saile along the coast of *Syria*, in the full view of *Antigonus*, and his Arme, to their no little discomfort. He landed in *Cyprus*, which was then gouerned by many petty Lords; of whom the greatest adhered to *Ptolomie*; the rest were by the Factors of *Antigonus*, bought for him with gold, but now redeemed by the *Aegyptian* with sharpe Steele.

The same commoditie of aide by Sea encouraged the President of *Caria* (called also *Cassander*, but not the sonne of *Antipater*, howsoever by the painfull and learned writer *Reimerus Reineccius*, he is by some oversight, counted for the same) to declare for *Ptolomie* and his Confederates, and busily employ in their quarrell all his forces, which he had hitherto kept in good neutrality, and thereby enioyed rest; but now he threw himselfe into dangerous warre, choosing rather to vndergoe trouble at hand, than to fall vnder certaine ruine, though somewhat further distant, which would haue ouerwhelmed him, if *Antigonus* had beaten all the rest.

§. III.

How each partie sought to winne the assistance of Greece. *Antigonus* his declaration against *Cassander*. *Alexander* the sonne of *Polyperchon* revolteth from *Antigonus* who made him vp.

IN the meane season all care possible was taken on both sides, to assure vnto them the people of Greece, whose aide which way soeuer it inclined was of great importance. Here in at the first, *Antigonus* sped so well by large effusion of his treasure, that he drew to him the *Lacedaemonians*, and other *Peloponnesians*, of whom hee waied eight thousand, and caused *Polyperchon* (who had a good while made hard shifts) to rowle himselfe againe, and taking vpon him the title of Captaine of *Peloponnesus*, to make head against *Cassander*.

These hopefull beginnings encouraged him to proceed further in the same kinde. Wherefore to make *Cassander* the more odious, hee called together both his owne Souldiers, and all the *Greekes* and *Macedonians* that were to be found thereabouts. To these he declared, that *Cassander* had very cruelly slaine *Olympias*, mother to the great *Alexander*, and not herewith contented, had shut vp in close prison the poore Lady *Roxane*, *Alexanders* wife, and his sonne begotten on her bodie. That all this proceeded from a desire to make himselfe King ouer the *Macedonians*; which well appeared by his enforcing the Ladie *TheSalonica*, Daughter to King *Philip*, a match vsuit for a man of no greater parentage than he, to ioyne with him in marriage. That in meere despight of those dead Princes, *Philip* and *Alexander*, he had planted the *Olympians*, rooted out by *Philip*, in a new Citie by him built, and called by his owne name *Cassandria*; and had reedified the City of *Thebes*, which for the great treason of the inhabitants, was leuelled with the ground by

by the victorious hand of *Alexander*. For these reasons hee required them to make a decree, that *Cassander* should restore to absolute libertie the Ladie *Roxane*, and her son; and should yeeld obedience to the Lord Lieutenant Generall of the Empire, (by which name *Antigonus* himselfe was vnderstood) or else should be reputed a Traitor, and open Enemy to the State. Furthermore he propounded, that all the Cities of Greece should be restored into freedome; this he did, not because he was carefull of their good, but for the need which he had of their assistance.

These things being decreed, *Antigonus* was perswaded, that not onely the *Greekes* would adhere vnto him, as to their louing Patron, and fall off from *Cassander*; but that the Rulers of Prouinces, who had hitherto suspected him as a man regardfull of nothing but his owne benefit, would correct their opinion, and thinke him the most faithfull of all others to the Royall bloud. But concerning his loyalty to the yong Prince, the world was too wise to be deceiued with vaine shewes. His vndertaking for the libertie of the *Greekes* was more effectuell, and got easie beleefe, in regard of his present haired to *Cassander*. Yet herein also *Ptolomie* strove to be as earnest as he, making the like decree, in hope to winne to himselfe that valiant Nation, which afforded men farre more seruicable in warre, than were to be found in any Prouince of the Empire.

And this indeed was the point, at which both sides aimed. Wherein *Antigonus* thinning to make all sure, deceiued himselfe, not without great cost. For he gaue to *Alexander* the sonne of *Polyperchon* six hundred talents, willing him to set the warre on foot in *Peloponnesus*, whereby it might appeare, that on his side was meant nothing else, than what was openly pretended.

In *Peloponnesus*, *Cassanders* men had with much blood-shed, grievously afflicted the contrary faction; and he himselfe perceiuing, that they were more easily spoiled as enemies, than retained as friends, thought it the best way, to make what use he could of them, that were not long like to continue his. Finally, perceiuing that *Alexander* came furnished with plentie of gold, wherewith he was able, not only to winne the doubtful, but to corrupt such as might seeme best assured: he thought it a part of wisdom, to surrender vpon faire conditions, that which hee could not assure himselfe to hold any long time by force. Therefore he sent on to deale with *Alexander*, about the matters in controversy, telling him, that *Antigonus* was very skilfull in setting men together by the eares, not caring who preuailed, but onely desiring haue them to weary themselves, whilest he was busied elsewhere; that so at length he might find opportunity to set vpon the stronger. If therefore *Alexander* were so wise, as to keepe in his purse the six hundred Talents which he had, and without stroke stricken, to receiue the whole Lordship of *Peloponnesus*; it should bee freely put into his hands by *Cassander*. Provided, that hee should from thenceforth renounce all confederacy made with *Antigonus*, and enter into a free & faithfull league with *Ptolomie*, *Cassander*, & the rest of the Confederates. Otherwise, he might well perswade himselfe, that the Countrey which his Father could not keepe, when hee was indeede the Lieutenant of the Empire, should not in haste bee wonne by him, that was onely the Factor of a proud iniurious man, so stiling himselfe, but not acknowledged by others.

Alexander had liued a while with *Antigonus* since the beginning of these wars; among whose followers it was not hard to discover the intent, (which he did not carrie very secret) of making himselfe absolute Lord of all. Therefore he was soone entreated to accept of good an offer; and did not sticke to enter into that league, whereby he was to become a free Lord, and subiect vnto no mans controll.

Howbeit this his honour continued not long, ere he lost both it and his life together, by treason of the *Sicionians*; who thinking thereby to haue made themselves free, were soon after vanquished in battaile by *Crateipolis*, *Alexanders* wife, a discreet and valiant Ladie. Shee in reuenge of her husbands death, crucified thirtie of the Citizens taken in fight; and hauing by seueritie taught them obedience, did afterwards continue her Arme in good order, and gouerned those places that shee held, with the commendation of her Subjects and Neighbours.

§. IIII.

The Ætolians rise againſt Caſſander in ſauour of Antigonus, and are beaten. A ſeet and land-armie of Antigonus, utterly defeated by Ptolomies Lieutenant. In what termes the warre ſtood at this time. Antigonus drawes neerer to Greece.

Antigonus, when he found, that with ſo much money he had only bought an enemy, began to raiſe troubles to Caſſander and his other aduerſaries in Greece, by ſtirring vp the Ætolians againſt them; Likewise he laboured to winne to his partie the Ilands in the Greeke Seas, by whoſe aſſiſtance hee might be the better able to deale with Ptolomie, that greatly preuailed by reaſon of his ſtrong fleet. But neither of theſe attempts had the ſucceſſe which he expected. The Ætolians, a factious Nation, & alwaies enuying the greatneſſe of their Neighbours, were often in commotion, but ſo, that commonly their gaines equalled not their loſſes. Caſſander wanne ſome of their owne Countrey; fortified the Acarnanians againſt them, and compelled Glaucias, King of the Illyrians, whom hee vanquiſhed in battaile, to forſake their ſide, and binde himſelfe to beare no Armes againſt Caſſanders friends.

On the other ſide, as many pettie Ilands were drawne to ioine with Antigonus: ſo the fleet of the Rhodians vnder Theodauus, who was Admirall to Antigonus, paſſing along the coaſt of Aſia towards Cyprus, with an Armie vnder conduct of Perilaus marching on the ſhore for mutual aſſiſtance, was quite ouerthrowne by Ptolomies Nauie. Polyctylus, who in Ptolomies behalfe had bene ſent into Peloponneſus againſt Alexander, finding no need of his ſeruice in that Countrey, becauſe Alexander was come ouer to their ſide, returned homewards, and by the way heard of the courſe which theſe Antigoniſms held, whom he very cunningly ſurpriſed. Hee rode with his Fleet behinde a Cape, which the enemies were to double; his Land-forces he placed in ambuſh, whereinto Perilaus falling was taken priſoner, with many of his men, and many were ſlaine, making little reſiſtance. Theodauus the Admirall perceiuing this, made all haſte to help his fellowes that were on Land, but whileſt he with all his Fleet were intent vponly to that buſi-neſſe, Polyctylus appeared at their backs; who as ſoone as he perceiued their diſorder, haſtened about the Cape, and charging them behinde, ſuffered not one of them to eſcape him. Theſe ill tidings cauſed Antigonus to deale with Ptolomie about ſome compoſition. Firſt, he ſent Embaſſadors; afterwards they met in perſon. But Antigonus would not yeeld vnto the demands of Ptolomie: ſo the parlie was vaine.

Hitherto each part ſeemed to haue indifferently ſped in the warre, and thereby to haue equall cauſe of hope and feare. This late victorie with the good ſucceſſe of his affaires in Cyprus, did ſeem to make amends to Ptolomie for his loſſes in Syria. Likewise the reuolt of Alexander from Antigonus did equal the Confederacy, made betwene the Ætolians and him; as alſo thoſe pettie ſkirmiſhes, that had bene in Aſia the leſſe, to Antigonus his aduantage, were ſufficiently recompenced by others of like regard, but aduerſe to him; and by the troubles brought vpon his eſtates in thoſe parts by the two Caſſanders.

Contrariwiſe, Antigonus valued the loſſe of his men, monie, and ſhippes, no otherwiſe than as the paring of his nailes, that were left long enough, and would eaſily grow againe; but the enlargement of his Territorie by addition of Syria, hee prized at a higher rate, as if thereby he had fed vpon a limbe of Ptolomie his enemy, and ſtrengthened the body of his owne Empire. Concerning other accidents, whereof the good were hitherto ſufficient to counterpoize the bad, he meant to proceed as occaſion ſhould direct, which commonly is not long wanting to them, that want no monie.

That which moſt moleſted him, was the attempts of his enemies vpon Aſia the leſſe; wherein though as yet they had gotten little, yet had he cauſe to feare, leſt the people being tied vnto him by no bond of allegiance, might vpon ſmall occaſion reſolue to him, to men of as honourable reputation as he himſelfe. To prevent this, and to be neerer to Greece, he held it expedient for him to be there in perſon, where his affaires did ſeeme to prosper the worſe, by reaſon of his abſence. Therefore he left part of his Armie in Syria vnder his ſonne Demetrius, to whom being then but two and twenty yeeres old, hee appointed many ancient Captaines or aſſiſtants, or rather as Directors: the reſt hee carried with him into Phrygia, where he meant to winter.

§. V.

§. V.

How Lyſimachus and Caſſander vanquiſhed ſome enemies, raiſed againſt them by Antigonus. The good ſucceſſe of Antigonus in Aſia and Greece: with the rebellion of many Cities againſt Caſſander.

He comming of Antigonus into thoſe parts, wrought a great alteration in the proceſſe of his buſi-neſſe thereabouts. For his enemies had hitherto leaſure to thinke vpon moleſting him in Aſia: they themſelues were held ouer-hardly to their owne worke on Europe ſide. Seuthes a King of the Thracians, ioyning with ſome Townes that rebelled againſt Lyſimachus, brought alſo the bordering Scythians into the quarrell. All theſe relied vpon Antigonus, who was to helpe them with mony and other aide. The Ætolians likewiſe tooke courage, and roſe againſt Caſſander, hauing A. actides, lately reſtored to the Kingdome of Epirus, their aſſiſtant. But Lyſimachus gaue vnto his Rebels no time to confirme themſelues. Hee ſuddenly preſented himſelfe before two of the Cities that had rebelled, and compelled them by feare to returne vnto their former dutie. Hee fought a battaile with the Scythians, and wilde Thracians, and draue them out of the Countrey. Finally, hee ouercame Seuthes; and following the heare of his victorie, ſlew Panſanias in battaile, whom Antigonus had ſent ouer with an Armie; and all his men hee did either put to ranſome, or fill vp with them his owne Bands. The like ſucceſſe had Philip, Caſſanders Lieutenant, againſt the Ætolians. For hee waſted their Countrey; fought with the Epirotes, that came to helpe them; and after the victory, fought againe with their forces ioyned in one, ouerthrowing them, and killing Actides that vnfortunate King. Finally, hee draue the Ætolians out of moſt of their Countrey, and forced them to ſeek their ſafety among the wilde Mountaines. Of the Epirotes hee ſent as priſoners to Caſſander, the principall authors of the Kings reſtitution, and of the preſent Warre.

Yet theſe actions required ſome time, and wearied Antigonus his aduerſaries with painefull trauaile; after which they remained onely ſauers. Antigonus himſelfe at ſome leiſure, wanne all Caria the whileſt, and ſent Armies into Peloponneſus, and other parts of Greece, beſtowing liberty vpon all the Cities hee tooke out of Caſſanders hands. The whole Countrey of Peloponneſus (excepting Sicyon and Corinth) with the Iſle of Eubœa, and many places of the firme Land, were by thoſe means wonne to be his in true and vehement affection, readie to doe or ſuffer any thing for him that had made ſo euident a demonſtration of his readineſſe, to giue them the libertie in deede, which others had promiſed in idle words. Many States deſirous of the ſame benefit, would haue ſhewed their good will; but they were kept in by Caſſanders Garrisons, who was too wiſe to truſt them looſe. Therefore Antigonus made ſhew as if hee would paſſe ouer into Macedon: by which terror hee forced Caſſander to repaire thither in all qualitie, with the beſt of his ſtrength, leauing many good Townes of Greece ſo weakelie guarded, that well they might take courage to helpe themſelues, if any forraine ſuccour appeared. The aide which they deſired was not long wanting. The Lieutenant of Antigonus, taking the aduantage of Caſſanders departure, entred the Countrey; draue his Garrisons out of diuers Cities; forced the Guernour of Athens to enter into league with their Lord; wanne the Citadell of Thebes, and ſet the people at libertie. This laſt action was ſomewhat remarkable. For Thebes had not long before bene raiſed out of her old ruins by the meere power of Caſſander; of which act he was accuſed by Antigonus, as if it had bene ſome hainous crime. Yet now the ſame Antigonus winneth the Citie, and the loue of the Inhabitants, onely by expelling him that was their Founder. So much are men readier to thanke the Increaſer, than the Author of their good; and rather to looke forward vpon thoſe hopes, which vainly they extend beyond all meaſure, than backward vpon their miserable nullitie, that held them vncapable of being any thing.

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§. VI.

§. VI.

Victories of Ptolomie by Sea. A great battaile at Gaza, which Ptolomie and Seleucus won, against Demetrius the sonne of Antigonus.

AS the preference or neerenesse of *Antigonus* gaue life to his affaires in the lower *Asia*, and *Greece*; so the designs of his enemies, taking aduantage of his absence, ruined the very foundations of those great workes in the Easterne parts, wherewith in the yeere preceeding he had ouer-topped them. The Isle of *Cyprus*, whose Princes waured betwene contrary affections, inclining one while to *Antigonus*, another to while faintly regarding their couenant with *Ptolomie*, was visited by an *Egyptian* fleet, wherewith *Ptolomie*, in his owne person easily reduced them to a more settled order, putting some to death, carrying others away prisoners, and leaving a Lieutenant of his owne appointment, Gouvernour of the whole Countrey. With the same fleet hee ranne alongst the Sea-coasts, wasting a great part of *Caria* and *Cilicia*, with the spoyle of which he enriched his followers, and returned laden to *Cyprus*. *Demetrius* the sonne of *Antigonus*, hearing frequent reports of the miseries, wherewith his Fathers subiects were oppressed, made all haste out of *Syria* to the rescue, taking onely his Horse and light-armed force with him, because the businesse required expedition. But in vaine did hee trie himselfe and his followers, in haste seeking of one, that by lanching out into the deepe, could in a few minutes delude the labour of so many daies, if need had so required. Answerable to the vanitie of this expedition was the successe. For *Ptolomie* was gone, before *Demetrius* came into *Cilicia*. Neither was it certaine, whether hauing lightned his ships of their burthen in *Cyprus*, he would return vpon those maritime Countries; or make towards *Syria*, where his comming was expected. He was indeed gone into *Egypt*, and there with *Seleucus* was describing a royall Army, which he leuied with all convenient speed, for the recouerie of *Syria*. This was more then *Demetrius* knew. Therefore hee was faine to chooe out of vncertainties the most likelihood, and returne the way that became, with all his companies, which were fitter for seruice in the open field, than to be bestowed in Garrisons among the *Cilicians*. Hee had scarce refreshed his Men and Horses in *Syria*, when the newes arrived of *Ptolomies* comming with a puissant Armie, to giue him battaile. Heereupon hee called to counsaile his principall friends, who aduised him to giue way to the time, and expect some better opportunity in the future: being a yong man, and weakly furnished with means to resist such ancient and famous Generalls, as *Ptolomie* & *Seleucus*. This counsaile seemed rather to proceed from the cold temper of those aged men that gaue it, than from any necessity growing out of the present businesse. For *Demetrius* considering himselfe to be the son of *Antigonus*, and now Generall of his Fathers Armie, thought his own title waighy enough to be laid in ballance against the bare names of those two great Commanders. Neither found he much reason that should move him to distrust his forces, as insufficient. His men were better exercised than the enemies, and promised as much as could be required. Therefore perswading himselfe, that such oddes of number, and of great fame, would rather serue to adorne his victories, than hinder him in obtaining it, he resolved to put the matter to triall, without expecting the aduantage of more helpe. So animating his Souldiers with hope of spoyle and rewards, he abode the comming of the Enemies at *Gaza*, with purpose to encounter them, as soone as they had finished their wearisome iourneie ouer the Deserts of *Arabia*.

Ptolomie and *Seleucus* issuing out of so rich a Prouince, as *Egypt*, came so well provided of all necessaries, that their Armie felt not any great grievance of the euill way, when battaile was presented them, which confidently they vndertooke. In all things else they had the ods of *Demetrius*; of Elephants they were vterly vnprouided. But how to deale with those beasts they were not ignorant. They had prepared a kinde of Palisado, fastened strongly together with chaines, and sharpened in such a manner, that the Elephants could not seeke to breake vpon it, without receiuing much hurt. The rest of their forces, (which besides that they had aduantage in multitude) were heartened with many fortunate seruices, by them performed that yeere, whilest the enemies had wearied themselves, either with vaine iourneys, or long and dulling expectation;) they disposed in such order, as best answered to the forme, wherein *Demetrius* was embattailed. The fight beganne, and was maintained with equall courage, for a long time, each part

striving

striving more to win honour, than to satisfie any other passion, as hauing little cause of hatred, or reuenge. But after some continuance, the greater number holding better out, the error of *Demetrius*, who vpon no necessitie would needes fight a battaile with disadvantage, began to appeare by his losses. Hee had committed himselfe to Fortune, hauing more to lose by her than he could get: but in this fight she was idle, and left all to be decided by strong hands; vnlesse it may be said, that the terror brought vpon his men, by the losse of his Elephants, was bad lucke. Those beasts were in that kinde of warre hardly to be resisted on plaine ground, and therefore at the first they made great spoyle amongst *Ptolomies* men. Afterward seeking to breake through the Palisado, they were forcibly hurt, and euery one of them taken. This disaster caused the Horsemen of *Demetrius* to faint. They had laboured hard, and preuailed little, till now perceiuing that all must lye vpon their hands, who were illable to make their owne places good, they began to shrink, and many of them to prouide for their fastitie by timely flight, which example the rest quickly followed. When *Demetrius* had strouen so long in vaine to make his men abide, that he himselfe was likely to be lost; he was faine to giue place to the stronger, making a violent retrait as farre as to *Azotum*, which was about thirte miles from the place of battaile. A great part of his carriages was in *Gaza*, whither some of his company turned aside, hoping to saue such goods, as in haste they could pack vp. This foolish courtesie was their destruction, and the losse of the Towne. For whilest they were full of the danger, had filled the streets with sumpter Horses, and cloyed vp the gates, thronging, some to get in and fetch others, to carry out what they had already laden, *Ptolomies* Armie brake in without resistance, taking them with their goods and the Citie altogether.

This victory restored vnto *Ptolomie* the best part of *Syria*, a Prouince more easie in those times to get, than to keepe; and opened the way vnto all the greatnesse of *Seleucus*. For betwene *Gaza* and *Phœnicia* no place offered resistance. In *Calosyria* and *Phœnicia*, some Townes held out a while, but were soone taken in by *Ptolomie*. Among these were the great Cities of *Tyrrus* and *Sidon*; of which *Sidon* was giuen vp by the Inhabitants; *Tyrrus* by the Garrison, falling to mutinie against their Captaine; who trusting to the strength of his fort, had made great vaunts; but was pardoned by *Ptolomie*, and honourably entertained, in respect of his fidelity.

§. VII.

How Seleucus recovered Babylon, and made himselfe Lord of many Countries, in the highest Asia. The Æra of the Kingdome of the Greeces, which began with the Dominion of Seleucus.

WHILE *Ptolomie* followed his businesse with such prosperity, *Seleucus* tooke leaue of him, and went vp to *Babylon*, to trie his owne fortune, which he found so favourable; so that recouering first his owne Prouince, he became at length master of the better part of *Alexanders* purchases.

This expedition of *Seleucus* was very strange, and full of vnlikelihoods. His traine consisted of no more than eight hundred foote, and two hundred horse, a number too small to haue bene placed as Garrison, in some one of those maine great Cities, against which he carried it into the higher *Asia*. But little force is needefull, to make way into strong places, for him that already stands possessed of their hearts which dwell within the wals. The name of *Seleucus* was enough; whom the *Babylonians* had found so good a Gouvernour, that none of them would finde courage to resist him; but left that worke to *Antigonus* his owne men, wishing them ill to speede. Some of the *Macedonians* that were in those Countries, had the like affection; others made a countenance of warre, which by easie compulsion they left off, and followed new Ensignes. This added courage to the people, who came in apace, and submitted themselves ioyfully to *Seleucus*. In a defecti- on in generall, it was not a safe course for the *Antigonians*, to thrust themselves into the Townes of most importance: for euery man of them should haue bene troubled with daily enemies, in his owne lodging. It remained that they should issue forth into the field, and trie the matter by fight. But the treason of one principall man, who reuolted to the enemy, with more than a thousand Souldiers following him, so dismayed the rest, that

that they did no more than seeke to make good one strong place, wherein were kept the Hostages and Prisoners, that *Antigonus* held for his security in those quarters. This Castle, belike, they had not fortified in times of leisure, against dangers, that were not then apparent. *Seleucus* quickly tooke it, and so got the entire possession of *Mesopotamia* and *Babylon*.

Antigonus had bestowed in *Media* and *Persia*, forces convenient for defence of those Provinces, that were the utmost of his Dominion. In the Countries about *Euphrates* he had not done the like: for his owne great Armie lay betweene them and all enemies. Therefore when the victory at *Gaza* had opened vnto *Seleucus* the way into those parts, hee found little impediment in the rest of his businesse. Having now got to ten what he sought, it behooued him to seeke how he might keepe his gettings: for his owne forces were too small, and his friends were ill able to lend him any more. That which his friends could not doe for him; his enemies did. *Nicanor*, to whom *Antigonus* had committed his Armie in *Media*, ioyning vnto himselfe, out of *Persia* and other Countries, all needefull helpe came, with ten thousand foote, and seauen thousand horse, either to save all from being lost, or to driue *Seleucus* out of that which he had won.

Against this power, *Seleucus* had onely foure hundred horse, and somewhat about three thousand foote, wherewith to oppose himselfe: his large conquest of vnderlike Nations hauing yielded him many louing Subjects, but few Souldiers. Therefore when his enemies were neere to the Riuer of *Tigris*, hee withdrew himselfe from the place where his resistance was expected, into certaine marishes not farre off, where he lay secretly waiting for some advantage. *Nicanor* thought that he had bene fled, and was the lesse carefull in fortifying his campe. In recompence of this vaine securitie, his campe was taken by surprise, the first night of his arrivall; the *Satrapes*, or Lieutenant of *Persia*, together with sundry of the Captaines, were slaine, hee himselfe was driuen to flee for his life into the Desarts; and the whole Armie yielded vnto *Seleucus*: whose gentle demeanour, after the victory, drew all *Media*, *Sassania*, and the Neighbour Provinces, to acknowledge him their Lord without any further stroke stricken.

This victory of *Seleucus* gaue beginning vnto the new stile, of *The Kingdome of the Greekes*, an accompt much vsed by the *Iewes*, *Chaldaans*, *Syrians*, and other Nations in those parts. I will not make any long disputation about the first yeere of this *Æra*. The authoritie of that great Astrologer *Ptolomie*, from which there is no appeale, makes it plaine, that the five hundred and nineteenth yeere of *Nabonassar*, was the fourscore and two yeere of this accompt. Other inference hereupon is needlesse, than that note of the learned *Gauricus*, That the first of these yeeres was reckoned complete, at *Babylon*, together with the end of foure hundred thirtie and eight yeeres after *Nabonassar*. With the obseruation of the *Saturne*, recorded by *Ptolomie*, agrees (as it ought) the calculation of *Burning*; finding the same Planet to haue bene so placed in the signe of *Virgo*, as the *Chaldaans* had obserued it, in the same yeere; which was from *Nabonassar* the five hundred and nineteenth; from *Seleucus* the fourscore and two yeere; and the last of the hundred thirtie and seauenth *Olympiad*. These obseruations of the Celestiall bodies, are the surest markes of time: from which he that wilfully varies, is inexcusable. As for such occurrences in Historie, and the yeeres of succeeding Princes (that are not seldome ambiguous, by reason of vnmembred factions) if they seeme to be here-against, it is not greatly materiall. Yet thus much is worthy of note, that these yeeres of the *Greekes* were not reckoned in all Countries from one beginning; as plainly appears in the difference of one yeere, that is found betwene actions, related by the severall Authors of the two Bookes of the *Machabees*, who follow diuers accompts. He that shall adhere to the time defined by *Ptolomie*, may apply the other supputations thereunto, as being no farther from than a yeeres distance.

§. VIII.

§. VIII.

How *Ptolomie* lost all he wonne in *Syria*. What the causes were of the quiet obedience, performed vnto the *Macedonians*, by those that had bene subject vnto the *Persian Empire*. Of diuers petty enterprizes, taken in hand by *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, with ill successe.

IN a happy houre did *Seleucus* adventure, to goe vp to *Babylon*, with so few men as his friend could then well spare: for had he staid longer vpon hope of getting more Souldiers, *Ptolomie* could haue spared him none at all. *Demetrius* the sonne of *Antigonus*, hauing lost the battaile at *Gaza*, receiued from *Ptolomie* all his owne goods, his Pages, and Seruants, in free gift, and therewithall a courteous message, to this effect: That no personall hatred was the ground of this Warre, which he and his Confederates held with *Antigonus*; but onely tearmes of honour, wherein they would seeke to right themselves after such manner, that other friendly Offices, without reference to the quarrell, should not be forgotten.

This Noble dealing of *Ptolomie*, did kinde in *Demetrius* an earnest desire of requiring him, with some as braue liberalitie. Which to effect, he gathered together the remainder of his broken troups, drew as many as could be spared, out of the Garrisons in *Cilicia*, or other Provinces thereabouts, and aduertising his Father of his misfortune, besought him to send a new supply, wherewith he might redeeme his honour lost. *Antigonus* vpon the first newes of this ouerthrow, had said, That the victory which *Ptolomie* won vpon a bearded Boy, should be taken from him by bearded men: yet vpon desire that his sonne, whom he tenderly loued, should amend his owne reputation, he was content to make a stand in *Phrygia*. *Ptolomie* hearing of *Demetrius* his preparations, did nevertheless follow his owne businesse in *Celestria*; thinking it enough to spend part of his Armie vnder *Cilles* his Lieutenant, against the remnant of those, that had bene already vanquished, when *Cilles* too much vnderualued the power of such an Enemy. Hee thought that this young Gallant, hauing lately saved his life by flight, would now be more carefull of hauing a faire way at his backe, than adventurous in setting further forward, then vigent reason should prouoke him. In this confidence he passed on without all feare: as one that were already Master of the field, and should meete with none, that would issue out of their places of strength, to make resistance. When *Demetrius* was informed of this carelesse march; he tooke the lightest of his Armie, and made his iourne with such diligence, one whole night, that early in the morning, he came vpon *Cilles* vnexpected, and was on the suddaine, without any battaile, Master of his Campe: taking him alive, with his Souldiers, and their carriages all at once.

This exploit serued not onely to repaire the credit of *Demetrius*, which his losse at *Gaza* had almost ruined: but further it enabled him, to recompence the bountie of *Ptolomie*, with equall fauour, in restoring to him *Cilles*, with many other of his friends, accompanied with rich presents. But neither was *Ptolomie* so weakened by this losse, nor *Demetrius* so emboldened by his victory, that any matter of consequence thereupon ensued. For *Demetrius* feared the comming of *Ptolomie*, and therefore he fortified himselfe in places of advantage: *Ptolomie* on the other side was loth to engage himselfe in an enterprize, wherein he might perceiue, that if the comming of *Antigonus* found him entangled, he should either be driuen to make a shamefull retreat, or a dangerous adventure of his whole estate, in hope of not much more than already he possessed.

Antigonus, indeede, was nothing slow in his way towards *Syria*; whither hee made all haste, not so much to relieue his sonne, as to embrace him. For he reioyced exceedingly, that the young man had so well acquitted himselfe, and being left to his owne aduice, performed the office of a good Commander. Wherefore to increase the reputation of this late victorie, he brought such forces, as might serue to reconquer all *Syria*: meaning, that the honour of all, should be referred vnto the good foundation, layed by his sonne; whom from this time forwards, he employed in matters of greatest importance.

Ptolomie had now lesse reason to encounter with *Antigonus*, than before his comming to haue assailed the Campe of *Demetrius*. Yet he made it a matter of consultation; as if

*Prod. Almost.
L. 1. 7. 8.*

*L. Gauric. in
annotat. ad do-
cum. celestium.*

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he had dared more than he meant. But all his Captaines aduised him to retire into *Egypt*, alleging many good arguments to that purpose: which they might well perceive to be agreeable to his owne intent, by his propounding that course; not without remembrance of the good successe against *Perdicus*, in the like defensive warre. So he departed out of *Syria*, preserving his honour, as being rather led by mature deliberation, than any suddaine passion of feare: and he departed at faire leisure, not onely carrying his treasures along with him, but staying to dismantel some principall Cities, that he thought most likely to trouble him in the future. All the Countrey that he left at his backe, fell presently to *Antigonus*, without putting him to the trouble of winning it by pieces: so easie was it in those times, for the Captain of a strong Armie, to make himselfe Lord of a great Province.

We may iustly wonder, that these Kingdomes of *Syria*, *Media*, *Babylon*, and many other Nations, (which the victory of *Alexander* had ouer-run, with so hastie a course, as gaue him not leisure to take any good view of them) were so easily held not onely by himselfe, but by the Captaines of his Armie after him. The hot contentions for superiority betwene the King of *Israel*, and those of *Damascus*; betwene *Egypt*, and *Babylon*; *Babylon*, and *Nineue*; the *Persians*, and many Countries; argue a more manly temper, to haue once bene in those people; which are now so patient of a forraigne yoke, that like Sheepe or Oxen, they suffer themselves to be distributed, fought for, won, lost, and againe recovered, by contentions Masters; as if they had no title to their owne heads, but were borne to follow the fortune of the *Macedonians*. This will appeare the more strange, if we shall consider, how the severall States of *Greece* (many of which had neuer possessed so large Dominion, as might cause their Spirits to swell beyond their ability) did greedily embrace all occasions of libertie: and how these proud Conquerours were glad to offer it, desiring to haue them rather friends than seruants, for feare of further inconuenience.

It must therefore be noted, that most of these Countries had alwayes bene subiect vnto the rule of Kings, or petty Lords, whom the *Babylonians* and *Persians* long since had rooted out, and held them in such bondage, that few of them knew any other Law, than the command of forraigne Masters. This had utterly taken from them all remembrance of home-borne Princes, and incorporated them into the great body of the *Persian* Empire: so that wanting within themselves all soveraigne power, or high authoritie, the life and spirit of euery Estate; they lay as dead, and were bereaued of motion, when that Kingdome fell, whereof they lately had bene members.

Why the *Persian Satraps*, or Princes of that Empire, did not when *Darius* was taken from them, as the *Macedonian* Captaines, after the death of *Alexander*, strue to lay hold vpon those Provinces, which had many ages been subiect vnto them, & scarce foure yeeres in quiet possession of their enemies; or why at least they contended not (when the terrible name of that great Conquerour did cease to affright them) to get their shares among his followers, if not wholly to dispossesse them of their new purchases: it is a question, wherein, who is not satisfied, may finde no lesse reason to suspect the Historie, than authoritie to confirme it. For we seldom reade, that any small Kingdome, preuailling against a farre greater, hath made off entire a conquest, in the compass of ten yeeres, as left vnto the vanquished no hope of recouerie, nor means to rebell; especially when such disorders, or rather vtter confusion hath ensued, by the furie of ciuill warre among the Victors.

The cause why the *Macedonians* held so quietly the *Persian* Empire, is well set downe by *Machiavel*; and concerns all other Kingdomes, that are subiect vnto the like forme of Government: the summe whereof is this; Wherefoeuer the Prince doth hold all his Subiects vnder the condition of slaues, there is the conquest easie; and soone assured: Where ancient Nobilitie is had in due regard, there is it hard to winne all, and harder to keepe that which is wonne. Examples of this are the *Turkish* Empire, and the Kingdome of *France*. If any Inuader should preuaile so farre vpon *Turkie*, that the great *Sultan* and his Children (for brethren he vseth not to suffer alie) were taken or slaine: the whole Empire would quickly be wonne, and easily kept, without any danger of rebellion. For the *Bassas*, how great soeuer they may seeme, are meere slaues; neither is there in all that large Dominion, any one man, whose personall regard could get the people to follow him in such an attempt, where in hope of priuate gain, should not

counteruaile all apparent matter of feare. Contrariwise, in *France*, it were not enough for him that would make a conquest, to get into his hands the King and his Children; though he further got the better part of the Countrey, and were by farre the strongest in the field. For, besides the Princes of the Royall blood, there are in that Kingdome store of great men; who are mightie in their severall Countries, and haue certaine Royalties and Principalties of their owne, are able to raise warre, in all quarters of the Realme; whereunto the remembrance of their owne ancient Families, and long continued Nobilitie, will alwayes stirre vp and inflame them: so that vntill euery one piece were won, and euery one (an endless worke) of the chiefe Nobilitie, brought vnder or destroyed, the victorie were not compleat, nor well assured. It is true, that such power of the Nobilitie, doth often-times make way for an Inuader; to whom the discontentments of a few can easily make a faire entrance. But such assistants are not so easily kept, as they are gotten: for they looke to be satisfied at full, in all their demands; and haueing what they would, they soone returne to their old allegiance, vpon condition to keepe what they haue, vntill they be daily hired with new rewards: wherein it is hard to please one man without offeinding another as good as himselfe. The *Turke*, on the other side, needs not feare any perill, that might arise from the discontented spirits of his principall men. The greatest mischief that any of them could worke against him, were the betraying of some frontier Towne, or the wilfull losse of a battaile: which done, the Traitor hath spent his sting, and must either flye to the enemie, whereby he loseth all that he formerly did hold; or else, in hope of doing some further harme, he must aduenture to execute himselfe vnto his Master, who seldom forgives the Capitaine, that hath not striven by desperate valour against misfortune. As for making head, or arming their followers against the great *Sultan*, and so ioyning themselves vnto any Inuader; it is a matter not to be doubted: for none of them haue any followers or dependants at all, other than such, as are subiect vnto them, by vertue of their Offices and Commissions. Now as this base condition of the principall men, doth leaue vnto them no means, whereby to oppose themselves against the flourishing estate of their Prince; so would it weaken both their power and their courage in giuing him assistance, if aduersitie should make them stand in neede of them. For there is scarce any one among the *Turkes Bassas*, or provinciall Gouvernours, that knowes either from whence he was brought, or from whom descended, nor any one among them, that by the losse and vtter ruine of the *Turkish* Empire, can lose any foote of his proper inheritance; and it is the proper inheritance of the subiect, which is also a Kingdome vnto him, which makes him fight with an armed heart against the Conquerour, who hath no other deuce painted on his Ensigne, than the picture of slavery.

As is the *Turkish* Empire, so was the *Persian*, void of libertie in the Subiects, and vtterly destitute of other Nobilitie, than such as depended vpon meere fauour of the Prince. Some indeede there were of the Royall blood, and others, descended from the Princes that ioynd with *Darius*, the Sonne of *Hystaspes*, in oppressing the *Magi*: these were men of reputation in *Persia*; but their reputation consisted onely in their Pedigree, and their faterie in not meddling with affaires of State, which made them little esteemed. In what small account these *Persian* Princes were held, it may appeare by this, that the Kings Vncles, Cousin Germans, and Brethren, were called by the Kings, *Their Slaues*, and so did stile themselves, in speaking vnto these great Monarchs. That vpon euery light occasion of displeasure they were handled as Slaues; it is easie to be discerned, in that example of crueltye, practised by *Xerxes* vpon his owne brother *Masistes*, which hath bene formerly noted, in place more conuenient. As for the *Satraps*, or Gouvernours of the Provinces, it is needefulle to cite examples, proving them to haue bene meere slaues: it may suffice, that their heads were taken from them at the Kings will; that is, at the will of those Women and Eunuches, by whom the King was gouerned.

To this want of Nobilitie in *Persia*, may be added the generall want of libertie conuenient among the people: a matter no lesse auailable, in making easie and sure the conquest of a Nation, then is the cause assigned by *Machiavel*. For as *Alexander* his Asse did not care to run from the enemies, because it was not possible, that they should load him with heauier burthens, then his Master caused him daily to beare: so the Nations, that endure the worst vnder their owne Princes, are not greatly fearefull of a forraigne yoke; Nor

Nor will be hasty to shake it off, if by experience they finde it more light, than was that whereunto they had bene long accustomed. This was it that made the *Gaſcoignes* beare ſuch faithfull affection to the Kings of *England*; for that they gouerned more mildly than the *French*: this enlarged the *Venetian* iurisdiction in *Lombardie*; for the Townes that they wan, they wan out of the hands of Tyrannous oppreſſours: and this did cauſe the *Macedonians*, with other Nations, that had bene ſubiect vnto the poſteritie of *Alexanders* followers, to ſerue the *Romans* patiently, if not willingly, for that by them they were caſed of many burthens, which had bene impoſed vpon them by their owne Kings.

So that of this tameneſſe, which we finde in thoſe that had bene ſubiects of the *Perſian* Kings, the reaſons are apparent. Yet ſome of theſe there were, that could not ſo eaſily be contained in good order by the *Macedonians*: for they had not indeede bene abſolutely conquered by the *Perſian*. Such were the *Sogdians*, *Bactrians*, and other Nations about the *Caspian* Sea. Such alſo were the *Arabians* bordering vpon *Syria*: againſt whom *Antigonus* ſent part of his Armie; thinking therewith to bring them vnder; or rather to get a rich boorie. The Captaines that he ſent, ſell vpon the *Nabathians*, at ſuch time as they were buſied in a great Mart, wherein they traded with the more remote *Arabians*, for *Myrr*, *Frankincenſe*, and other ſuch commodities. All or moſt of theſe rich wares, together with five hundred talents of ſiluer, and many priſoners, the *Macedonians* laid hold vpon: for their comming was ſuddaine and vnexpected. But ere they could recoouer *Syria*, the *Nabathians* ourtook them, & finding them wearie with long marches, made ſuch a ſlaughter, that of foure thouſand foote, and fixe hundred horſe, onely hinde horſe eſcaped. To reuenge this loſſe, *Demetrius* was ſet out with a greater power: yet all in vaine; for he was not reſiſted by any Armie, but by the naturall defence of a wildeſſe, lacke of water, and of all things neceſſary. Therefore he was glad to make peace with them; wherein he loſt not much honour: for they craued it, and gaue him preſents. Returning from the *Nabathians*, he viewed the Lake *Aſphaltites*, whence he conceiued hope of great profit that might be railed, by gathering the Sulphure. With this good huſbandrie of his ſonne, *Antigonus* was well pleaſed, and appointed mento the worke: but they were ſlaine by the *Arabians*, and ſo that hope vaniſhed.

Theſe petite enterpriſes, with the ill ſuccesse accompanying them, had much impaired the good aduantage againſt *Ptolomie*: when the newes of *Seleucus* his victories in the high Countries, marred all together. For neither was the loſſe of thoſe great and wealthy Provinces, a matter to be neglected, neither was it ſafe to transport the warre into the parts beyond *Euphrates*, whereby *Syria* and the lower *Aſia* ſhould haue bene expoſed, to the danger of ill-affected Neighbours. A middle courſe was thought the beſt; and *Demetrius*, with fifteene thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe, was ſent againſt *Seleucus*. Theſe forces being ſent away, *Antigonus* did nothing, and his ſonne did leſſe. For *Seleucus* was then in *Media*; his Lieutenants about *Babylon* withdrew themſelues from neceſſitie of fight; ſome places they fortified and kept; *Demetrius* could hold nothing that he got: without ſetting in Garrifon more men than he could ſpare, neither did he get much; and therefore was faine to ſet out the brauery of his expedition, by burning and ſpoiling the Country; which he did thereby the more alienate, and as it were acknowledge to belong vnto his enemy, who thenceforth held it as his owne aſured.

Antigonus had laid vpon his ſonne a peremptorie commandement, to returne vnto him at a time prefixed: reaſonably thinking (as may ſeeme) that in ſuch an vnſtead ſtate of things, either the Warre might be ended, by the furie of the firſt brunt; or eſſe it would be vaine to ſtrive againſt all difficulties likely to ariſe, where want of neceſſaries ſhould fruſtrate the valour, that by ſtrength of time was like to become leſſe terrible to the Enemy. *Demetrius* therefore leauing behinde him five thouſand foote, and a thouſand horſe, ſo rather to make ſhew of continuing the warre, than to effect much, where himſelfe, with greater forces could doe little more then nothing, forſooke the enterpriſe, and went backe to his Father.

§. IX.

§. IX.

A general peace made and broken. How all the houſe of *Alexander* was deſtroyed.

THEſe ambitious heads, hauing thus wearied themſelues with vneffectuall tra- uail, in ſeeking to get more then any one of them could hold; were contented at length to come to an agreement: wherein it was concluded, that each of them ſhould hold quietly, that which at the preſent he had in poſſeſſion. As no priuate hatred, but mere deſire of Empire had moued them to enter into the warre; ſo was it no friendly reconciliation, but onely a dulneſſe growing vpon the flow aduancement of their ſeu- rall hopes, that made them willing to breathe a while, till occaſion might better ſerue to fight againe.

Bides that maine point, Of retaining the Provinces which every man held, there were two Articles of the peace, that gaue a faire, but a falſe colour, to the buſineſſe; That the ſonne of *Alexander* by *Roxane*, ſhould be made King, when he came to full age; and, That all the *Elates* of *Greece* ſhould be ſet at liberty. The aduancement of yong *Alexander* to his Fathers Kingdom, ſeemes to haue bene a matter, forcibly extorted from *Antigonus*; in whom was diſcouered a purpoſe, to make himſelfe Lord of all. But this, indeede, more neerely touched *Cassander*. For in his cuſtody was the yong Prince and his Mother: neither did he keepe them in ſort anſwerable to their degree; but as cloſe priſoners, taken in that warre, wherein they had ſeene the old Queene *Olympias* taken and murdered, that ſought to put them in poſſeſſion of the Empire. The mutuall hatred and feare betwene them, rooted in theſe grounds, of iniuries done, and reuenge expected, vpon this concluſion of peace, grew vp faſter than any time before, in the heart of *Cassander*: who ſaw the *Macedonians* turne their fauourable expectation, towards the ſonne of their late renowned King.

All this, either little concerned *Antigonus*; or tended greatly to his good. The yong Prince muſt firſt haue poſſeſſion of *Macedon*: whereby *Cassander* ſhould be reduced to his poore office, of Capitaine over a thouſand men, if not left in worſe caſe. As for them that held Provinces abroad, they might either doe as they had done vnder *Arſides*; or better, as being better acquainted with their owne ſtrength. He in the meane time, by his readineſſe to acknowledge the true Heire, had freed himſelfe from that ill-faoured imputation, of ſeeking to make himſelfe Lord of all that *Alexander* had gotten.

The like aduantage had he in that Article, of reſtoring the *Greeks* to their liberty. This liberty had hitherto bene the ſubiect of much idle diſcourſe: but it neuer tooke effect. *Antigonus* held ſcarſe any Towne of theirs, *Cassander* occupied moſt of the Countrie: which if he ſhould ſet free, he muſt be a poore Prince; if not, there was matter enough of quarrell againſt him, as againſt a Diſturbur of the common peace.

In the meane ſeaſon, the Countries lying betwene *Euphrates* and the *Greeke* ſeas, together with a great Armie, and money enough to entertaine a greater, might ſerue to hold vp the credit of *Antigonus*, and to raiſe his hopes, as high as euer they had bene.

With much diſaduantage doe many men contend, againſt one that is equall to them all in power, *Cassanders* friends had left him in an ill caſe; but he could not doe with- all: for where euer one mans helpe is neceſſary to the warre, there may any one make his owne peace; but no one can ſtand out alone, when all the reſt are weary. The beſt was, that he mew all their affections: which tended to no ſuch end as the becomming Sub- iects vnto any man, much leſſe to the ſonne of an *Aſiaticke* woman, of whom they had long ſince reſuſed to heare mention. Therefore he tooke a ſhort courſe, and cauſed both the child and his Mother to be ſlaine: freeing thereby himſelfe in a trice, from the dan- gerous neceſſity of yeelding vp his gouernment, which he muſt haue done when the child had come to age. *Roxane* was a Lady of ſingular beauty, which was perhaps the cauſe, why *Perdiccas* diſſid to haue her ſonne, being as yet vnborne, proclaimed Heire to the great *Alexander*. Immediately vpon the death of *Alexander*, ſhe had vſed the fauour (if it were not lowe) of *Perdiccas*, to the ſatiſfying of her owne bloudy malice, vpon *Stratira*, the Daughter of King *Darius*, whom *Alexander* had likewiſe married according to the cuſtome of thoſe Countries, wherein pluralitie of wiues is held no crime. For ha- uing by a counterſair letter, in *Alexanders* name, gotten this poore Lady into her hands, ſhe did, by aſſiſtance of *Perdiccas*, murder her and her Siſter, and threw their

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bodies into a Well, causing it to be filled vp with earth. But now, by Gods iust vengeance, were she & her sonne made away, in the like secret fashion; euen at such time, as the nere approaching hope of a great Empire had made her life, after a wearisome imprisonment, grow dearer vnto her than it was before.

The fact of *Cassander* was not so much detested in outward shew; as inwardly it was pleasing vnto all the rest of the Princes. For now they held themselves free Lords, of all that they had vnder them; fearing none other change of their estates, than such as might arise by chance of warre; wherein euery one persecuted himselfe of euill success, rather better than worse. Hereupon all of them (except *Lysimachus* and *Seleucus*, that had worke enough at home) began to rowze themselves: as if now the time were come, for each to man to improve his owne stocke. *Antigonus* his Lieutenants were busie in *Peloponnesus*, and about *Hellepont*: while their Master was carefull in following other, and some greater matters that were more secretly to be handled. He pretended the liberty of *Greece*: yet did the same argument minister vnto *Ptolomie*, matter of quarrell, against both him and *Cassander*; *Ptolomie* complaining (as if he had taken the matter deeply to heart) that *Antigonus* had put Garrison into some Townes, which ought, in faire dealing to be set at liberty. Vnder colour of redressing this enormitie, he sent an Armie into *Cilicia*, where he wan foure Townes, and soone after lost them, without much labour of his owne or his enemies.

After this putting to Sea with a strong Fleet, he ran along the coast of *Asia*, winning many places: and in that voyage allured vnto him a nephew of *Antigonus* (a good Commander, but discontented with the ill requitall of his seruices) whom finding shortly, as false to himselfe as he had bene to his owne Vncle, he was faine to put to death. But in doing these things, his desire to set the *Greekes* at liberty, appeared not so plaine, as he wished that it should: for their case was no way bettered, by his molesting *Antigonus* in *Asia*. Therefore to get the loue of that valiant Nation, He made at the last an expedition into *Greece* it selfe: where hauing set free some little Ilands, and landed in *Peloponnesus*, he raised lo great an expectation of finishing the long desired worke, that *Craesus*, the Widow of *Alexander*, *Polyperchon*s sonne, gaue vp into his hands the Townes of *Sicyon* and *Corinth*.

Ptolomie had conceived a vaine belife, that the *Greekes* emboldened by his countenance and assistance, would all of them take heart, and rise vp in armes: whereby with little labour, their liberty might be gotten; and he be acknowledged as Author of this immortal benefit. But long seruitude had well nere extinguished the ancient valour of that Nation: and their ill fortune, in many likely attempts to recover freedom, had soured their spirits, that they would no more stirre in pursuit thereof; but fateidly still, as wilbing it to fall into their mouths.

The *Lacedemonians*, about these times, began to fortifie their Towne with wals; trusting no longer in their vertue (for both it, and the discipline that vpheld it were too much impaired) that had bene a wall to their Towne and Territorie.

The *Athenians* were become as humble seruants, as they had bene, in times past, insolent Masters: erecting as many statues in honour of *Demetrius Phalerus*, as there were daies in the yere. This *Demetrius* was now their Gouernor, and he gouerned them with much moderation: but in spight of their hearts, as being set ouer them by *Cassander*. By this base temper of the principall Cities, it is easie to gather, how the rest of the Countie stood affected. *Ptolomie* could not get them to set their helping hands to the ir owne good, and to furnish him with the promised supplies of monie and victuals. Credible it is, that he had a true meaning to deliuer them from thralldome; as iudging the commoditie that would arise by annexing them to his party, a matter of more weight, then the losse that *Cassander* should receiue thereby, who could hardly retaine them, if once *Antigonus* tooke so the worke in hand. But when he found such difficulty in the businesse, he changed his purpose: and renewing his former friendship with *Cassander*, he retained *Sicyon*, and *Corinth* in his owne possession.

Before the coming of *Ptolomie* into *Greece*, *Cassander* had bene held occupied with very much worke. For (besides his paines taken in warres among barbarous Princes) hee found meanes to allure vnto himselfe, the Lieutenants of *Antigonus*, that were in *Peloponnesus*, and about *Hellepont*: making his owne aduantage, of their discontentments. By the like skillfull practice, Hee freed himselfe from a greater danger, & made

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those murders which he had committed seeme the lesse odious, by teaching his enemies to doe the like. Old *Polyperchon*, that had made so great a stirre in the reigne of *Aridas*, did after the death of *Roxane* and her Childe, enter againe vpon the Stage: leading in his hand another sonne of the great *Alexander*, and meaning to place him in his Fathers Throne.

The name of this yong Prince was *Hercules*: he was begotten on *Baryne*, the Daughter of *Artabazus* a *Persian*, but had bene lesse esteemed than the sonne of *Roxane*, either for that his Mother was held no better than a Concubine, or else perhaps, in regard of the fauour which *Perdiccas*, and after him *Olympias*, did beare vnto *Roxane*. At this time, the death of his brother had moued such compassion, and regard of his being *Alexanders* only liuing child, had procured vnto him such good will, that the demand which *Polyperchon* made in his behalfe, was deemed very iust and honourable. There were indeed more hearts then hands, that ioyned with this yong Prince: yet wanted he not sufficient strength of hands, if the heart of him that least ought, had not bene most false. *Cassander* had raised an Armie, to withstand his entrie into *Macedon*: but little trust could he repose in that Armie, whose wishes he perceived to be with *Hercules*. Therefore he assailed *Polyperchon* himselfe, with gifts and promises; wherewith at length he preuailed (so far, that the old Villaine was contented to murder his Pupill, choosing rather with many curses, and soule dishonour, to take the offered Lordship of *Peloponnesus*, and Command of an Armie, than to purchase a Noble fame with dangerous traualle, in maintaining his faith, vnto both his dead and liuing Soueraignes.

Antigonus had not all this while beene asleepe; though his losses were hitherto the chiefe minests, of his hauing bene a stirrer in these commotions. He thought it enough for him at the present, to retaine his owne: and therefore tooke order for the recouerie of those places, which *Ptolomie* had taken paines to winne. As for the rest, it no way grieved him, to see *Cassander* incur the generall hatred of men by committing those murders; of which the profit was like to redound vnto him that was the most powerful: or to see *Polyperchon* and *Ptolomie* sweat, in a busie warre against *Cassander*. If they would haue continued their quarrels, he could well haue afforded them leisure, and hae thought the time well spent, in beholding their contentions. For he was thoroughly perswaded, that when the rest had wearied themselves in vaine with long strife, his armies and treasures, wherein he exceeded them all, would bring all vnder. According to these haughtie conceits, he demeaned himselfe among his followers; looking big vpon them, and like a King before his time. This was it that caused so many of them to reuolt from him: but it was no great losse to be forsaken by those that looked with enuious eyes vpon that fortune whereto their owne should haue depended. Against this enuie of his owne men, and the malice of others, *Antigonus* busily sought a remedy, such as was like to giue him a goodly title to the whole Empire.

Cleopatra, Sister vnto the great *Alexander*, lay for the most part in *Sardes*; whom he had a great desire to take to wife. This his desire was not without good hope: for howsoever the discouraged much vnwillingnesse thereunto, yet was she in his power, and might therefore be entreated, were it onely for feare of being enforced. But it was not his purpose to get her by compulsion; meanes: either because his fancie being an old man, was not ouer-violent; or rather because his ambition, wherunto all his affections had reference, could haue made small vse of her, by doing such apparent wrong. She had bene married vnto *Alexander* King of *Epirus*, after whose death she came to her brother in *Asia*; hoping belike, to finde a new husband in his Campe. But neither any of those busie Capitaines, that were, in times following, so hot in loue with her, durst then aspie vnto her marriage: nor did her brother, full of other cares, trouble himselfe with providing her of an husband. She therefore, being a lustie widow, suffered her blood, so farre to preuaile against her honour, that she supplied the want of an husband by entertainment of Paramours. *Alexander* hearing of this, turned it to a iest: saying, that she was his sister, and must be allowed this libertie, as her portion of the Empire. Wherby his death, the Empire lay in a manner, void, and the portion due to her therein, grew, in mens opinion, greater than it had bene: then did many seeke to obtaine her, while she her selfe desired onely a proper man, with whom shee might leade a merry life. To this purpose did she inuite *Leontatus* vnto her; who made great haile; but was cut off by death, ere he came to her presence. Now at the last, after long

tarrying, she had her choice of all the great Commanders: *Antigonus*, *Ptolomie*, *Lysimachus*, and *Cassander*, being all her earnest wooers. All these (*Antigonus* excepted) had wiues already; *Ptolomie* had many wiues, and many Concubines, whom he respected as much as his wiues, being noted of too much dotage in that kinde. This hindered not his suite: peradventure it advanced it, by giuing to *Cleopatra*, some hope of mutuell toleration. To him therefore he bequeathed her selfe, and was taking her iourne from *Sardes* towards him; when *Antigonus* his Deputie in that Citie, made her to stay, vntill his Masters further pleasure should be knowne. *Antigonus* had now a Wolfe by the eares: he neither could well hold her, nor durst let her goe. Shee would not be his wife; hee had none honest pretence to force her, and to keepe her prisoner, had been the way, by which he might haue incurred a generall hatred, lasting perhaps beyond her life; as the course taken by *Cassander* against *Roxane* (a Lady lesse respected than *Alexanders* owne sister) did well testifie. Therefore he thought it the wisest way to procure her death: for to let any other enioy the commoditie of so faire a title to the Kingdome, it was no part of his meaning. To this purpose he sent instructions to the Governour of *Sardes*, willing him in any case to doe it secretly. So the fact was committed, and certaine women about her put in trust with the murder: which women afterwards were put to death, as malicious conspirers against the life of that good Lady. So was *Antigonus* freed from blame, at the least, in his owne opinion: but the world was lesse foolish, than to be so deluded. How the murder was detected, we neede not aske: for seldome is that bloody crime vnto revealed, and neuer so ill smothered, as when great persons are the Authors.

This was the whole race of *Philip* and *Alexander* the Great extinguished, and it was extinguished by the hands of such as thought vpon nothing lesse than the execution of Gods iustice, due vnto the cruelty of these powerfull, but mercilesse Princes. Wherefore the ambitious frames, erected by these Tyrants, vpon so wicked foundations of innocent blood, were soone after cast downe, ouer-whelming themselves or their children, with the ruines, as the sequelle will declare.

§. X.

How Demetrius, the sonne of Antigonus, gaue liberty to Athens, expelling the Garrisons of Cassander out of those parts. The immoderate honour decreed by the Athenians to Antigonus and Demetrius.

One being left aliue, that had any title to the Kingdome; it stood with good reason, that they which were Lords of the Prouinces, acknowledging no Superiour, should freely profess themselves Kings in name, as they were already in substance. Yet had this name ill beset the weaker, while the strength of all did forbear it: neither seemed it conuenient in the iudgement of *Antigonus*, to crowne his last action with such a title, as if he had attained vnto greatness by that foule murder, the infamie whereof he was careful how to discharge from his owne head. He also purposed the more to vnder take a plausible enterprise, even the liberty of *Greece*: whereby it was apparent, that he might get such honour as would not onely drowne all bad reports, but make him be thought equall to any name of royalty, whereof in seeming modestie, hee was not couetous. To this purpose, he deliuered a strong Armie, with a Naue of two hundred and fiftie saile, and fise thousand talents of siluer, vnto *Demetrius* his sonne: willing him to begin at *Athens*, and thence to proceede, in setting all the Countrey free.

Demetrius came to *Athens* before he was expected: so that without resistance hee entered the Haue; it being thought that a flecte of *Ptolomie*, *Cassanders* good friend, had beene arriued. But when it was knowne, both who hee was, and what was the cause of his comming; the ioy of the Citizens brake out into loud acclamations, *Demetrius Phalereus* forsooke the Towne, and withdrew himselfe to *Thebes*, vnder safe conduct; onely the Garrison in *Munychia* stroueto make good that piece, which after a while was wonne vpon them by force. During the siege of *Munychia*, *Demetrius* went to *Megara*; whence he expelled the Garrison of *Cassander*, and so restored the Citie to libertie.

I thinke it not impertinent, sometimes to relate such accidents, as may seeme no better than meere trifles: for euen by trifles, are the qualities of great Persons as well disclosed

disclosed, as by their great actions; because in matters of importance, they commonly straine themselves, to the obseruance of generall commended rules; in lesse things they follow the current of their owne Natures. The Lady *Crateipolis* lay in *Patras*, and had a great desire to see *Demetrius*; hoping, belike, that his might, by his meanes, better her estate, and recover her Townes of *Sycion* and *Corinth*, detained by *Ptolomie*, to whose Lieutenant, in those places, *Demetrius* before his departure out of *Greece*, offered money for the surrender of them. Yet the onely businesse pretended was loue. He being aduertised hereof, left his forces in the Countrey of *Megara*, and taking a company of his lightest armed, for guard of his person, made a long iourne to meete with her. This troupe also, he caused to lodge a great way from his Tent, that none might see her when shee came. As closely as the businesse was carried, some of his enemies had gotten knowledge of it; whereby they conceiued good hope, that the diligence of a very few men, might ouerthrow all the great preparations of *Antigonus*; and bring him to any teames of reason, by taking his deare sonne prisoner. Their proiect fell but a little short of the effect. For they came so suddenly vpon him, that he had no better shift, than to tuffe himselfe in an old cloake, and creepe away disguised, leaving them to ransack his Tent. There was in this Prince a strange medly of conditions; especially an extreme dissolutenesse in wanton pleasures, and a painefull industry in matter of warre. Hee was of a most amiable countenance, a gentle nature, and a good wit; excellent in deuising Engines of warre, and curious in working them with his owne hands. He knew better how to reforme his bad fortune, then how to rule his good. For aduerstie made his valour more active; prosperity puffed him with ouerweening, wherein he thought, that he might doe what he listed. His fortune was changeable, as were his qualities: turning often round, like the picture of her wheele, till hee had wound vp the threed of his life, in such manner as followeth to be shewed.

Returning to his Campe, and finishing his businesse at *Megara*; he resolved no longer to attend the issue of a siege, to assaile *Munychia* by force, that so he might accomplish the liberty of *Athens*: which, vntill it was fully wrought out, he refused to enter into the Citie. *Munychia* was strongly fortified: yet by continuance of the assault, the multitude without, through helpe of their Engines that scoured the wals, prevailed vpon the resolution of those that lay within it, and won the place in two dayes. The wals, and all the defences of that piece against the Citie, were leuelled with the ground, and so was it freely put into the Citizens hands, to whom withall was giuen their liberty, with promise to aide them in maintaining it.

The fame of this action was lowder, than of any other victory, gotten by *Demetrius* with greater skill and industry. For the *Athenians*, hauing forgotten how to employ their hands, laboured to make vp that defect with their tongues: conuerting to base flattery, that eloquence of theirs; which the vertues of their Ancestors had suted vnto more manly arguments.

They decreed, vnto *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, the name of Kings; they consecrated the place, in which *Demetrius* leaped from his Chariot, when he entered their Citie, and built there an Altar, calling it of *Demetrius the a-lighter*; they called them by the Names of the gods their Saviours; ordaining that euery yeere, there should be chosen a Priest of these gods; and further, that such as were employed by their State, in dealing with either of these two Princes, should not be called Embassadors, but *Theori*, or *Consulters* with the gods; like as were they, whom they sent vnto the Oracle of *Iupiter* or *Apollo*.

It were a fruitfull diligence, to rehearse all their flatteries; these being so grosse. Hereby they not onely corrupted the yong Prince; but made that acclamation, which best would haue pleased the old man, to be of no vse. For he could not handomely take vpon him the name of King, as imposed by the *Athenians*; vnlesse he would seeme to approve their vanity, in loading him with more than humane honors. Yet was he so tickled with this their fine handling him, that when their *Theori*, or *Consulters*, came shortly after, desiring him to relieue them with Corne, and Timber to build ships; he gaue them almost a hundred thousand quarters of wheat, and matter sufficient to make a hundred Gallies. So gracious was his first Oracle: or rather, so weak is great power in resisting the assaults of flattery.

§. XI.

The great victory of Demetrius against Ptolomy in Cyprus. How Antigonus and Demetrius took upon them the title of Kings; wherein others followed their example.

From this glorious work, *Antigonus* called away *Demetrius*, vnto a businesse of greater difficulty; meaning to imploy his seruice against *Ptolomy* in *Cyprus*. Before his departure out of *Greece*, he was willed to establish a general Counsaile, that should treat of matters concerning the common good of the Countrey. About the same time, *Antigonus* withdrew his owne Garrison out of *Imbros*, committing their libertie entire, into the peoples hands; whereby it might appeare, that as hee would not permit any other to oppress the *Greekes*, so would he be farre from doing it himselfe. This was enough, to holde his reputation high, among these new purchased Friends: it followed, that hee should conuert his forces, to the winning of ground vpon his Enemies.

A pittifull Tragedy had lately hapned in *Cyprus*; through the inlicitiection of *Menelaus*, *Ptolomies* brother, and his Lieutenant in that Isle. *Nicoles*, king of *Paphos*, was entred into some practice with *Antigonus*: yet not so farre that he thought himselfe past excuse; by which confidence, he was perhaps the more easily detected. To cut off this negotiation, and the false-hearted King of *Paphos* at one blow, *Menelaus* was sent thither: who surrouning *Nicoles* his house with Souldiers, required in *Ptolomies* name, to haue him yeelded to the death. *Nicoles* offered to cleare himselfe; but *Menelaus* tolde him, that dye he must, and had him come forth quietly. This desperate necessity, caused the vnhappy King to rid himselfe of life: and his death strooke such an impression into his wife, that she not onely slew her selfe, but perswaded the wiues of her husbands brethren to do the like. Also those Brethren of *Nicoles*, vnto whom *Ptolomy* had intended no ill, being amazed with the sodainnesse of this calamity, did shut vp the Palace, and setting it on fire, consumed it, with all that was in it, and themselves together.

Whatsoeuer the crime objected was; *Nicoles* perished as a man innocent, because he was not suffered to make his answer. Of this sad accident, though *Menelaus* deserued the blame, for his rigorous proceeding: yet it is to be thought, that much dislike fell also vpon *Ptolomy*: as men that are grieved, cast an ill affection, even vpon those, that gaue the farthest remoued occasion.

Not long after this, *Demetrius* came into *Cyprus*, with a power sufficient, against any opposition that *Ptolomy* was like to make. The *Cypriots* did little or nothing against him: either because they had small strength, or for that they held it a matter indifferent, whom they acknowledged as their Lord, being sure that they should not themselves haue the rule of their owne Countrey. *Menelaus* therefore, out of his Garrisons, drew forth an Army, and fought with *Demetrius*. But he was beaten, and driue n to saue himselfe within the wals of *Salamis*, where he was so hardly besieged, that without strong succour, he had no likelihood to make good the place, much lesse to retaine possession of the whole Island. His greatest helpe at the present, was the fidelity of his Souldiers; whom no rewards could win from him, nor good viage (when any of them were taken prisoners, and inrolled in the enemies bands) keepe from returning to him, with the first opportunitie. Most of them were Mercenaries: but all their goods were in *Aegypt*, which was enough to keepe them faithfull. Yet could not this their resolution haue stood long, against the ods of number, which *Demetrius* had of men as resolute, and against his terrible Engines of battery, if *Ptolomy* had not hastied to the rescue.

Ptolomy brought with him, a hundred and forty Gallies, besides two hundred ships of burden, for transporting his Army and Carriages. This Fleet made a terrible show, when it was descried a farre, though more then halfe of it was vnfit for seruice, in fight at Sea. Wherefore to make the opinion of his forces the more dreadfull, *Ptolomy* sent vnto *Demetrius*, a threatening message: willing him to be gone, vnlesse he would be overwhelmed with multitudes, and trampled to death in a throng. But this yong Gallant repaid him with words of as much brauery, promising to let him escape, vpon condition, that he should withdraw his Garrisons out of *Sycion* and *Corinth*.

Demetrius had no more then one hundred and eigheteene Gallies; but they were, for the most part, greater than those of *Ptolomy*; better fitted with weapons fit for that seruice,

and very well furnished with Engines in the prowes, to beate vpon the enemy. Nevertheless he stood in great doubt of threecore Gallies that lay in the Hauens of *Salamis*, lest *Menelaus* with them should set vpon his backe: in which case, it was very likely that all should go very ill with him. Against this mischiefe, he bestowed ten of his own Gallies in the mouth of that Hauens, to keepe *Menelaus* from issuing forth, and setting his horsemen on the shore, to giue what assistance they could, he with the rest of his Fleet, pass to Sea against *Ptolomy*.

The fight beganne early in the morning, and continued long, with doubtfull successe. The Generals were not ranged opposit one to the other; but held each of them the left wing of his owne fleet. Each of them preuailed against the Squadron wherewith he encountered; but the successe of *Demetrius* was to better purpose. For his victorie in one part was such, as caused others to fall out of order, and finally draue all to betake themselves vnto speedy flight. As for *Ptolomy*, hee was faine to leaue his aduantage vpon the enemy in one part of the fight, that he might releue and animate those of his own which needed him in another. Wherein he found his losse ouer-great to be repaired, by considering any longer against the fortune of that day; and therefore he labored only to saue himselfe, in hope of better euent, that might follow some othertime.

There fell out in this battaile no vnusuall accident; yet was the victorie greater then could haue bene expected. The occasions wherof were, partly the great skill in Sea-seruices, which the *Greekes* and *Phenicians*, that were with *Demetrius*, had, about those which followed *Ptolomy*: partly the good furniture of the Ships, wherein consisted no lesse, than in the quality of those with whom they were manned. Further, wee may reasonably iudge, that the two hundred ships of burthen, carrying the strength of *Ptolomies* Army, did not more encourage his owne men, and terrifie his enemies the day before the fight; than breed in each part the contrary affections, when in the beginning of the fight they fell off, and stood aloofe. For though it were fitting, that they should so doe; yet a multitude, prepossessed with vaine conceits, will commonly apprehend very slight occasions, to thinke themselves abandoned. Besides all this, the expectation, that *Menelaus* issuing with his fleet out of *Salamis*, should charge the enemies in sterne, was vterly frustrated. He was kept in perforce, by the ten ships appointed to barre vp the mouth of the Hauens: which they manfully performed, as great necessity required.

Such disappointment of expectation, doth much abate the courage of men in Fight; especially of the assailants: whereas on the contrary, they that finde some part of their fears vaine, do easily gather hopefull spirits, and conceiue an opinion of their own ability, to do more then they thought vpon, out of their not suffering the harme that they had imagined.

Whatsoeuer the causes of this victory were, the fruit was very great. For *Ptolomy* had no more then eight Gallies that accompanied him in his flight: all the rest of his fleet was either taken, or sunk. Neither did *Menelaus* any longer strue against the violence of Fortune, but yeelded vp all that hee held in *Cyprus*, together with his Army, consisting of twelue thousand foote, and a thousand and two hundred horse, and those Gallies in the Hauens of *Salamis*. The same deiection of spirit was found in the common Souldiours, as well that was taken at Sea, as that had serued the *Egyptian* by Land: none of them reporing any more confidence in *Ptolomy*, but willingly becoming followers of a new Lord, whose Armie they now increased.

It was generally beleueed, that much more depended on the euent of this fight, than the Ile of *Cyprus*; for which they contended. Wherefore the common expectation was great; especially *Antigonus*, whom it most concerned, was deeply perplexed with cares, thinking euery day a yeare, till he were aduertised of the issue. In this mood *Aristodemus* found him, a noble flatterer, whom *Demetrius* had honoured with the Message of these good newes. *Aristodemus* had bethought himselfe of a trick, whereby to double the welcome of his ioyfull errand: Hee caused his ships to ride at Anchor, a good distance from the shore; he himselfe landed in a Cock-boat, which he sent immediately backe to the ships; and so all alone, he went forward, looking very sadly that no part of his tydings might appeare in his countenance. Report of his arriual (for it was not knowne where he had bene) came presently to *Antigonus*, who sent Messenger after Messenger, to meet him on the way, and bring speedy word how all went. But neither any answer, nor so much of a looke, as might intimate the purport of his errand, could be wonne from this demure

demure Gentleman. Thus marched hee faire and softly forward with a great throng at his heeles (that serued well to set out his Pageant) vntill he came in sight of *Antigonus*; who could not containe himselfe, but went downe to meete him at the Gate, and heere the newes. Then did *Arifodemus*, vpon the suddaine, with a high voyce salute *Antigonus* by the name of King; uttering the greatnesse of the victorie (with as much pomp, as before hee had couered it with silence) in the hearing of all the people; who with loude acclamations, gaue that name of King, both to *Antigonus* and his sonne *Demetrius*. *Antigonus*, in requittall of the long suspence, wherein *Arifodemus* had helde him, sayd, that it should also bee long ere hee receyued his reward. But the Title of King, together with the Diademe, which his friends did set on his head, hee could not with a sayrer occasion to assume: wherefore he readily accepted them, and sent the like to his sonne.

When it was once noysed abroad, that *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* called themselves Kings; it was not long ere their fellowes were ready to follow the good example. *Ptolomie* his friends would by no meanes endure, that their Lord should be thought a man dejected for the losse of a fleet; therefore they saluted him also King. *Lysimachus* in *Thrace* had boldnesse enough, to put the Diademe about his owne head. *Seleucus* had, before this time, among the barbarous people, taken vpon him as King: but now hee vied the stile indifferently, as well among the *Greekes* and *Macedonians*, as in dealing with others. Only *Cassander* held himselfe contented with his owne name: whereby howsoever he might shadow his pride, hee no way lessened the fame of his cruelty against his Masters house. But the name which he forbore, his sonnes after him, were bold to vsurpe, though with ill successe, as will appeare, when they shall enter vpon the Stage; whereon these old Tragedians, vnder new habits, as no longer now the same persons, begin to play their parts, with bigger looks, and more boisterous actions, not with greater grace and iudgement, than in the Scenes already past.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Warres betwene the Kings of Egypt, Asia, Macedonia, Thrace, and others: vntill all Alexanders Princes were consumed.

§. I.

The Expedition of Antigonus against Egypt, with ill successe.



ALL the rest of these Kings had taken that name vpon them, in imitation of *Antigonus* himselfe, as beseeching his greatnes: which was such as gaue him hope to swallow them vp, together with their new titles. Being not ignorant of his owne strength, he resolved to single out *Ptolomie*, and make him an example to others: who should hardly be able to stand, when the greatest of them was fallen. To this purpose hee prepared an Armie of eightene thousand foot, and eight thousand horse, with fourscore and three Elephants: as likewise a fleet of a hundred and fifty Gallies, and a hundred ships of burthen. The Land-forces he commanded in person: of the Navy *Demetrius* was Admiral.

When all was ready for the iourney, the Sea-men aduised him to stay yet eight dayes longer, and expect the setting of the *Pleiades*. But his hasty desire to prevent all preparations for resistance that *Ptolomie* should make, reiected this counsaile; imputing it rather to their feare than skill: wherefore he departed from *Antigonia* (a Towne which hee had built in *Syria*, and called after his owne name, that was soone changed into *Selenia*, by his mortall enemie) and came to *Gaza*, where hee met with his Fleet. The neerer that he drew to *Egypt*, the more haste he made: thinking by celeritie to preuaile more then by his great power. Hee caused his Souldiers to carrie tenne dayes provision of Viualles; and had manie Camels loaden with all necessaries for passing the Desert,

ouer

ouer which he marched with no small toyle, though he met with no resistance. At Mount *Casius*, which is neere adioyning to *Nilus*, he saw his Fleete riding at Anchor, not farre from the shore; in ill case, and many shippes wanting. It had beene forebode with foule weather, wherein some were lost, others driuen backe to *Gaza*, or scattered elsewhere into such creekes, as they could recover: *Demetrius* himselfe, with the best and strongest vessels, did so long beat it vp against the wind, that all his fresh water was spent; in which extremity, he and all his must haue perished, had not the tempest ceased when it did, and *Antigonus* appeared in sight, from whom these ouer-wearied, thirsty and Seabeaten Souldiers receyued reliefe. After these painfull traualles, there followed a warre no lesse painfull than to litle purpose; for *Ptolomie* had so fortified all the passages vpon the Riuer of *Nilus*, as he assured himselfe either to end the warre there, or if his guardes should happen to be forsaken, yet could it not be done, but so much to the weakening of the *Assians*, as he should afterward, with a second Armie (which he held entire) entertaine the Inuader vpon aduantage enough. All that *Antigonus* fought, was to come to blowes speedily: *Ptolomie* on the contrary, to beat *Antigonus* by the belly. It is true that *Nilus* gaue him water enough, but wood he had none to warme it, and while *Antigonus* assailed the Rampiers raised vpon the Riuer in vaine, *Ptolomie* assailed the faith of his souldiers with good successe, for with great gifts and greater promises, he ferried them ouer so fast, as had not *Antigonus* thrust some assured Regiments, vpon the passages next the enemy, and in the meane while taken a resolution to returne, *Ptolomie* had turned him out of *Egypt* ill attended.

Some of them indeede he laid hands on, in the way of their escape, and those he put to death with extreme torments, but in all likelihood with the same ill successe that *Perdiccas* had formerly done, when he invaded *Egypt*: had he not readily removed his armie further off, from the noise of their entertainment, that had already bene won from him. To prevent therefore as wel the present danger of his stay, as the shame following a forst retreat, he secretly practised the aduice of his Councell, vpon whom the burthen must be laid of his entrance, and leaving *Egypt*.

It is indeede lesse preiudiciall in such like cases, that errors, dishonours, and losses, be laid on Councillors & Capitaines, than on Kings; on the Directed, than on the Director: for the honour and reputation of a Prince is farre more precious, than that of a Vassall. *Charles* the first, as many other Princes haue done, laide the losse and dishonour hee receiued in the inuasion of *France*, by the way of *Prouence*, to *Antoine de Leua*, whether iustly or no, I know not; but howsoeuer, all the Historians of that time agree, that the sorrow thereof cost that braue Capitaine his life. Certainly to giue any violent aduice in doubtful enterprises, is rather a testimony of loue, than of wisdom; in the giuer, for the ill successe is alwaies cast vpon the Councell, the good neuer wants a Father, though a false one, to acknowledge it. Yet I haue sometime knowne it, that great Commanders, who are for the present in place of Kings, haue not onely bene disswaded, but held in a kind by strong hand, from hazarding their owne persons, and yet haue those kinde of Mutiners neuer bene called to a Marshalls Court.

§. II.

How the Citie of Rhodes was besieged by Demetrius.

HIS departure of *Antigonus*, left behind it many dead carcasses, and a great deale of ioy in *Egypt*. *Ptolomie* held a solemne Feast, and sent Messengers abroad, laden with glad newes, to *Seleucus*, *Lysimachus*, and *Cassander* his Confederates: strongly encouraging all that side, with the report of this his late felicity, though it appeared but in a defenseless Warre. *Antigonus* on the contrary, flattered himselfe with another interpretation, calling the ioyes of his enemies for witness of his owne greatness, seeing they arose but from so litle things: his enemies being but bare sauers by the last bargain, and himselfe, as he supposed, hauing lost but a litle time, and no part of his honour in the late retraite. Howsoeuer it were, yet he meant to follow his affaires henceforth in another fashion, for that which hee could not cleaue a sunder by great blowes, he purposed by litle and litle to pare off, by cutting off the branches first, to fell the Tree it selfe with the more facilitie. To effect which, he resolved (leaving the great ones to grow a while) to roote vp the Dependants of his Enemies: Dependants, whom the

the forenamed Confederates should be forst, either to relucue, or to lose; and hereby hee doubted not, to draw them into the field, where the aduantage of power, and of all other warlike prouisions, promised him victorie.

At this time the Citie of *Rhodes* was very mightie, being well gouerned, and hauing long held it selfe in good Neutrallitie, it drew the better part of all the trade of those parts, and there a great deale of riches to it selfe, to maintaine which, and to increase it, it furnished and kept on the Seas a Flecte of well armed shippes, by which it not onely beate off all Pyrates and pettie Theeues, but the reputation of their strength was thereby so much increased, as all the neighbour Princes sought their alliance and confederacie.

In this so dangerous a time (in which they must either refuse all that sought them, and so stand friendlesse and apart, or ioyne themselves to some one; and thereby forgoe the peace, by which their greatnesse had growne) their affections carried them to the *Athenians*: both because the greatest part of their trade lay that way, as also for that *Antigonus* his disposition, greatnes, and neighbourhood was fearefull vnto them. This affection of theirs, with some other passages, more apparent; gaue argument of quarrell to *Antigonus*, who began to declare himselfe against them by pettie iniuries, of taking some of their shippes, with such other grieuances, while hee made a more weighty preparation, to pursue the warre against them, openly and strongly. All things soon after ordered according to the greatnesse of the enterprise, hee employed his sonne *Demetrius* against them in their owne Iland, who brought such terror vpon the Citizens, that laying aside all respect of friendship and honor, they offered him their assistance, and seruice against whomsoever *Demetrius*, who knew from whence this change came, and that the alteration was perswaded by feare, & not by loue, raised his demands to an intollerable height, requiring a hundred Hostages to be deliuered him, and liberty to lodge in their Port as many shippes of warre as himselfe pleased. These conditions more properly to be imposed vpon a State already conquered, then on those who as yet had heard of nothing but a constrained assistance, restored vnto the *Rhodians* their lost courage, and made them resolute to defend their libertie to the last man: this taught them to infranchise all their able bondmen, and wisely rather to make them their fellow-Citizens, than to make themselves selfe low-flaues with them.

Demetrius hauing refused the faire conditions offered, (as the *Rhodians* the fearefull ones propounded vnto them) makes preparation for a long siege, and finding no appearance to carrie the place in furie, hee set in hand with his Engines of batterie; in the inuention and vse of which, hee did neuer shew himselfe a greater Artisan, than in this warre. But in conclusion, after the Citizens had sustained all the assaults giuen them for a whole yeere, after many braue sallies out of the Towne, and the famine which they endured within the Towne, which had proued farre more extreme, if *Ptolomie* had not with many hazards relieved them, *Demetrius* by mediation of the *Grecian* Embassadors, gaue ouer the siege; a hundred Hostages they gaue him for performance of the peace made, but with exception of all the Magistrats and Officers of the Citie.

Hereunto *Demetrius* was brought by the vsuall policie of warre, and state: for while with the flower of all his fathers forces, he lay before *Rhodes*, *Cassander* recovered many of those places in *Greece*, which *Demetrius* had formerly taken from him; neither did *Cassander* make the warre as in former times, by practice and surprise, but by a strong and well compounded armie, which he himselfe ledde as farre as into *Attica*, and therewith greatly distressed & endangered *Athenes* it selfe. On the other side (though with lesse success) did *Polyperchon* inuade *Peloponnesus*. These dangerous vndertakings vpon *Greece*, aduised the *Athenians* and *Asians* to dispatch their Embassadors towards *Demetrius*, and aduised *Demetrius*, rather to abandon the enterprise of *Rhodes*, than to abandon the great honour which hee had formerlie gotten, by setting all *Greece* at libertie.

Demetrius was no sooner out of the Iland, then that the *Rhodians* erected statues in honour of *Lysimachus* and *Cassander*, but for *Ptolomie*, whom they most affected, and from whom they received their most reliefe, they consulted with the Oracle of *Lepetus*, whether it were not lawfull to call him a god. The Priests which attended in the Temple of *Hamon*, gaue the same faire answer for *Ptolomie*, which they had formerlie done for *Alexander* his

his Master, for as *Alexander* consulted the Oracle with an Armie at his heeles; so was *Ptolomie* at this time Lord of the soile: and yet was this a farre more cleanly creation, than that done by the *Athenians*, who Deified *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, by decree of the people. A madde age it was, when so many of *Alexanders* Captaines could not content themselves with the stile of Kings, but that they would needs be called gods.

§. III.

How *Demetrius* preuailed in *Greece*. *Cassander* desires peace of *Antigonus*, and cannot obtaine it. Great preparations of warre against *Antigonus*.

Demetrius comming with a strong Fleet and Armie into *Greece*, quickly draue *Cassander* out of *Attica*; and pursuing his fortune, chased him beyond the straits of *Thermopylae*. Herein his reputation did much auail him; which was so great, that fise thousand of his enemies Souldiers revolted vnto him. So partly by the greatnesse of his name, partly by force, hee recovered in short space all that *Cassander* held in those straits, and giuing libertie vnto the people, hee bestowed vpon the *Athenians* those pieces, which had bene fortified against them, to blocke them vp. Then went hee into *Peloponnesus*, where hee found the like, or more easie success: for hee suddenly tooke *Argos*, *Corinth*, *Sicyon*, and the most of the Countrie, bestowing libertie vpon such as needed it. The Towne of *Sicyon* he translated by consent of the Citizens, from the old place into another place, and called it after his owne name *Demetrias*. This done, hee betooke himselfe to his pleasure. At the *Isthmian* games, he caused himselfe to be proclaimed Capitaine Generall of *Greece*, as *Philip* and *Alexander* had bene in former times: whereupon (as if hee were now become as great as *Alexander*) hee despised all others, making it a matter of isst, that any, saue himselfe or his father, should vsurpe the name of King. But in his behauiour he was so farre vnlike to a King, that in all the time of his leisure, hee desired none other name then of a drunken *Palliard*. Yet were the *Athenians* as readie as euer to deuise new honours for him: among which they made one Decree, that whatsoever King *Demetrius* should command, ought to be held sacred with the gods, and iust with men.

All *Greece* being now at the disposition of *Antigonus*, *Cassander* stood in great feare, lest the warre should fall heauily vpon him in *Macedon*: which to auoid, he knew no better way then to make peace with his enemies betimes. And to that purpose he sent Embassadors; but had no better answer from *Antigonus*, then that hee should submit his whole estate to his discretion. This proud demand made him looke about him, and labour hard in solliciting his friends, both to assist him, and take heed to themselves; neither could hee them slow in apprehending the common danger: for *Lysimachus* knew that if once *Cassander* had lost *Macedon*, *Demetrius* would soone be master of *Thrace*. Neither were *Ptolomie* and *Seleucus* ignorant of this, which was like to befall them, if *Antigonus* were suffered to put himselfe in quiet possession of those Provinces in *Europe*. Wherefore it was agreed, that with ioynt forces they should all together set vpon the common Enemy.

Heereof *Antigonus* had notice: but scorned all their preparations, saying, That hee would as easily scatter them, as a flocke of birds are driuen away with a stone. With these conceits he pleased himselfe, and no way hindered the proceedings of his Enemies. He lay at that time in his Towne of *Antigonis* (a name that it must shortly loose) where he was carefully providing to set out some stately game and Pageants, in ostentation of his glorie. But thither was brought vnto him the tumultuous newes of *Lysimachus* his victories about *Hellepont*. For *Cassander* had committed vnto *Lysimachus* part of his forces, wherewith to passe ouer into *Asia*, while hee himselfe with the rest should oppose *Demetrius* on *Europe* side. So *Lysimachus* passing the *Hellepont*, began to make his Warre vpon the subiects of *Antigonus*; getting some of the Cities in those parts, to ioyne with him, by faire means: winning others by force, and wasting the Countrie round about.

To repress this vnexpected boldnesse, *Antigonus* made hastie iournies, and came soone enough to recover his losses, but not strong enough to driue *Lysimachus* home, or compell him to come to battaile. *Lysimachus* waied for the comming of *Seleucus*; keeping

ping himselfe the whilest from necessity of fighting. But *Babylon* was farre off; and *Seleucus* his preparations were too great to bee soone in a readinesse. The Winter also did hinder his journey: which inforced them on both sides to rest in some quiet, without performing any matter of importance. This delay of debating the quarrell in open field, held all those Nations in a great suspence, & bred much expectation. Yet might all have come to nothing, had not *Antigonus* been so forward, that he refused to yield vpon any peaceable conditions. At length *Seleucus* drew neere with a mighty Armie of his owne (for hee had gathered strength in that long time of leysure, which *Antigonus* had giuen him) and with great aid from *Ptolomie*, that was ioyned with his forces.

To helpe in this needfull case, *Demetrius* was called ouer into *Asia* by his Fathers letters: which hee readily obeyed. Before his departure out of *Greece*, he made peace with *Cassander*, vpon reasonable termes: to the end hee might not bee driuen to leaue any part of his Army for defence of the Countrey; and that his iourne might bee without any such blemish of reputation, as if hee had abandoned his Dependents: for one Article of the peace was, That all the Cities of *Greece* should bee at libertie. *Cassander* was glad to be so ridde of an Enemy that was too strong for him. Yet would this league haue done him little good, if things had fallen out contrariwise then they did in *Asia*; seeing the ratification thereof was referred vnto *Antigonus*. It sufficed, that for the present, every one found meanes to cleere himselfe of all incumbrances else-where, to the end that each of them might freely apply himselfe to the trial of the maine cause: to wit in *Asia*.

§. III.

How Antigonus was slain in a great battaile at Ipsus, neere vnto Ephesus; wherein his whole estate was lost.

Seleucus, with his sonne *Antiochus*, ioyning with *Lysimachus*, compounded a great Armie, which was (all considered) not inferiour to that of the Enemy. In greatness of name (that helpeth much in all warres, but especially in the Civil) they were rather vnmaneuverable, than vnacquall to their aduersaries: for *Antigonus* had of long time kept them vnder with a mastering spirit, and had beene reputed a King indeed, when the rest were held but Vsurpers of the title. Likewise *Demetrius* was generally acknowledged a braue Commander, hauing giuen proofe of his worth in many great seruices of all kinds, and enriched the Art of war with many inventions, which even his enemies, and particularly *Lysimachus*, did much admire. *Seleucus*, who had sometimes flattered *Antigonus*, & fearefully stolen away from him to saue his life; with yong *Antiochus*, a Prince not heard of before this iourne; and *Lysimachus*; that had liued long in a corner, hardly keeping his owne from the wilde *Tracians*; wanted much in reputation, of that which was yielded to their opposites: yet so, that as ancient Captaines vnder *Philip* and *Alexander*, two of them were held worthy enough, to receiue any benefit that fortune might giue, and the third a Prince of great hope, whereof he now came to make experience.

The Souldiers, on both sides, were for the most part hardy & well exercised: many of them hauing serued vnder *Alexander*; though of those old Companies, the long space of fiftie and twenty yeeres had consumed the greatest number. But concerning their affections, the followers of *Seleucus* were easily perswaded, that in this battaile they must either get the vpper hand, or put in extreme danger all that belonged vnto the Confederate Princes: whereas *Antigonus* his men could discern no other necessity of fighting, than the obstinate qualitie of their Lord, that needs would be Master of all. *Antigonus* had about three-score and ten thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and three-score and fiftene Elephants. His enemies were fixe thousand short of him in number of their foot; in horse they had the oddes of fife hundred; of Elephants they had foure hundred, and a hundred and twenty armed Chariots of warre; which helps, though they little had auailed the *Persians*, yet were they not to be despised, in the hands of a good Captaine.

Antigonus himselfe, either troubled with the vnexpected greatness of his enemies forces, or presaging little good like to ensue, grew very pensiu, communicating much in priu.

private with his sonne whom he commended to the Armie as his succesor: whereas in former times hee had neuer been so iocund, as towards the houre of battaile, nor had been accustomed to make his sonne, or any other, private to his counsaile, before it required execution. Other tokens of bad lucke, either foeging the night, or afterwards deuided, I hold it needlesse to recount: *Diana* of *Ephesus* dwelt neere to the place of battaile, a busie goddess in many great fights, and therefore likely to haue bene thrust into the fable; if any matter, neerely resembling a miracle, had chanced.

It is easie to beleue, that these two so gallant Armies, containing well-neere all the strength of *Alexanders* whole Empire, performed a notable fight, being led by such worthy Commanders, and whom the issue thereof did highly concerne. Yet are few of the particulars recorded: an easie losse in regard of the much variety, wherewith every story aboundeth in this kinde. The most memorable things in the battaile, were these: *Demetrius* with his best force of horse, charged valiantly vpon yong *Antiochus*; whom when he had broken, and put to flight, he was so transported with the heat of his good successe, that he neuer gaue ouer his pursuit, but left his Father naked, and lost thereby both him, and the victory. For when *Seleucus* perceived this aduantage, he enterposed his Elephants, betwene *Demetrius* and the Phalanx of *Antigonus*: and with many troups of horse offering to breake vpon the enemies battaile, wherefoeuer it lay most open, he did so terrifie the *Antigonians*, that a great part of them rather chose to resolue from their Lord, whilst they were fauorably inuited, than to sustaine the furie of so dangerous an impression. This cowardize or rather treason of some, discouraged others; and finally, cast them all into flight; exposing their Generall to the last end of his destinies. *Antigonus* was then foure-score yeeres old, very fat and vnweildy, so that he was vnapt for fight, if his high spirit could haue entertained any thought thereof. He had about him some of his most trusty followers, and as many others as hee could hold together. When one that perceiued a great troupe making towards his person, told him, *Sir King, yonder company meanes to charge you*; hee answered, *well may they; for who defends me? but none Demetrius will relieue us*. Thus expecting, to the very last, that his sonne should come to the rescue, he receiued so many Darts into his body, as tooke away his lately ambitious, but then fearefull hopes, together with his troublesome life.

His great ability in matter of Armes, together with his vnstatiable desire of Empire, haue sufficiently appeared in the whole Volume of his actions. He was more feared by his enemies, than loued by his friends; as one that could not moderate his fortune, but vied insolence towards all alike, as if it had been some vertue neere representing a Kingly Maiestie. This was the cause that so many of his followers reuolted to his enemies; and finally, that a great part of his Armie forooke him in his last necessity. For those Kings and Princes that call all the carefull indeuours of their Vassals, onely dutie and debt, and are more apt to punish the least offences, than to reward the greatest seruices: shall finde themselves vpon the first change of fortune, (seeing it is loue onely that stiaies by aduersitie) not onely the most friendlesse, but even the most contemptible, and despised of all other. This *Antigonus* found true in part, while he liued; in part he left it to be verified vpon his sonne.

§. V.

How Demetrius forsaken by the Athenians after his ouerthrow, was reconciled to Seleucus and Ptolomie, beginning a new fortune, and shortly entering into quarrels.

Demetrius, at his returne, from the idle pursuit of yong *Antiochus*, finding all quite lost, was glad to saue himselfe, with foure thousand horse and fife thousand foot, by a speedy retraits vnto *Ephesus*, whence he made great haste vnto *Athen*, as to the place, that for his sake would suffer any extremity. But whilst he was in the midst of his course thither, the *Athenian* Embassadors met him with a decree of the people, which was, that none of the Kings should be admitted into their Citie. These were Embassadors, not *Theori*, or *Consulters* with the Oracle. It was a shamelesse ingratitude in the *Athenians*, to reward their Benefactor, in his miserie, with such a decree: neither did any part of his calamitie more afflict the vnfortunate Prince, than to see his aduersitie despised by those whom he had thought his surest friends.

H h h h

Yet

Yet was he faine to giue good words. For he had left many of his ships in their Haven, of which he now stood in great neede, and therefore was faine to speake them faire, that sometimes had grossly flattered him. But he shall liue to reach them their old language, and speake vnto them in another tune. When he had gotten his ships, he failed to the *ysimus*, where he found nothing but matter of discomfort. His Garrisons were euery where broken vp; the Souldiers hauing betaken themselves to his enemies pay. So that he was King onely of a small Armie and Fleet, without money or meanes wherewith to sustaine him and his followers any long time. All the rest, or the greatest part of his Fathers large Dominion, was now in diuiding among the Conquerers, and those few places which as yet held for him (hauing not perchance heard the worst of what had happened) he no way knew how to relieue: for to put himselfe into the field on that side of the Sea, he had no power; and to inclose himselfe in any of them, how strong soeuer, were but to imprison his fortune, and his hopes, or therein indeede to burie himselfe and his estate: He therefore creeping thorow those bushes that had fewest briars, fell vpon a corner of *Lyfimachus* his Kingdome, whereof he gaue all the spoyle that was gotten, to his Souldiers, his owne losses hauing bene too great to be repaid againe by small prizes.

In the meane while the Confederate Princes had wherewithall to busie themselves, in the partition of those Prouinces, of which their late victory had made them Lords, wherein *Seleucus* had a notable aduantage by being present, and Master of the field, so for neither *Ptolomie* nor *Cassander* were at the ouerthrow giuen, hauing onely sent certaine troupes to re-inforce the Armie which *Seleucus* led, who tooke hold of a part of *Asia* the lesse, and all *Syria*, being no otherwise deuided from his owne Territorie, than by the Riuer of *Euphrates*. For there had not any order bene taken by the Confederates, for the diuision of all those Lands: because they did not expect so prosperous an issue of that warre, which they made onely in their owne common defence. It was therefore lawfull for *Seleucus*, to make the best benefit that he could of this victory, at which, neuertheless others did repine; and though they neither could nor durst accuse him of ill dealing for the present, yet seeing the ouer-gretnesse of *Seleucus* brought no lesse danger to the rest of the new Kings, than that of *Antigonus* had so done, they consulted vpon the same reason of State as before, how to oppose it in time. Neither was *Seleucus* ignorant of what they had determined, for he read it in the Law vniuersall of Kingdomes and States, needing no other intelligence. Hereupon they forget friendship on all sides, and cure themselves of all vnprofitable passion, the hatred of each to other, and their loues being hid on the one side, against their profits on the other, were found so farre too light, as *Seleucus*, who had to day slaine *Antigonus* the father, and driuen *Demetrius* the sonne out of *Asia*, sought to morrow how to match himselfe with *Stratonica*, *Demetrius* his daughter, and so by *Demetrius* to serue his time against *Lyfimachus*.

The storie of this *Stratonica*, with whom young *Antiochus*, the sonne of *Seleucus* fell so passionately in loue, and so distempred, as *Seleucus* his father, to saue his sonnes life, gaue her (though she were his wife) vnto him, and how his passion was discovered by his pulse, is generally noted by all Writers. But neither did this alliance between *Seleucus* and *Demetrius*; between *Ptolomie* and *Lyfimachus*; between *Demetrius* and *Cassander*; between *Demetrius* and *Ptolomie*; though for the present it brought him againe into the ranke of Kings; otherwise tye any of them to each other, the marriages between Christian Kings haue done in later times, namely between the *Austrians*, the *Aragonians*, the *French*, and other Princes; neither haue the Leagues of those elder times benee found more faithfull, then those of the same later times haue benee; as in the stories of *Charles* the eighth of *France*, and of *Charles* the Emperour, of *France* so the first, and of the Kings of *Naples*, Dukes of *Millan* and others, the Reader may obserue: betweene whom from the yeere of our Lord, One thousand, foure hundred, nintie and nine, when *Charles* the eighth vnderooke the Conquest of *Naples*, to the yeere one thousand five hundred fiftie and eight, when *Henrie* the second died; the Histories of those times tell vs, that all the bonds, either by the bed or by the booke, either by weddings, or Sacramental Oathes, had neither faithfull purpose nor performance. Yet did *Demetrius* reape this profit by giuing his daughter to his enemy *Seleucus*, that he recovered *Cilicia* from *Plisarchus*, the brother of *Cassander*; who had gotten it as his

his share in the diuision of *Antigonus* his possessions: for the Intruder was not strong enough to hold it by his proper forces from him, that entred vpon it as a lawfull Heire, neither would *Seleucus* lend him any helpe, as by the rule of Confederacie he should haue done against the common enemy. So *Plisarchus* with very angry complaint, as well against *Seleucus* as *Demetrius*, went vnto *Cassander*, whither *Phila*, their sister, followed him shortly, to pacifie them both, and keepe all quiet; being sent for that purpose by *Demetrius* her husband, that was not strong enough to deale with *Cassander*, and therefore glad to make vse of that bond of alliance betwixt them, whereof in his owne propriety, he neuer tooke notice to the others good. About the same time hee tooke to wife a daughter of *Ptolomie* (plurality of wives being familiar with these *Macedonians*, that had learned it in their Easterne conquests) and so was hee by two marriages freed from two enemies, then strengthened with two friends, for neither of them wished him any good, otherwise then might seeme to aduance their owne ambitious desires.

Seleucus and *Ptolomie* could both of them haue benee contented better, that *Demetrius*, with helpe of their countenance, should seeke his fortune somewhat farther off, than sende his estate vnder their noses. Particularly, *Seleucus* thought that *Cilicia* lay very fitly for himselfe: and *Ptolomie* had a great appetite (which yet he concealed a while) to the Isle of *Cyprus*. Now whether it were so, that *Seleucus* would faine haue set his new father in law vpon the necke of *Lyfimachus*; or whether he were indeede greedie of the bargain, he offered to buy of *Demetrius* for ready money, his late purchase of *Cilicia*. Hereunto *Demetrius* would not harken, but meant to keepe as much Land as he could, having already found in *Cilicia* twelve thousand talents of his fathers treasure, that would faine him to make sport a while. This refusal so displeased *Seleucus*, that in angry termes hee demanded the Cities of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, to be surrendered vnto him; which were the onely places in *Syria*, that had not followed the fortune of the late great battaile. Instead of giuing them vp, *Demetrius* rooke present order to haue them better manned, and spake it stoutly, That were hee ouer-come a thousand times, yet would hee not hire *Seleucus* to become his sonne in law. In this quarrell *Seleucus* was generally reprehended, as one of a malignant disposition, that would breake friendship with his father in law for two Townes, from whom hee had already taken more then well he knew how to gouerne. But the fire consumed it selfe in words, which had it fastened vpon armes, like it is that the weaker should haue found friends out of enuie to the stronger.

§. VI.

How *Demetrius* won the Citie of *Athens*, and preuailed in *Greece*, but lost in *Asia*. Of troubles in *Macedon* following the death of *Cassander*.

IN the meane while, the *Athenians* not knowing how to vse the liberty, which *Demetrius* had bestowed on them, were fallen by sedition, vnder the tyranny of *Lachares*. Through which alteration their distempred Citie was so weakened, that it seemed ill able to keepe off the punishment due to their late ingratitude. This aduantage hastened him, whom they had once called their God and Saviour, to present himselfe vnto them, in the habit of a reuenging furie. He brought against them all the force that he could well spare from other employments, which were at that time perhaps the more, because his doubtfull Easterne friends, were vnwilling to giue impediment to any businesse, that might entangle him in *Greece*. His first enterprize in *Athens* had ill successe; a great part of his fleet perishing in a tempest. But hee soone repaired the losse, and (after some victories in *Peloponnesus*, where he wandred Townes that had fallen from him) returning to the enterprize, wasted the Countrie of *Attica*, and cut off all reliefe from the Citie, both by Land and Sea.

Athens was not able to feede the great multitude within it, any long time: for it stood in a barren soile, and wanted now the command of those Ilands, and places abroad, from whence it was wont to be stored with victuals, being also destitute of meanes to keep such a Number might bring in supply, or dare to doe any thing at Sea, against that of *Demetrius*. Yet was there some hope of succour from *Ptolomie*, who (trusting thereby to the loue of *Greece*) had laden a hundred and fiftie ships with corne, and sent them to releue

the hungry Citie. But these hundred and fiftie were vnable to deale with three hundred good fighting ships, which *Demetrius* had; rather they feared to become a prey to him, and therefore halted them away betimes, as hauing done enough, in aduenturing to come so neere, that they might be discied. This brake the heart of the people; among whom the famine was so extreame, that a Father and his Son did fight for a dead Mouſe, which dropped downe betwene them from the house top. Wherefore they sent Embassadors to yeeld vpon the Towne, and craue pardon, hauing so farre offended, that out of desperation, they made it a capitall offence, to propose any motion of peace. Yet were they faine to abolish this decree: rather because they knew not what else to doe, then because they hoped to be forgiven.

Demetrius, contented with the honour of the victory, did not onely forbear to take away the liues of these vnthankfull men, which they had submitted vnto his mercy; but out of his liberality gaue them food, and placed in Office amongst them such as were most acceptable to the people. Neuerthelesse he was growne wiser then to trust them so farre as he had done in times past. And therefore, when (among other flattering acclamations) they bade him take their Hauens, & dispose of them at his pleasure, he was ready to lay hold vpon the word, and leaue a sure Garrison within their walls, to keep them honest perforce. After this he went into *Peloponnesus*, vanquished the *Lacedaemonians* in two battailes, and was in very faire possibilitie to take their Citie: when the dangerous newes called him in all haste, of *Lysimachus* and *Ptolomie*, that prevailed faster vpon him elsewhere, than himselfe did vpon his enemies in *Greece*. *Lysimachus* had wonne many Towns in *Asia*; *Ptolomie* had gotten all the Isle of *Cyprus*, except the Citie of *Salamis*, wherein *Demetrius* had left his Children & Mother, that were straightly besieged. Whilst he was bethinking himselfe which way to turne his face, a notable piece of businesse offered it selfe, which thrust all other cares out of his head.

Cassander was lately dead in *Macedon*, and soone after him, *Philip* his eldest son, whose two yonger brethren, *Antipater* and *Alexander*, sought for the Kingdome. In this quarrell *Theſſalonica* the Daughter of King *Philip*, whom *Cassander* had married, seemed beneaffected to *Alexander*, then to her elder sonne: who thereupon grew so enraged, that most barbarously he slew his owne Mother. The odiousnesse of this fact gaue a faire lustre to *Alexanders* cause: drawing the generality of the *Macedons* to take his part, as in reuenge of the Queens death, vpon that wicked parricide *Antipater*. But *Antipater* was so strongly backed by *Lysimachus*, whose daughter he had married; that *Alexander* could not hope to make his party good without some forreigne aide. For which cause he called in both *Pyrhus* and *Demetrius*; who how they dealt with him, it will soone appeare in the following Tragedy, of him and his brother. Their Father *Cassander* had bene one that trusted well for himselfe, at such time as euery man sought how to get somewhat, in the ill ordered diuision of the Empire. He was cunning in practice, and a good Souldier: one of those open dealing then were his Companions, but withall more impudent, rudely killing those, whom others would more wisely haue made away. He deeply hated the memory of *Alexander*, that had knocked his head against a wall, vpon some opinion of contempt. With *Olympias* he had an hereditary quarrell, deriued from his Father, whom she could not abide. Her feminine malice did so exasperate him, by cruelty, that she vsed against his friends, both aliuie and dead; as it made him aduerture vpon shedding the Royall blood; wherewith, when once he had stained his hands, he did not care how farre he proceeded in that course of murder. His carefulnesse to destroy those women and children, whose liues hindered his purpose, argues him to haue bene rather skilfull in matters of Armes, than a valiant man: such cruelty being a true marke of cowardize, which feares a far of the dangers, that may quietly passe away: and seekes to auoide them by base and wicked means, as neuer thinking it selfe safe enough, vntill there be nothing left, that carries likelihood of danger. Of *Olympias* and *Roxane* it may be said, that they had well deserved the bloody end which ouer-tooke them; yet ill becom'd it *Cassander* to doe the office of a Hang-man. But *Alexanders* children had by no law of men, deserved to dye for the tyranny of their Father. Wherefore, though *Cassander* died in his bed; yet the diuine Iustice brought swords vpon his wife and children, that well reuenged the cruelty of this bloody man, by destroying his whole house, as he had done his Masters.

§. VII.

§. VII.

of *Pyrhus* and his doings in *Macedon*. The death of *Cassanders* children. *Demetrius* gets the Kingdome of *Macedon*; preuailes in warre against the *Greekes*; Loseth reputation in his warre against *Pyrhus*, and in his ciuill Government, and prepares to win *Asia*. How all conspire against *Demetrius*. *Pyrhus* and *Lysimachus* invade him, his Armie yeeldes to *Pyrhus*, who shares the Kingdome of *Macedon* with *Lysimachus*.

Pyrhus, the Sonne of that vnfortunate Prince *Acides*, which perished in warre against *Cassander*, was hardly preserved, being a suckling Infant, from the furie of his Fathers enemies. When his Fosterers had conueighed him to *Glaucias*, King of *Illyria*; the deadly hatred of *Cassander* would haue bought his life with the price of two hundred talents: But no man can kill him that shall be his Heire. *Glaucias* was so farre from betraying *Pyrhus*, that he restored him by force to his Fathers Kingdome, when he was but twelue yeeres of age. Within the compasse of sixte yeeres, either the indinations of his youth, or the rebellious temper of his Subiects, draue him out of his Kingdome; and left him to trie the world anew. Then went he to *Demetrius* (who married his sister) became his Page, followed him awhile in his warres; was with him in the great battaile of *Issus*, whence he fled with him to *Ephesus*; and was content to be hostage for him, in his reconciliation with *Ptolomie*. In *Aegypt* he so behaved himselfe, that he got the fauour of *Berenice*, *Ptolomies* principall wife; so that he married her Daughter, and was thereupon sent home, with monie and men, into *Epirus*, more beholding now to *Ptolomie*, than to *Demetrius*. When he had fully recovered the Kingdome of *Epirus*, and was settled in it, then fell out that businesse betwene the children of *Cassander*, which drew both him and *Demetrius* into *Macedon*.

Antipater, the elder of *Cassanders* sonnes, was so farre too weake for *Pyrhus*, that he had no desire to attend the conning of *Demetrius*, but made an hastie agreement; and diuided the Kingdome with his yonger brother *Alexander*, who likewise felt the aide of *Pyrhus* so troublefome, that he was more willing to send him away, than to call in such another helper. For *Pyrhus* had the audacitie to request, or take as granted, by strong hand, *Ambracia*, *Acarnania*, and much more of the Countrie, as the reward of his pains: leaving the two brethren to agree as well as they could about the rest. Necessitie enforced brethren to composition: but their composition would not satisfie *Demetrius*, whoooke the matter hainously, that he was sent for, and made a Boole, to come so farre with an Armie, and finde no worke for it. This was a fruituolous complaint, whereby it appeared, that *Demetrius* had a purpose to doe as *Pyrhus* had done, and so much more, by how much he was stronger. Hereupon it seemed to *Alexander* a wife course, to remove this ouer-diligent friend, by murdering him vpon some aduantage. Thus *Demetrius* reported the storie, and it might be true; though the greatest part, and perhaps the wisest, beleued it not. But the issue was, that *Alexander* himselfe was seafed and flaine by *Demetrius*; whoooke his part of the Kingdome, as a reward of the murder; excusing the fact so well, by telling his owne danger, and what a naughtie man *Cassander* had bene, that all the *Macedonians* grew glad enough to acknowledge him their King. It fell out happily, that about the same time *Lysimachus* was busied in warre with a King of the wilde *Thracians*: for thereby he was compelled to seeke the peace of *Demetrius*, which to obtaine, he caused the remainder of *Macedon* to be giuen vp; that is, the part belonging to *Antipater*, his sonne in law. At this ill bargain *Antipater* grievously stomed, though he knew not how to amend it: yet still he stomed; vntill his Father in law, to saue the labour of making many excuses, tooke away his trouble some. Thus in haste, with a kinde of neglect, and as it wereto auoide molestation, were flaine the children of *Cassander*: of *Cassander* that had flaine his owne Masters children, in a wife course of policy, with carefull meditation (so much the more wicked as the more long) studying how to erect his owne house, that fell downe vpon his graue, ere the earth on it was thoroughly settled.

It might be thought, that such an accessse of Dominion, added much to the greatnesse of *Demetrius*. But indeede it shewed his infirmity; and thereby made him neglected by many, and at length hated by all. For he had no Art of ciuill Government: but thought (for shewed by his actions that he thought) the vse and fruit of a Kingdome, to be none

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other, than to doe what a King lifted. Hee gaue himselfe ouer to Women and Wine, laughing openly at those which offered to trouble him with supplications, and the tedious discourse of doing iustice. Hee had more skill in getting a Kingdome, than in ruling it: warre being his recreation, and luxurie his nature. By long rest (as sixe yeeres reigne is long to him, that knows not how to reigne one yeere) hee discovered so much of his worst conditions, as made the people both weary of his idleness; and the Souldiers, of his vanitie. He was freed from care of matters in *Asia*, by hearing that all was lost: though more especially, by hearing that *Ptolomie* had with great honour, entertained and dismissed his mother and children. This afforded him the better leisure, of making warre in *Greece*: where he vanquished the *Thebans*, and won their Citie twice in short space, but vsed his victorie with mercy. Against *Lysimachus* hee would faine haue done somewhat (the peace betwene them notwithstanding) at such time as hee was taken by the *Thracians*; but *Lysimachus* was freely dismissed, and in good case to make resistance ere *Demetrius* came; so as this iourney purchased nothing but enmitie. Another expedition he tooke in hand against *Pyrrhus*, with no better, or rather with worse event. *Pyrrhus* held somewhat belonging to *Macedon*, which he had indeede as honestly gotten, as *Demetrius* the whole Kingdome; he had also made excursions into *Thessalie*. But there needed not any hand some pretence of quarrell, seeing *Demetrius* thought himselfe strong enough, to ouer-runne his enemies Countrey, with two great Armies. It is a common fault in men, to despise the vertue of those, whom they haue knowne raw Nouices in that facultie, wherein themselves are noted as extraordinarie. *Pyrrhus* was a Captaine, whom later ages, and particularly the great *Hannibal*, placed higher in the ranke of Generals, than either *Demetrius*, or any of *Alexanders* followers. At this time, hee mist that part of the Armie, which *Demetrius* led, and fell vpon the other halfe: which hee overthrew, not with more commendations of his good conduct, than of his private valour, shewed in single combat against *Pantauchus*, *Demetrius* his Lieutenant; who being a strong man of body, challenged this young Prince to fight hand to hand, and was vterly beaten. The losse of this battaile did not so much offend the *Macedonians*, as the gallant behaviour of *Pyrrhus* delighted them. For in him they seemed to behold the lively figure of *Alexander* in his best qualitie. Other Kings did imitate, in a counterfeited manner, some of *Alexanders* graces, and had good skill in wearing Princely vestures: but (said they) none, saue *Pyrrhus*, is like him in deede, in performing the office of a Captaine.

These rumours were not more nourished by the vertue of the *Epirot*, than by dislike of their owne King; whom they began to dis-esteeme, not so much in regard of his vnprofitable iourney into *Epirus* (for hee had wasted much of the Countrey, and brought home his Armie in good case) as of his insolence, that grew daily more and more intolerable. His apparell seemed, in the eyes of the *Macedons*, not onely too sumptuous and new-fangled, but very vnmanly; and seruing chiefly to be a daily witness, how much he contemned them and their good opinion. Of his Souldiers liues hee was retchlesse: and suffered vnwisly this vn-princely sentence to escape out of his mouth; That the more of them died, the fewer he was to pay. Hee made a mockerie of iustice; and (as it were, to publish vnto all his Subjects, how little he esteemed it or them) hauing by a show of popularitie invited Petitioners, and with a gracious countenance entertained their Supplications, hee led the poore suiters after him in great hope, till comming to a bridge, hee threw all their writings into a Riuer; pleasing himselfe, in that hee could so easily and so boldly delude the cares of other men. By these courses hee grew so odious, that *Pyrrhus* gathered audacitie, and invading *Macedon*, had almost wonne it all with little resistance. *Demetrius* lay then sicke in his bed: who recovering health, and taking the field, had such great odds of strength, as made *Pyrrhus* glad to forsake his winnings and be gone.

At length he began to haue some feeling of the generall hate; which to redresse, hee did not (for hee could not) alter his owne conditions; but purposed to alter their idle discourses of him, by setting them on worke in such an action, wherein his best qualities might appeare; that is, in a great warre. His intent was to invade *Asia*, with a Royall Armie: wherein the fortune of one battaile might giue him as much, as the fortune of another had taken from him. To this end, he first made peace with *Pyrrhus*; that so hee might leaue all safe and quiet at home. Then did he compose a mighty Armie,

of almost a hundred thousand foot, and twelue thousand horses with a Nauie of fise hundred saile, wherein were many ships, farre exceeding the greatnesse of any that had bene seene before; yet so swift and vifull withall, that the greatnesse was least part of their commendation.

The terrible fame of these preparations, made *Seleucus* and *Ptolomie* suspect their owne forces, and labour hard with *Lysimachus* and *Pyrrhus*, to ioyne against this ambitious son of *Antigonus*; that was like to proue more dangerous to them all, than euer was his Father. It was easily discerned, that if *Demetrius* once preuailed in *Asia*, there could be no security for his friends in *Europe*, what league soeuer were of old concluded. Therefore they resolved to begin with him betimes, and each to invade that quarter of *Macedon*, that lay next his owne Kingdome. *Lysimachus* came first, and against him went *Demetrius* with a great part of his Armie: but whilst he was yet on the way, newes were brought into his Campe, that *Pyrrhus* had won *Berthea*. The matter was not ouer-great: were it not, the mindes prepared with long discontent, are ready to lay hold vpon small occasions of dislike. All the campe was in vpror: some wept, others raged, few or none did forbear to inter seditious words, and many desired leaue of *Demetrius*, to goe to their owne houses, meaning indeede to haue gone to *Lysimachus*.

When *Demetrius* perceived the bad affection of his Armie, he thought it the wisest way, to leade the *Macedonians* further off from *Lysimachus* their own countreiman, against *Pyrrhus* that was a stranger: hoping by victory against the *Epirot*, to recouer the loue of his followers, in such sort that he might afterwards at leisure deale with the other. But herein his wisdom beguiled him. For the Souldiers were as hastic as he, to meet with *Pyrrhus*; not intending to hurt him, but longing to see that noble Prince, of whom they daily heard the honourable fame. Some spake of his valour; some enquired, others answered, of his person, his armour, and other tokens whereby he might be knowne; as particularly, by a paire of Goats hornes, that he wore on his crest. It was not likely, that these men should hurt him. Diuers of them stole away, and ranne ouer into *Pyrrhus* his campe: where the newest that they brought, were better welcome than their persons. For they said, and it was true, that if the *Macedonians* might once get sight of *Pyrrhus*, they would all salute him King. To trie this, *Pyrrhus* rode forth, and presented himselfe bareheaded in view of the campe, whither some were sent before to prepare his welcome. The newes of his arriall found a generall applause, and every one began to look out, with desire to set eye on him. His face was not so well knowne as his Helmet; therefore he was admonished to put it on; which done, all came about him, and professed their seruice; neither were there any, that spake for *Demetrius* onely some (and they the most moderate of tongue) bad him be gone betimes, and shift for himselfe. So *Demetrius* threw aside his maskers habit, and attyring himselfe poorly, did fearefully steale away out of his owne Campe, deseruing well this calamitie: whether it were so, that he would not hearken to the good counsaile of his friends, or whether his behaviour depicted him of such friends, as would dare to let him heare the vnpleasent sound of necessary truth.

Whilst *Pyrrhus* was making this triumphant entry into the Kingdome of *Macedon*; *Lysimachus* came vpon him very vnseasonably, and would needes haue halfe: saying, that he had done as much as *Pyrrhus* in the warre, and therefore had reason to challenge his part of the gaines. The bargain was quickly made, and the diuision agreed vpon: each of them being rather desirous to take his part quietly, than to fight for the whole; as hoping each of them, to worke his fellow quite out of all, vpon better opportunitie.

§. VIII.

How *Demetrius* gathering forces, enterprised many things with ill successe, in *Greece* and *Asia*. How he was driven vpon *Seleucus*, and compelled to yeelde himselfe. His imprisonment and death.

The *Athenians*, were as vnthankfull to *Demetrius* in this his aduersitie, as they had bene in former times. For they presently forsooke his friendship, and called *Pyrrhus* out of *Macedon* to be their Patron. *Demetrius*, when he went against *Lysimachus*, had left a great part of his forces in *Greece*, vnder his sonne *Antigonus*. Therefore it is like, that he had soone gotten an Armie, though *Phila* his wife (who

(who is highly commended for a wife and vertuous Ladie) did poyson her selfe, vpon desperate greefe for his misfortune. The first, vpon whom hee attempted to shew his anger, were the *Athenians* that had well deserued it. He began to lay sieges to their Town: but was pacified by *Crates* the Philosopher, whom they had made their spokelman; and taking faire words in stead of satisfaction, passed ouer into *Asia*, with eleven thousand Souldiers, meaning to trie his fortune against *Lyfimachus*, for the Prouinces of *Lydia* and *Caria*.

At his first comming into those parts, fortune seemed to smile vpon him. For many good Townes, willingly, or by compulsion, yeelded to his obedience. There were also some Capitaines that fell from *Lyfimachus* to him, with their companies and treasures. But it was not long, ere *Agathocles* the sonne of *Lyfimachus*, came vpon him with an Armie so strong, that it was not for *Demetrius* his good, to hazard his last stocke against it. Wherefore, he resolved to passe through *Phrygia* and *Armenia*, into *Media*, and the Prouinces of the higher *Asia*; trusting to finde a Kingdome somewhere in those remote quarters. The execution of this counsaile was grievously impeached by *Agathocles*: who pursued him close, and cut off all his prouisions, driving him to take which waies hee could, without following his intended course. In many skirmishes *Demetrius* vanquished this troublesome enemy: neuertheless, he could not be shaken off, but continued afflicting the poore titulare King, with extreme famine. At length, in passing the river *Lyxus*, so many of *Demetrius* his men were lost, that the rest could no longer make resistance: but were driuen to trauaile with such speed as might well be called a plaine flight. So that with famine, pestilent diseases following famine, and other accidents of warre, eight thousand of them were consumed: the rest, with their Capitaine, escaped into *Cilicia*. *Seleucus* had gotten possession of *Cilicia*, whilst *Demetrius* was occupied in *Greece*: yet was it no part of *Demetrius* his errand, to lay claime to the Countie; but with vehement and humble letters he besought his son in law, to call to minde their alliance, and to pity him in his great misery. These letters, at the first wrought well with *Seleucus*, and he condescended to the request: yet considering further how *Demetrius* had carried himselfe, when he recovered strength after the battaile at *Issus*, he changed his purpose, and went against him with an Armie.

Many treaties were held between them of which none tooke effect, through the ialousie of *Seleucus*. Therefore, mere desperation enforced *Demetrius*, to fight like a mad man, and his furies got him some victories, though of small importance. At length sickness tooke and held him fortie dayes, in which time, a great number of his few men ran to the enemy. This notwithstanding he still held out, and once had like to haue taken *Seleucus* in his bed, had not his comming beene discovered by fugitives, that gaue alarme. Finally, when all his Armie had forsaken him, and left him with a few of his friends to shift for himselfe, he was compelled by the last of those adherents (for euen some of those few forooke him) to yeelde vnto *Seleucus*.

Seleucus hearing this, was exceeding glad, and sent him very comfortable messages. But the approbation of his owne humanitie, by his followers, was such, as renewed his ialous thoughts, and hindered him from admitting *Demetrius* to his presence, though otherwise he vsed him with as much fauour, as any prisoner could wish. He was kept vnder sure guard in a demie-land, wherein were goodly walkes, Orchards, and Parks for hunting. Hee had all that he asked royally, and friends allowed to visit him, at his, and their pleasure. Onely his libertie was referred vnto the comming of young *Antiochus* and *Stratonica*, out of the high Countries. In this sort he spent three yeeres, liuing merrily all the while (as one that now enioyed the happinesse, which with so much trauaile and blood-shed, hee had sought in vaine) and then dyed, leauing to his sonne *Antigonus*, the same which his father had left vnto himselfe; that is, friends and hope. His ashes were honourably buried in *Corinth*, his qualities haue appeared in his actions, and the fortune of his house will shew it selfe hereafter, in times and places conuenient.

§. IX.

The death of Ptolomie, of Lyfimachus, and of Seleucus, that was last of Alexanders Captaines: with other occurrences.

ABOUT the same time that *Demetrius* died, did also *Ptolomie* King of *Egypt*, a vertuous Prince, warlike, gentle, bountifull, and (which in those times was a rare commendation) regardfull of his word. He had, by many Wiues and Concubines, many children, out of whom hee selected *Ptolomie Philadelphus*, and caused him to reigne together with himselfe, two or three yeeres before he died, that so hee might continue him in the inheritance of the Kingdome. At this, *Ptolomie Ceraunus* (for all of that house assumed the name of *Ptolomie*) was grievously incensed. But no man cared for his anger. Therefore he went to *Seleucus*, who gaue him louing entertainment. There were now onely two of *Alexanders* Capitaines left, *Seleucus* and *Lyfimachus*. These two needs would fight for it, who should be the longest liuer of that braue Companie. The true ground of their quarrell was, their neere equalitie of strength, and want of one to part them. The pretence was the murders which *Lyfimachus* had committed vpon many of this Nobles, together with his poysoning *Agathocles* his eldest sonne: whose wife and children fled vnto *Seleucus* for aide.

The *Macedons* after seuen Moneths pause, hauing spent their first heate of admiration, began to haiken so well to *Lyfimachus*, their naturall Countie-man, that they forooke *Pyrrhus*, vpon none other ground than because he was an Alien. This they had knowne well enough before: but they did him no great wrong in taking lightly from him, that they lightly gaue him. *Lyfimachus* had reigned about five yeeres aloue, when the Citie of *Lyfimachia* (built by him, and called after his name) falling by an earthquake, appeared, by euents, to haue forehewed the fall of his house. His owne ialousie, and the infatigation of a mother in law, caused him to poyson his Sonne *Agathocles*, which drew vpon him that Warre, wherein (after the losse of all his fifteene children that were taken away by diuers accidents) he perished himselfe.

Seleucus was encountered by *Lyfimachus* on *Asia* side, where one battaile concluded the warre, with *Lyfimachus* his death. It pleased *Seleucus* more than the victorie, that he was the last of all the great Herocs that followed *Alexander*. For now he seemed to himselfe as Lord and Heire of all the conquered world. So hee passed ouer into *Macedon*, to take possession of *Europe*, where there was none to withstand him. But there hee ended his daies, and within seauen months followed *Lyfimachus*, and other of his fellowes, by a bloody death, being treacherously slaine by *Ptolomie Ceraunus*, whose friend and Patron he had beene. Seuentie and seuen yeere old he was, when hee fought with *Lyfimachus*, and *Lyfimachus* was seuentie and foure. With them ended the generation of olde Capitaines, that had seene the daies as it were of another world vnder the *Persian*: yet was there left one equal to any of them in the Art of Warre: euen *Pyrrhus* the *Epirot*, of whom we spake before; that is now ready to enter into warre with the *Romans*, a more warlike people, than *Alexander* himselfe did euer encounter. Of which warre, and of which people, it is needfull that we heere make mention, as of a storie more important, than any likely to ensue in *Greece*, or in the great Kingdomes that were held by *Alexanders* Successors, with lesse (and still decreasing) vertue, than was that, by which they were first purchased.

CHAP. VII.

The growth of Rome : and setting of the Easterne Kingdomes.

§. I.

How the Romans enlarged their Dominion in Italie, from the death of Tullus Hostilius, unto such time as they were assailed by Pyrrhus.



OW Rome was founded by *Romulus* ; settled in good order by *Numa Pompilius* ; and by many, though small, victories, it gathered strength, vnto such time as it became the head of *Latium*, by the conquest of *Alba*, in the reigne of *Tullus Hostilius* : it hath bene already noted, in due order of time. But whereas now the *Roman* greatnes beginneth to encounter the power of *Greece*, and extending it selfe out of *Italie*, to ouerwhelme the Dominions of other States and Princes : I hold it conuenient (as in like cases I haue done) briefly to set downe the growth of this mighty Citie, in a compendious relation, of those many actions, which could not haue bene deliuered in the ages, wherein they were severally performed, without much interruption of the Historie, that was then occupied in matter more important.

After the death of *Tullus Hostilius* (who when he had reigned two and thirtie yeares, was burnt together with his house by lightning) *Ancus Martius*, Grandchilde to *Numa Pompilius* by his daughter, and not much unlike him in disposition, succeeded in the Kingdome of *Rome*. Hee walled the Citie about, enlarged it with the hill *Auentine*, which he enclosed, built a bridge ouer *Tybris*, & the Citie of *Osia* vpon the Sea, sixteene miles distant from *Rome*. Finally, hauing reigned foure and twenty yeeres, he died, and by his last Will he left his children in charge with one *Lucumon*, the sonne of *Damaratus* a *Corinthian*, who auoyding *Cypselus* King of *Corinth* his tyranny, had fled into *Hetruria*, and dwelt in *Tarquinijs*, by the name of which Town he was afterwards called *Tarquinius*. From that Citie in *Hetruria* comming to *Rome*, and encouraged by some ominous occurrences, together with his wife *Tanaquil*s prophetic, he grev a favorite of *Ancus Martius*, by his *Greecian* wit humouring the factions of the *Roman* Court, in such that after his decease, he became not onely Protector to the children, but Governour to the Citie. He doubled the number of Senators, and enlarged the Centurions of Horsemen : neither was he lesse eminent in warre, than in peace : for he preuailed often against the *Tuscan*, and from his victories, the chiefe ornaments of triumph tooke their originall. When this *Lucius Tarquinius* had reigned eight and thirty yeeres, he was slaine by the sonnes of *Ancus Martius*, to whom he had bene left Guardian. But *Tanaquil*s wife, perceiving what was done, enformed the people, from out of an high Turret, that her Husband was wounded, and sicke, but not dangerously. And withall signified vnto them, that in the interim of his sicknesse, one *Seruius Tullius*, whom from his birth shee alwaies propheticed to be borne to great hopes, (the sonne of *P. Corniculanius* and *Ocrissa*, a well defended, but captiue woman) brought vp in her house, and husband vnto her daughter, should supply her husbands place, in governing the State, vntill his recouerie : which gouernement, being thus at first obtained by cunning, he afterwards vsurped as his right. He first ordained Ratements, Subsidies, and valuations of the peoples wealth ; among whom at that time, fourescore thousand were mustered, of which number consisted their whole corporation ; and by distinction of Dignities, Ages, Trades, and Offices, hee managed the Kingdome in as good sort, as if it had bene a priuate household. At length, hauing two daughters of different natures, the one milde and gentle, the other fierce and outrageous : and finding also that the two sonnes of *Tarquinius Priscus*, *Sextus* and *Aruns*, which had bene committed vnto his tuition, were of different dispositions, proportionably answering to his daughters ; hee (willing to adde water, not oyle, to fire) gaue the middle daughter to *Sextus* the hot-headed sonne, and the violent, to *Aruns* the gentle in marriage. But whether by intended courses, or by accident, it hapned, the two milde ones being made away, the furious natures were readily ioyned in marriage : who

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soone concurring, and calling the Senate together, began to lay claime to the Kingdome. Vpon this tumult, *Seruius Tullius* hastning to the Senate, (where he thought by authority to haue bridled insolence) was throwne downe the staires, and going home fore bruised, was slain by the way, when he had reigned fortie and foure yeeres. Then *Tullia* his daughter, first proclaiming her husband *Tarquinius Superbus* King ; returning home, enforced her Coach-man to driue his Chariot ouer her fathers corpes ; whereupon the street had the denomination of wicked street. This *Tarquinius*, exercising cruelty without iustice, and tyrannie without mercie, vpon the people and Senators ; hauing tired himselfe and them at home, vied the same rage of treacherie vpon his borders. He tooke *Ocriscian*, *Succisa*, *Pometia*, and the *Gabij*. The issue of besieging *Ardea*, a towne eightene miles distant from *Rome*, was of bad successe. In the heat of which warre, his sonne *Sextus Tarquinius* violently rauished that chaste Ladie *Lucretia*, his kinsman *Collatines* wife : who in way of expiation for so vnchaste a deed, thought good to wash out those spots of infamie with her owne blood ; so (hauing first bequeathed the reuenge vnto her father *Sp. Lucretius* *Triphinius*, her husband *Collatine*, & *Iunius Brutus*) she kil'd her selfe : whereupon (chiefly by *Iunius Brutus* his resolution) *Tarquinius Superbus*, with his wife and children, was depouled and banished ; and fledde to *Porfenna* King of *Hetruria* for succour, in the five and twentieth yeere of his reigne, and the two hundred fortie and fourth from the building of their Citie : in which space *Rome* had scarce gotten possession of fifteene miles round about her.

Iunius Brutus by the helpe of *Collatine*, hauing expelled *Tarquinius*, and freed his Countrey from that heauy yoke of bondage, enforced the people by solemne oath, neuer to admit any government by Kings amongst them : whereupon they ransacked their Kings goods, consecrated their fields to *Mars*, and conferred the government of the State vpon *Brutus* and *Collatine*. But because the name of King was odious in their cares, they changed the manner of their gouernment, from perpetual to annuall, and from a single gouernour to a double ; left perpetuall or sole dominion might be some motiue to vsurpation ; and in stead of Kings they called them *Consuls*, signifying, as it may be interpreted, *Providers* : that their titles might remember them of their place, which was to be publickly mindefull of their Citizens welfare. And yet was it so hard feeling of troubled waters, that the people, after this innouation of State, scarce daring to assure themselves of their owne securitie, enforced *Tarquinius Collatine* to resigne vp his authoritie, fearing that tyrannie would bee hereditarie, and supposing that the very name and affinitie with the house of *Tarquinius*, fauoured already of their condition. In his room was substituted *Valerius Publicola*, who that hee might (as his name importeth) be gracious in the peoples eies, gaue liberty, in matters of controuerisie, to appeale from the *Consuls* to the people : and that hee might as well in goods as in person, auoyde occasion of suspition, caused his owne house to bee pulled downe, because it was built in a place defensible, as if it had bene a *Citadell*. Neither was *Brutus* any waies deficient in matter of greater moment ; which concerned as well the peoples safetie, as their honour : for hauing got intelligence, that some greener wits, and in the first ranke his owne sonnes, were itching after innouations, hoping to restore the banished Kings ; hee caused them, publicly in the Market-place, to be whipt, and then to bee brought all vnpartially to the blocke.

Hitherto the *Romans*, hauing by the vnblemished integritie of *Brutus*, wel appeased all inbred quarrels at home, now hereafter employ their military designements, against *Fortiniers* ; first, for their liberty ; secondly, for enlarging of their possessions ; and lastly, for defending their confederate Provinces, and extending their Empire. For *Rome*, situated as it were in the mid-way betweene *Latium* and the *Tuscan*, hauing as yet but narrow bounds, being in her minoritie, could not but giue occasion of offence to her neighbors ; vntill by maine opposition, hauing preuailed against her borderers, she vied them as instruments, whereby to obtaine the rest.

Their first warre, in the first yeere of *Consuls*, was against *Porfenna* King of *Hetruria* : who being ouer-perfwaded by *Tarquinius* lamentation, came to *Rome*, together with the banished King, and with great forces, to seate him againe in his Kingdome.

In the first conflict, *Horatius Cocles*, hauing long time borne the maine brunt of his enemies, on the bridge ouer *Tybris* ; at length, feeling himselfe too faint to stand against so many, caused the bridge behinde him to be broken downe, and with his armour, leaping

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into the River, like a hunted Stagge, refreshed his hot spirits, and returned safe to his fellows, with the like resolution to sustaine a new charge. *Porfenna* although by this he had well-nigh won the hill *Zaniculum*, which is the verie entrance into the Citie, and found the victorie, in a manner, assuredly his owne: yet admiring their valour, and terrified by the constant resolution of *Mutius Scauola* (who hauing by error slaine *Porfenna* his Secretarie, in stead of the King himselfe, did in scorn of torments threatned, burne off his owne hand) he thought it not any whit preiudiciall, either to his safetie, or credit, to enter league with them at the worst hand. And yet the edge of *Tarquinius* his spleene, was not quite abated, though *Aruns* his sonne, and *Brutus* his enemy, in single combat, had slaine each other. And here the *Romans*, although they lost *Brutus*, got the field; so and their Ladies, whose Champion he was, for their chastitie, nor for beauty, moued the losse of him one whole yeere. Into his place, for the residue of his yeere, was subrogated *Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, father to *Lucretia*: and in his room (deceasing naturally before the yeere expired) *Horatius Puluilus*.

Tarquine, vpon his ouertrow, feeling the fates disastrous, thought it no boot to strive against the stream, and spent the residue of his time; which was about fourteen yeeres, priuately at *Tusculum*. Yet his sonne-in-law *Mamilius Tuscullanus*, stomaching a rich at those olde repulses, because *Porfenna* had made peace with the *Romans*, and denied further succor vnto the *Tarquines*, mulstered vp his *Latines*, and gaue battaile to the *Romans*, at the Lake *Regillum*; where the conflict was fierce, and the issue vncertaine, vntill *Julius Posthumus*, the Roman Dictator, (for they had created this Magistracy greater than Consuls, purposely for this Warre, when first it was expected) to exasperate his Soldiers courage, threw their owne Ensignes amidst the Enemies; and *Cossus* or *Spiritus Cossus* (master of the Horse-men, an assistant Officer to the Dictator) commanded to take off their bridles, that they might runne with free violence, to recouer againe their Ensignes. This fight was so well performed, that a report went of *Castor* and *Pollux*, two gods, who came on milke-white Steeds, to be eye-witnesses of their valour, and fellow-helpers of their victorie; for the Generall consecrated a Temple to them, as a stipend for their paines. After this the *Romans* fierce spirits, hauing no object of valour abroad, reflected vpon themselves at home; and the sixteenth yeere after the Kings expulsion, so vpon instigation of some desperate bandits, thinking themselves wrongfully oppressed by the Senate and Consuls, they made an vproue in the holy Mount; vntill by *Menenius Agrippa*, his discret allusion, of the inconuenience in the head and bellies discord, to that present occasion, they were reconciled to the Senate: with condition, that they might haue some new Magistrats created, to whom they might appeale in cases of variance, and make them Solicitors in all their controuersies, the Consuls authoritie notwithstanding. This was enacted, and they were called the Tribunes of the people. After this attornment among themselves, they had continuall War with the *Latines*, concerning their bounds and limits, and with other neighbouring States. Amongst these, the *Volsians* and *Aequi* held them longest; who made Warre, so of themselves, vpon the *Romans*: whereby they lost the best Citie in their whole iurisdiction, *Corioli*.

In this conquest, *T. Martius* got the surname of *Coriolanus*: a name honorable then as deriued from a great victory: although, by reason of the poeerty of the Town, a Roman General, in after times, would haue been ashamed of that tide. But yet these graces had bin no occasion of disparagement, had he not afterwards, in a great time of dearth, aduised to sell corne, which they procured from *Sicily*, at too high a rate, to the people: wherevpon *Detius Mius*, their Tribune, in their behalfe, accused him, & after iudgement banished him. *Coriolanus* flying to the *Volsians*, whom lately before he had vanquished, incited them to renew their forces againe; which being committed vnto him, and to *Attius Tullus* he prevailed in field, so far forth, that he was come within foure or fise miles of the City. Incamping there, he made so sharpe warre, and was at such defiance, with his Country, that he would not relent by any supplication of Embassadors, vntill his Mother *Veturia*, & *Volturnia* his Wife, with a pittifull tune of deprecation, shewing themselves better Subiects to their Country, then friends to their sonne and husband, were more auaileable to Rome, than was any force of Armes. Heerevpon *Coriolanus* dismissing his Armie, was after purto death among the *Volsians*, as a Traitor, for neglecting such opportunitie: or (as others surmise) liuing with them vntill old age, he died naturally.

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Not long after this, the *Veij* in *Hetruria*, prouoked the *Romans*, against whom the *Fabij*, three hundred and sixe in number, all of one Familie, intricated and obtained, that they only might be employed, as it had bin in a priuate quarrell. These *Fabij*, after some good seruises, lying incamped at *Cremora*, were circumuented, and all slaine: one only of that whole house, had been left, by reason of infancie, at home; from whom afterward sprang *Felicius Maximus*, who vanquished *Hannibal*.

In proceesse of time, the *Romans* were also troubled with the *Volsians*, at the hill of *Algidum*, two miles from Rome; where *Lucius Minutius* their Consul, with his whole Army, had beene discomfited, had not *L. Quintius Cincinnatus* chosen Dictator, and taken from the plough to the highest honor in Rome, with successe answerable to his expedition, dispersed his enemies, and freed his Countie in the space of fixteene daies. In the continuance of this *Volsian* warre it was, that *Appius Claudius*, one of the ten men, whom they had two yeeres before chosen Gouernours of the State, and inactors of *Solons* lawes amongst them, procured from *Athens* (abrogating in the meane while the Consuls, and all other Magistrats) would haue rauished *Virginia*, the daughter of *T. Virginii*, Captaine of a Companie, and lying then in campe at *Algidum*. Hee vpon the people, in an vproue,ooke the Hill *Auentine*, and after much variance, enforced the ten men, to resigne vpon their authoritie againe, to new Consuls.

After this, either new quarrells, or desire to recuenge old losses, drew the *Romans* into a new war, against the *Veientes*, and their adherents, vpon whom hauing tried their forces, with diueritie of Capitaines, and varietie of euent, they vanquished the *Falisci*, and the *Fidicates*, and vterly subdued the *Veientes*. In conquering the *Falisci*, *Furius Camillus* shewed no lesse integritie then fortitude. For when a Schoolemaster, by trayning forth into the Roman campe, many children of the principall Citizens, thought to betray the Towne, yielding them all vp as Hostages: *Camillus* deliuered this Traitor bound vnto his Schollers, willing them to whip him backe into the Citie; which forthwith yielded man him in reuerence of his iustice. The siege of *Veij* was ten yeeres, and so troublefome, that the *Romans* were thre first enforced to winter abroad vnder beasts skinnes (to which they were the more easily induced, because then first they receiued pay) and to make women neuer to returne without victorie.

At length winning the Citie by a Mine, they got so large spoyle, that they consecrated their tenths to *Apollo Pythius*: & the whole people in general, were called to the ransacking of the Citie. But yet they were no lesse vnthankfull to *Camillus* for his seruice, then before they had beene to *Coriolanus*; For they banished him the Citie, vpon some occasion of inequality in diuiding the spoyle: yet he requited their vnkindnesse with a new peece of seruice, against the furie of the *Gauls*: who being a populous Countie, and very healthfull, the fathers (as sometimes now) liued so long, that the sonnes, destitute of meanes, were enforced to roaue abroad, seeking some place, where to set vp their rest: and withall being a Nation vaste in body, rude by nature, and barbarous in conditions, wandred as Rouers ouer many Countries. Some of them lighting on *Italia*, at *Clusium*, a Towne in *Hetruria*: whereof Rome hauing information, (and being carefull of her Confederate Townes) sent Embassadors, warning them to desist from such iniurious enterprises. But the barbarous people, not regarding the message, vpon some iniurie offered by the *Romane* Embassadors, conuerted their forces from *Clusium* towards Rome; and giuing a great ouerthrow vnto the *Romans*, by the River *Alia*, vpon the sixteenth day before the Calends of *August* (which day was after branded for unlucky, and called *Aliensis* in the *Romane* Calendar) they hastened towards the Citie. Then was Rome the true map of milerie and desolation. For some leauing the Citie, some creeping into holes; Priests hiding their reliques; and euery one shifting for himselfe, ere the enemy came; Rome was abandoned, as indefensible. The Vestall Virgins, in this tumult, were safely conuied away; the Ancients of the City, gathering boldnesse out of desperate feare, did put on their Robes, and taking their leaue of the world, did seat themselves in Thrones, in their severall houses, hourly expecting the messengers of death, and meaning to die, as they had liued, in State. The younger sort, with *M. Manlius* their Captaine, tooke vpon them to make good the Capitoll.

By this, the *Gauls* were entred the Citie, who seeing all quiet, at first suspected some ambush; afterward finding all secure, they fell to the spoyle, committing all to the fire and sword. As for the old Senators, they late in their Maiesty, with a graue resolution:

having first reuerenced them as gods, anon they tried whether they would die like men. When the Citie was thoroughly rifled, they attempted the Capitoll: which held them worke for the space of feuen Moneths. Once they were like to haue surpris'd it by night, but being defcried by the gagling of *Gese*, *M. Manlius* did awaken, and kept them from entrance. At length a composition was agreed vpon: the *Gauls* being weary, and the *Romans* hungrie. The bargain was, that the *Gauls* should take a thousand pound weight in gold, to desist from their siege. Whilist the gold was in waighing, the *Gauls*, with open insolencie, made their weight too heauie: *Brennus*, their Capitaine, casting his sword into the ballance, and with a proud exprobration, saying, that the vanquished must be patient perforce. But in the midst of this caulling came *Furius Camillus*, with an Armie, from *Ardea*, (where he had liued in his banishment) and fell vpon the *Gauls*, with such violence, that hee disperfed their troupes, quenched the fire of the Citie with the bloud, forcing them to restore the spoyles with aduantage, and forbeare the golden accepting which, they had lately beene so nice. Further, hauing rid the Citie of them, he so hotly pursued them, through a great part of *Italie*, that the remainder of their Armie, which escaped from him, was very small. Other Armies of the *Gauls*, which followed this first, had the like ill successe. They were often beaten by the *Romans*; especially the victories of *M. Torquatus*, and of *M. Valerius Coruinus* (each of which in single fight slew a feuerall Champion of the *Gauls*) abated their presumption, and restored courage to the *Romans*. *Camillus*, for his notable seruice, was afterwards accepted a second *Romulus*.

The people, after this destruction of their Citie, were earnestly bent to goe to the *Veij* to inhabit; but *Camillus* dissuaded them.

About the same time, somewhat before the siege of *Veij*, they changed their government from Consuls to militarie Tribunes. The government of these also, after some yeares, was by ciuill dissension interrupted: so that one while Consuls ruled, another while there was an Anarchie: Then the Tribunes were restored and ruled againe, till after many yeres expired, the Consular authoritie was established; it being enacted, that one of the Consuls should alwaies be a *Plebeian*. This was after the building of the City 365. yeeres. And now *Rome* by suppression of her neighbour Countries, creeping well forward out of her Minoritie, dares set forth against the warlike *Samnites*, who dwelt almost one hundred and thirtie miles off: situated between *Campania* and *Apulia*. These did so strongly invade the *Campanians* their Neighbours, that they forced them to yield themselves subiects to *Rome*, and vndergoe any conditions of Tribute, or whatsoever else to obtaine protection: which the *Romans*, although both Countries had beene their Confederates, yet not willing that the greater, like fish, should deuoure the lesse, easily allowed of; aiming themselves at the good situation of *Campania*, the abundance of Corne and Wine, pleasant Cities and Townes, but especially *Capua* it selfe, the fairest Citie then in all *Italie*.

The families of the *Papyrij* and *Fabij* were most employed in the managing of this warre, which endured the space of fittie yeeres. And in this season were the *Romans* oftentimes dangerously encountered by the *Samnites*, as when *T. Peturius*, and *Sp. Postumius* were Consuls, and discomfited by *Pontius* at *Caudium*, with no small ignominy: and when *Q. Fabius Gurges* lost the field with three thousand men. But for those losses, many great victories made large amends: The greatest whereof were gotten by *L. Papirius*, and by *Quintus Fabius Maximus*.

The *Samnites* drew the *Hetrurians* into their quarrell. But the force of the *Samnites* was well broken, ere the *Hetrurians* (the greater and richer, but lesse warlike Nation) began to stir. So the one and the other of these two Countries, became at length tributary to *Rome*. In the continuance of this long warre it was, (though in time of truce between the *Romans* and *Samnites*) that the *Latines* beganne to challenge equall freedom in the Corporation of *Rome*, and right in bearing office, so that they required to haue one of the Consuls yearly chosen out of them.

This demand of the *Latines*, was not vnreasonable. For the *Romans* themselves werea *Latine* Colonie; besides all which, they made offer, to change their name, and to be called *Romans*. But the *Romans* were too proud, to admit any such capitulation. So a great battaile was fought betweene them: wherein the fortune of *Rome* preuailed, by the vertue of the Consuls.

Manlius

Manlius Torquatus, and the elder *Decius*, were then Consuls, whom the Soothsayes advertised, that the side should be victorious which lost the Generall in fight. Hereupon *Decius* the Consul, exposed his life to the Enemy, and purchased victorie (as was beleueed) by his death. In which kinde of daunting himselfe for his Armie, the sonne of this *Decius* being after Consul, did imitate his father, in the *Hetrurian* warre. But (as *Tullie* well notes) it was rather the desperate resolution of these *Decij*, that purchased victorie; by rushing into the midst of the enemies, wherein their Soldiers followed them, than any great commendation of such a religion, as required the lues of so worthy Citizens, to be sacrificed for their Countrey. The discipline of *Manlius*, was no lesse resolute, than the valour of *Decius*. He forbade any one to forsake his place, and fight single with an enemy. For breach of which order he caused his owne sonne to be per to death, who had slaine a Capitaine of the *Latines*, being challenged in single fight.

When the *Latines*, the *Aqui*, *Volsci*, *Hernici*, *Campani*, *Samnites*, and *Hetrurians*, with some other people, were brought vnder obedience; it was a vaine labour for any people of *Italie*, to contend against the *Romans*.

Yet the *Sabines* aduentured to trie their fortune; and found it bad. For *Curius Dentatus*, the *Roman* Consul, waisting all their Countrey with fire and sword, from the River *Nar* and *Felto*, to the *Adriatique* Sea, brought them into quier subiection.

The last of the *Italians*, that made trial of the *Roman* Armes, were the *Tarentines*, and *Samnites*; these had interposed themselves as Mediators, between the *Romans* and *Samnites*; with a peremptorie denunciation of Warre, vnto that partie, which should dare to refuse peace, by them tendered. These threats which discouered their bad affection vnto *Rome*, ended in words; but when the *Samnites* were vtterly subdued, matter enough of quarrell was found, to examine their abilitie of performance.

The *Romans* complained that certaine ships of theirs were robbed, and sent Embassadors vnto *Tarentum*, to require amends. Vpon some wrong done to these Embassadors, was laid the foundation of that Warre; wherein the *Lucans*, *Messapians*, *Brutians*, and *Apulians*, ioyning with the *Tarentines*, procured the *Samnites*, and other Subjects of *Rome*, to rebell, and take their part. But some experience of the *Roman* strength, taught all these people to know their owne weaknesse. Wherefore they agreed to send for *Pyrrhus*, by whose aide (being a *Grecian*, as the *Tarentines* also were) great hope was conceined, that the Dominion of *Rome* should be confined, vnto more narrow bounds, than all *Italie*, which alreadie, in a manner it did ouer-spread.

§. II.

How *Pyrrhus* warred vpon the *Romans*, and vanquished them in two battailes.

Pyrrhus, forsaken by the *Macedonians*, and vnable to deale with *Lysimachus*, was compelled a while to liue in rest: which hee abhorred no lesse than a wiser Prince would haue desired. Hee had a strong Armie, and a good Fleet, which in that vnrested estate of things, was enough to purchase a Kingdome: but the fall of *Demetrius* had so encreased the power of *Lysimachus*, that it was no point of wisdom, to make an offensive warre vpon him, without farre greater forces. *Antigonus*, the sonne of *Demetrius*, held *Corinth* at the same time, and some other Townes, with the remainder of his fathers Armie and treasures, left in his hand. Vpon him it is like that *Pyrrhus* might haue wonne; but it was better to let him alone, that he might serue to giue some hindrance to *Lysimachus*.

In this want of imploiment, and couetous desire of finding it, the *Tarentine* Embassadors came very fitly to *Pyrrhus*: and they came with braue offers, as needing no other aide then his good conduct, which to obtaine, they would cast themselves vnder his protection. They had in their company, some of the *Samnites*, *Lucanians*, *Messapians*, and others, which promised, in behalfe of their feuerall Nations, as much as could be desired. This encouraged *Pyrrhus*, and filled him with hopes of goodly conquests; that hee might enlarge his Empire to the West, as farre as *Alexander* had gotten Eastward; and still by one victorie open the gate vnto another. To which effect it is said, that once hee answered *Cyneus* his chiefe Counsaillour, asking what hee meant to doe after eutie of the victories which he hoped to get: that hauing wonne *Rome*, hee would soone bee Master of all *Italie*; that, after *Italie* hee would quickly get the Ile of *Sicily*; that,

CHAP. VII.

The growth of Rome : and setting of the Easterne Kingdomes.

§. I.

How the Romans enlarged their Dominions in Italie, from the death of Tullus Hostilius, vnto such time as they were assailed by Pyrrhus.



OW Rome was founded by *Romulus*; settled in good order by *Numa Pompilius*; and by many, though small, victories, it gathered strength, vnto such time as it became the head of *Latium*, by the conquest of *Alba*, in the reigne of *Tullus Hostilius*: it hath bene already noted, in due order of time. But whereas now the *Roman* greames beginneth to encounter the power of *Greece*, and extending it selfe out of *Italie*, to ouerwhelme the Dominions of other States and Princes: I hold it conuenient (as in like cases I haue done) briefly to set downe the growth of this mighty Citie, in a compendious relation, of those many actions, which could not haue bene deliuered in the ages, wherein they were severally performed, without much interruption of the Historie, that was then occupied in matter more important.

After the death of *Tullus Hostilius* (who when he had reigned two and thirtie yeares, was burnt together with his house by lightning) *Ancus Martius*, Grandchild to *Numa Pompilius* by his daughter, and not much vnlike him in disposition, succeeded in the Kingdome of *Rome*. Hee walled the Citie about; enlarged it with the hill *Auentis*, which he enclosed; built a bridge ouer *Tybris*, & the Citie of *Osia* vpon the Sea, fixtene miles distant from *Rome*. Finally, hauing reigned foure and twenty yeeres, he died, and by his last Will he left his children in charge with one *Lucumon*, the sonne of *Domitius* a *Corinthian*, who auoyding *Cypselus* King of *Corinth* his tyranny, had fled into *Etruria*, and dwelt in *Tarquiny*, by the name of which Town he was afterwards called *Tarquinius*. From that Citie in *Etruria* comming to *Rome*, and encouraged by some ominous occurrences, together with his wife *Tanaquil* propheticke, he grew a favorite of *Ancus Martius*; by his *Gracian* wit humouring the factions of the *Roman* Court, in so much that after his decease, he became not onely Protector to the children, but Governour to the Citie. He doubled the number of Senators; and enlarged the Centurions of Horsemen: neither was he lesse eminent in warre, than in peace: for he preuailed often against the *Tuscan*, and from his victories, the chiefe ornaments of triumph tooke their originall. When this *Lucius Tarchinius* had reigned eight and thirtie yeeres, he was slaine by the sonnes of *Ancus Martius*, to whom he had bene left Guardian. But *Tanaquil* his wife, perceiving what was done, enformed the people, from out of an high Turret, that her Husband was wounded, and sicke, but not dangerously. And withall signified vnto them, that in the interim of his sickness, one *Seruius Tullius*, whom from his birth shee alwaies prophesied to be borne to great hopes, (the sonne of *P. Corniculani* and *Oetrisia*, a well descended, but captiue woman) brought vp in her house, and husband vnto her daughter, should supply her husbands place, in governing the State, vntill his recouerie: which government, being thus at first obtained by cunning, he afterwards vsurped as his right. He first ordained Ratements, Subsidies, and valuations of the peoples wealth; among whom at that time, fourescore thousand were mustered, of which number consisted their whole corporation; and by distinction of Dignities, Ages, Trades, and Offices, hee managed the Kingdome in as good sort, as if it had bene a priuate household. At length, hauing two daughters of different natures, the one milde and gentle, the other fierce and outrageous: and finding also that the two sonnes of *Tarquinius Priscus*, *Sextus* and *Aruns*, which had bene committed vnto his tuition, were of different dispositions, proportionably answering to his daughters; hee (willing to adde water, not oyle, to fire) gaue the middle daughter to *Sextus* the hot-headed sonne; and the violent, to *Aruns* the gentle in marriage. But whether by intended courses, or by accident, it hapned, that the milde ones being made away, the furious natures were readily ioyned in marriage: who

soon concurrir, and calling the Senate together, began to lay claime to the Kingdome. Vpon this tumult, *Seruius Tullius* hastning to the Senate, (where he thought by authority to haue bridled infolencie) was throwne downe the staires, and going home fore bruised, was slain by the way, when he had reigned fortie and foure yeeres. Then *Tullia* his daughter, first proclaiming her husband *Tarquinius Superbus* King; returning home, enforced her Coachman to driue his Chariot ouer her fathers corpes; whereupon the street had the denomination of wicked street. This *Tarquine*, exercising cruelty without iustice, and without mercie, vpon the people and Senators; hauing tired himselfe and them a home, vied the same rage of treacherie vpon his borders. He tooke *Oetriclam*, *Sniffia*, *Ardea*, and the *Gabii*. The issue of besieging *Ardea*, a towne eightene miles distant from *Rome*, was of bad successe. In the heat of which warre, his sonne *Sextus Tarchinius* violently caust that chaste Ladie *Lucretia*, his kinsman *Collatine* wife: who in way of expiation for so vnchaste a deed, thought good to walk out those spots of infamie with her owne blood; so (hauing first bequeathed the reuenge vnto her father *Sp. Lucretius* Triptimus, her husband *Collatine*, & *Iunius Brutus*) she kil'd her selfe: whereupon (chiefly by *Iunius Brutus* his resolution) *Tagitius Superbus*, with his wife and children, was depopled and banished; and fledde to *Porfenna* King of *Etruria* for succour, in the five and twentieth yeere of his reigne, and the two hundred fortie and fourth from the building of the Citie: in which space *Rome* had scarce gotten possession of fiftene miles round about.

Iunius Brutus by the helpe of *Collatine*, hauing expelled *Tarquine*, and freed his Country from that heauy yoke of bondage, enforced the people by solemne oath, neuer to admit any government by Kings amongst them: whereupon they rancked their Kings goods, consecrated their fields to *Mars*, and conferred the government of the State vpon *Brutus* and *Collatine*. But because the name of King was odious in their cares, they changed the manner of their government, from perpetuall to annuall, and from a single governour to a double; left perpetuall or sole dominion might be some motiue to vsurpation; and in stead of Kings they called them *Consuls*, signifying, as it may be interpreted, *Presiders*: that their titles might remember them of their place, which was to be alwaies mindefull of their Citizens welfare. And yet was it so hard settling of troubled waters, that the people, after this imouation of State, scarce daring to assure themselves of their owne securitie, enforced *Tarquinius Collatine* to resigne vp his authoritie, fearing that tyrannie would bee hereditarie, and supposing that the very name and affinitie with the house of *Tarquine*, fauoured alreadie of their condition. In his roome was substituted *Valerius Publicola*, who that hee might (as his name importeth) be gracious to the peoples eies, gaue liberty, in matters of controuersie, to appeale from the *Consul* to the people: and that hee might as well in goods as in person, auoyde occasion of litigation, caused his owne house to bee pulled downe, because it was built in a place detestible, as if it had bene a *Citadell*. Neither was *Brutus* any waies deficient in matter of greater moment; which concerned as well the peoples safetie, as their fauour: for hauing got intelligence, that some greener wits, and in the first ranke his owne sonnes, were itching after innouations, hoping to restore the banished Kings; hee caught them, publicly in the Market-place, to be whipt, and then to bee brought all vnpartially to the blocke.

After the *Romans*, hauing by the vnblemished integritie of *Brutus*, wel appealed all shord quarrels at home, now hereafter employ their military designements, against *Fortes*; first, for their liberty; secondly, for enlarging of their possessions; and lastly, for extending their confederate Prouinces, and extending their Empire. For *Rome*, situated as it were in the mid-way betwene *Latium* and the *Tuscan*, hauing as yet but narrow bounds, being in her minoritie, could not but giue occasion of offence to her neighbors; and by maine opposition, hauing preuailed against her borderers, she vsed them as instruments, whereby to obtaine the rest.

Their first warre, in the first yeere of *Consuls*, was against *Porfenna* King of *Etruria*: who being ouer-perswaded by *Tarquines* lamentation, came to *Rome*, together with the banished King, and with great forces, to seate him againe in his Kingdome. In the first conflict, *Horatius Cokes*, hauing long time borne the maine brunt of his enemies, ouer the bridge ouer *Tybris*; at length, feeling himselfe too faint to stand against so many, caused the bridge behinde him to be broken downe, and with his armour, leaping into

into the River, like a hunted Stagge, refreshed his hot spirits, and returned safe to his followers, with the like resolution to sustaine a new charge. *Porfenna* although by this he had well-nigh won the hill *Ianiculus*, which is the verie entrance into the Citie, and found the victorie, in a manner, assuredly his owne: yet admiring their valour, and terrified by the constant resolution of *Mutius Scaevola* (who having by error slaine *Porfenna* his Secretarie, in stead of the King himselfe, did in scorn of torments threatned, burne off his owne hand) he thought it not any whit prejudiciall, either to his safetie, or credit, to enter league with them at the worst hand. And yet the edge of *Tarquinius* his spleene, was not quite abated, though *Aruns* his sonne, and *Brutus* his enemy, in single combat had slaine each other. And here the *Romans*, although they lost *Brutus*, got the field: and their Ladies, whose Champion he was, for their chastitie, not for beauty, mourned the losse of him one whole yeere. Into his place, for the residue of his yeere, was subrogated *Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, father to *Lucretia*: and in his roome (deceasing naturally before the yeere expired) *Horatius Pulvillus*.

Tarquinius, vpon his ouerthrow, feeling the fates disastrous, thought it no boot to stie against the streame, and spent the residue of his time, which was about fourteen yeeres, privately at *Tusculum*. Yet his sonne-in-law *Mamilius Tuscullanus*, stomaching a-fresh at those olde repulses, because *Porfenna* had made peace with the *Romans*, and denied further succor vnto the *Tarquines*, mulstered vp his *Latines*, and gaue bataille to the *Romans*, at the Lake *Regillum*; where the conflict was fierce, and the issue vncertaine, vntill *Adius Posthumus*, the *Roman Dictator*, (for they had created this Magistracy greater than Consuls, purposely for this Warre, when first it was expected) to exasperate his Souldiers courage, threw their owne Ensignes amidst the Enemies; and *Cassius* or *Spurius Cassius* (master of the Horse-men, an assistant Officer to the Dictator) commanded to take off their bridles, that they might runne with free violence, to recouer againe their Ensignes. This fight was so well performed, that a report went of *Castor* and *Pollux*, two gods, who came on milke-white Steeds, to be eye-witnesses of their valour, and fellow-helpers of their victorie; for the Generall consecrated a Temple to them, as a stipend for their pains. After this the *Romans* fierce spirits, hauing no object of valour abroad, reflected vpon themselves at home; and the sixteenth yeere after the Kings expulsion, vpon insigation of some desperate banderolles, thinking themselves wrongfully oppressed by the Senate and Consuls, they made an vproue in the holy Mount; vntill by *Meuenius Agrippa*, his discret allusion, of the inconuenience in the head and bellies discord, to that present occasion, they were reconciled to the Senate: with condition, that they might haue some new Magistrates created, to whom they might appeale in cases of variance, and make them Solicitors in all their controuersies, the Consuls authoritie notwithstanding. This was enacted, and they were called the Tribunes of the people. After this attencement among themselves, they had continuall War with the *Latines*, concerning their bounds and limits, and with other neighbouring States. Amongst these, the *Volscians* and *Aequians* held them longest; who made Warre, of themselves, vpon the *Romans*: whereby they lost the best Citie in their whole iurisdiction, *Corioli*.

In this conquest, *T. Martius* got the surname of *Coriolanus*: a name honorable then as deniued from a great victory: although, by reason of the poeury of the Town, a *Roman* General, in after times, would haue been ashamed of that title. But yet these graces had bin no occasion of disparagement, had he not afterwards, in a great time of dearth, aduised to sell corne, which they procured from *Sicily*, at too high a rate, to the people: whereupon, *Decius Mus*, their Tribune, in their behalfe, accused him, & after iudgement banished him. *Coriolanus* flying to the *Volscians*, whom lately before he had vanquished, incensed them to renew their forces againe; which being committed vnto him, and to *Attius Tullius*, he prevailed in field, so far forth, that he was come within foure or fise miles of the City. Incomping there, he made so sharpe warre, and was at such defiance, with his Country, that he would not relent by any supplication of Embassadors, vntill his Mother *Veturia*, & *Volumnia* his Wife, with a pittifull tune of deprecation, shewing themselves better Subiects to their Countrey, then friends to their sonne and husband, were more auaileable to *Rome*, then was any force of Armes. Heere vpon *Coriolanus* dismissing his Armie, was after purposed death among the *Volscians*, as a Traitor, for neglecting such opportunitie: or (as others surmise) liuing with them vntill old age, he died naturally.

Not

for long after this, the *Veij* in *Hetruria*, prouoked the *Romans*, against whom the *Fabij*, at hundred and sixe in number, all of one Familie, increased and obtained, that they might be employed, as it had bin in a priuate quarrell. These *Fabij*, alter some good success, lying incamped at *Cremera*, were circumcinct, and all slaine: one only of that household, had been left, by reason of infancie, at home; from whom afterward sprang *Lucius Manlius*, who vanquished *Hannibal*.

In process of time, the *Romans* were also troubled with the *Volscians*, at the hill of *Algidum*, two miles from *Rome*; where *Lucius Manlius* their Consul, with his whole Army, beinge discomfited, had not *L. Quintius Cincinnatus* chosen Dictator, and taken from the highest honor in *Rome*, with successe answerable to his expedition, discomfited his enemies, and freed his Countrey in the space of sixteene daies. In the continuall of this *Volscian* warre it was, that *Appius Claudius*, one of the ten men, whom they chose yeeres before chosen Governours of the State, and instructors of *Solons* laws at *Athenis*, procured from *Athenis* (abrogating in the meane while the Consuls, and all other Magistrates) would haue rauished *Virginia*, the daughter of *T. Virginus*, Captaine of a Companie, and lying then in campe at *Algidum*. Heere vpon the people, in an vpprore, sacked the Hill *Auentine*, and after much variance, enforced the ten men, to resigne their authoritie againe, to new Consuls.

After this, either new quarrells, or desire to revenge old losses, drew the *Romans* into a new warre, against the *Veientes*, and their adherents, vpon whom hauing tried their forces, and variety of Captaines, and variety of euents, they vanquished the *Faliscians*, and the *Veientes*, and utterly subdued the *Veientes*. In conquering the *Faliscians*, *Furius Camillus* had no lesse integrity then fortitude. For when a Schoolmaster, by trayning forth the *Roman* campe, many children of the principall Citizens, thought to betray the Army, yielding them all vp as Hostages: *Camillus* deliuered this Traitor bound vnto the Schoolers, willing them to whip him backe into the Citie; which forthwith yielded him in reuerence of his iustice. The siege of *Veij* was ten yeeres, and so troublesome, that the *Romans* were the first enforced to winter abroad vnder beasts skinnes (to which they were the more easily induced, because then first they receiued pay) and to make neuer to returne without victorie.

Although winning the Citie by a Mine, they got so large spoyles, that they consecrated earthen to *Apollo Pythius*: & the whole people in generall, were called to the sacrifice at the Citie. But yet they were no lesse vnthankfull to *Camillus* for his seruice, then when they had beene to *Coriolanus*; For they banished him the Citie, vpon some occasion of inequality in diuiding the spoyles: yet he requited their vnkindnesse with a new piece of seruice, against the furie of the *Gauls*: who being a populous Countrey, and very wealthfull, the fathers (as sometimes now) liued so long, that the sonnes, destitute of means, were enforced to roaue abroad, seeking some place, where to set vp their tent: and withall being a Nation vaste in body, rude by nature, and barbarous in customs, wandered as Routers ouer many Countreies. Some of them lighting on *Italie*, vpon *Clusium*, a Towne in *Hetruria*: whereof *Rome* hauing information, (and beinge careful of her Confederate Townes) sent Embassadors, warning them to desist from such iniurious enterprises. But the barbarous people, not regarding the message, vpon some iniurie offered by the *Roman* Embassadors, conuerted their forces from *Clusium* towards *Rome*; and giuing a great ouerthrow vnto the *Romans*, by the River *Tiber*, vpon the sixteenth day before the Calends of *August* (which day was after branther vnclucky, and called *Alienis* in the *Roman* Kalender) they hastened towards the Citie. Then was *Rome* the true map of milerie and desolation. For some leauing the Citie, some creeping into holes; Priests hiding their reliques; and euery one shifing for himselfe, ere the enemy came; *Rome* was abandoned, as indefensible. The Vestall Virgins, in this tumult, were safely conuayed away; the Ancients of the City, gathering some out of desperate feare, did put on their Robes, and taking their leaue of the world, did seat themselves in Thrones, in their severall houses, hourly expecting the messengers of death, and meaning to die, as they had liued, in State. The yonger sort, with *M. Manlius* their Captaine, tooke vpon them to make good the Capitoll.

By this the *Gauls* were entred the Citie, who seeing all quiet, at first suspected some ambush; afterward finding all secure, they fell to the spoyle, committing all to the fire and sword. As for the old Senators, they sat in their Majesty, with a graue resolution:

having first reuerenced them as *gods*, and then they tried whether they would die like men. When the Citie was thoroughly rifled, they attempted the Capitoll : which held them worke for the space of feuen Moneths. Once they were like to have surpris'd it by night, but being detected by the gaging of *Geſe*, *M. Manlius* did awaken, and kept them from entrance. At length a composition was agreed vpon : the *Gauls* being weary, and the *Romans* hungrie. The bargain was, that the *Gauls* should take a thousand pound weight in gold, to desist from their siege. Whilst the gold was in waighing, the *Gauls*, with open insolencie, made their waights too heauie : *Brennus*, their Captaine, casting his sword into the ballance, and, with a proud exprobration, saying, that the vanquished must be patient perforce. But in the midst of this caulling came *Furius Camillus*, with an Armie, from *Ardea*, (where he had liued in his banishment) and fell vpon the *Gauls*, with such violence, that hee dispersed their troupes, quenched the fire of the Citie with the bloud, forcing them to restore the spoyle with aduantage, and forbore the gold in accepting which, they had lately beene so nice. Further, hauing rid the Citie of them, he so hotly pursued them, through a great part of *Italie*, that the remainder of their Armie, which escaped from him, was very small. Other Armies of the *Gauls*, which followed this first, had the like ill successe. They were often beaten by the *Romans*, especially the victories of *M. Torquatus*, and of *M. Valerius Coruinus* (each of which in single fight slew a feuerall Champion of the *Gauls*) abated their presumption, and restored courage to the *Romans*. *Camillus*, for his notable seruice, was afterwards accompted a second *Romulus*.

The people, after this destruction of their Citie, were earnestly bent to goe to the *Veij* to inhabit; but *Camillus* dissuaded them.

About the same time, somewhat before the siege of *Veij*, they changed their government from Consuls to militarie Tribunes. The government of these also, after some yeares, was by ciuill dissension interrupted : so that one while Consuls ruled, another while there was an Anarchie : Then the Tribunes were restored and ruled againe, till after many yeres expired, the Consular authoritie was established; it being enacted, that one of the Consuls should alwaies be a *Plebeian*. This was after the building of the City 365. yeeres. And now *Rome* by suppression of her neighbour Countries, creeping well forward out of her Minoritie, dares set forth against the warlike *Samnites*, who dwelt almost one hundred and thirtie miles off : situated between *Campania* and *Apulia*. These did so strongly invade the *Campanians* their Neighbours, that they forced them to yield themselves subjects to *Rome*, and vndergoe any conditions of Tribute, or whatsoever else to obtaine protection : which the *Romans*, although both Countries had bene their Confederates, yet not willing that the greater, like fish, should deuoure the lesse, easily allowed of; aiming themselves at the good situation of *Campania*, the abundance of Corne and Wine, pleasant Cities and Townes, but especially *Capua* it selfe, the fairest Citie then in *Italie*.

The families of the *Papyrij* and *Fabij* were most employed in the managing of this warre, which endured the space of fiftie yeeres. And in this season were the *Romans* oftentimes dangerously encountered by the *Samnites*, as when *T. Veturius*, and *Sp. Postumius* were Consuls, and discomfited by *Pontius* at *Caudium*, with no small ignominy : and when *Q. Fabius Gurges* lost the field with three thousand men. But for those losses, many great victories made large amends : The greatest whereof were gotten by *L. Papirius*, and by *Quintus Fabius Maximus*.

The *Samnites* drew the *Hetrurians* into their quarrell. But the force of the *Samnites* was well broken, ere the *Hetrurians* (the greater and richer, but lesse warlike Nation) began to stir. So the one and the other of these two Countries, became at length tributary to *Rome*. In the continuance of this long warre it was, (though in time of truce between the *Romans* and *Samnites*) that the *Latines* beganne to challenge equall freedom in the Corporation of *Rome*, and right in bearing office, so that they required to haue one of the Consuls yeerly chosen out of them.

This demand of the *Latines* was not vnreasonable. For the *Romans* themselves were *Latine* Colonie; besides all which, they made offer, to change their name, and to be called *Romans*. But the *Romans* were too proud, to admit any such capitulation. So a great battaile was fought betweene them : wherein the fortune of *Rome* prevailed by the vertue of the Consuls.

And the elder *Decijus*, were then Consuls, whom the *Soothsayers* advertised, that the side should be victorious which lost the Generall in fight. Hereupon *Decius* the Consul, exposed his life to the Enemy, and purchased victorie (as was beleeged) by his death. In which kinde of deuoting himselfe for his Armie, the sonne of this *Decius* being after Consul, did imitate his father, in the *Hetrurian* warre. But (as *Tullie* well notes) it was rather the desperate resolution of these *Decij*, that purchased victorie, by rushing into the midst of the enemies, wherein their Soldiers followed them, than any great commendation of such a religion, as required the liues off so worthy Citizens, to be sacrificed for their Countrey. The discipline of *Manlius* was no lesse resolute, than the valour of *Decius*. He forbade any one to forsake his place, and fight single with an enemy. For breach of which order he caused his owne sonne to be executed, who had slaine a Captaine of the *Latines*, being challenged in single fight.

When the *Latines*, the *Aqui*, *Volsci*, *Hernici*, *Campanians*, and *Hetrurians*, with some other people, were brought vnder obedience; it was a vaine labour for any people of *Italy*, to contend against the *Romans*.

Yet the *Sabines* aduentured to trie their fortune; and found it bad. For *Curius Dentatus*, the *Roman* Consul, waisting all their Countrey with fire and sword, from the River *Nerandria*, to the *Adriatique* Sea, brought them into quiet subiection.

The last of the *Italians*, that made trial of the *Roman* Armes, were the *Tarentines*, and *Samnites*. These had interposed themselves as Mediators, between the *Romans* and *Samnites*; with a peremptorie denunciation of Warre, vnto that partie, which should dare to refuse peace, by them tendered. These threats which discovered their bad intention vnto *Rome*, ended in words; but when the *Samnites* were vnderlie subdued, sooner enough of quarrell was found, to examine their abilitie of performance.

The *Romans* complained that certaine ships of theirs were robbed, and sent Embassadors vnto *Tarentum*, to require amends. Vpon some wrong done to these Embassadors, was laid the foundation of that Warre, wherein the *Lucans*, *Messapians*, *Brutians*, and *Apulians*, ioyning with the *Tarentines*, procured the *Samnites*, and other Subjects of *Italy*, to rebell, and take their part. But some experience of the *Roman* strength, taught all the people to know their owne weaknesse. Wherefore they agreed to lend for *Pyrhus*, by whose aide (being a *Grecian*, as the *Tarentines* also were) great hope was conceived, that the Dominion of *Rome* should be confined, vnto more narrow bounds, than all *Italy*, which already, in a manner it did ouer-spread.

§. II.

How *Pyrhus* warred vpon the *Romans*, and vanquished them in two battailes.

Pyrhus, forsaken by the *Macedonians*, and vnable to deale with *Lysimachus*, was compelled a while to liue in rest : which hee abhorred no lesse than a wiser Prince would haue desired. Hee had a strong Armie, and a good Fleet, which in that victuall estate of things, was enough to purchase a Kingdome : but the fall of *Demetrius* had so encreased the power of *Lysimachus*, that it was no point of wisdom, to make an offensive warre vpon him, without farre greater forces. *Antigonus*, the sonne of *Demetrius*, held *Corinth* at the same time, and some other Townes, with the remainder of his fathers Armie and treasures, left in his hand. Vpon him it is like that *Pyrhus* might haue wonne; but it was better to let him alone, that he might serue to giue some hindrance to *Lysimachus*.

In this want of imploiment, and couetous desire of finding it, the *Tarentine* Embassadors came very fitly to *Pyrhus* : and they came with braue offers, as needing no other aid than his good conduct, which to obtaine, they would cast themselves vnder his protection. They had in their company, some of the *Samnites*, *Lucanians*, *Messapians*, and others, which promised, in behalfe of their feuerall Nations, as much as could be desired. This encouraged *Pyrhus*, and filled him with hopes of goodly conquests; that hee might enlarge his Empire to the West, as farre as *Alexander* had gotten Eastward; and still by one victorie open the gate vnto another. To which effect it is said, that once hee aduised *Cynae* his chiefe Counsaillour, asking what hee meant to doe after euen of the victories which he hoped to get : that hauing wonne *Rome*, hee would soone be Master of all *Italy*; that, after *Italy* hee would quickly get the Ile of *Sicily*; that,

out of *Sicill*, he would passe ouer into *Africk*, and winne *Carthage*, with all the rest of the Countre; and being strengthened with the force of all these Prouinces, he would betoo hard, for any of those, that were now so proud and troublefome. But *Cyneus* enquired yet further, what they should doe, when they were Lords of all : Whereunto *Pyrrius* (fin- ding his drift) answered pleasantly, that they would liue merrily ; a thing (as *Cyneus* then told him) that they presently might doe, without any trouble, if he could be contented with his owne.

Neuenthelesse, this *Italian* expedition seemed vnto *Pyrrius*, a matter of such consequence, as was not to be omitted, in regard of any scholasticall disputation. Wherefore he prepared his Armie, of almost thirty thousand men, well sorted, and well trained : Souldiers : part of which he sent ouer before him vnder *Cyneus*, with the rest he followed in person. At his coming, he found the *Tarentines* very prompt of tongue, but in matter of execution, vnterly careless to prouide for the War. Wherefore he was faine to liue vp their Theater, and other places of pleasure and resort ; enforcing them to take Arms, and making such a strict muster, as was to them very vnpleasing, though greatly behoou- ing to their citize.

Whilest hee was occupied with these cares, *Launius* the *Roman* Confull drew nere, and began to waste *Lucania*, a Prouince confederate with the *Tarentines* in this Warre.

The *Lucanians* were not readieto defend their own Countre; the *Samnites* were care- lesse of the harme, that fell not (as yet) vpon themselves; the *Tarentines* were better pre- pared than they would haue bene, but their valour was little : all of these had bene ac- customed to shrinke, for feare of the *Roman* fortitude : and therefore it fell out happily, that *Pyrrius* relied more vpon his owne forces, than the issue of the ir vaning promises. Hee was now driuen, either to set forward, with those that himselfe had brought into *Italy*, and the assistance of the *Tarentines*, wherein little was to be reposed ; or else to weaken the reputation of his owne sufficiencie, which by all means hee was carefull to vp- hold. In good time a great part of his forces, that had bene scattered by foule wea- ther at Sea, were safely come to him : with which hee resolved to assay the valour of the *Romans*, against whom he proudly marched.

Launius the Confull was not affrighted, with the terrible name of a great King, but came on confidently to meet him, and giue him battaile, ere all his adherents should bee ready to ioyne with him. This boldnesse of the *Roman*, and the slacke nesse of the *Me- sappians*, *Lucanians*, *Samnites*, and others, whom the danger most concerned, caused *Pyrrius* to offer a treatie of peace : requiring to haue the quarrell betwene the *Roman* and his *Italian* friends, referred to his arbitrement. Whether he did this to winne time, that the *Samnites* and their fellows might arrive at his Campe ; or whether, considering better at nere distance, the weight of the businesse, which he had taken in hand, hee were desirous to quit it with his honour ; the short answer that was returned to his proposition, gaue him no meanes of either the one or the other : for the *Romans* sent him this word, that they had either chosen him their Iudge, nor feared him their enemy.

Hereupon, both Armies hastened their march vnto the Riuer of *Siris* : *Launius* in- tending to fight before the arrival of the *Samnites* ; *Pyrrius*, to hinder him from passing that Riuer, vntill his owne Armie were full. Vpon the first view of the *Roman* Campe, it was readily conceiued by *Pyrrius*, that hee had not now to doe with barbarous people, but with men well trained in a braue discipline of warre : which caused him to lea a strong Corps de garde, vpon the p-ssage of the riuer, that hee might not bee compelled to fight, vntill hee saw his best aduantage. But hee quickly found, that this new enemy was not onely skilfull in the Art of war, but courageous in execution. For the *Roman* Armie en- tered the Foord, in face of his Corps de garde ; and their horse, at the same time, began to passe the Riuer, in sundry places : which caused the *Greekes* to forsake the defence of their banke, and speedily retire vnto their Campe.

This audacitie forced *Pyrrius* to battaile ; wherewith hee thought it best to present them, ere the whole Armie had recovered firme footing, and were in order. So direct- ing his Capitaines how to marshall his battailes ; himselfe with the horse, charged vpon the *Romans* : who stoutly receiued him, as men well exercised in sustaining furious im- pressions. In this fight, neither did his courage transport him beyond the duetie of a carefull Generall ; nor his prouidence in directing others, hinder the manifestation of his personall valour. It behoued him indeed to do his best ; for he neuer met with better

opposers. Once, and shortly after the fight began, his horse was slaine vnder him : after- wards, he changed armour with a friend ; but that friend paid his life for the vse of his kings armour, which was torne from his backe. This accident had almost lost him the battaile ; but hee perceiving it, dislouered his face, and thereby restored courage to his horse, and tooke from the *Romans* their vaine ioy. The fight was obstinate, and with the greater losse (at least of more eminent men) on *Pyrrius* his side, as long as onely speare and sword were vsed. But when the Elephants were brought into the wings, whose vnu- shell forme and terrible aspect, the horses of the *Romans* (vnaccustomed to the like) were unable to sustaine ; then was the victorie quickly gotten. For the *Roman* battailes, per- ceiving their horse put to rout, and driuen out of the field ; finding also themselves both charged in flanke, and ouer-borne, by the force, and huge bulke, of those strange beasts ; gave way to necessity, and saved themselves, as well as they could, by hasty flight : in which consternation, they were so forgetfull of their discipline, that they tarried not to defend their Campe, but ranne quite beyond it, leauing both it, and the honour of the day, mainly to *Pyrrius*.

The same of this victory was soone spread ouer *Italy*, and the reputation was no lesse than the fame. For it was a matter very rare to be heard, that a *Roman* Confull, with a great Armie, should lose in plaine battaile, not onely the field, but the Campe it selfe, being so notably fortified, as they alwaies were. And this honour was the more brauely ascribed by *Pyrrius*, for that he had with him none of his *Italian* friends, save the vnwar- like *Tarentines*. Neither could he well dissemble his content that hee tooke, in hauing the glory of this action peculiarly his owne, at such time as hee blamed the *Lucans* & *Samnites*, for committing (as wee say) a day after the faire. Neuenthelesse, hee wisely considered the strength of the *Romans*, which was such, as would better endure many such losses, than hee could many such victories. Therefore hee thought it good to compound with them, whilst with his honour he might ; and to that purpose he sent vnto them *Cyneus* his Em- bassadour, demanding onely to haue the *Tarentines* permitted to liue at rest, and himselfe accepted as their especial friend. This did *Cyneus*, with all his cunning, and with liberal gifts labour to effect ; but neither man nor woman could bee found in *Rome*, that would take any bribe of him ; neither did their desire of recouering their captiues, or their danger, by the rising of many States in *Italy* against them, so incline them to peace, as the vehement exhortation of *Appius Claudius*, an olde and blinde Senator, did them to make good their honour by warre. So they returned answer, that whilst *Pyrrius* abode in *Italy*, they would come to no agreement with him.

Such was the report, that *Cyneus* made at his returne, of the *Roman* puissiance and ver- tue, as kindled in *Pyrrius*, a great desire of confederacie, with that gallant Citie. Heere- upon many kinde Offices passed betwene them : but still when he urged his motion of peace, the answer was, He must first depart out of *Italy*, and then treat of peace.

In the meane season, each part made prouision for warre ; the *Romans* leauing a more mighty army than the former ; and *Pyrrius* being strengthened with access vnto his forces, of all the East parts of *Italy*. So they came to triall of a second battaile, wherein (though after long and cruell fight) the boisterous violence of the Elephants gaue to *Pyrrius* a second victorie. But this was not altogether so ioyfull as the former had bene : ra- ther it gaue him cause to say, that such another victorie would be his vtter vndoing. For hee had lost the flower of his Armie in this battaile : and though hee draue the *Romans* into their Campe, yet hee could not force them out of it, nor saw any likelihood of preuailing against them, that were like to be relieved with daily supplies, whilst hee should be dri- uen to spend vpon his old stocke. Neither could hee expect, that his Elephants should al- waies stand him in stead. A little knowledge of their manner in fight, would soone teach the *Romans*, that were apt Schollers in such learning, how to make them vnseruiceable. Wherefore hee desired nothing more, than how to carry his honour safe out of *Italy* : which to doe (seeing the *Romans* would not helpe him, by offering or accepting any faire conditions of peace, or of truce) hee tooke a slight occasion, presented by fortune, that followed to be related.

The great troubles in Macedon and Sicill. How Pyrrhus, being invited into Sicill, forsooke Italie; wanne the most of the Isle; and lost it in short space. Pyrrhus returnes into Italie; where he is beaten by the Romans, and so goes backe to his owne Kingdome.

When *Ptolomie Ceraunus* had traiterously murdered his Benefactor and Patron *Selencus*, hee presently seized vpon all the Dominions of *Lysimachus* in Europe, as if they had been the due reward vnto him, that had slaine the Conquerour. The houses of *Cassander* and *Lysimachus* were then fallen to the ground: neither was there in *Macedon* any man of strength & reputation enough, to aduance himselfe against *Ceraunus*. The friends of *Lysimachus* were rather pleased to haue him their King, that had (as hee professed) reuenged their Lords death; then any way offended with the odiousnes of his fact, by which they were freed from subiection, to one, against whom they had stood in opposition. Many there were, that vpon remembrance of his Fathers great vertue, gathered hope of finding the like in *Ceraunus*: perswading themselves that his raigne might proue good, though his entrance had been wicked. These affections of the *Macedonians* did serue to defeat *Antigonus* the sonne of *Demetrius*, that made an attempt vpon the Kingdome. As for *Antigonus*, the sonne of *Selencus*, he was farre off, & might be questioned about some part of *Asia*, ere he should be able to bring an Armie nere vnto Europe. Yet he made great shew of meaning to reuenge his Fathers death: but being stronger in monition in Armes, he was content, after a while, to take faire words, and make peace with the murderer. While these three strooke about the Kingdome, *Pyrrhus*, who thought his claime as good as any of theirs, made vse of their dissention: threatening warre, or promising his assistance, to currey one of them. By these meanes hee strengthened himselfe, and greatly aduantaged his Italian voyage, which he had then in hand: requesting monie of *Antiochus*, ships of *Antigonus*, and souldiers of *Ptolomie*, who gaue him his daughter in marriage, and lent him a strong power of *Macedonian* Souldiers, and of Elephants (counsaunting to haue them restored at two yeeres end) more for feare than for loue: that so he might free himselfe from trouble, and quietly enioy his Kingdome.

Thus *Ptolomie* grew mighty on the suddaine; and the power that by wicked meanes he had gotten, by meanes as wicked hee increased.

All *Macedon* and *Thrace* being his, the strong Citie of *Cassandria* was held by *Arjane* his sister, the widow of *Lysimachus*, who lay therein with her yong children. Her heircummented by making loue to her, and (according to the fashion of those times, wherein Princes regarded no degree of consanguinitie) taking her to wife, with promise to adoe her children: a promise that hee meant not to performe; for it was not long ere he slew them, and draue her into exile.

In the pride of this good successe, which his villanie found, vengeance came vpon him from a farre; by the furie of a Nation, that hee had neuer heard of. *Belgius* a Capaine of the *Gauls*, having forced his passage through many Countries, vnto the confines of *Macedon*, sent a proud message to *Ceraunus*, commanding him to buy peace with monie, or otherwise, to looke for all the miseries of warre. These *Gauls* were the race of those, that issued out of their Countrie, to seek new seats in that great expedition, wherein *Brennus* tooke and burnt the Citie of *Rome*. They had diuided themselves, at their setting forth, into two Companies; of which the one fell vpon *Italie*; the other passing through the Countries that lie on the Northern side of the *Adriatick Sea*, made long abode in *Pannonia*, and the Regions adioyning, where they forced all the neighbour Princes to receive peace with tribute, as now they would haue compelled *Ceraunus* to doe; vnto whose borders they came about an hundred and eight yeeres after such time as their fellowes had taken *Rome*.

When their Embassadors came to *Ptolomie*, asking what he would giue: His answer was, that he would be contented to giue them peace, but it must be with condition, that they should put into their hands their Princes as hostages, and yeeld vp their armes; for otherwise, he would neither pardon their boldnesse, nor giue any credit to their words. At this answer, when it was returned, the *Gauls* did laugh; saying, that they would soone confute with deeds, the vanity of such proud words. It may seeme strange,

that he who had giuen away part of his Armie vnto *Pyrhus*, for very feare; should be so confident in vndertaking more mighty enemies. The King of the *Dardaniens* offered to lend him twenty thousand men against the *Gauls*; but he scorned the offer, saying, that he had the children of those, which vnder the conduct of *Alexander*, had subdued all the East. Thus hee issued forth against the barbarous people, with his famous *Macedonians*, as if the victory must needs haue followed the reputation of a great name. But hee soone found his great errour, when it was too late. For the enemies were not only equal in strength of body, and fiercenesse of courage, but so farre superiour to the *Macedonians* in numbers, that few or none escaped their furie. *Ptolomie* himselfe grievously wounded, fell into their hands, whilst the battaile continued; and they presently strooke off his head, which they shewed to his men, on the top of a Lance, to their vtter astonishment.

The report of this great overthrow filled all *Macedon* with such desperation, that the people fled into walled Townes, and abandoned the whole Countrie as lost. Onely *Sophaen* a valiant Capaine, animating as many as he could, gathered a small Armie, with which many times got the vpper hand, and hindred *Belgius* from vsing the victory at his owne pleasure. In regard of this his vertue, the Souldiers would haue made him King, which title he refused, and was contented with the name of a Generall. But as mischiefs doe seldom come alone) the good successe of *Belgius*, drew into *Macedon*, *Brennus*, another Capaine of the *Gauls*, with an hundred and fiftie thousand foot, and fiftie thousand horse; against which mighty Armie, when *Sophaen* with his weak troupes made opposition, he was easily beaten, and the *Macedonians* againe compelled to hide themselves within their wals, leaving all their Countrie to the spoile of the Barbarians.

Thus were the *Macedonians* destitute of a King, and troden downe by a Nation, that they had not heard of; in lesse then fiftie yeeres after the death of *Alexander*, who sought to discourt and subdue vnknown Countries, as if all *Greece*, and the Empire of *Persia*, had bene too little for a King of *Macedon*.

Very seasonably had these newes beene carried to *Pyrrhus* in *Italie*, who sought a faire pretence of relinquishing his warre with the *Romans*; had not other tidings out of *Sicill* distracted him, and carried him away in pursute of nearer hopes. For after the death of *Agathocles*, who reigned ouer the whole Iland, the *Carthaginians* sent an Armie to conquer *Sicill*, out of which, by him, they had beene expelled. This Armie did so fast procure, that the *Sicilians* had no other hope to auoid slauey, than in submitting themselves to the rule of *Pyrrhus*; whom, being a *Grecian*, and a noble Prince, they thought it more for their good to obey, then to liue vnder the well knowne heavy yoke of *Carthage*. To him therefore, the *Syracusans*, *Leontines*, and *Agraguntines*, principall Cities of the Ise, sent Embassadors, earnestly desiring him to take them into his protection.

Ingiured *Pyrrhus* exceedingly, that two such notable occasions, of enlarging his Dominions, should fall out so vnluckily, both at one time. Yet whether he thought the business of *Sicill* more important, or more full of likelihood; or whether perhaps hee beleened (as came after to passe) that his aduantage vpon *Macedon* would not so hastily passe away, but that he might finde some occasion to lay hold on it, at better leisure, ouer into *Sicill* he transported his Armie, leaving the *Tarentines* to shift for themselves; yet not leaving them free as hee found them, but with a Garrison in their Towne, to hold them in subiection.

As his departure out of *Italie*, was rather grounded on head-long passion, than mature choice; so were his actions following, vntill his returne vnto *Epirus*, rather many and tumultuous, then well ordered, or more worthy. The Armie which he carried into that Ise, consisted of thirtie thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse: with which, soone after his descent in *Sicill*, hee forced the *Carthaginians*, out of all, in effect, that they held therein. He also won the strong Citie of *Eryx*, and hauing beaten the *Martines* in battaile, he began to change condition, and turne Tyrant. For hee draue *Sofstratus* (to whom his cruelty was suspected) out of the Iland, & put *Theron* of *Syracuse* to death, being jealous of his greatnesse, which two persons had rashly flattered him, and deliuered the great and rich Citie of *Syracuse* into his hands. After this, his fortunes declined so fast, as hee serued himselfe, and salued the disreputation of his leaving *Sicill*, by an Embassage sent him from the *Tarentines*, and *Sammites*, imploring his present helpe against

against the *Romans*, who since his leaving *Italie*, had well-neere dispossessed them of all that they had.

Taking this faire occasion, he embarked for *Italie*; but was first beaten by the *Carthaginian* Gallies, in his passage, and secondly assailed in *Italie* it selfe, by eightene hundred *Adameritines*, that attended him in the Straits of the Countrie. Lastly, after he had recovered *Tarentum*, he fought a third battaile with the *Romans*, led by *M. Curius*, who was victorious ouer him, and forced him out of *Italie*, into his owne *Epirus*.

A Prince he was faire more valiant then constant, and had he bene but a General of an Armie, for some other great King or State, and had bene directed to haue conquered any one Countrey or Kingdome, it is to be thought, that he would haue purchased no lesse honour than any man of warre, either preceding or succeeding him; for a greater Capitaine, or a valiant man, hath bene no where found. But he neuer staid vpon any enterprise; which was, indeede, the disease he had, whereof not long after he died in *Argos*.

§. IIII.

How Antigonus, the sonne of Demetrius, deliuered *Macedon* from the *Gauls*, How Pyrrhus wonne the Kingdome of *Macedon* from Antigonus.

The vertue of *Sophanes* being too weake, to defend the Kingdome of *Macedon*, and the fortune which had accompanied him against *Belgins*, failing him in his attempts against *Brennus*: the *Macedonians* were no lesse glad to submit themselves vnto the government of *Antigonus*, than they had formerly bene desirous to free themselves from the impotent rule of his father *Demetrius*. His conraing into the Countrie, with an Armie, Nauie, and treasure becoming a King, did rather breed good hope in the people, than fill them with much confidence: for he was driuen to vie against the *Barbarians*, onely those forces, which he brought with him, hauing none other than good wishes of the *Macedons*, to take his part. *Brennus*, with the maine strength of his Armie, was gone to spoile the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, hauing left no more behinde him, than he thought necessary to guard the borders of *Macedon*, and *Pannonia*; which were about fiftene thousand foot, and three thousand horse. These could not be idle, but thought to get somewhat for themselves, in the absence of their fellows: and therefore sent vnto *Antigonus*, offering to sell him peace, if he would pay well for it: which by the example of *Ceranus*, he had learnt (as they thought) not to refuse. *Antigonus* was unwilling to weaken his reputation, by condescending to their proud demands: yet he indiged it vnfit to exasperate their furious choler, by vn courteous words or vllage, as *Ceranus* had ouer-fondly done. Wherefore he entertained their Embassadors in very louing and sumptuous manner, with a royall feast: wherein he exposed to their view, such abundance of massie gold and siluer, that they were not so much delighted with the meat, as with sight of the vessels, wherein it was serued. He thought hereby, to make them understand, how great a Prince he was, and how able, if neede required, to wage a mightie Armie.

To which end, he likewise did shew vnto them, his Campe and Nauie, but especially his Elephants. But all this brauery serued onely to kindle their greedy appetites; who seeing his ships heavy laden, his Campe full of wealth, and ill fortified, himselfe (as it seemed) secure, and his men, both in strength and courage inferior vnto the *Gauls*, thought all timelost, wherein they suffered the present possiours, to spend the riches which they accomped assuredly their owne. They returned therefore to their Companions, with none other newes in their mouths, than of spoyle and purchase: which tale, carried the *Gauls* head-long, to *Antigonus* his campe, where they expected a greater bootie, then the victory ouer *Ceranus* had giuen to *Belgins*. Their coming was terrible and suddaine; yet not so suddaine, but that *Antigonus* had notice of it, who distrusting the courage of his owne men, dislodged somewhat before their arrival, and conueighed himselfe, with his whole armie and carriage, into certaine woods adioyning, where he lay close.

The *Gauls*, finding his Campe forsaken, were not hastie to pursue him, but fell to ransacking the empty Cabbinnes of the Souldiers, in hope of finding all that was either lost or hidden. At length, when they had searched euery place in vaine, angrie at their

lost labour, they marched with all speed towards the Sea-side; that they might fall vpon them, whilst he was busie in getting his men and carriages a ship-board. But the *Gauls* were no way answerable to their expectation. For being proud of the terror which they had brought vpon *Antigonus*, they were so careless of the Sea-men, that without all order, they fell to the spoyle of what they found on the shore, and in such ships as lay on ground.

Part of the Armie had left *Antigonus*, where he lay in couert; and had saved it selfe by getting aboard the fleet: in which number were some well experienced men of war: who discouering the much aduantage offered vnto them, by the desperate presumption of the *Gauls*, tooke courage, and encouraged others, to lay manly hold vpon the opportunity. Some whole number, both of Souldiers and Mariners, landing together, with great resolution, gaue so braue a charge vpon the disordered *Gauls*, that their contemptuous boldness was thereby changed into suddaine feare, and they, after a great slaughter, driuen vnto themselves into the seruice of *Antigonus*.

The same of this victory, caused all the barbarous Nations in those quarters, to re-entertaine their ancient beliefs of the *Macedonian* valour: by which, the terrible and resistless oppositions of so many Countreies, were ouerthrowne.

Topeake more of the *Gauls* in this place; and to shew how, about these times, three Tribes of them past d ouer into *Asia* the lesse, with their warres and conquests there; I will it neede esse: the victorious armes of the *Romans*, taming them hereafter, in the Countreies which now they wanne, shall giue better occasion, to rehearse these matters briefly.

Howeuer the good successe of *Antigonus* got him reputation, among the barbarous people, yet his owne Souldiers, that without his leading, had won this victory, could not be perswaded to thinke him a good man of warre: knowing that he had no interest in the honour of the seruice, wherein his conduct was no better, then creeping into a wood.

This (as presently will appeare) was greedily helpfull vnto *Pyrrhus*: though as yet he knew not so much. For *Pyrrhus*, when his affaires in *Italie* stood vpon hard rearmes, had sent vnto *Antigonus* for helpe: not without threats, in case it were denied. So was he stronger, either a supply, wherewith to continue his warre against the *Romans*, or some seeming honourable pretence, to forsake *Italie*, vnder colour of making his word good, in seeking reuenge. The threats which he had vied in brauery, were necessity forced him; as he returned into *Epirus*, to put in practise.

He brought home with him, eight thousand foot, and six hundred horse: an armie too little to be employed, by his restless nature, in any action of importance; yet greater than he had meanes to keepe in pay. Therefore he fell vpon *Macedon*; intending to take what spoile he could get, and make *Antigonus* compound with him, to be freed from trouble. At his first entrance into this businesse, two thousand of *Antigonus* his Souldiers followed vnto *Pyrrhus*; and many Cities, either willingly or perforce, receiued him. Such faire beginnings, easily perswaded the courage of this daring Prince, to set vpon *Antigonus* himselfe, and to hazard his fortune, in trial of a battaile, for the whole Kingdome of *Macedon*.

It appeares, that *Antigonus* had no desire to fight with this hot warrior; but thought the wisest way, by protracting of time, to wearie him out of the Countrey. For *Pyrrhus* overtook him in a streight passage, and charged him in the reare; wherein were the *Gauls*, and the Elephants, which were thought the best of his strength: a manifest proofe that he was in retreat. The *Gauls* very brauely sustained *Pyrrhus* his impression; yet were broken at length (when most of them were slaine) after a sharpe fight: wherein it comes that *Antigonus* keeping his *Macedonian Phalanx* within the streight, and not aduancing to their succour, tooke away their courage by deceiuing their expectation. The Captiues of the Elephants were taken soone after; who finding themselves exposed to the same violence that had consumed so many of the *Gauls*, yielded themselves and the beasts. All this was done in full view of *Antigonus*, and his *Macedonians*, to their great discouragement, which emboldened *Pyrrhus*, to charge them where they lay in their strength. Where the *Phalanx* could be charged onely in a front, it was a matter of extreme difficulty (if not impossible) to force it. But the *Macedonians* had sene so much, that they had no desire to fight against *Pyrrhus*; who discouered so well their affections, that he aduenced

adventured to draw mee in person, and exhort them to yeelde. Neither the common Souldier, nor any Leader, refused to become his follower. All forooke *Antigonus*, a few horse-men excepted, that fled along with him to *Theſſalonica*; where he had some small forces left, and money enough to entertaine a greater power, had he knowne where to leuie it. But whilest he was thinking how to allure a sufficient number of the *Gauls* into his seruice; whereby he might repaire his losse: *Ptolomie*, the sonne of *Pyrrhus*, came vpon him, and easily defeating his weak forces, draue him to flye from the parts about *Adacedon*, to those Townes a farr off in *Peloponnesus*, in which he had formerly lurked, before such time as he looked abroad into the world, and made himselfe a King.

This good successe reuiued the spirits of the *Epirot*, and caused him to forget all forrow, of his late mis-fortunes in the *Roman* warre: so that he sent for his sonne *Hilanus* (whom he had left with a Garrison, in the Castle of *Tarentum*) willing him to come over into *Greece*, where was more matter of conquest, and let the *Italians* thirst for themselves.

§. V.

How Pyrrhus assailed Sparta without successe. His enterprize vpon Argos, and his death.

P*Pyrrhus* had now conceived a great hope, that nothing should be able to withstand him; seeing, that in open fight, he had vanquished the *Gauls*, beaten *Antigonus*, and wonne the Kingdome of *Macedon*. There was not in all *Greece*, nor, indeede, in all the Lands that *Alexander* had wonne, any Leader of such name and worth, as deserved to be set vp against him: which filled him with the opinion that he might doe what he pleased. He raised therefore an Armie, consisting of five and twenty thousand foot, two thousand horse, and foure and twentie Elephants; pretending warre against *Antigonus*, and the giuing liberty to those Townes in *Peloponnesus*, which the same *Antigonus* held in subiection, though it was easily discovered, that such great preparations were made, for accomplishment of some designe more important, then warre against a Prince already vanquished, and almost vterly dejected. Especially the *Lacedaemonians* feared this expedition, as made against their State. For *Cleonymus*, one of their Kings, being expelled out of his Countrey, had taken himselfe to *Pyrrhus*: who readily entertained him, and promised to restore him to his Kingdome. This promise was made in secret; neither would *Pyrrhus* make shew of any displeasure that he bare vnto *Sparta*; but contrariwise professed, that it was his intent, to haue two of his owne younger sonnes trained vp in that Citie, as in a place of noble discipline. With such colours he deluded men, euen till he entred vpon *Laconia*; where presently he demeaned himselfe as an open enemy: excusing himselfe, and his former dissembling words, with a iest; That he followed herein the *Lacedaemonian* custome; of concealing what was truly purposed. It had beene, indeede, the manner of the *Lacedaemonians*, to deale in like sort with others, whom, in the time of their greatest need, they sought to oppresse: but now they complained of that, as falshood, in *Pyrrhus*, which they alwaies practised in widdome, till it made them distrustful, forsaken, and almost contemptible. Nevertheless, they were not wanting to themselves in this dangerous extremitie. For the old men and women laboured in fortifying the Towne; causing such as could beare armes, to reuerse themselves fresh against the assault: which *Pyrrhus* had vnwisely deferred, vpon assurance of preuailing.

Sparta was neuer fortified, before this time, otherwise then with armed Citizens, done after this (it being built vpon a new ground, and for the most part, hard to approach) the lower and more accesible places, were fenced with wals, at the present, only trenches were cast, and *barricadoes* made with Carts, where the entrance seemed most easie. Three dayes together it was assailed by *Pyrrhus*, exceeding fiercely; and no lesse stoutly defended. The desperate courage of the Citizens preserved the Towne the first day, whereinto the violence of *Pyrrhus* had forced entrance the second day, but that his wounded horse threw him to the ground, which made his Souldiers more mindefull of saving the person of their King, than of breaking into the Citie, though already they had come

some in under the *barricadoes*. Presently after this, one of *Antigonus* his Captaines got into *Sparta* with a good strength of men, and *Arenus* the King returned out of *Crete* (where he had beene helping his friends in warre) with two thousand men, little knowing the danger, in which his owne countrey stood, vntill he was almost at home. These succours did more animate the *Spartans*, then kinde in *Pyrrhus* a desire to preuaile against all impediments. But the third dayes worke shewed, how great his error had beene, in forbearing to assault the Towne at his first coming. For he was so manfully repelled, that he had no likelihood of getting the place, otherwise than by a long siege: in which tedious course he had no desire to spend his time.

Antigonus had now raised an Armie, though not strong enough to meeete the enemy in plaine field, yet able to hinder all his purposes. This made *Pyrrhus* doubtfull what way to take; being diuertly affected, by the difficultie of his enterprize in hand, and the shame of taking a repulse in his first attempt. Whilest he was thus perplexed, letters came from *Argos*, inuiting him thither, with promise, to deliuer that Citie into his hands.

Civil dissension raging then hotly in *Argos*, caused the heads of several factions to call *Pyrrhus* and *Antigonus*; but the coming of these two Princes, taught the Citizens wit, and made them desirous to rid their hand of such powerful Assitants, as each of the two Kings pretended himselfe to be. *Antigonus* told the *Argives*, that he came to saue them from the tyrannic of *Pyrrhus*: and that he would be gone if they needed not his helpe. On the other side, *Pyrrhus* would needs perswade them, that he had no other errand, then to make them safe from *Antigonus*; offering in like manner, to depart, if they so desired.

The *Argives* tooke small pleasure, in hearing the Foxe and Kite at strife, which of them should keepe the Chickens from his enemy: and therefore prayed them both, to direct their powers some other way. Hereunto *Antigonus* readily condescended, and gaue Hostages to assure his word: for he was the weaker, and stood in neede of good-will. But *Pyrrhus* thought it enough to promise: Hostages he would giue none, to his inferiours: especially, meaning deceipt. This made them suspect his purpose to be such, as, indeede, it was. Yet he lesse regarded their opinions, than to hold them worthy of assurance; by giuing such a bond, as he intended to breake ere the next morning.

It was concluded, that a Gate of the Citie should be opened by night vnto *Pyrrhus*, by his Complices within *Argos*: which was accordingly performed. So his Armie, without any tumult, entred the Citie: till the Elephants, with Towers on their backs, cloyed the way, being too high to passe the Gate. The taking off, and setting on againe, of those Towers, with the trouble thereto belonging, did both giue alarme to the Citie, and some leisure to take order for defence, before so many were entred, as could fully master it. *Argos* was full of ditches, which greatly hindered the *Gauls* (that had the *Vanguard*) being ignorant of the wayes, in the darke night. The Citizens, on the other side, had much aduantage, by their knowledge of euery by-passage: and setting vpon the enemies on all sides, did put them to great losse; and made them vnable.

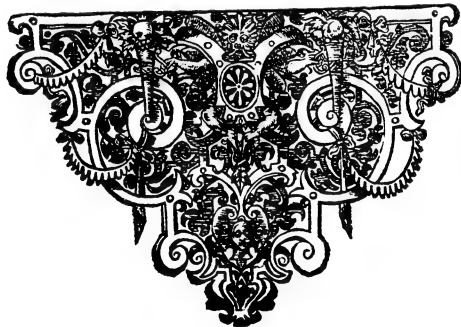
Pyrrhus therefore, vnderstanding by the confused noise, and vnequall shoutings of his owne men, that they were in distresse, entred the Citie in person, to take order for their rescue, and assurance of the place. But the darkenesse, the throng, and many other impediments, kept him from doing any thing of moment, vntill breake of day. Then began he to make his passage by force, and so farre preuailed, that he got into the Market-place. He said, that seeing in that place, the Image of a Wolfe and a Bull, in such posture as if they had bene combatant, he called to minde an Oracle, which threatened him with death, when he should behold a Bull fighting with a Wolfe: and that hereupon he made retreat.

Indee, the coming of *Antigonus* to the rescue, the disorder and confusion of his owne men; with diuers ill accidents, gaue him reasonable cause to haue retired out of the Citie, though the Wolfe and Bull had bene away. The tumult was such, that no directions could be heard, out as some gaue backe, so did others thrust forward, and the *Argives* pressing hard vpon him, forced *Pyrrhus* to make good his retreat, with his owne sword.

sword. The tops of the houses were covered with women, that stood looking on the fight. Among these was one, that saw her owne sonne in dangerous case, fighting with *Pyrrhus*. Wherefore, she tooke a tile-stone, or slate, and threw it so violently downe on the head of *Pyrrhus*, that he fell to ground astonished with the blow, and lying in that case, had his head cut off.

Thus ended the restless ambition of *Pyrrhus*, together with his life : and thus returned the Kingdome of *Macedon* to *Antigonus*, who forthwith possessed the armies, the body, and the children of his enemy. The body of *Pyrrhus* had honourable funeral, and was giuen by *Antigonus* vnto *Helene* his sonne ; which yong Prince he graciously sent home, into his Fathers Kingdome of *Epirus*. From this time forwards, the race of *Antigonus* held the Kingdome of *Macedon* ; the posterity of *Seleucus* reigned ouer *Asia* and *Syria* ; and the house of *Ptolomie* had quiet possession of *Egypt* : vntill such time, as the Citie of *Rome*, swallowing all vp, digested these, among other Countries, into the body of her owne Empire.

Finis Libri Quarti.



THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORIE OF THE VVORLD:

INTREATING OF THE TIMES FROM
the settled rule of ALEXANDERS Successors in the
East, vntill the ROMANS, preuailing ouer all,
made Conquest of ASIA and
MACEDON.

THE FIRST BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Of the first Punicke Warre.

§. I.

Discussion of that problem of Liuius, Whether the Romans could haue resisted the great Alexander. That neither the Macedonian nor the Roman Souldier, was of equall valour to the English.



THAT question handled by *Liuius*, whether the great Alexander could haue preuailed against the Romans, if after his Eastern conquest, he had bent all his forces against them, hath bene, and is, the subject of much dispute ; which (as it seemes to me) the arguments on both sides doe not so well expaine, as doth the experience that *Pyrrhus* hath giuen, of the Roman power, in his dayes. For, if he, a Commander (in *Hannibals* iudgement) inferior to *Alexander*, though to none else, could with small strength of men, and little store of money, or of other needefull helpes in warre, vanquish them in two battailes, and endanger their Estate, when it was well settled, and held the best part of *Italie*, vnder a confirmed obedience : what would *Alexander* haue done, that was abundantly prouided of all which is needfull to a Conquerour, wanting onely matter of employment, comming vpon them before their Dominion was halfe so well settled ? It is easie to say, that *Alexander* had no more, than thirty thousand foot, and foure thousand horse (as indeede, at his first passage into *Asia*, he carried ouer, not many more, and that the rest of his followers were no better than base effeminate *Asiaticques*. But he that considers the Armies of *Pericles*, *Amipater*, *Cyrtus*, *Eumenes*, *Ptolomie*, *Antigonus*, and *Lysimachus*, with the actions by them performed, every one of which (to omit others) commanded onely some fragment of this dead Emperours power ; shall easily finde, that such a reckoning is farr short of the truth.

It were needelss to speake of Treasure, Horses, Elephants, Engines of batterie, and
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the like: of all which, the *Macedonian* had abundance; the *Roman* having nought, save men and armes. As for Sea-forces, he that shall consider after what sort the *Romans*, in their first *Punicke* warre, were trained, in the rudiments of Navigation; sitting vpon the shoare, and beating the land with poles, to practise the stroke of the Oare, as not daring to lanch their ill-built vessels into the Sea; will easily conceiue, how farre too weak they would haue proved in such seruices.

Now for helpers in warre; I doe not see, why all *Greece* and *Macedon*, being absolute-ly commanded by *Alexander*, might not well deserue to be laid in ballance, against those parts of *Italie*, which the *Romans* held in ill-assured subiection. To omit therefore all benefit, that the Easterne world, more wealthy, indeede, than valiant, could haue afforded vnto the *Macedonian*: let vs onely coniecture, how the States of *Skil* and *Carthage*, nearest neighbours to such a quarrell (had it happened) would haue stood affected. The *Sicilians* were, for the most part, *Grecians*; neither is it to be doubted, that they would readily haue submitted themselves vnto him, that ruled all *Greece* besides them. In what termes they commonly stood, and how ill they were able to defend themselves, it shall appeare anon. Sure it is, that *Alexanders* coming into those parts, would haue brought excessive joy, to them that were faine to get the helpe of *Pyrrhus*, by offering to become his subiects. As for the *Carthaginians*; if *Agathocles*, the Tyrant of *Syracuse*, hated of his people, and ill able to defend his owne besieged Citie, could, by aduenturing to faile into *Africke*, put their Dominion, yea and *Carthage* it selfe, in extreme hazard; shall we thinke that they would haue beene able to withstand *Alexander*? But, why doe I question their abilitie, seeing that they sent Embassadors, with their submission, as farre as *Babylon*, ere the warre drew neare them? Wherefore it is manifest, that the *Romans* must, without other succour, than perhaps of some other few *Italian* friends (of which yet there were none, that forooke them not, at some time, both before and after this) haue opposed their valour, and good militarie discipline, against the power of all Countries, to them knowne, if they would haue made resistance. How they could haue fared well, in vnder-taking such a match, it is vncasie to finde in discourse of humane reason. It is true; that vertue and fortune worke wonders: but it is against cowardly fooles, and the vnfortunate: for whose euer contends with oner too mightie for him; either must excell in these, as much as his enemy goes beyond him in power; or else must looke both to be ouercome, and to be cast downe so much the lower, by how much the opinion of his fortune and vertue renders him suspected, as likely to make head another time against the vanquisher. Whether the *Roman*, or the *Macedonian*, were in those dayes the better Souldier, I will not take vpon me to determine: though I might, without partialitie, deliuer mine owne opinion, and preferre that Armie, which followed not onely *Philip* and *Alexander*, but also *Alexanders* Princes after him, in the greatest dangers of all sorts of warre; before any, that *Rome* either had, or in long time after did send forth. Concerning fortune; who can giue a rule that shall alwayes hold? *Alexander* was victorious in euery battaile that he fought; and the *Romans* in the issue of euery warre. But forasmuch as *Linie* hath iudged this a matter worthy of consideration; I thinke it a great part of *Romes* good fortune, that *Alexander* came not into *Italie*: where in three years after his death, the two *Roman* Consuls, together with all the power of that State, were surprized by the *Sammites*, and enforced to yeeld vp their armes. We may therefore permit *Linie* to admire his owne *Romans*, and to compare with *Alexander* those Captaines of theirs, which were honoured sufficiently, in being thought equall to his followers: that the same conceit should blind our iudgement, we cannot permit without much vanitie.

Now in deciding such a controuersie, me thinkes it were not amisse, for an *Englishman*, to giue such a sentence between the *Macedonians* and *Romans*, as the *Romans* once did (being chosen Arbitrators) betwene the *Ardates* and *Aricini*, that stroue about a peece of land, saying, That it belonged vnto neither of them, but vnto the *Romans* themselves.

If there fore it be demanded, whether the *Macedonian*, or the *Roman*, were the best Warriour? I will answer: The *Englishmen*. For it will soone appeare, to any that shall examine the noble acts of our Nation in warre, that they were performed by no advantage of weapon; against no savage or vmanly people; the enemy being farre superior vnto vs in number, and all needfull provisions, yea as well trained as we, or commonly better, in the exercise of warre.

In

CHAP. I. §. I. of the Historie of Greece; what manner of men the *Persians* and *Indians* were, whom *Alexander* vanquished; as likewise of what force the *Macedonian Phalanx* was, and how well appointed, against such armes as it commonly encountered: any man, that hath taken paines to reade the foregoing storie of them, doth sufficiently vnderstand. Yet was this *Phalanx* neuer, or very seldom, able to stand, against the *Roman* Armies: which were enbattailed inlo excellent a forme, as I know not, whether any Nation besides them haue vsed, either before or since. The *Roman* weapons likewise, both offensive and defensive, were of greater vse, than those with which any other Nation hath serued, before the fiery instruments of Gun-powder were knowne. As for the enemies, with which *Rome* had to doe: we finde, that they, which did our match her in numbers, were as farre ouer-matched by her, in weapons; and that they, of whom she had little advantage in armes, had as little advantage of her in multitude. This also (as *Plutarch* well obserueth) was a part of her happinesse; that she was neuer ouer-laid with too great warres at once.

Herby it came to passe, that hauing at first increased her strength, by accession of the *Sabines*, hauing won the State of *Alba*, against which she aduentured her owne selfe, as it were in water, vpon the heads of three Champions: and hauing thereby made her selfe Princess of *Latium*: she did afterwards, by long warre, in many ages, extend her Dominion ouer all *Italie*. The *Carthaginians* had well-neare oppressed her; but her Souldiers were Mercenarie; so that for want of proper strength, they were easily beaten at their owne doores. The *Aetolians*, and with them all, or the most of *Greece*, assisted her against *Philip* the *Macedonian*: he being beaten, did lend her his help, to beat the time of *Aetolians*. The warres against *Antiochus*, and other *Asiatiques*, were such as giue to *Rome* small cause of boast, though much of joy: for those oppolities were as base of courage, as the lands which they held were abundant of riches. *Sicily*, *Spain*, and all *Greece*, fell into her hands by vsing her aide, to protect them against the *Carthaginians* and *Macedonians*.

I shall not neede to speake of her other conquests: it was easie to get more when she had gotten all this. It is not my purpose to disgrace the *Roman* valour (which was very noble) or to blemish the reputation of so many famous victories: I am not to idly. This I say, that among all their wars, I finde not any, wherein their valour hath appeared comparable to the *English*. If my iudgement seeme ouer-partiall; our warres in *France* may helpe to make it good.

First, therefore it is well knowne; that *Rome* (or perhaps all the world besides) had neuer any to braue a Commander in warre, as *Iulius Caesar*: and that no *Roman* armie was comparable vnto that, which serued vnder the same *Caesar*. Likewise, it is apparent, that this gallant Armie, which had giuen faire proofe of the *Roman* courage, in good performance of the *Heluetian* warre, when it first entred into *Gaul*, was neuertheless vterly deterred, when *Caesar* led it against the *Germans*. So that we may iustly impute, all that was extraordinary in the valour of *Caesars* men, to their long exercise, vnder to good a Leader, in so greata warre. Now let vs in general, compare with the deedes done by this belt of *Roman* Souldiers, in their principall seruice; the things performed in the same Countie, by our common *English* Souldiers, leaued in haste, from following the Carr, or sitting on the shop-stall: so shall we see the difference. Herein will we deale fairly, and beleeue *Caesar*, in relating the acts of the *Romans*: but will call the *French* Historians to witness, what actions were performed by the *English*. In *Caesars* time, *France* was inhabited by the *Gauls*, a stout people, but inferior to the *French*, by whom they were subdued; even when the *Romans* gaue them assistance. The Countie of *Gaul* was now in sunder (as *Caesar* witnesseth) into many Lordships: some of which were gouerned by petty Kings, others by the multitude, none ordered in such sort as might make it appertaine to the nearest Neighbour. The factions were many, and violent: not onely in general through the whole Countie, but betwene the petty States, yea in euery Citie, and almost in euery house. What greater advantage could a Conquerour desire? Yet there was a greater. *Ariusius*, with his *Germans*, had ouer-run the Countie, and held much part of it in subiection, little different from inere slavery: yea, so often had the *Germans* prevailed in warre vpon the *Gauls*, that the *Gauls* (who had sometimes beene the better Souldiers) did hold themselves no way equall to those daily Inuaders. Had *France* beene so prepared vnto our *English* Kings, *Rome* it selfe, by this time, and long ere

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the Islands in the Mediterranean Sea, to the west of Sicill, and of Sicill, the better part. It flourished about seven hundred and thirty yeeres, before the destruction thereof by Scipio: who besides other spoyle, and all that the Souldiers refused, carried thence foure hundred and seuentie thousand weight of siluer, which make of our monie (if our pounds differ not) foureteene hundred and ten thousand pound sterling. So as this glorious Citie ran the same fortune, which many other great ones haue done, both before and since. The ruine of the goodliest pieces of the world, fore-shewes the dissolution of the whole.

About one hundred yeeres after such time as it was cast downe, the Senate of Rome caused it to be rebuilt: and by Gracchus it was called *Anomia*: it was againe and againe abandoned and re-peopled, taken and retaken; by *Genfericus* the *Vandal*, by *Bellisarius* under *Iustinian*, by the *Persians*, by the *Aegyptians*, and by the *Mahometans*. It is now nothing. The seat thereof was exceeding strong: and while the *Carthaginians* commanded the Sea, invincible. For the Sea compassed it about, sauing that it was tied to the maine by a necke of land; which passage had two mile and more of breadth (*Appian* saith three mile, and one fift long) by which we may be induced, to beleue the common report, that the Citie it selfe was about twenty miles in compass; if not that of *Strabo*, affirming the circuit to haue bene twice as great.

It had three walls, without the wall of the Citie; and betwene each of those, three or foure streets, with vaults vnder ground, of thirty foot deepe, in which they had place for three hundred Elephants, and all their food: ouer these they had stables for foure thousand horse, and Granaries for their prouender. They had also lodgings in these streets, betwene these foure thousand horse-men, and twentie thousand foot-men, which (according to the discipline vsed now by those of *China*) neuer polluted the Citie. It had towards the South part, the Castle of *Byrsa*; to which *Serapius* giues two and twentie furlongs in compass, that maketh two mile and a halfe. This was the same piece of ground, which *Dido* obtained of the *Libyans*, when she got leaue to buy only so much Land of them, as she could compass with an Oxe hide. On the west side it had also the salt Sea, but in the nature of a standing pool; for a certaine arme of Land, fastned to the ground, on which the Citie stood, stretched it selfe towards the west continen: and left but sea-ward foure foot space for the Sea to enter. Over this standing Sea was built a most sumptuous *Arsewall*, hauing their ships and gallies riding vnder it.

The forme of their Common weale resembled that of *Sparta*; for they had tirulike Kings, and the Aristocraticall power of Senators. But (as *Regius* well obserueth) the people in later times vniuersally too great authoritie in their Councels. This confusion in gouernement, together with the trust that they reposed in hired Souldiers, were helping causes of their destruction in the end. Two other more forcible causes of their ruine, were their auarice and their cruelty. Their auarice was shewed both in exacting from their Vassals (besides ordinary tributes) the one halfe of the fruits of the earth; and in conferring of great Offices, not vpon gentle and mercifull persons, but vpon those who could best tyrannize ouer the people, to augment their treasures. Their cruelty appeared in putting them to death without mercy, that had offended through ignorance: the one of these rendered them odious to their vassals, whom it made ready, vpon all occasions to revolt from them: the other did breake the spirits of their Generals, by presenting in the heat of their actions abroad, the feare of a cruell death at home. Hereby it came to passe, that many good Commanders of the *Carthaginian* forces, after some great success, haue desperately cast themselves with all that remained vnder their charge, into the throat of destruction; holding it necessary, either to repaire their losses quickly, or to ruine all together: and few of them haue dared, to manage their own best projects, after that good forme, wherein they first conceived them, for feare lest the manner of their proceeding should be misinterpreted: It being the *Carthaginian* rule, to crucifie, not only the vnhappy Captaine, but euen him, whose bad counsaile had prosperous euent. The faults, wherewith, in generall, they of *Carthage* are taxed, by *Roman* Historians, I finde to be these; lust, cruelty, auarice, craft, vnfaithfulness, and periturie. Whether the *Romans* might them to raise their Rents, since by Indolence, and dismembering of Mannours, and the Court Leet, the Princes of the Gentile of *England*, haue bene dissolved, the Tenants, hauing payed vnto their Lords their rask Rent, one the more freece at all, and (perchance) a little loue,

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themselves were free from the same crimes, let the triall bee referred vnto their actions. The first league betwene *Carthage* and *Rome*, was very ancient: hauing bene made, the first yeere following the expulsion of *Tarquinius*. In that league, the *Carthaginians* had the Libertie, as imposing vpon the *Romans*, the more strict conditions. For it was agreed, that the *Romans* should not so much as haue trade, in some part of *Affrick*, nor suffer any ships of theirs to passe beyond the headland, or cape, then called the faire *Promontorie*, vntill it were by force of tempest: whereas on the other side, no *Hauen* in *Italie* was forbidden to the *Carthaginians*. A second league was made long after, which (as *Isidore* in his *Barth* placeth * *Liuit* to say, that the *Romans* granted it, at the *Carthaginians* intreatie) was more strict then the former: prohibiting the *Romans* to haue trade in any part of *Affrica*, or in the Island of *Sardinia*.

By these two treaties, it may appeare that the *Carthaginians* had an intent not onely to keepe the *Romans* (as perhaps they did other people) from getting any knowledge of the state of *Affrick*; but to countenance & uphold them, in their troubling all *Italie*, whereby they themselves might haue the better meanes to occupie all *Sicill*, whilst that Island should be destitute of *Italian* succours. Hereupon we finde good cause, of the ioy that was in *Carthage*, and of the Crowne of gold, weighing twentie and foue pound, sent from thence to *Rome*, when the *Samnites* were ouerthrowne. But the little state of *Rome* preuailed faster in *Italie*, than the great power of *Carthage* did in *Sicill*. For that mighty Army of three hundred thousand men, which *Hannibal* conducted out of *Affrick* into *Sicill*, was onely two Cities therein: many great fleets were deuoured by tempests; and howeuer the *Carthaginians* preuailed at one time, the *Strilians*, either by their owne valour, or by the assistance of their good friends out of *Greece*, did at some other time repaire their owne losses, & take reuenge vpon those Inuaders. But neuer were the people of *Carthage* in better hope of getting all *Sicill*, then when the death of *Agathacles* the Tyrant, had left the whole Island in combustion; the estate of *Greece* being such, at the same time, that it seemed impossible, for any succour to be sent from thence. But whilst the *Carthaginians* were busie, in making their aduantage, of this good opportunitie; *Pyrrius*, assisted by the *Tarentines*, and their fellowes, came into *Sicill*, where he made sharp warre vpon the *Romans*. These newes were vnpleasing to the *Carthaginians*, who being a feeble Nation, easily foresaw, that the same busie disposition, which had brought this Prince, out of *Greece* into *Italie*, would as easily transport him ouer into *Sicill*, as loone as he could finish his *Roman* warre. To preuent this danger, they sent *Mago* Embassador to *Rome*; who declared in their name, that they were sorry to heare, what misadventure had befallen the *Romans*, their good friends, in this warre with *Pyrrius*; and that the people of *Carthage* were very willing to assist the state of *Rome*, by sending an Army into *Italie*; if their helpe were thought needfull, against the *Epirots*.

It was indeede, the maine desire of the *Carthaginians*, to hold *Pyrrius* so hardly to his worke in *Italie*, that they might at good leysure, pursue their businesse in *Sicill*: which caused them to make such a goodly offer. But the *Romans* were too high-minded: and refused to accept any such aide of their friends, lest it should blemish their reputation, and make them seeme vnable to stand by their owne strength. Yet the message was taken kindly, as it ought; and the former league betwene *Rome* and *Carthage* renewed, with counsailes added, concerning the present businesse. That if either of the two Cities made peace with *Pyrrius*, it should be with reuerence of liberty, to assist the other, in case that *Pyrrius* should invade either of their Dominions. All this notwithstanding that the same *Mago* went and treated with *Pyrrius*, vsing all meanes to sound his intentions (a matter very difficult, where one vpon euery new occasion changeth his owne purposes) yet *Pyrrius* found leisure to make a stepe into *Sicill*: where, though in fine hee was neither getter nor fauer, yet hee cleane defeated the purposes of *Carthage*, leaving them at his departure from thence, as farr from any end, as when they first began.

So many disasters, in an enterprize, that from the first vndertaking had bin so strongly promised, through the length of many generations, might well haue induced the *Carthage* to beleue, that an higher prouidence resisted their intendment. But their desire, of winning that fruitful Island, was so inueterate; that with vnwearied patience, they still continued in hope, of so much the greater an harvest, by how much their cost & paines therein buried had bene the more. Wherfore they re-continued their former courses; and

and by force or practice, recovered in few yeeres, all their old possessions: making peace with *Syracuse*, the chiefe Citie of the Island, that so they might the better enable themselves to deal with the rest.

Somewhat before this time, a troupe of *Campanian* Souldiers, that had serued vnder *Agathocles*, being entertained within *Messina* as friends, & finding themselves too strong for the Citizens, rooke aduantage of the power that they had to doe wrong; and with perfidious cruelty, slew those that had trusted them; which done, they occupied the Citie, Lands, Goods, and Wiues, of those, whom they had murdered. These Mercenaries called themselves *Mamertines*. Good Souldiers they were: and like enough it is, that mere desperation, of finding any that would approue their barbarous treachery, added rage vnto their stoutness. Having therefore not any other colour of their proceedings, than the law of the stronger, they ouer-ranne all the Countrey round about them.

In this course, at first, they sped so well, that they did not onely defend *Messina* against the Cities of *Sicily* Confederate to war, against the *Syracusians*, and others, but they rather wanvpon them, yea, and vpon the *Carthaginians*, exacting tribute from many Neighbor places. But it was not long, ere fortune turning her backe to these *Mamertines*, the *Syracusians* wan fast vpon them, and finally, confining them within the walls of *Messina*, they also with a powerfull Armie besieged the Citie. It hapned ill, that about the same time, a contention began, betwene the *Syracusan* Souldiers, then lying at *Megara*, and the Citizens of *Syracuse*, and Gouernors of the Common-wealth, which proceeded so far, that the Armie elected two Gouernours among themselves; to wit, *Artemidorus* & *Hieron*, that was afterward King. *Hieron*, being for his yeeres excellently adorned with many vertues, although it was contrary to the policie of that State, to approue any election made by the Souldiers, yet for the great clemencie hee vsed at his first entrance, was by generall consent established and made Gouernour. This Office, hee rather vsed as a Scale, thereby to climbe to some higher degree, than rested content with his present preferment.

In briefe, there was somewhat wanting, whereby to strengthen himselfe within the Citie; and somewhat without it, that gaue impediment, to his obtaining, and keeping, of the place he sought; to wit, a powerfull partie within the Towne, and certaine mutinous troupes of Souldiers without, often and easily mooued to sedition and tumult. For the first, whereby to strengthen himselfe, hee tooke to wife the daughter of *Leptines*, a man of the greatest estimation and authoritie among the *Syracusians*. For the second, leading out the Armie to besiege *Messina*, hee quartered all those Companies, which hee held suspected, on the one side of the Citie, and leading the rest of his horse and foot vnto the other side, as if he would haue assaulted it in two severall parts, he marched away vnder the covert of the Towne walls, and left the Mutiners to be cut in pieces by the afflicted: So returning home, and leauing an Armie of his owne Citizens, well trayned and obedient, he hasted againe towards *Messina*, & was by the *Mamertines* so (growne proud by their former victorie ouer the Mutiners) encountered in the plains of *Myleum*, where hee obtained a most signall victorie, and leading with him their Commander Captiue into *Syracuse*, himselfe by common consent was elected and saluted King. Hereupon the *Mamertines*, finding themselves utterly vnder the necessity of some resolution to giue themselves to the *Carthaginians*, others to craue assistance of the *Romans*: to each of whom, the severall factions dispatched Embassadors for the very same purpose.

The *Carthaginians* were soone ready to lay hold vpon the good offer: so that a Captaine of theirs got into the Castle of *Messina*, whereof they that had sent for him gaue him possession. But within a little while, they that were more inclinable to the *Romans*, had brought their Companions to so good agreement, that this Captaine, either by force, or by cunning, was turned out of doores, and the Towne referred for other Masters.

These newes did much offend the people of *Carthage*, who crucified their Captaine, as both a Traitor and Coward; and sent a Fleet and Armie to besiege *Messina*, as a Towne that rebelled, hauing once bene theirs. *Hieron*, the new-made King of *Syracuse* (to gratifie his people, incensed with the smart of iniuries lately receiued) added his forces to the *Carthaginians*, with whom he entred into a league, for exterminating the *Mamertines*.

Mamertines out of *Sicily*. So the *Mamertines* on all sides were closed vp. within *Messina*: the *Carthaginians* lying with a Nauie at Sea, and with an Armie on the one side of the Citie, whilst *Hieron* with his *Syracusians*, lay before it on the other side.

Thus their great danger, came *Appian Claudius* the *Roman* Consul, with an Armie to the reliefe of *Sicily*: which passing by night with notable audacie, hee put himselfe into the Towne, and sending Messengers to the *Carthaginians*, and to *Hieron*, required them to depart; signifying vnto them, that the *Mamertines* were now become confederates with the people of *Rome*, and that therefore hee was come to giue them protection, contrary force of warre, if reason would not preuaile.

This message was utterly neglected. And so beganne the warre betwene *Rome* and *Carthage*; wherein, it will then bee time to shew, on which part was the iustice of the cause; when some actions of the *Romans* lately foregoing this, haue bene first considered.

III.

the beginning of the first Punick warre. That it was chiefly undertaken by the *Romans*.

Scipio *Pyrrhus* beganne his warres in *Italy*; the Citie of *Rhegium*, being well affected to *Rome*, and not onely fearing to bee taken by the *Epirots*, but much more distrusting the *Carthaginians*, as likely to seize vpon it in that busie time, sought aid from the *Romans*, and obtained from them a Legion, consisting of 4. thousand Souldiers, vnder the conduct of *Decius Campanus*, a *Roman* Prefect; by whom they were defended and assured for the present. But after a while, this *Roman* Garrison, considering at close view, the fact of the *Mamertines*, committed in *Messina*, (a Citie in *Sicily*, situate almost opposite to *Rhegium*, and no otherwise diuided than by a narrow Sea, which separates it from *Italy*) and rather weighing the greatness of the bootie, than the odiousness of the villanie, by which it was gotten; resolved finally, to make the like purchase, by taking the like wicked course. Confederating therefore themselves with the *Mamertines*, they entertained their Hosts of *Rhegium*, after the same manner; diuiding the place, and all which that State had, among themselves.

When complaint was made to the Senate and people of *Rome*, of this outrage, they finding their honour thereby greatly stained (for no Nation in the world made a more free profession of iustice, than they did, during all the time of their growing greatness) refused, after a while, to take reuenge vpon the offenders. And this they performed hardly after, when they had quenched the fires, kindled in *Italy* by *Pyrrhus*. For, notwithstanding that those *Romans* in *Rhegium* (as men for the forgiveness of their fact, hopeful of pardon) defended themselves with an obstinate resolution: yet in the end, the *Carthaginians* forced them; and those which escaped the present furie, were brought bound to *Carthage*, where after the vsuall torments by whipping inflicted, according to the custome of the Countrey, they had their heads stricken from their shoulders; and the people of *Rhegium* were againe restored to their former libertie and estates.

This execution of Iustice being newly performed, and the same thereof sounding haughtily through all quarters of *Italy*: messengers came to *Rome*, from *Messina*, desiring helpe against the *Carthaginians*, and *Syracusians*, that were in a readinesse to inflict the like punishment vpon the *Mamertines*; for the like offence. A very impudent request it was, which they made: who having both giuen example of that villanie to the *Roman* Souldiers, and holpen them with ioint forces to make it good, doe in reate the Iudges giue them that assistance, which they were wont to receiue from their fellow-citizens.

The *Romans* could not suddenly resolve, whether the way of honestie or of profit, were to be followed; they euermore pretended the one, but they many times walked in the other. They considered, how contrary the course of succouring the *Mamertines* was to their former counsells, and actions: seeing they had lately put commitment, and to the sword, their owne Souldiers, and restored the oppressed to their libertie. Yet when they beheld the description of the *Carthaginian* Dominion and that they were already Lords of the best part of *Africa*, of the Mediterranean Islands, of a great part of *Spain*, and some part of *Sicily* it selfe; whilst also they feared, that *Syracuse* therein

therein seated (a Citie in beauty and riches, little, at that time, inferiour to *Carthage*, and farre superiour to *Rome* it selfe) might become theirs; the safetie of their owne estate spake for these *Mamertines*: who, if they (driven to despair by the *Romans*) should deliver vp *Messana*, with those other holds that they had, into the hands of the *Carthaginians*, then would nothing stand betwene *Carthage*, and the Lordship of *Sicily*: for *Syracuse* it selfe could not, for want of succour, any long time subsist, if once the *Carthaginians*, that were Masters of the Sea, did fasten vpon that passage from the maine Land. It was further considered; that the opportunitie of *Messana* was such, as would not onely debarre, all succours out of the continent, from arrivall in *Sicily*; but would serve as a bridge, whereby the *Carthaginians* might have entrance into *Italy*, at their owne pleasure.

These considerations, of profit at hand, and of preventing dangers, that threatened from a farre, did so prevaile, above all regard of honestie, that the *Mamertines* were admitted into Confederacie with the *Romans*, and *Ap. Claudius* the Consul, presently dispatched away from *Messana*: into which he entred, and vnder-tooke the protection of it, as is shewed before. The besiegers were little troubled with his arrivall; and lesse moved, with his requiring them to desist from their attempt. For they did farre exceede him in number of men; The whole Iland was ready to relieue them in their wants; and they were strong enough at Sea, to hinder any supply from getting into the Towne. All this *Appius* him selfe well vnderstood; and against all this he thought the stiffe metall of his *Roman* Souldier, a sufficient remedie. Therefore, hee resolved to issue out into the field, and to let the enemies know, that his comming was to send them away from the Towne; not to be besieged by them within it.

In executing this determination; it was very beneficiall to him, that the enemy lay encamped in such sort, as one quarter was not well able to relieue another in distresse. *Hieron* was now exposed to the same danger, whereinto he had wilfully cast his owne numerous followers, not long before: onely he was strong enough (or thought so) to make good his owne quarter, without helpe of others. Against him *Ap. Claudius* issued forth, and (not attempting, by vnexpected sallie, to surprize his trenches) arranged his men in order of battaile, wherewith hee presented him. The *Syracusan* wanted not courage to fight; but surely, he wanted good aduice: else would he not have hazarded all his power against an enemy, of whom he had made no triall; when it had bene easie, and as much as was requisite, to defend his owne Campe. It may be, that hee thought to get honor, wherewith to adorn the beginning of his reigne. But he was well beaten, and driven to saue himselfe within his Trenches: by which losse, he learned a point of wisdom, that stood him and his Kingdom in good stead, all the daies of his life. It was a foolish desire of reuenge, that had made the *Syracusians* so busie, in helping those of *Carthage*, against the *Mamertines*.

Had *Messana* bene taken by the *Carthaginians*, *Syracuse* it selfe must have sought helpe from *Rome*, against those friends which it now so diligently assisted. *Hieron* had (in respect of those two mightie Cities) but a small stocke, which it behooued him to gouerne well: such another losse would haue made him almost bankrupt. Therefore he quietly brake vp his Campe, and retired home: intending to let them stand to their adventures, that had hope to be gainers by the bargain. The next day, *Claudius* perceiving the *Sicilian* Armie gone, did with great courage, and with much alacrity of his souldiers, give charge vpon the *Carthaginians*: wherein he sped so well, that the enemy forsooke both field and campe, leaving all the Countrey open to the *Romans*: who having spoyled all round, without resistance, intended to lay siege vnto the great City of *Syracuse*.

These prosperous beginnings, howsoever they animated the *Romans*, and filled them with hopes, of attaining to greater matters, than at the first they had expected: Yet did they not imprint any forme of terrour in the Citie of *Carthage*, that had well enough repaired greater losses than this; in which no more was lost, than what had bene prepared against the *Mamertines* alone, without any suspicion of Warre from *Rome*.

Now in this place I hold it seasonable, to consider of those grounds, whereupon the *Romans* entred into this warre, not how profitable they were, nor how agreeable to rules of honestie (for questionlesse the enterprize was much to their benefit, though as much to their shame) but how allowable in strict termes of lawfulness; whereupon they built all

their allegations in maintenance thereof. That the *Mamertines* did yeeld themselves, and all that they had, into the *Romans* hands (as the *Campanes*, distressed by the *Samnites*, had done) I cannot finde: neither can I finde, how the messengers of those folke, whereof one part had already admitted the *Carthaginians*, could bee enabled to make any such bargain, in the publike name of all.

If therefore the *Mamertines*, by no lawfull surrendrie of themselves and their possessions, were become subiect unto *Rome*, by what better title could the *Romans* assist the *Mamertines*, against their most ancient friends the *Carthaginians*, than they might haue against the *Campanes*, against the *Samnites*, without the same condition? which was (as they themselves confesse) by none at all. But let it be supposed, that some point serving to clear this doubt, is lost in all Histories. Doubtlesse it is, that no company of Pyrates, Thieves, Out-lawes, Murderers, or such other malefactours, can by any good successe of their villanie, obtaine the priuiledge of ciuill societies, to make league or truce, yea, or to require faire warre: but are by all means, as most pernicious vermine, to be rooted out of the world. I will not take vpon me, to maintaine that opinion of some *Ciuitians*, that a Prince is not bound to hold his faith with one of these; it were a Position of ill consequence: This I hold; that no one Prince, or State, can giue protection to such a state, as long as any other is vsing the sword of vengeance against them, without becoming necessary to their crimes. Wherefore, we may esteeme this action of the *Romans*, so farre from being iustificable, by any pretence of Confederacie made with them; what contrariwise, by admitting this nest of Murderers and Thieves, into their protection, they iustly deserued to be warred vpon themselves, by the people of *Sicil*; yea, although *Messana* had been taken, and the *Mamertines* all slaine, ere any newes of the Confederacie had bene brought vnto the besiegers. The great *Alexander* was so farre persuaded herein; that hee did put to sword all the *Branchiada* (a people in *Sogdiana*) and razed their Citie, notwithstanding that they ioyfully entertained him as their Lord and King; because they were descended from a Companie of *Milefians*, who to gratifie King *Alexander*, had robbed a Temple, and were by him rewarded with the Towne and Countrey, which these of their posteritie enioyed. Neuertheless, in course of humane iustice, long and peaceable possession giues *ius acquisitum*, a kinde of right by prescription, vnto that which was first obtained by wicked means: and doth free the descendents, from the crime of their Ancestors, whose villanies they doe not exercise. But that the same generation of Thieves, which by a detestable fact hath purchased a rich Towne, should be acknowledged a lawfull companie of Citizens, there is no shew of right. For euen the Conquerour, that by open warre obtaineth a Kingdome, doth not confirme his title, by those victories which gaue him first possession: but length of time is requisite, to establish him, vntil hee by some alliance with the ancient inheritors, he can better the violence of his claime; as did our King *Henrie* the first, by his marriage with *Maude*, that was daughter of *Malcolme*, King of the *Scots*, by *Margaret*, the Neece of *Edmund Ironside*. Wherefore I conclude, that the *Romans* had no better ground (if they had so good) of iustice, in this quarrell, than had the *Gothes*, *Hunnes*, *Vandalls*, and other Nations, of the warres that they made vpon the *Roman* Empire, wherein *Rome* her selfe, in the time of her villanion, was burnt to the ground.

§. IIII.

Of the Island of Sicil.

†. I.

The qualitie of the Island: and the first inhabitants thereof.

Defence of the *Mamertines*, or the possession of *Messana*, being now no longer, since the first victories of *Appian Claudius*, the objects of the *Roman* hopes; but the Dominion of all *Sicil* being the prize, for which *Rome* and *Carthage*, are already contend: it will bee agreeable vnto the order, which in the like cases wee haue observed, to make a brieue collection, of things, concerning that noble Island, which hath become stage of many great acts, performed, as well before and after, as in this present Warre.

That

therein seated (a Citie in beauty and riches, little, at that time, inferiour to *Carthage* and farre superiour to *Rome* it selfe) might become theirs; the safetie of their owne charge spake for these *Mamertines*: who, if they (driven to despair by the *Romans*) should deliver vp *Messana*, with those other holds that they had, into the hands of the *Carthaginians*, then would nothing stand betwene *Carthage* and the Lordship of *Sicily*: for *Syracuse* it selfe could not, for want of succour, any long time subsist, if once the *Carthaginians*, that were Masters of the Sea, did fasten vpon that passage from the maine Land. It was further considered; that the opportunitie of *Messana* was such, as would not onely debate, all succours out of the continent, from arrivall in *Sicily*; but would serve as a bridge, whereby the *Carthaginians* might have entrance into *Italy*, at their owne pleasure.

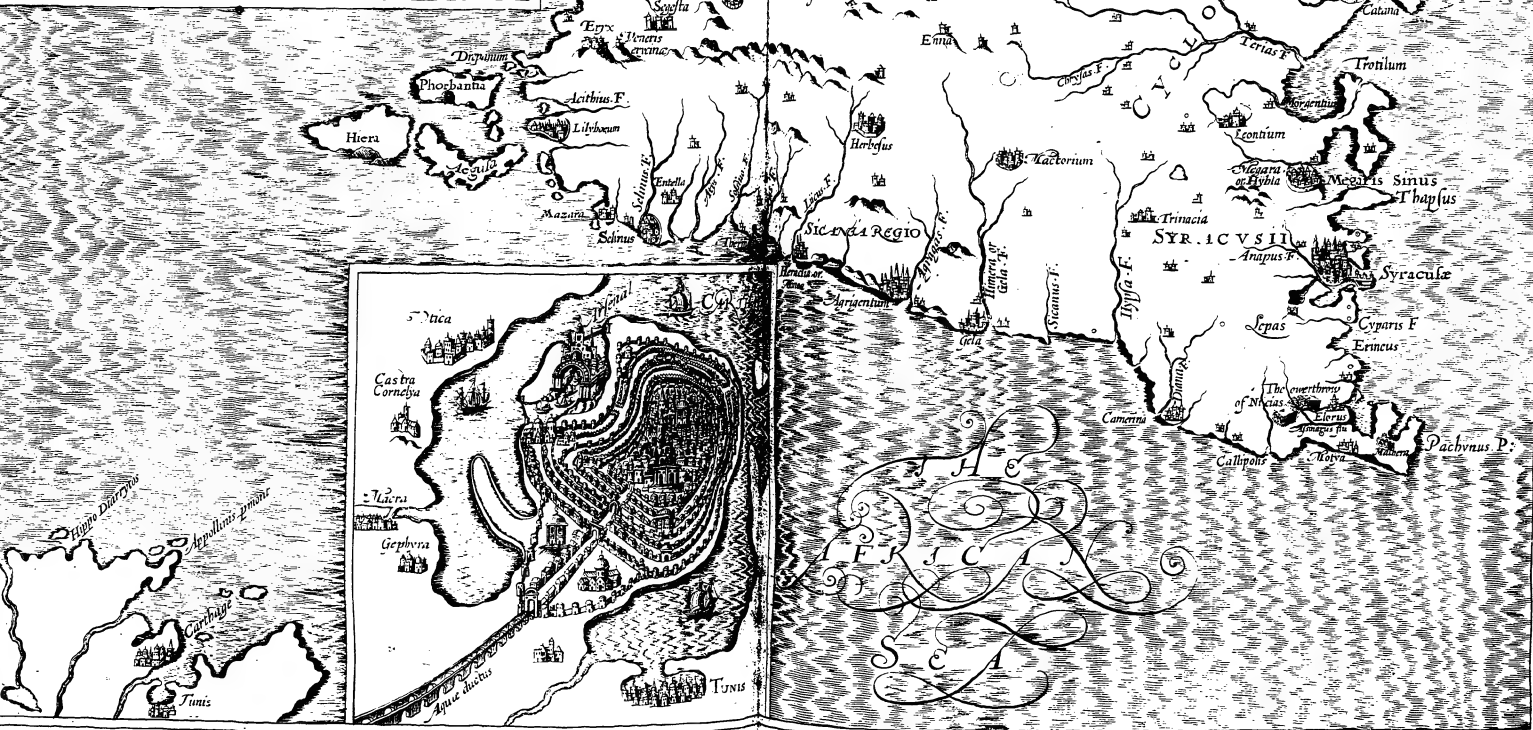
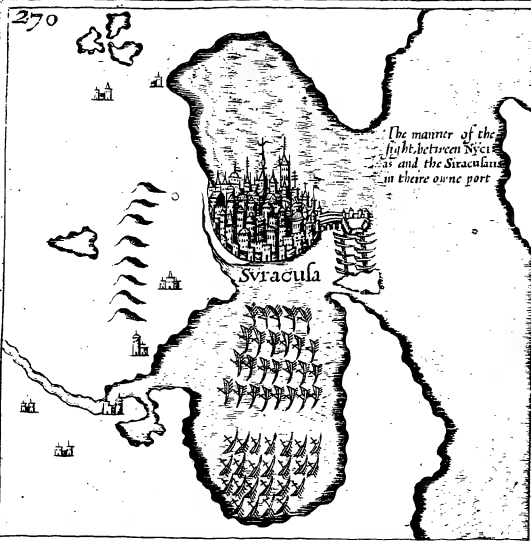
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Now in this place I hold it seasonable, to consider of those grounds, whereupon the *Romans* entred into this warre, not how profitable they were, nor how agreeable to rules of honestie (for questionlesse the enterprize was much to their benefit, though as much to their shame) but how allowable in strict termes of lawfulness; wherupon they built



all their allegations in maintenance thereof. That the *Mamertines* did yeeld themselves, and all that they had, into the *Romans* hands (as the *Campanes*, distressed by the *Samnites*, had done) I cannot finde: neither can I finde, how the messengers of those folke, where of one part had already admitted the *Carthaginians*, could be enabled to make any such surrendrie, in the publike name of all.

If therefore the *Mamertines*, by no lawfull surrendrie of themselves and their possessions, were become subiects vnto *Rome*, by what better title could the *Romans* assist the *Mamertines*, against their most ancient friends the *Carthaginians*, than they might haue aided the *Campanes*, against the *Samnites*, without the same condition: which was (as they themselves confessed) by none at all. But let it be supposed, that some point setting to cleare this doubt, is lost in all Histories. Doubtlesse it is, that no company of Pyrates, Theeves, Out-lawes, Murderers, or such other malefactours, can by any good successe of their villanie, obtaine the priuiledge of ciuill societies, to make league or truce, yea, or to require faire warre: but are by all means, as most pernicious vermine, to be rooted out of the world. I will not take vpon me, to maintaine that opinion of some *Ciuitians*, that a Prince is not bound to hold his faith with one of these; it were a Position of ill consequence: This I hold; that no one Prince, or State, can giue protection to such a stiffe, as long as any other is vsing the sword of vengeance against them, without becoming accessory to their crimes. Wherefore, we may esteeme this action of the *Romans*, so farre from being iustificable, by any pretence of Confederacie made with them; as that contrariwise, by admitting this nest of Murderers and Theeves, into their protection, they iustly deserved to be warred vpon themselves, by the people of *Sicily*; yea, although *Messana* had been taken, and the *Mamertines* all slaine, ere any newes of the Confederacie had bene brought vnto the besiegers. The great *Alexander* was so farre persuaded herein; that hee did put to sword all the *Branchiadae* (a people in *Sogdiana*) and razed their Citie, notwithstanding that they ioyfully entertained him as their Lord and King, because they were descended from a Companie of *Milefians*, who to gratifie King *Xerxes*, had robbed a Temple, and were by him rewarded with the Towne and Countie, which these of their posteritie enioyed. Neuertheless, in course of humane iustice, long and peaceable possession giues *ius acquisitum*, a kinde of right by prescription, vnto that which was first obtained by wicked means: and doth free the descendants, from the crime of their Ancestors, whose vilianies they doe not exercise. But that the same generation of Theeves, which by a detestable fact hath purchased a rich Towne, should beacknowledged a lawfull companie of Citizens, there is no shew of right. For euen the Conquerour, that by open warre obtaineth a Kingdome, doth not confirme his title, by those victories which gaue him first possession: but length of time is requisite, to establish him, vnlesse by some alliance with the ancient inheritors, he can better the violence of his claime; as did our King *Henrie* the first, by his marriage with *Maude*, that was daughter of *Malcolme*, King of the *Scots*, by *Margaret*, the Neece of *Edmund Ironside*. Wherefore I conclude, that the *Romans* had no better ground (if they had so good) of iustice, in this quarrell, than had the *Gothes*, *Hunnes*, *Pundalls*, and other Nations, of the warres that they made vpon the *Roman* Empire, wherein *Rome* her selfe, in the time of her visitation, was burnt to the ground.

§. IIII.

Of the Island of Sicily.

¶. I.

The qualitie of the Land: and the first inhabitants thereof.

The defence of the *Mamertines*, or the possession of *Messana*, being now no longer, since the first victories of *Appian Claudius*, the objects of the *Roman* hopes; but the Dominion of all *Sicily* being the prize, for which *Rome* and *Carthage*, are about to contend: it will be agreeable vnto the order, which in the like cases wee haue obserued, to make a briefe collection, of things concerning that noble Island, which hath bene the stage of many great acts, performed, as well before and after, as in this present Warre.

That

That *Sicily* was sometimes a *Peninsula*, or *Demie-Ile*, adioyned to *Italy*, as a part of *Bruttium* in *Calabria*, neere vnto *Rhegium*, and afterward by violence of tempest, severed from the same: it is a generall opinion of all antiquitie. But at what certaine time this diuision happened, there is no memoriall remaining, in any ancient writer. *Strabo*, *Pliny*, and *Dionysius*, affirme, that it was caused by an earthquake; *Silius* and *Cassiodorus*, doe thinke it to haue bene done by the rage and violence of the tide, and surges of the Sea. Either of these opinions may be true; for so was *Euboea* severed from *Boeotia*; *Adalane* and *Macris*, from *Euboea*; *Sillie* here in *England*, from the Cape of *Cornwall*; and *Britaine* it selfe (as may seeme by *Versteegans* arguments) from the opposite continent of *Gaul*. But for *Sicily*, they which lend their eares to fables, doe attribute the cause of it to *Nep-10 tunc* (as *Eustathius* witnesseth) who with his three-forked Mace, in fauour of *Iaculus*, the sonne of *Æolus*, diuided it from the maine land, and so made it an Iland, which before was but a *Demie-Ile*; that by that meanes, he might the more safely inhabit, and possesse the same. *Diodorus Siculus*, moued by the authoritie of *Hesiodus*, ascribeth the labour of fundering it from *Italy*, to *Orion*: who, that he might be compared to *Hercules* (cutting through the rocks and mountains) first opened the *Sicilian* streights, as *Hercules* did those of *Gibraltar*.

They which value the Ilands of the mid-land Sea, according to their quantitie and content, doe make this the greatest, as *Eustathius* and *Strabo*, who affirme this, not only to excell the rest for bignesse, but also for goodnesse of soyle. As concerning the forme of this Iland, *Pomponius Mela* saith, it is like that Capitall letter of the *Greeke*, which they call *Delta*, namely, that it hath the figure of a triangle; which is generally knowne to be true. That the whole Iland was consecrated to *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, all old writers with one consent affirme. To *Ceres* it was dedicated, because it first taught the rules of sowing and sowing of Come: to *Proserpina*, not so much, for that she was from hence violently taken by *Pluto*, as because (which *Plutarch* and *Diodorus* do report for truth) that *Pluto*, as soone as she, vncouering her selfe, first shewed her selfe to bee seene of him, gaue her the Dominion thereof.

Of the fertilitie and riches of this Countrey, there is a famous testimonie written by *Cicero*, in his second Oration against *Verres*, where hee saith, that *Marcus Cato* did call *30* the *Granarie*, and *Store-house* of the Common-wealth, and the Nurse of the vulgar sort. The same *Cicero* doth adde in that place, that it was not only the store-house of the people of *Rome*: but also that it was a well-furnished treasure. For without any cost or charge of ours (saith he) it hath vsually clothed, maintained, and furnished, our greatest Armies, with leather, apparel, and corne. *Strabo* reporteth almost the same thing of it. Whatsoeuer *Sicilie* doth yeeld (saith *Solinus*) whether by the Sunne, and temperance of the aire, or by the industrie and labour of man, it is accounted next vnto those things that are of best estimation: were it not that such things, as the earth first putteth forth, are extremely ouer-grown with saffron. *Diodorus Siculus* saith, that in the fields neere vnto *Leontium*, and in diuers other places of this Iland, wheat doth grow of it selfe without *40* any labour, or looking to of the husbandman. *Martianus* sheweth, that there were in sixe Colonies, and sixtie Cities: there are that reckon more, whereof the names are found scatteringly in many good Authors.

Now besides many famous acts, done by the people of this Iland, as well in peaces warre; there be many other things, which haue made it very renowned, as the birth of *Ceres*; the rauishing of *Proserpina*; the Giant *Enceladus*; the mount *Ætna*, *Sylla* & *Char-rybia*, with other antiquities, and rarities; besides those learned men, the noble *Mathematician* *Archimedes*, the famous *Geometrician* *Euclides*, the painfull Historian *Diodorus*; and *Empedocles* the deepe Philosopher.

That *Sicily* was at first possessed and inhabited by Giants *Lastrigones*, and *Cyclopes*, barbarous people, and vnciuill; all histories and fables doe ioynly with one consent aucter. Yet *Thucydides* saith, that these sauage people dwelt only in one part of the Iland. Afterward the *Sicani*, a people of *Spain*, possessed it. That these *Sicani* were not bredde in the Isle (although some doe thinke,) *Thucydides* and *Diodorus* doe very constantly auouch.

Of these it was named *Sicania*. These *Sicani* were innaded by the *Siculi*, who, inhabiting that part of *Latium*, whereon *Rome* was afterward built, were driven by the *Pelagians* from their owne seates, and finding no place vpon the Continent, which they were able to

master

master and inhabite, passed ouer into this Iland, three hundred yeres before the *Greekes* sent any Colonies thither: and (saith *Philistus*) eighty yeres before the fall of *Troy*. These *Siculi* gaue the name of *Sicilia*, to the Iland; and making warre vpon the *Sicani*, draue them from the East and Northerne part thereof, into the West and South. At their landing, they first built the Citie *Zancle*, afterward called *Messina*; and after that, *Catana*, *Leontium*, and *Syracuse* it selfe, bearing from thence the *Ætolians*, who long before had set vpon *Towne* in that place. As for the name of *Syracuse*, it was not known, till such time as *Archias* of *Corinth* (long after) wonne that part of the Iland from the *Siculi*; Neither did the *Siculi* at their first arriuall disposse the *Ætolians* thereof, but some hundred yeres after their descent, and after such time as they had founded the Cities before named, with *Naxos*, *Hybla*, *Trinacria*, and diuers others.

After these *Siculi* came another Nation out of *Italy*, called *Morgetes*; who were thence driven by the *Oenotrians*. These sate downe in that part of *Sicily*, where they afterward built the Cities of *Morgentum*, and *Leontium*. For at this time the *Siculi* were diuided, and by a ciuill war greatly infeebled. Among these ancient stories, we finde the last voice, and the death of *Minos*, King of *Creet*. *Thucydides*, an Historian of vnquestionable sinceritie, reports of *Minos*, that he made conquest of many Ilands: and some such business, perhaps drew him into *Sicily*. But the common report is, that he came thither in pursuit of *Dadalus*. The tale goes thus: *Dadalus* fleeing the reuenge of *Minos*, came into *Sicily* to *Cocalus*, King of the *Sicani*, and during his abode there, he built a place of great strength, neere vnto *Megara*, for *Cocalus*, to lay vp his treasure in; together with many notable works, for which he was greatly admired and honoured.

Among the rest, he cast a Ramme in gold, that wast vp in the Temple of *Venus Erynia*, which hee did with so great Art, as those that beheld it, thought it rather to be lying, than counterfeit.

Now *Minos*, hearing that *Cocalus* had entertained *Dadalus*, prepares to inuade the Territory of *Cocalus*; but when he was arrived, *Cocalus* doubting his owne strength, prometh to deliuer *Dadalus*. This he performs not, but in the meane while, kills *Minos* by treason, and perswades the *Cretans*, *Minos* his followers, to inhabite a part of *Sicily*; the better (as it seems) to strengthen himselfe against the *Siculi*. Hereunto the *Cretans* (their King being dead) gaue their consent, and builded for themselves the Citie of *Minos*, after the name of their King *Minos*. After, they likewise built the Towne of *Engium*, now called *Gunge*; and these were the first Cities, built by the *Greekes* in *Sicily*, about two ages before the warre of *Troy*; for the grand-children of *Minos* serued with the *Greekes* at the siege thereof.

But after such time as the *Cretans* vnderstood, that their King had by treason bene made away; they gathered together a great Armie, to inuade *Cocalus*; and landing neere vnto *Camicus*, they besieged the same five yeres, but in vaine. In the end (being forced to retire, without any reuenge taken) they were wrackt on the coast of *Italy*, and having no meanes to repaire their ships, nor the honour they had lost, they made good the place whereon they fell, and built *Hyria*, or *Hyrium*, betwene the two famous Ports of *Brundisium* and *Tarentum*. Of these *Cretans* came those Nations, afterward called *Saguntum* and *Messapij*.

After the taking of *Troy*, *Ægeus* and *Elasmus*, brought with them certaine troops into *Sicily*, and seated themselves among the *Sicani*; where they built the Cities of *Ægesta* and *Elyma*.

It is said, that *Æneas* visited these places in his passage into *Italy*: and that some of the *Truies*, his followers, were left behinde him, in these Townes of *Sicily*: whereof there were not good Authors, that make *Æneas* himselfe the founder.

About the same time, the *Phœnicians* seized vpon the Promontories of *Pachinus*, and *Lipsum*, and vpon certaine small Isles adioyning to the maine Iland: which they fortified, to secure the trades that they had with the *Sicilians*; like as the *Portugals* haue done in the East *India*, at *Goa*, *Ormus*, *Mosambig*, and other places. But the *Phœnicians* staid no there; for after they had once assured their descents, they built the goodly Citie of *Panormus*, now called *Palerma*.

We finde, were the Nations that inhabited the Isle of *Sicily*, before the warre of *Troy*, and ere the *Greekes* in any numbers began to straggle in those parts.

It may perchance seeme strange to the Reader, that in all ancient storie, hee findes one

and the same beginning of Nations, after the flood; and that the first planters of all parts of the World, were said to be mighty and Giant-like men; and that, as *Phœnicia*, *Ægypt*, *Lybia*, and *Greece*, had *Hercules*, *Orestes*, *Antæus*, *Typhon*, and the like; as *Denmark* had *Starckaterus*, remembered by *Saxo Grammaticus*; as *Scythia*, *Britanie*, and other Regions, had Giants for their first Inhabitants; so this Isle of *Sicily* had her *Leſtrigones* and *Cyclops*. This discourse I could also recite for famed and fabulous; did not *Moses* makes us know, that the *Zamcummins*, *Enims*, *Anakims*, and *Og of Basan*, with others, which sometime inhabited the Mountaines and Desarts of *Moab*, *Ammon*, and *Mount Seir*, were men of exceeding strength and stature, and of the races of Giants: and were it not, that *Tertulian*, *S. Augustine*, *Nicephorus*, *Procopius*, *Isidore*, *Plinie*, *Diodore*, *Hierodotus*, *Solinus*, *Plutarch*, and many other Authois, have confirmed the opinion. Yea, *Vesputius*, in his second Navigation into *America*, hath reported, that himselfe hath seen the like men in those parts. Againe, whereas the selfe same is written of all Nations, that is written of any one; as touching their simplicitie of life, their meane fare, their feeding on acorns, and roots, their poore cottages, the covering of their bodies with the skins of beasts, their hunting, their armes, and weapons, & their first warfare, their passages over great Riuer, and armes of the Sea, vpon rafts of trees tied together; and afterward, their making boats, first, of twigs and leather, then of wood; first, with Oars, & then with sail; that they esteemed as gods, the first makers out of Auts; as of Husbandrie, of Lawes, and of Policie: it is a matter, that findes me neither to wonder at, nor to doubt of. For they all liued in the same newnesse of time, which we call *Old time*, and had all the same want of his instruction, which (after the Creator of all things) hath by degrees taught all Mankind. For other teaching had they none, that were remooued farre off from the *Hebreues*, (who inherited the knowledge of the first Patriarchs), yea that from variable effects they beganne, by time and degrees, to finde out the causes: from whence came Philosophie Natural, as the morall did from disorder and confusion; and the Law from crueltie and oppression.

But it is certaine, that the Age of *Time* hath brought forth stranger and more incredible things, than the Infancie. For wee haue now greater Giants, for vice and iniustice, than the World had in those daies, for bodily strength; for cottages, and houses of clay, and Timber, we haue raised Palaces of stone; we carue them, we paint them, and adorne them with gold; in so much as men are rather knowne by their houses, than their houses by them; we are fallen from two dishes, or two hundred; from water, to wine and drunkenness; from the covering of our bodies with the skinnies of beasts, not onely with silk and gold, but to the very skinnies of men. But to conclude this digression, *Time* will also take reuenge of the excess, which it hath brought forth; *Quam longa dies peperit, longior, auxit, longissima subruet. Long time brought forth, longer time increaseth it, and time, longer than the rest, shall overthrow it.*

t. II.

The plantation of the Greekes in Sicill.

When the first inhabitants had contended long enough about the Dominion of all *Sicily*: it happened, that one *Theocles*, a *Greece*, being driuen vpon that coast by an Easterly wind; and finding true the commendations thereof, which had beene thought fabulous, being deliuered only by Poets; gaue information to the *Athenians*: of this discouerie, & proposed vnto them the benefit of this easie conquest, offering to become their guide. But *Theocles* was as little regarded by the *Athenians*, as *Columbus*, in our Grand-fathers times, was by the *Englysh*. Wherefore he took the same course that *Columbus* afterwards did. He our-laboured not himselfe in perswading the Noble *Athenians* (who thought themselves to be well enough already) to their owne profit; but went to the *Chalcidians*, that were needie and indolent, by whom his proiect was gladly entertained. By these was built the Citie of *Naxos*, and a Colony planted of *Eubœans*.

But the rest of the *Greekes* were wiser than our westerne Princes of *Europe*: for they had no Pope, that should forbid them, to occupie the void places of the World. *Archus* of *Corinth* followed the *Eubœans*, and landed in *Sicily*, neare vnto that Citie, called afterward *Syracuse*: of which, that part onely was then compassed with a wall, which the

Ætolians

Ætolians called *Homothermon*; the *Greekes*, *Naxos*; the *Latines*, *Insula*. He with his *Corinthians* haue ouer-come the *Siculi*, draue them vp into the Countie; and after a few yeeres, their multitudes increasing, they added vnto the Citie of the land, that of *Agrigentum*, *Typha*, and *Neapolis*. So as well by the commoditie of the double Port, capable of as many ships, as any Haven of that part of *Europe*, as by the fertilitie of the soyle, *Syracuse* grew vp in great haste, to be one of the goodliest Towns of the world. In short time the *Greekes* did possesse the better part of all the Sea-coast; forcing the *Sicilians* to withdraw themselves into the fast and mountainous parts of the land, making their Royall residence in *Trinacia*.

Some few yeeres after the arrivall of *Archus*, the *Chalcidians*, encouraged by the successe of the *Corinthians*, did assaile, and obtaine the Citie of *Leontium*, built and possessed by the *Siculi*. In bricfe, the *Greekes* winne from the *Siculi*, and their Associates, the Citie of *Catana* and *Egibla*, which, in honour of the *Megarians* that fort' it, they called *Megara*.

About 45. yeeres after *Archus* had taken *Syracuse*; *Antiphemus* and *Entimus*, the one from *Rhodes*, the other from *Crete*, brought an Armie into *Sicily*, and built *Gela*; a whole Citie, one hundred and eight yeeres after, did erect that magnificent and renowned Citie of *Aggrigentum*, gouerned according to the Lawes of the *Dorians*.

The *Syracusians* also, in the seventieth yere after their plantation, did set vp the Citie of *Agra*, in the Mountaines; and in the ninetieth yere *Casmens*, in the Playnes adjoining; and againe, in the hundred and thirtieth yere of their dwelling in *Syracuse*, they built *Camerina*; and soon after that, *Enna*, in the very Center of the land. So did the *Cumani*, about the same time, recouer from the *Siculi* the Citie of *Zancle*, which they had founde in the streight betwene *Sicily* and *Italie*. They of *Zancle* had bene the founders of *Timera*.

Not long after this *Dorians* the *Lacedemonians* built *Heracleia*; which the *Phœnicians*, and *Carthaginians*, fearing the Neighbourhood of the *Spartans*, soone after invaded and ruined, though the same were againe ere long re-edified.

Selinus also was built by a Colonie of *Megara*; and *Zancle* was taken by the *Messeniens*; who having lost their owne Countie, gaue the name thereof vnto this their new purchase. Such were the beginnings of the greatest Cities in this land.

t. III.

Of the government and affaires of Sicill, before Dionysius his Tyrannie.

The most part of the Cities in *Sicily*, were gouerned by the rule of the people, till such times as *Phalaris* began to vsurpe the state of *Aggrigentum*, and to exercise all manner of tyrannic therein.

This was that *Phalaris*, to whom *Perillus*, the cunning Artificer of a detestable Engine, gaue an hollow Bull of brass, wherein to enclose men, and scorch them to death: praying the deuce with this commendation; That the noise of one tormented therein, should be like vnto the bellowing of a Bull. The Tyrant gaue a due reward to the Inuentor; by causing the first triall to be made vpon himselfe. He reigned one and thirty yeeres, saith *Enſelius*; others giue him but sixteen: Howsoever it were, one *Telemachus* in the end, fell vpon him with the whole multitude of *Aggrigentum*, and stoned him to death; by setting thereto animated by *Zeno*, euen whilst the Tyrant was tormenting the same *Zeno*, to make him confesse some matter of conspiracie.

After the death of *Phalaris*, the Citizens recouered their libertie, and enjoyed it long, till *Thero* vsurped the gouernment of the Common-weale: at which time also *Pametus* made himselfe Lord of *Leontium*; and *Cleander*, of *Gela*: but *Cleander*, hauing ruled 7. yeeres, was slaine by one of the Citizens. *Cleander* being dead, his brother *Hippocrates* succeeded in his room, and greatly afflicted the people of *Naxos*, of *Zancle* or *Messena*, and of *Leontium*; whom with diuers others of the ancient inhabitants, hee forced to acknowledge him their Lord. He also made warre with the *Syracusians*, and, in the end, got from them by composition, the Citie of *Camerina*. But when he had reigned seven yeeres, he was slaine in a battell against the *Siculi*, before *Egibla*.

At this time did the *Syracusians* change their forme of Government, from *Popular* to *Aristeraticall*; a preparation towards a Principality, wherinto it was soon after changed.

L III 2

After

Saxo Grammaticus, Hist. Danic.

Tertulian, de Resur. Aug. de Cuius. De lib. 5. 9. 22. quest. in Gen. Prop. 1. 2. 27. de Bello Geth. Plin. l. 7. c. 2.

* *Syracuse*, as *Cicero* relates, was the greatest, and most goodly Citie of all that the *Greekes* possessed. For the situation is both strong, and of an excellent prospect from euery entrance, by Land, or Sea. The Port was (for the most part) enuironed with beautiful building; and that part which was without the City, was on both sides banked vp, and sustained with beautiful walls of Marble. The Citie itselfe was one of the greatest of the World: for it had in compass (as *Strabo* reporteth) without the triple wall thereof, 180. furlongs; which made of our miles about 18. It was composed of three Cities. (*Syracusa* finit, of fine) to wit, *Epiphanis*, *Aradina*, *Typha*, and *Neapolis*: of which *Syracusa* was the chief, and the ruins & foundations of the walls doe yet remaine.

After such time as the Duke of *Polonois* had taken out the *Sicilians*, this goodly Citie for a long time became the seat of Tyrants. The first whereof was *Gelo*; the second, *Hierocles*; the third, *Therastus*; the fourth, and fifth, *Dionysius*, the elder, and younger; the sixth, the famous *Agathocles*; the seventh, *Pyrrhus*; the eighth, *Hiero*, the younger; the ninth, and last, *Hieronymus*; who became slaine at *Leontium*, at length the *Romans* conquered it, under the conduct of *Marcus*.

After the death of *Hippocrates*, *Gelon* (descended from the *Rhodiens*, which together with the *Cretans* had long before, among other of the *Greekes*, seated themselves in *Sicily* that had commanded the forces of *Hippocrates*, in the former warre, with notable successe, became Lord of *Gela*. He, after his Masters death, breaking the trust committed vnto him by *Hippocrates* ouer his children, and being in possession of *Gela*, tooke the occasion and advantage of a contention in *Syracuse*, betwene the Magistrates and the People. For comming with a strong Armie to the succour of the Gouernours, driuen out by the tumultuaries, they elected him their Prince, being the first, and (indeed) the most famous, that euer gouerned the *Syracusians*. This change happened in the second yeere of the threescore and twelfth *Olympiad*; wherein the better to establish himselfe, he tooke to wife the Daughter of *Thero*, who had also usurped the state of *Agrirentum*.

Dausen. l. 6.

Now this *Gelon*, the sonne of *Dinomenes*, had three brethren; *Hiero*, *Polyzelus*, and *Thrasibulus*: to the first of which he gaue vp the Citie of *Gela*, when hee had obtained the Principallitie of *Syracuse*. For, after that time, all his thoughts trauelled in strengthening, beautifying, and amplifying of *Syracuse*. He defaced *Camerina*, that a little before was fallen from the obedience of the *Syracusians* who built it, and brought the Citizens to *Syracuse*. The *Megetarians* that had moued a warre against him, he ouer-came; the richer sort hee brought vnto *Syracuse*; and the people hee sold for slaues. In like manner dealt hee with other places vpon the like occasion. Not long after this, *Thero*, a Prince of the *Agrirentines*, having dispossessed *Terillus*, of his Citie *Himera*; the *Carthaginians* were drawn into the quarrell by *Anaxilus*, Lord of *Messena*, Father-in-law to *Terillus*: and *Gelon* was also solicited by his Father-in-law, *Thero*. *Gelon* was content, and in fine, after diuers conflicts, the *Carthaginians*, and other *Africans*, led by *Amilcar*, were overthrowne by *Gelon*: and an hundred and fiftie thousand of them left their bodies in *Sicily*.

Harod. 6. Di.

This *Gelon* it was, to whom the *Athenians* and *Lacedemonians* sent for succour, when *Xerxes* with his huge Armie past the *Hellefont*. He, for their reliefe hauing armed thirty thousand Souldiers, and two hundred ships, refused neuertheless to send them into *Greece*, because they refused him the commendement of one of their Armies, either by Sea, or Land. So hee vsed to their Embassadors only this saying, *That their Spring was withered*; accepting the Armie, by him prepared, to be the very flower of the *Greece* Nation.

The *Carthaginians*, after this great losse received, fearing the inuasion of their owne Countre, sent to *Gelon* by their Embassadors, to desire peace; who grants it them on these conditions: That from thenceforth they should not sacrifice their children to *Mortuaries*; That they should pay him 2000. talents of siluer, and present him with two armed ships, in signe of amitie. These conditions the *Carthaginians*, not onely willingly accepted, but with the two thousand talents, and the ships for warre, they sent vnto *Demaratus*, *Gelons* wife, a crowne, valued at an hundred talents of gold, with other presents. Whereby we see, that some Nations, and some Natures, are much the better for being well beaten. The warres ended, and *Sicily* in peace; *Gelon* beautified the Temples of the gods, and erected others in honour of them. So being exceedingly beloued and honoured of his Subjects, he left the World, and left for his Successour his brother *Hiero*. *Philistus* and *Plinie* report, That, when his body was burnt, according to the custome of that Age, a Dogge of his, which alwaies waited on him, ranne into the fire, and suffered himselfe to be burnt with him.

To *Gelon*, *Hiero* his brother succeeded, a man rude, cruell, couetous, and so suspicious of his brethren *Polyzelus*, and *Thrasibulus*, as hee fought by all meanes to destroy them. Notwithstanding all this; by the conseruation which he had with *Simonides*, he became of better condition, and greatly delighted with the studie of good Arts. Diuers quarrels he had, as well with *Theron* of *Agrirentum*, as with other Cities: all which he shortly after compounded, and gaue a notable ouerthrow to the *Carthaginians*, whom *Xerxes* had incited to invade *Sicily*, fearing the succours which *Gelon* had prepared, to aide the *Graecians*, against him. Hee also overthrow in battaile *Thrasydemus*, the sonne of *Theron*, and thereby restored the *Agrirentines*, to their former libertie. But in the end, hee lost the loue of the *Syracusians*; and after hee had reigned 11. yeares, hee left the kingdom to his brother *Thrasibulus*, who became a most vniust & bloody Tyrane. *Thrasibulus* enjoyed his Principallitie no longer then ten moneths. For, notwithstanding the force

force of mercenary Souldiers, which hee entertained for his guards, hee was beaten out of *Syracuse* by the Citizens; to whom, being besieged in *Acradina*, he restored the gouernement, and was banished the land. From whence hee sailed into *Greece*, where hee died a priuate man, among the *Locrians*.

And now had the *Syracusians* recovered againe their former libertie, as all the rest of the Cities did, after which they had neuer sought, had the Successors of *Gelon* inherited his vertue, as they did the Principallitie of *Syracuse*. For in all changes of Estates, the preference ought to answere the acquisition. Where a liberrall, valiant, and aduiled Prince, hath obtained any new Signiorie, and added it to that of his owne, or exalted himselfe from being a priuate man, to the dignitie of a Prince; it behooueth the Successour to maintaine it by the same way and art, by which it was gotten.

To conclude, *Syracuse* (though not without blows, ere that shee could cleanse her selfe of the creatures and louers of *Gelon*) was now againe become Mistress of her selfe, and held herselfe free, well-neere threescore yeares, to the time of *Dionysius*; though shee were in the meane while greatly endangered by a Citizen of her owne, called *Timbrio*.

Now, to prevent the greatest of any one among them, for the future, they deuised a kinde of banishment of such among them, as were suspected; taking patterne from the *Athenian Ostracisme*. They called this their new deuised iudgement of exile, *Petastismus*, wherein euery one wrote vpon an Olive leafe (as at *Athens* they wrote vpon shells) the name of him, whom hee would haue expelled the Citie. Hee that had most suffrages against him, was banished for five yeeres. Heere by in a short time, it came to passe that kinde of iudgement, and best able to gouerne the Common-weale, were by the worst able, either suppress, or thrust out of the Citie. Yea, such as feared this Law, though they had not yet felt it, withdrew themselves as secretly as they could; seeking some place of more securitie, wherein to maintaine themselves. And good reason they had so to doe; seeing that there is nothing so terrible in any State, as a powerfull and authorized ignorance. But this Law lasted not very long. For their necessity taught them to abolish it, and restore againe the wiser sort vnto the Gouernment; from which, the Nobilitie hauing practised to banish one another, the State became altogether Popular. But after a while, being inuaded by *Ducetius*, King of the *Sicilians*, who inhabited the inner part of the land (who had alreadye taken *Enna*, and some other of the *Graecian* Cities, and overthrowne the Arke of the *Agrirentines*) the *Syracusians* sent forces against him, commanded by an vnworthy Citizen of theirs, called *Belcon*. This their Captaine made nothing so much haile to finde out *Ducetius*, against whom he was employed, as hee did to flee from the Armie he led, as soon as *Ducetius* perceived him battell. So for want of conduct, the greatest number of the *Syracusians* perished.

But making better choice among those whom they had banished, they leaue other troops: by whom, in conclusion, *Ducetius* being beaten, submitted himselfe, and is constrained to leaue the land for a time. Yet it was not long ere he returned againe, and built the Citie *Collatina* on the Sea-side.

Ducetius being dead, all the *Greece* Cities did in a sort acknowledge *Syracuse*; *Trinacria* excepted, which also by force of armes, in the fourdecire and fift *Olympiad*, they brought to reason.

But they doe not long enioy this their Superintendencie. For the Citizens of *Leontium*, being oppressed by them, secke aide from the *Athenians*, about the first yeere of the *Peloponnesian* Warre. In this faire they preuailed by the eloquence of *Gorgias* their Orator; and gaue an hundred *Athenian* Gallies to succour them, vnder the leading of *Laches*, and *Chararides*. To this fleet, the *Leontines*, and their Partners, added one hundred more; with which forces, and with some supplies brought by *Sophocles*, *Pythodorus*, *Eurytemon*, and other *Athenian* Captaines, they invaded the Territories of the *Syracusians*, and their Partisans; wanne and lost diuers places; tooke *Messana*; and, in the fourth yeere of the *Peloponnesian* Warre, lost it againe. They also at the same time, attempted *Himera*, but in vaine. The fire of this quarrell tooke hold vpon many Cities, which did invade each others Territorie with great violence. But when they had wearied themselves on all hands, and yet could see none issue of the warre, the *Leontines*, without the aduice of the *Athenians*, came to an accord with the *Syracusians*, and were

admitted into their societie, with equall freedom. So the *Athenians*, who hoped to haue greatned themselves in *Sicill*, by the diuision and ciuill warre, were disappointed of their expectation, by the good agreement of the *Sicilians*, and faime to be gone with the broken remainder of their fleet. This they knew not how to amend; but (according to the custome of popular Estates) by taking reuenge vpon their owne Commanders. So they banished *Pythodorus*, and *Sophocles*, and layd an heauy fine vpon *Eurymedon*. Shortly after this, followed the most memorable warre, that euer was made by the *Greekes* in *Sicill*: which was that of the *Athenians*, against the *Selinuntines* and *Syracusians*, in fauor of the Cities of *Egeffa*, *Leontium*, and *Catana*. They of *Selinus* had opprest the *Egeffians*; and they of *Syracuse*, the *Leontines*, & the *Catanians*: which was the ground of the warre. For, the *Athenians* undertooke the protection of their olde friends: and, in hatred of the *Athenians*, aide from *Lacedamon* was sent to the *Syracusians*. The *Lacedamonians* dealt plainly, hauing none other end, than that which they pretended, namely, to helpe a people of their owne Tribe, that craued their succor, being in distresse. The *Athenians* scarce knew what to pretend: for their preparations were so great, as discovered their intent to be none other, than the conquest of the whole Island. Yet they which had called them in, were so blinded with their owne passions, that they would not beleue their own eyes, which presented vnto them a Fleet and Armie, farre greater, than the terrible report of fame had made it.

In this expedition, the Citie of *Athens* had engaged all her power; as regarding, not only the greatnesse of the enterprise, but the necessitie of finishing it in a short space of time. For the *Lacedamonians* (as hath already bene shewed in due place) stood at that time in such broken termes of peace with *Athens*, as differed not much from open war. Wherefore it was thought necessary, either to spare cost in this great expedition, or altogether to forbear it: which was likely to be hindered by warres at home, if their proceedings were slacke abroad. And surely, had not the desire of the *Athenians* been overpassionate, the arguments of *Nicias* had caused them to abstaine from so chargeable businesse, and to retrue their forces for a more needfull vs. But young counsailes prevailed against the authoritie of ancient men, that were more regardfull of safety than of honour.

Of this businesse, mention hath bene already made, in that which wee haue written of the *Peloponnesian* warre. But what was there deliuered in generall termes, as not concerning the affaires of *Greece*, otherwise than by consequence; doth in this place require a more perfect relation, as a matter, wherein the whole State of *Sicill* was like to haue felt a great conuersion.

Though *Alcibiades* had prevailed against *Nicias*, in exhorting the people to this great voyage, yet *Nicias*, together with *Alcibiades*, and *Lamachus*, was appointed to be one of the chiefe Commanders therein.

These had commission & direction, as well to succour the *Segestans*, and to re-establish the *Leontines*, cast out of their places by the *Syracusians*; as also by force of armes, to subiect the *Syracusians*; and all their adherents in *Sicill*, and compell them by tribute, to acknowledge the *Athenians* for their supreme Lords. To effect which, the fore-named Captaines were sent off, with an hundred and thirty Gallies, and five thousand one hundred Souldiers, besides the thirty ships of burden, which transported their victuals, engines, and other munitions for the warre: and these were *Athenians*, *Mantians*, *Rhodians*, and *Candians*: there were, besides these, sixe thousand *Megarians* light armed, with thirtie horsemen.

With these troupes and fleets they arriue at *Rhegium*, where the *Rhegians* refuse to giue them entrie, but sell them victuals for their monie. From thence they sent to the *Egestans*, to know what treasure they would contribute towards the warre, seeing for this sakes they had entred thereinto. But they found by their answers, that these *Egestans* were poore, and that they had abused the *Athenian* Embassadors with false shewes of gold, hauing in all but 30. talents. The *Athenians* further were discouraged, when they found that the *Rhegians*, their ancient friends, and allied vnto the *Leontines*, refused to trust them within their walls. Hereupon *Nicias* aduiseeth to depart towards the *Selinuntines*, and to force them, or perswade them to an agreement with the *Egestans*; as likewise to see what disbursemens the *Egestans* could make; and so returne againe into *Greece*, and not to waste *Athens* in a needlesse warre. *Alcibiades*, on the other side, would

solicite the Cities of *Sicill* to confederacie against the *Syracusians* and *Selinuntines*, whereby to force them vnto restitution of all that they had taken from the *Leontines*. *Lamachus*, he perswades them to assaile *Syracuse* it selfe, before it were prepared against them. But in the end (being excluded out of diuers Cities) they surprize *Catana*: and there they take new countaile, how to proceede. Thence they imploied *Nicias* to those of *Egeffa*, who receiued from them thirtie talents towards his charges; and one hundred and twentie talents more there were of the spoiles they had gotten in the Island. Thus, the summer being spent in idle consultations, and vaine attempts, the *Athenians* prepare to assaile *Syracuse*. But *Alcibiades* hauing bene accused at home, in his absence, was sent for backe by the *Athenians*, to wake his answere: and the Armie was left to the conduct of *Nicias* and *Lamachus*. These Commanders obtaine a landing place very neere vnto *Syracuse*, by this deuce.

They imploie to *Syracuse* an inhabitant of *Catana*, whom they trust; and instruct him, to promise vnto the *Syracusians*, that he would deliuer into their hands all the *Athenians*, within *Catana*. Hereupon the *Syracusians* draw thitherward with their best forces. But in the meane while, the *Athenians*, setting saile from *Catana*, arriue at *Syracuse*, where they land at first ease, and fortifie themselves against the Towne. Shortly after this, they fight, and the *Syracusians* had the losse: but the *Athenians*, wanting horse, could not pursue their victory to any great effect. They then retire themselves, with a resolution to refresh their Armie at *Catana*, for the winter-season. From thence they made an attempt vpon *Messana*, hoping to haue taken it by an intelligence, but in vaine. For *Alcibiades* had discovered such as were Traitors within the Citie to the *Messinians*. This he now did, in despite of his owne Citizens, the *Athenians*; because they had recalled him from his command, with a purpose either to haue put him to death, or to haue banished him: whereof being assured by his friends, he tooke his way towards the *Lacedamonians*, and to them he gaue mischievous counsaile against his countrie. While this winter yet lasted, the *Syracusians* send Embassadors to *Lacedamon*, and *Corinth*, for aide: as likewise the *Athenian* Captaines in *Sicill*, send to *Athens*, for supplies. Which both the one and the other obtained.

In the Spring following (which was the beginning of the eighteenth yeare of the *Peloponnesian* warre) the *Athenians* in *Sicill*, saile from the Port of *Catana*, to *Megara*, forsaken of the Inhabitants, from whence forraging the Countrie, they obtaine some small victories ouer the straggling *Syracusians*: and at their returne to *Catana*, they receiue a supply of two hundred men at armes, but without horse, which they hoped to furnish in the Island, from the *Segestans*, and other their adherents: they were also strengthened with a company of Archers, and with three hundred talents in money.

Hereupon they take courage, and incampe neere *Syracuse*, vpon the banks of the great Pon, repelling the *Syracusians*, that sallied to impeach their intrinchements. They also receiued from their Confederates foure hundred horse-men, with two hundred other horse, to mount their men at armes. *Syracuse* was now in effect blockt vp, so as hardly any succours could enter, but such as were able to force their passage: yet the *Athenians* receiue diuers losses; among which it was not the least, that *Lamachus*, one of their best Commanders, was slaine.

In the meane while, *Gylippus*, and *Pytho*, with the *Lacedamonian*, and *Corinthian* forces arriue, and take land at *Hymera*. The Citizens of *Hymera*, and of *Gela*, together with the *Selinuntines*, ioyne with them; so that with these and his owne troupes, *Gylippus* aduictured to march ouer-land towards *Syracuse*. The *Syracusians* send a part of their forces to meet him, and conduct him. The *Athenians* prepare to encounter them, expecting his arrival neere vnto the Citie, vpon a place of aduantage. At the first encounter, they had the better of their enemies, by reason that the *Syracusian* horse-men could not come to fight in those streights: but soone after, *Gylippus* charging them againe, brakethem, and constrained *Nicias* to fortifie himselfe within his Campe. Whereupon *Nicias* made the state of his affaires knowne, by his letters, to the *Athenians*; shewing, that without great supplies by Sea and Land, the enterprise would be lost, together with the small Armie remaining. These letters receiued, the *Athenians* appoint two other Generals, *Eurymedon*, and *Dmoloches*, to ioyne with *Nicias*: the one they dispatch presently with some supply; the other they send after him in the Spring following.

In the meane while, *Gylippus* at *Syracuse*, fights with the *Athenians*, both by Sea and Land.

Land, sometimes with ill, and at other times with good successe: but in conclusion, he tooke from their Port, neere vnto *Syracuse*, at the *Promontorie*, called *Phymyrrine*, wherein the *Athenians* lost their treasure, and a great part of all their provisions. Notwithstanding which losse, and that the *Athenians* themselves, in *Greece*, were (in effect) besieged within *Athens*, by the *Lacedemonians*; yet were they most obstinate in prosecuting the Warre in *Sicily*, and dispatched away *Demosthenes* with new succours. *Demosthenes*, in his way towards *Sicily*, encountered with *Polyarchus* the *Corinthian*, with his fleet: both the Captaines being bound for *Sicily*, the one to succour *Nicias*, the other *Cyippus*. The losse betwene them was in effect equal; and neither to be taken, but that each of them prosecuted the enterprise they had in hand. But before the succours arrived to either, *Cyippus* and *Ariston* had assailed the *Athenians* in the great Port of *Syracuse*, and in a Sea-fight perthunto to the worst, to the great discouragement of the *Athenians*. On the necke of this, *Demosthenes* arrived with three-score and thirteene Gallies, charged with four-men; and (blaming the sloth of *Nicias*) he invaded the *Syracusians*, the same day that he arrived. But he made more haste then he had good speede, being shamefully beaten, and repulsed with great losse. Hereupon *Demosthenes* and *Eurymedon* determined to retire from before *Syracuse*, and to retire to the succour of *Athens*: but *Nicias* disputed to the contrary, pretending that he had good intelligence within *Syracuse*, whereby he learned, that the Towne could not long hold out.

Whatsoever *Nicias* his intelligence was; vpon the arrivall of a new supply into the Towne, the *Athenians* had all consented to depart, and to lodge at *Catena*: had not an Eclipse of the Moone, boding (as was thought) ill successe, caused them to deferre their departure. But this superstition cost them deere. For the *Syracusians*, *Lacedemonians*, and *Corinthians*, with three-score and seventeen Gallies, entered the great Port of *Syracuse*, wherein the *Athenians* kept their fleet, and wherein they had fortified themselves. The *Athenians*, in the same Port encountered them with fourescore and sixe Gallies, commanded by *Eurymedon*, in which the *Athenian* fleet was beaten, by the lesser number, and *Eurymedon* slain. Now, though it were so, that the *Syracusians* received the more losse by Land (for the fight was generally yet when the *Athenians* were beaten by Sea, in which kinde they thought themselves invincible, they were wonderfully cast downe. For³⁰ was well said of *Cyippus*, to the *Syracusians* when any people doe finde themselves vanquished in that manner of fight, and with those weapons, in which they persuade themselves that they exceede all others, they not onely lose their reputation, but their courage. The *Athenians*, besides the Gallies suncke and wrack, had seventeen taken, and possit by the enemy: and with great labour and losse they defended the rest from being fired, having drawne them within a *Palisado*, in one corner of the Port, vnadvisedly: for it is contrary to a Sea-warre, to thrust ships into a straight roome and corner, as it is to scatter foot in a plaine field against horse; the one subsisting, by being at large; the other, by closeim-battailing.

The *Syracusians*, having now weakened the *Athenian* fleet, resolve to imprison them within the Port. And to that purpose they range all their Gallies in the mouth of the Haven, being about a mile ouer; and there they came to Anchor; filling the out-let with all manner of Vessels, which they man most strongly, because the *Athenians*, being now made desperate, should not with double ranks of Gallies breake through the *Syracusan* fleet; which lay but single, because they were foor to range themselves ouer all the Out-let of the Port. They therefore, not onely mored themselves strongly by their Anchors, but chained the sides of their Gallies together, and laid behinde them againe certain ships, which served in the former warre for victuallers: to the end, that if any of their Gallies were suncke, or the chaine, which ioyned them to their fellows, broken, the *Athenians* might yet finde themselves, a second time, intangled and arrised. To disorder also those *Athenian* Gallies, which came on in forme of a wedge, to breake through, and force a passage, the *Syracusians* had left within these Gallies and Ships, inchained together, a certaine number of loose ones, to stop their coule and iurie. For where the way of any vessell, vying oare or sailes, is broken, and their speede fore-slowed, they cannot force with any weight and violence, the resistance opposing.

On the other side, the *Athenians* knew that they were utterly lost except with invincible resolution, they could make their way, and breake downe this great bridge of boats; or (at least) force a passage through them in some part or other: which they resolve

to solve to hazard, with all their shipping (to the number of one hundred and ten, of all sorts) and with all the strength of their Land-armie, in them imbarqued. But the Gallies, which were within the bridge of boats, did so disorder the *Athenian* fleet, ere they came to force the bridge, as, albeit some few of them had broken through the chaines, yet being lope by the ships without, & assailed by other loose Gallies of the *Syracusians*, which were purposely left at large in the Sea, they were either taken or sunke. Three great disadvantages the *Athenians* had: the first, that fighting within a Haven, and (as it were) in a thestr, they had no roome to turne themselves, nor to free themselves one from another, being intangled; the second, that hauing ouer-pestered their Gallies with Souldiers, who vied offensive armes of darts and slings, they had not place vpon the decks to direct their armes: the third was, the discomfortable end for which they fought, namely, to force a passage, by which they might save themselves by running away. To be short, the fight was no lesse terrible than the confusion; the slaughter great on all sides, and denotice, and the cries, so lowd and lamentable, as that no direction could be heard. But in the end, the *Athenians*, as many as survived, were beaten backe to the Land, with losse of three-score of their Gallies, broken, sunke, or abandoned. The *Syracusians* did also lose twenty of theirs, with *Pythion*, Commander of the *Corinthians*. The rest of the *Athenian* Gallies, running themselves into the bottome of the Port, saved themselves by the helpe and countenance of the Land-armie, there fortified. In this desperate estate, the *Athenian* Commanders goe to counsell. *Demosthenes* perswades them, to turnish with new Souldiers those few Gallies which remained; and while the *Syracusians* were triumphing, and made secure by their present victory, to set vpon them, and forcing their way out of the Port, to returne to *Athens*. This was no ill counsaile. For, as we have heard of many great Captaines (yea, the greatest number of all that have bene victorious) that have neglected the speedy prosecution of a beaten enemy; so might we produce many examples of those, who, hauing slept securely in the bosome of good successe, haue beene suddenly awaked, by the re-called Companies of a broken Armie, and haue thereby lost againe all the honour, and advantage, formerly gotten. But *Nicias* opposeth the aduise of *Demosthenes*: Others lay, that the Sea-men were against it. Whereupon abandoning their Gallies, they all resolve to march ouer land to the Cities of their Confederates, till some more fauourable fortune should call them thence. On the other side, *Cyippus* and other the *Lacedemonian* and *Corinthian* Captaines, with *Hermocrates*, exhort the *Syracusians* to put themselves presently into the field, and to stop all the passages, leading to those Cities of their enemies, to which the *Athenians* might make retreat. But many were weary, and many were wounded, and many of them thought that they had done enough for the present. Which humour in some of our Commanders at *Cadez*, lost vs both the *Indian* fleet, and the spoiles of many other Neighbour-places. *Hermocrates*, the *Syracusan*, finding it a lost labour, to perswade his Countreymen to any hestie prosecution, deuised this good stratagem, thereby to gaine time; not doubting, but that after aday or two, he should draw them willingly out. He sent two or three horse-men out of *Syracuse* by night, willing them to finde *Nicias*, and (after they had assured him, that they were of the *Athenians* faction) to giue him aduise not to march away ouer-hastily from the place, wherein he was fortified; alleading that the *Syracusians* had lodged their Armie, which could not long stay there, vpon the passages and places of aduantage, leading towards the Cities of their Allies. These tidings *Nicias* easily beleueed, and put off his iourne to the third day. For men newly beaten, are (for the most part) more fearefull than wise; and to them, euery thistle in the field, appears, by night, a man at armes.

The third day (leaving all their Gallies, and all their baggage) they remoue; being preceded and pursued with the lamentable out-cries of those that were sicke and hurt: whom they abandon to the cure of their enemies swords. The rest march away, to the number of fortie thousand; and make their first passage by force, ouer the River of *Asopus*, notwithstanding the opposition of their enemies. But being euery day charged in their marches, and by the *Syracusan* horse-men, beaten in from foraging and prouision of food, they grow weake and heartlesse. The *Syracusians* also possesse the Mountain *Lepus*, by which they were to passe towards *Camarina*, and thereby force them to fall backe againe towards the Sea-coast, and to take what way they could: being vnable to proceede in their iourney intended. Many hard shifts they made, in difficult passages, and

and blinde marches by night; which they were faine to endure, as having none other meanes to escape from the enemy that pursued them, and held them waking with continuall skirmishing. To keepe all in order, *Nicias* vnder-rooke the leading of the Vanguard; and *Demofthenes* conducted the Rear. At the River *Erineta*, *Nicias* takes the flate of a whole nights march, leaving *Demofthenes* to make the retreat: who being incompassed, and ouerprest with numbers, in the end renders himselfe. The conditions he obtained, were farre better than he could haue hoped for; and the faith of his enemies farre worse than he suspected. For he was afterward, with *Nicias*, murdered in prison. The Armie of *Demofthenes* being dissolued, they pursue *Nicias* with the greater courage: who being vterly broken, vpon the passage of the River *Assinarus*, rendered himselfe to *Gylippus*, vpon honest conditions. *Gylippus* sought to persue him, and to haue had the honour, to haue brought these two to *Sparta*; *Nicias*, as a noble enemy to the *Lacedaemonians*, and who, at the ouerthrow, which they receiued at *Pylus* by the *Athenians*, had saved the liues of the vanquished; *Demofthenes*, as one that had done to *Lacedaemon* the greatest hurt. *Hermocrates* also, the Commander of the *Syracusian* Armie, dissuaded the rest, by all the art he had, from vsing any barbarous violence, after so noble a victory. But the cruell, and the cowardly sort, (cowardise and cruelty, being inseparable passions) prevailed, and caused these braue Captaines to be miserably murdered; one part of their Souldiers to be starued in lothsome prisons, and the rest, sold for slauers. This was the successe of the *Sicilian* warre: which tooke end at the river *Assinarus*, the foure and twentieth day of May, in the fourecore and twentieth *Olympiad*.

The *Athenians* being beaten out of *Sicily*, the *Egeians* (for whose defence, against the *Selinuntines*, this late warre had bene taken in hand) fearing the victorious *Syracusians*, sought helpe from the *Carthaginians*; to whom they offered themselves, and their Citie, as their vassals. The *Carthaginians*, though ambitious enough of enlarging their Dominion in *Sicily*, yet considering the prosperity of the *Syracusians*, and their late victories ouer the *Athenians*, they stayed a while to dispute of the matter, whether they should refuse or accept the offer made vnto them: for the *Selinuntines* were streightly allied to the *Syracusians*, as may appear by what is past. In the end, the Senators of *Carthage* resolved vpon the enterprise; and (by a trick of their *Punicke* wit) to separate the *Syracusians* from the *Selinuntines*, they send Embassadors to *Syracuse*: praying that Citie, as in the behalfe of the *Egeians*, to compell the *Selinuntines* to take reason, and to rest content with so much of the lands in question, as they of *Syracuse* should thinke meet to allow them. The *Syracusians* approued the motion; for it tended to their owne honour. But the *Selinuntines* would make no such appointment: rather they tooke it ill, that the *Syracusians*, with whom they had run one course of fortune, in the *Athenian* warre, should offer to trouble them, by interposing as Arbitrators, in a businesse, that themselves could end by force. This was right as the *Carthaginians* would haue it. For now could they of *Selinus* with an ill grace craue aide of *Syracuse*; and the *Syracusians* as ill grant it vnto those, that had refused to stand to the Arbitrement, which the *Carthaginians* would haue put into their hands. Hereupon, an Armie of three hundred thousand men is set out from *Carthage*, vnder the conduct of *Hannibal*, Nephew to that *Amilcar*, who (as you haue heard before) was ouerthrowne with the great *Carthaginian* Armie at *Himera* by *Odin*. *Hannibal* was exceeding greedy of this imployment, that he might take reuenge, as well of his Vncles, as of his Fathers death; the one of them haue bene slaine by the *Himerians*, the other by those of *Selinus*. Both these Cities, *Hannibal*, in this war, won by force of armes, sackt them, and burnt them; and hauing taken three thousand of the *Himerians* prisoners, he caused them to be led vnto the place, where *Amilcar* was slaine, and buried so them there.

After this followed some trouble at *Syracuse*, occasioned by the banishment of *Hermocrates*, who had lately bene General of the *Syracusian* forces, against the *Athenians*. The malice of his enemies had so farre prevailed with the ingratefull multitude, that he was condemned to exile for his mere vertue, at such time, as he was aiding the *Lacedaemonians*, in their warre against *Athens*; wherein he did great seruice. All the honest sort within *Syracuse* were sorry for the iniurie done vnto him, and sought to haue him repealed. *Hermocrates* himselfe, returning into *Sicily*, gathered an Armie of fixe thousand; with which he began to repaire *Selinus*; and by many noble actions laboured to win the

the lone of his Citizens. But the faction that opposed him was the stronger. Wherefore, he was aduised to seize vpon a Gate of *Syracuse*, with some strength of men; whereby his friends, within the Towne, might haue the better meanes to rise against the aduerser party. This he did: but presently the multitude fell to armes, and set vpon him; in which conflict was he slaine. But his sonne-in-law, *Diomyfius*, shall make them with *Hermocrates* aue againe.

†. IIII.

Of *Diomyfius* the Tyrant: and others, following him, in *Syracuse*.

The *Syracusians* had enioyed their liberty about threecore yeares, from the death of *Thrasybulus*, to the death of *Hermocrates*: at which time *Diomyfius* was raised vp by God, to take reuenge, as well of their cruelty towards strangers, as of their ingratitude towards their owne best Citizens. For before the time of *Diomyfius*, they had made it their pastime, to reward the vertue of their worthiest Commanders with death, or disgrace: which custome they must now be taught to amend.

Diomyfius obtained the principalltie of *Syracuse*, by the same degrees, that many others, before him, had made themselves Masters of other Cities, and of *Syracuse* it selfe. For, being made *Prator*, and commanding their Armies against the *Carthaginians*, and other their enemies, he behaued himselfe so well, that he got a generall loue among the people, and men of warre. Then began he to follow the example of *Pisistratus*, that made himselfe Lord of *Athens*; obtaining a band of fixe hundred men, to defend his person: vnder pretence, that his priuate enemies, being traitorously affected to the State of *Syracuse*, had laied plots how to murder him, because of his good seruices. He doubled the pay of the Souldiers, alledging, that it would encourage them to fight manfully: but intending thereby to assure them to himselfe. He perswaded the Citizens, to call home, out of exile, those that had bene banished, which were the best men of *Syracuse*; and these were afterwards at his deuotion, as obliged vnto him by so great a benefit. His first fauour, among the *Syracusians*, grew from his accusation of the principall men. It is the delight of base people to reigne ouer their betters: wherefore, gladly did he helpe them to breake downe, as fetters imprisoning their liberty, the barres that held it vnder false custody. Long it was not, ere the chiefe Citizens had found whereat he aimed. But what they saw, the people would not see: and some that were needy, and knew not how to get Offices without his helpe, were willing to helpe him, though they knew his purposes to be such, as would make all the Citie to smart. He began early to hunt after the tyranny; being but fixe and twenty yeeres of age when he obtained it: belike, it was his destiny to reigne long. His first worke, of making himselfe absolute Lord in *Syracuse*, was, the possession of the *Citadell*, wherein was much good prouision, and vnder it the *Gillies* were mored. This he obtained by allowance of the people; and hauing obtained this, he cared for no more, but declared himselfe without all shame or feare: The Armie, the chiefe Citizens, restored by him from banishment; all the needy sort within *Syracuse*, that could not thrive by honest courses; and some neighbour-townes, bound vnto him, either for his helpe in warre, or for establishing the faction, reigning at that present, were wholly affected to his assistance. Hauing therefore gotten the *Citadell* into his hands, he needed no more, saue to assure what he had already. He strengthened himselfe by diuers marriages; taking first to wife the daughter of *Hermocrates*; and after her, two at once; the one a *Locrian*, *Doris*, by whom he had *Diomyfius*, his Successor; the other, *Aristonache*, the daughter of *Hipparnius*, and sister to *Dion*, honourable men in *Syracuse*, which bare vnto him many children; that serued to fortifie him with new alliances.

Yet it was not long, ere some of the *Syracusians* (enuying his prosperitie) incited the multitude, and tooke armes against him, euen in the noueltie of his Rule. But their enterprise was more passionately, than wisely gouerned. He had shamefully bene beaten by the *Carthaginians* at *Gela*: which, as it vexed the *Sicilian* men at armes, making them suspect that it was his purpose to let the *Carthaginians* waste all, that he might afterwards take possession of the desolate places; so it inflamed them with a desire to free themselves from his tyranny. They departed therefore from him, and marched hastily to *Syracuse*, where they found friends to helpe them: there they forced his Palace, ranked

lacked his treasures, and so shamefully abused his wife, that for the griefe thereof he poisoned her selfe. But he followed their heeles apace; and firing a Gate of the Citie by night, entred soone enough to take reuenge, by making a speedy riddance of them. For he spared none of his knowne, no, nor his suspected enemies. After that, he grew so doubtfull of his life, as he neuer durst trust Barber to trim him, nor any person, no, nor so much as his brother, to enter into his chamber, vnstript and searched. He was the greatest Robber of the people that euer reigned in any State; and withall the most vnrespectiue-ly cruell.

After this, he separated with fortification that part of the Citie, called the *Iland*, from the rest, like as the *Spaniards* did the *Citadell* of *Antwerpe*: therein he lodged his treasures, and his Guards.

He then began to make warre vpon the free Cities of *Sicily*: but while he lay before *Herbesse*, an in-land Towne, the *Syracusians* rebelled against him; so, as with great difficulty he recovered his *Citadell*: from whence, hauing allured the old Souldiers of the *Campanians*, who forced their passage through the Citie, with one thousand and two hundred horse, he againe recovered the maiestie ouer the *Syracusians*. And when a multitude of them were busied in gathering in their Haruest, he disarmed all the Townes remaining: and new strengthened the Fort of the Iland, with a double wall. He indented that part also, called *Eppolus*; which, with threecore thousand labourers, he finished in three weekes, being two leagues in compass. He then built two hundred new Gallies, and repaired one hundred and ten of the old; forged one hundred and fortie thousand Targets, with as many swords, and head-peeces, with foureteene thousand corselets, and all other suitable armes. Which done, he sent word to the *Carthaginians*, (greatly afflicted by the plague) That except they would abandon the *Greeke* Townes, which they held in *Sicily*, he would make warre vpon them: and, not staying for answer, he tooke the spoile of all the *Phœnician* ships, and merchandize, within his Ports; as King *Philip* the second did of our *Englisb*, before the warre in our late Queenes time. He then goesto the field with fourecore thousand foot, and three thousand horse, and sends his brother *Leptines* to sea, with two hundred Gallies, and five hundred ships of burden. Most of the Townes which held for *Carthage* yielded vnto him; saving *Panormus*, *Segesta*, *Egesta*, *Ancyræ*, *Motya*, and *Enella*. Of these, he first wan *Motya* by assault, and put all therein to the sword; but before *Egesta* he lost a great part of his Armie, by a fallie of the Citizens. In the meane while *Himilco* arrives; but, ere he tooke land, he lost in a fight at Sea, with *Leptines*, fiftie ships of warre, and five thousand Souldiers, besides many ships of burden. This notwithstanding, he recovered againe *Motya* vpon his first descent. From thence marching towards *Messena*, he tooke *Lipara*, and (soone after) *Messina*, and razed it to the ground. Now began *Dionysius* greatly to doubt his estate. He therefore fortified all the places he could, in the Territorie of the *Leontines*, by which he supposed that *Himilco* would passe toward *Syracuse*; and he himselfe tooke the field againe, with foure and thirtie thousand foot, and one thousand horse. Now, hearing that *Himilco* had diuided his Armie into two parts, marching with the one halfe ouer-land, and sending *Mago* with the other by Sea: he sent *Leptines*, his brother, to encounter *Mago*. But *Leptines* was vtterly beaten by the *Carthaginians*; twentie thousand of his men were slaine, and an hundred of his Gallies lost. It is very strange, and hardly credible, which yet good Authours tell vs; That one Citie should be able to furnish five hundred saile of ships, and two hundred Gallies: (for, so many did *Syracuse* arme in this warre) and more strange it is, that in a battaile at Sea, without any great Artillerie, or Musket-shot, twenty thousand should be slaine in one fight. In all our fights against the *Turkes*, of which that at *Lepanto* was the most notable, wee heare of no such number lost; nor in any other fight by Sea, that euer hapned in our age, nor before vs. When *Charles* the first went to besiege *Alger*, he had in all his fleet, transporters and others, but two hundred and fiftie saile of shippes, and threecore and five Gallies: for the furnishing of which fleet, he sought helpe from all the Cities and Ports of *Spaine*, *Naples*, and the rest of *Italie*. But in old times it was the manner to carry into the field, vpon extremitie, as many as were needfull, of all that could beare armes, giuing them little wages, or other allowance: in our dayes it is not so; neither indeede, is it often requisite. Vpon this ouerthrow, *Dionysius* posses away to *Syracuse*, to strengthen it: *Himilco* followes him, and besiegeth the Towne by Land and Sea. But the

Tyrant,

hauing received aide from the *Lacedæmonians*, vnder the conduct of *Pharacidas*, puts himselfe to Sea, to make prouision for his Citizens, who in his absence, take twenty of the *Carthaginian* Gallies, and sinke foure. Hereupon, finding their owne successe prosperous, and that of the Tyrant exceeding ill: hauing also at the present weapons in their hands; they consult how to recouer their liberty. And this they had done, had not *Pharacidas* the *Lacedæmonian* resisted them. It also fell out, to his exceeding advantage, that the plague was so increased, and so violent, among the *Carthaginians*; as it is said, that above an hundred thousand of them died thereof. He therefore, with the power that he could gather together, sets vpon them both by Sea and Land; and hauing slaine great numbers of them, forceth *Himilco* to desire peace. This peace *Dionysius* sold him for a great summe of monie; on condition that he should steale away with his *Carthaginians* onely: which he boldly accepted, betraying the rest of the *Africans* and *Spaniards*. Yet no faith was kept with him: for he was pursued, and left many of his *Carthaginians* behinde him. The rest of the *Africans* fell vnder the swords of their enemies; onely the *Spaniards*, after they had a while brauely defended themselves, were (after their submission) entertained, and serued the Conquerour.

Many such examples of perfidious dealing haue I noted in other places, and can hardly forbear to deliuer vnto memory the like practises, when they meete with their marches: That which hapned vnto *Monsieur de Piles*, was very futable to this treacherie, wherewith *Dionysius* pursued *Himilco*. I was present, when *De Piles* related the iniurie done vnto him. He had rendered *S. Iohn d' Angelle*, to the French King *Charles* the ninth, who besieged him therein. He received it, vpon promise made by the faith of a King, that hee should be suffered to depart in safety, with all his followers. Yet in presence of the King himselfe, of the Duke of *Anion* his brother, General of his Armie, of the Queene Mother, and of diuers Dukes and Marshals of France, he was set vpon, and broken in his March; spoiled of all that he had; and forced to sue his life by flight, leauing the most of his Souldiers dead vpon the place: the Kings hand and faith, warranting him to march away with ensignes dispaide, and with all his goods and prouisions, no whit auailing him. It needes not therefore seeme strange, that an Heathen Tyrant should thus breake his faith, since Kings, professing Christianitye, are bold to doe the like, or command their Captaines to doe it for them.

Dionysius, after this great victory, tooke care to re-edifie *Messena*. *Mago*, who faded in *Sicily*, to hold vp the *Carthaginians* therein, is againe beaten by *Dionysius*; who is also beaten by the *Tauromenians*. A new supply of fourecore thousand Souldiers is sent from *Carthage* to *Mago*; but these take egges for their money, and make peace with *Dionysius*, leauing the *Sicilians* in *Tauromenium*, to shift for themselves: whom *Dionysius*, after a long siege, ouer-came, and gaue their Citie to his mercinarie Souldiers.

He then past into *Italie*, obtained diuers victories there, brought the *Rhegiens* on their knees, forced them to pay him one hundred & fourecore thousand crownes, to furnish him with threecore Gallies, and to put in an hundred pledges, for assurance of their future obseruance of covenants. This he did, not with any purpose to performe vnto them the peace that they had so dearly bought; but that hauing taken from them their Gallies, he might besiege them, and ruine them vtterly, with the more ease. Now to the end hee might not, without some colour, falsifie the faith that he had giuen to them, he pretended to want victuall for his Armie, at such time as he seemed ready to depart out of *Italie*, and sent to them to furnish him therewith, promising to returne them the like qualitie, at his coming home to *Syracuse*.

His resolution was, that if they refused to furnish him, he would then make their refusal the cause of his quarrell: if they yeilded to aide him with the proportion which he desired, that then they should not be able, for want of food, to endure a siege any long time against him. Forto ruine them he had fully determined, at what price soeuer. And great reason he had to take reuenge of them, if hee had done it fairly, and without breach of faith. For when in the beginning of his reigne, he desired them to bestow a daughter of some of their Nobilitie vpon him for a wife: they answered, That they had not any one fit for him, saue the Hang-mans daughter. Princes doe rather pardon ill deeds, than villanous words. *Alexander* the Great forgave many sharpe swords, but neuer any sharpe tongues; no, though they told him but truly of his errors.

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And

And certainly, it belongs to those that haue warrant from God, to reprehend Princes : and to none else, especially in publique.

It is said, that *Henrie* the fourth of *France*, had his heart more inflamed against the Duke of *Biron*, for his over-bold and biting taunts, that he vsed against him before *Amiens*; then for his conspiracie with the *Spaniard*, or *Sauoyan* : for he had pardoned ten thousand of such as had gone farther, and drawne their swords against him. The contemptuous words that *Sir John Parrey* vsed of our late *Queene Elizabeth*, were his ruine ; and not the counterfait letter of the Romish Priest, produced against him. So fared it with some other, greater than hee, that thereby ranne the same, and a worse fortune, soone after.

To be short, he made them know new bread from old. Hee assaulted their Towne on all sides, which hee continued to doe cleuen moneths, till hee wonne it by force. He vsed his victory without mercy, specially against *Phyton*, who had commanded within it.

Some other warres he made with the *Carthaginians*, after the taking and rasing of this Citie ; and those with variable successe. For as in one encounter hee slue *Mago*, with ten thousand *Africans* : so the sonne of *Mago* beat him, and slue his brother *Lepinus*, with foureteen thousand of his Souldiers. After which he bought his peace of the *Carthaginians*, as they had formerly done of him ; following therein the aduice of Prosperity and Aduersitie, as all Kings and States doe.

When hee had reigned eight and thirty yceres, he died : some say in his bed, peaceably, which is the most likely, though others report it otherwise. A cruell man he was, and a faithlesse ; a great Poet, but a foolish one. He entertained *Plato* a while, but afterward for speaking against his tyranny, he gaue order to haue him slaine, or sold for a slave. For he could endure no man that flattered him not beyond measure. His Parafites therefore stiled his cruelty, *The hate of euill men*; and his lawlesse slaughters, *The ornaments and effects of his inuice*. True it is, that flatterers are a kinde of vermine, which poison all the Princes of the World; and yet they prosper better than the worthiest and valiantest men doe : and I wonder not at it, for it is a world : and as our *Sauour Christ* hath told vs, *The world will loue her owne*.

To this *Dionysius* his sonne of the same name succeeded, and inherited both his Kingdom and his Vices. To win the loue of the People, hee pardoned, and released out of prison, a great number of persons, by his Father locked vp, and condemned. Whiche hee remitted vnto his Citizens diuers payments, by his Father imposed vpon them. Whiche done, and thereby hoping, that hee had fastened vnto himselfe the peoples affections; hee cast off the Sheepes skin, and put on that of the Woolfe. For being jealous of his owne Brethren, as men of more vertue than himselfe, hee caused them all to be slaine, and all the Kindred that they had by their Mothers side. For *Dionysius* his Father (as hath been said) had two Wiues; *Doria* of *Locris*, and *Aristomache* a *Syracusian*, the sister of *Dion*, which Brother-in-law of his hee greatly enriched.

By *Doria* hee had this *Dionysius*, who succeeded vnto him : and by *Aristomache* hee had two Sonnes and two Daughters; of which the eldest, called *Sophrosyne*, hee gaue in marriage to his eldest Sonne, and her halfe-brother, *Dionysius*; the younger, called *Areta*, hee bestowed on his Brother *Theorides* : after whose death, *Dion* tooke her to Wife, being his Neece.

This *Dion*, a iust, and valiant man, finding that *Dionysius* had abandoned all exercise of vertue, and that hee was wholly giuen ouer to sensuality, prevailed so much with *Plato*, whose Disciple hee had bene, as he drew him into *Sicily*, to instruct the yong King. And hauing perswaded the King to entertaine him, he wrought so well with him, as *Dionysius* began to change condition; to change Tyrannie, into Monarchie; and to hold the Principalltie, that hee had, rather by the loue of his People, and his Nationall Lawes, than by the violence of his Guards and Garrisons. But this goodnesse of his lasted not long. For *Philistus* the Historian, and other his Parafites, that hated *Dions* severity, wrought him out of the Tyrants fauour, and caused him soone after to be banished out of *Sicily*, to the great griefe of the whole Nation. For whereas *Dion* had made offer to the King, either to compound the quarrels betweene him and the *Carthaginians*, of whom *Dionysius* stood in great feare; or (at least) if they refused it, to furnish him with fittie Gallies at his owne charge, during the warre against them : his enemies

found means, by sinister interpretation, to conuert his good will into matter of treason. They told *Dionysius*, that all the great commendations, giuen of *Plato*, had tended to none other end, then to soften his minde, and to make him neglect his owne affaires, by the study of Philosophie; whilst *Dion*, in the meane time hauing furnished fittie Gallies, vnder colour of the Kings seruice, had it in his owne power, either to deliuer to the *Syracusians* their former liberty, or to make himselfe Lord and Soueraigne of their State.

It is likely, that the honest and liberall offer which he made, to serue the King with fittie Gallies, at his owne charge, begot him many enemies. For they that had desired the King for none other end, than to raise and enrich themselves, and had already bene raised and enriched, thought themselves bound to make the same offer, that *Dion* had made, if the King had had the grace to conceiue it aright. But these couctous and ignorant cowards, that had neither the knowledge, nor the daring, that *Dion* had, were bold to stile his *Loue* and *Liberality*, *Pride* and *Presumption*; and heartned the yong King, in his oppressing, and eating vp his owne people, of whose spoylees they themselves shared no small portion. I haue heard it, That when *Charles* the fift had the repulse at *Algier* in *Africa*, *Ferdinando Cortese*, one of the brauest menthar euer *Spain* brought forth, offered vnto the Emperour, to continue the siege at his owne charge. But hee had neuer good day after it. For they that enuid his victories, and his conquest of *Mexico* in the west *Indies*, perswaded the Emperour, that *Cortese* sought to value himselfe aboute him; and to haue it said, That what the Emperour could not, *Cortese* had effected, and was therefore more worthy of the Empire, than hee that had it.

When *Dion* was newly banished, the Tyrant was contented, at first, to send him the remewes of his Lands, and permit him to dispose of his mouables, at his owne pleasure: not without giuing hope, to recall him in short time. Had he continued in this good mood, like enough it is, that *Dion* would haue bene well pleased to liue well, as hee did at *Athens*. But after some time, *Dionysius* made Port-sale of this Noble-mans goods, and thereby vrged him to take another course, euen to seeke the restitution of his Countrey to libertie. The vertues of *Dion*, especially his great liberality, had purchased much loue in *Greece*. This loue made him suspected and hated of the Tyrant : but it stood him in good stead, when he sought to raise men, with whose helpe he might reume into *Sicily*. Yet hee got not aboue eight hundred (for hee carried the matter closely) to follow him in this aduerture. But many of them were men of qualitie, and fit to be Leaders. Neither did hee doubt of finding in *Syracuse*, as many as should be needefull, that would readily assist him. Therefore hee landed boldly in *Sicily*, marched to *Syracuse*, entered the Citie without resistance, armed the multitude, and won all, saue the Citadel.

Dionysius was then absent in *Italie*, but hee quickly had aduertisement of this dangerous accident. Wherefore hee returned hastily to *Syracuse*: whence, after many vaine treaties of peace, and some forceable attempts to recouer the Towne, hee was faine to depart, leaving yet the Castele to the custody of *Apollonates* his eldest son. Yet ere hee went, his Minion *Philistus*, comming with a strength of men to assist him, was beate, taken, and put to death by torment. But *Dion*, for the recovery of his Countries libertie, had the same reward, that all worthy men haue had from popular Estates. Hee was disgraced, assaulted, and forced to abandon the Citie. Hee retired himselfe to the *Leontines*, who receiue him with great ioy. Soone after his departure from *Syracuse*, new troupes enter the Castele: they fallie out, assaile, spoyle, and burne a great part of the Citie. *Dion* is sent for, with humble request: yet, ere hee could arrive, *Dionysius* his Souldiers were retired; and the Townesmen, thinking themselves secure, shut the gates against *Dion*. But the next night they of the Castele sallie againe, with greater furie then euer; they kill Man, Woman, and Childe, and set fire in all parts of the Towne. In this their extremitie *Dion* comes the second time to their succour; the loue of his Countrey surmounting all the iniuries that hee had receiued. Hee sets upon the Garrison of the Castele, with the one part of his Armie; and quencheth the fire every where kindled, with the other part. In conclusion, after hee had conquered both the fire and the sword, that had wel-neere burnt to ashes, and depopulated *Syracuse*, hee recovered the Castele, with the munition and furniture thereof, and sent *Apollonates*,

after *Dionysius* his Father, into *Italie*. But their malice, of whom he had best deserved, and whom he had loued most, gaue an vntimely end to his dayes. For he was soon after this his victory, murdered by *Gylippus*, who, after he had, with ill success, awhile governed *Syracuse*, was slaine with the same Dagger, with which hee had murdered *Dion*.

Ten yeares after the death of *Dion*, *Dionysius*, with the assistance of his friends in *Italie*, recouers his estate, and returns to *Syracuse*, driving *Nysius* thence, whom he found Go- uernour therein. The better sort of the Citizens, fearing, more then euer, his cruelty, flee to *Ictes*, a *Syracusan* borne, and then ruling the *Leontines*. *Ictes* enters into con- sideracie with the *Carthaginians*, hoping by their assistance, not onely to preuaile against *Dionysius*; but by the hatred of the *Syracusians* towards *Dionysius*, to make him also Lord of their Citie. The *Syracusians*, being desferuently afflicted on all sides, send to the *Corin- thians* for succour. *Ictes* also sends thither, and dissuades the *Corinthians*, as well as he can, from intermeddling in the businesse. He tels them, by his messengers, That he had entred into league with the *Carthaginians*, who were so strong by Sea, that it was not in the power of *Corinth*, to land any Armie in *Sicil*. But the *Corinthians*, being by this treason of *Ictes*, more enraged then dissuaded, send *Timoleon* with ninetene Gallies, to deliuer *Syracuse* from tyrannie. In the meane while, *Ictes* had entred *Syracuse*, and with the helpe of the *Carthaginians*, diuen *Dionysius* into the Castle, where he besieged him.

Ictes, being himselfe a Tyrant in *Leontium*, rather fought how to enlarge his power, than how to deliuer his Countrey. Therefore, hearing that *Timoleon* was arrived at *Rhegium*, he sent to perswade him, to returne his fleet, for that all things were in effect estab- lished in *Sicil*. The *Carthaginian* Gallies were also in the same Port of *Rhegium*; whole Captaines desired *Timoleon*, to get him gone in peace. They had farre more Gallies there, then he had, and were like to compell him, if he would not be perswaded. *Timoleon*, finding himselfe ouer-mastered, makes request to the *Carthaginian* Captaines, that they would be pleased to enter into *Rhegium*, and there, in an open assembly of the people, to deliuer vnto him those arguments, for his returne, which they had vsed to him in priuate; that he might, by publique testimonie, discharge himselfe to the Senate of *Corinth*.

The *Carthaginians*, perswading themselves, that a victory, obtained by a fewe few words, was without losse, and farre more easie, than that of many blowes and wounds, yeelded to *Timoleon*'s desire. But while the Orations were deliuering, *Timoleon*, fauoured by the *Rhegians*, stole out of the preasse; and hauing fewe saille, before the Gares were opened to the *Carthaginians*, he recovered the Port of *Tauromenium*, where he was ioyfully receiued by *Andromachus* the Gouvernour. From thence he marched toward *Abraham*, were surprizing *Ictes* his Armie, he slue a part thereof, and put the rest to run. It is the nature of victory to beget friends. The *Adranians* ioyned with him; and so did *Mamercus*, the Tyrant of *Catana*. *Dionysius* also sent to *Timoleon*, offering to surrender the Castle of *Syracuse* into his hands, as thinking it better to yeelde vp himselfe, and the places which he could not defend, vnto the *Corinthians*, than either to *Ictes*, whom he dissuaded, or to the *Carthaginians*, whom he hated. Now *Timoleon*, who within fittie daies, after his arrival, had recovered the Castle of *Syracuse*, and sent *Dionysius* to *Corinth*, to liue there a priuate man, was still invaded by the Armies, and molested by the practices of *Ictes*. For he besieged the *Corinthians* within the Castle of *Syracuse*, and attempted (but in vaine) the murder of *Timoleon*.

The *Corinthians* send vnto *Timoleon* a supply of two thousand foot, and two hundred horse, which are staied in *Italie* by foule weather. *Ictes* is strengthened with threecore thousand *Africans*, brought vnto him by *Mago* (all which he lodgeth within *Syracuse*) and with an hundred and fittie Gallies, to keepe the Port. This was the first time, that euer the *Car- thaginians* had dominion within the wals of that Citie. With this great Armie, *Ictes* assaulteth the Castle. *Timoleon* sends them victuals, and succour, in small boates, by night, from *Catana*. *Mago* and *Ictes* doe therefore resolute to besiege *Catana*, but they were no sooner on the ir way towards it, with part of their forces, than *Leon*, Captaine of the *Corin- thians*, sallied out of the Castle, and tooke that part of *Syracuse*, called *Acradina*, which he fortified.

In the meane while, the two thousand *Corinthians* arrive: with whom, and two thousand other Souldiers, *Timoleon* marcheth towards *Syracuse*. *Mago* abandoned *Ictes*, being

being frightened out of *Sicil* (which he might easily haue conquered) with an idle rumour of treason. This made him returne to *Carthage*; where the generall exclamation against his cowardize, did so much affright him, that for feare of farther punishment, he hanged him- selfe. *Timoleon* enters the Citie, and bears downe the Castle (which he called the nest of *Tyrants*) to the ground. But he found the Citie when the strangers were fled, in effect de- solate; so as their horses did feede on the grasse, growing in the market-place. Therefore, he writes to *Corinth*, for people to re-inhabite it. Ten thousand are sent out of *Greece*; many come from *Italie*; others, from other parts of the Island.

But a new storme ariseth. *Asdrubal* and *Amilcar*, *Carthaginians*, arrive about *Lilybaum*, with threecore and ten thousand Souldiers, transported (with all their prouisions) in a thousand ships of burden, and two hundred Gallies. *Timoleon* marcheth thither, and chargeth this great Armie vpon the passage of a Riuer.

A tempest of raime, haile, and lightning, with boysterous windes, beating vpon the faces of the *Carthaginians*, they are vterly broken: ten thousand slaine, fise thousand taken; withall their carriages and prouisions: among which there were found a thousand cor- dres, gilt and grauen. After this *Timoleon*, gaue an ouerthrow to *Ictes*, and following his victory,ooke him, with his son *Eupolemus*, and the Generall of his horse, prisoners; whom he caused all to be slaine: and afterwards (which was imputed to him for great cruelty) he suffered *Ictes* his wiues and daughters to be put to death. But this was the reuenge of God vpon *Ictes*, who (after the murder of *Dion*) had caused *Arste*, *Dion*'s wife and a yong child of his, with *Aristamache* his sister, to be cast into the Sea.

Hegaine preuailed against *Mamercus*, Tyrant of *Catana*, and won *Catana* it selfe. *Mamercus* fled to *Hiippa* Tyrant of *Messena*; but *Timoleon*, pursuing him, won the towne, deli- uering *Hiippa* to his Citizens, who tormented him to death. The same end had *Mamercus*, and all other, the Tyrants in *Sicil*.

Finally, he made peace with the *Carthaginians*, on condition, That they should not passe the Riuer of *Lycus*. After this, he liued in great honour among the *Syracusians*, till his death; and was solemnely buried by them in the market-place of their Citie: the day of his Funerals, being for euer ordained to be kept holy among them.

After such time, as *Timoleon* had deliuered *Syracuse*, from the tyrannie of *Dionysius*, and brought peace to the whole Island; the inhabitants enioyed their libertie in peace, about twentie yeeres. The Cities and Temples were repaired; the Trade renewed; the Merchant sailed in safetie; and the Labouring man enioyed the fruits of the earth in quiet. But it was impossible that a Nation which neither knew how to gouerne, nor how to obey, which could neither endure Kings, nor men worthy to be Kings, to gouerne them; should any long time subsist.

Twentie yeares after the death of *Timoleon*, there flatted vpon *Agathocles* among them, a man of base birth, and of base condition; who from a Beggar, to a common Souldier; from a Souldier to a Captaine; and so from degre to degre, rising to be a Prator; finally, became Lord and Soueraigne of the *Syracusians*. Many fortunes he ran, and vnder-went as many dangers, ere he obtained the Principalltie. For hee had more than once attempted it, and was therein both beaten and banisht. A passing valiant man he was, and did notable seruice, as well for those by whom he was employed, as also for the *Syracusians*, and against them. For in their warres against those of *Enna*, and the *Campanes*, he did them memorable seruice: and on the contrary, as memorable seruice for the *Margantines*, against the *Syracusians*. For being entertained by the people of *Margantia*, and made Generall of their forces, he sackt *Leontium*; and besieged *Syracuse* so brightly, that the Citizens were driuen to craue aide, euen from their ancient and ne- cessary enemies, the *Carthaginians*. *Amilcar* was sent by the *Carthaginians*, to relieue *Syracuse*. With him *Agathocles* wrought so well, that he got him to make peace betwene himselfe and the *Syracusians*; binding himselfe by promise and oath, to remaine a friend and seruant to the State of *Carthage*, for euer after. *Amilcar* entertained the businesse, and compounded the quarrels betwene *Agathocles*, and the *Syracusians*. *Agathocles* is chosen Prator; he entertaines fise thousand *Africans*, and diuers old Souldiers of the *Margantines*, vnder colour of a purpose to besiege *Herbita*. With these, and with the assistance of the poore and discontented *Syracusians* (the Citie also being di- uided into many factions) hee assailes the Senators, kils all his enemies and opposites,

diuides the spoile of the rich, among the poore; and giues liberty to his Souldiers, to rob, to rauenish, and to murder, for two whole dayes and nights, without controulement: the third day, when they had blunted their barbarous appetites, and strewed the streets with ten thousand dead carkasses, besides those that had broken their necks ouer the wals: their furie had no further subiect to worke on.

Agathocles, in an assembly of the people (being an eloquent knaue) perswaded them, that, for the violent sicknesse, by which the common wealth was vterly consumed, he found no better, than the violent remedies, which he had administered; and that he affected no other thing, than the reducing of the state from an *Oligarchie*, or the rule of a few tyrannous Magistrates, to the ancient and indifferent *Democratie*, by which it had bene gouerned, from the first institution, with so great glory and prosperitie. This he did, to haue the crowne clapt on his head (as it were) perforce. For as he knew, that he had left none liuing, within the Citie, fit, nor able, to exercise the office of a Magistrate: so knew he right well, that all they which had assisted, in the murder and spoile of their fellow Citizens, had no other hope of defence, than the support of a lawlesse Lord, who had bene partaker with them, in their villanies and cruelties committed. So as this Rabble, his Oration ended, proclaimed him King: againe and againe, saluting, and adoring him, by that name, as if it had bene giuen to him by some lawfull election. Hence had our King *Richard* the third a peece of his patterne; but the one was of bafe, the other of Kingly parents; the one took liberty from a Common-weale; the other fought only to succede in a Monarchie; the one continued his cruelty to the end; the other, after hee had obtained the Crowne, fought, by making good lawes, to recouer the loue of his people.

The life of this Tyrant, is briefly written by *Iustine*; more largely and particularly by *Diodorus Siculus*: the summe whereof is this. The same *Amilcar* that had brought him into *Syracuse*, and that had lent him six thousand men to helpe in the massacre of the Citizens, was also content to winke at many wrongs, that he did vnto the Confederates of the *Carthaginians*. It was the purpose of *Amilcar*, to settle *Agathocles* in his tyranny, and to let him vex and waste the whole Iland; because it was thereby like to come to passe, that he should reduce all *Sicily* into such termes as would make it become; as an easie prey to *Carthage*. But when the Cities, confederate with the *Carthaginians*, sent their Embassadors, with complaint of this ill dealing, to *Carthage*; the *Punicke* faith (so much taunted by the *Romans*, as no better than meere falsehood) shewed it selfe very honourable, in taking order for the redresse. Embassadors were sent to comfort the *Sicilians*, and to put *Agathocles* in minde of his covenants; *Amilcar* was recalled home into *Africke*, and a new Captain appointed to succede in his charge, with such forces as might compell *Agathocles* to reason, if otherwise he would not harken to it. All this tended, to saue their Confederates, from suffering such iniuries in the future. For that which was past (since it could not be recalled) they tooke order to haue it fruerly punished. *Amilcar* was accused secretly, and by way of scrutiny: the suffrages being giuen, but not calculated; and so referred, vntill he should returne. This was not so closely handled, but that *Amilcar* had soone notice of it. In managing his businesse with *Agathocles*, it is likely that he had an eye to his owne profit, as well as to the publike benefit of his Countrey. For he had made such a composition with the *Syracusians*, as gaue him not onely means to weaken others, but to strengthen himselfe, both in power and authority, euen against the *Carthaginians*. Such is commonly the custome of those, that hope to worke their owne ends by cunning practices, thinking to deale subtilly, and finely, that spin their threads so small, that they are broken with the very winde. *Amilcar* saw, that his *Carthaginians* had a purpose to deale substantially; and that therefore it would be hard for him, to make them follow his crooked deuiCES: which if he could not doe, it was to be expected, that their anger would breake out into so much the greater extremities, by how much the more they had concealed it. Therefore he followed the example, which some of his fore-goers had taught him; and, for feare of such a death, as the Iudges might award him, he ended his owne life in what sort he thought best. This desperation of *Amilcar* serued to informe *Agathocles* of the *Carthaginians* intent. Hee saw they would not be deluded with words, and therefore resolved to get the start of them in action. Hee dissembled no longer; but, in stead of spoile and robbery, made open warre vpon all their Adherents. He had made the better part of *Sicily* his owne; ere the

Carthaginians

Carthaginian forces arttued: which thinking to haue encountered an ill-established Tyrant, found him readie, as a King, to defend his owne, and giue them sharpe entertainment. They were beaten by him; and their Naue was so Tempest-beaten, that they could neither doe good by Land, nor Sea, but were glad to leaue their businesse vndone, and returne into *Africke*.

The *Carthaginians* prepare a new fleet: which being very gallantly manned and furnished, was broken by foule weather, and the best part of it cast away, euen whilest it was yet within kenning of their Citie. But *Amilcar*, the sonne of *Gisco*, gathering together the remainders of this ship-wracke, was bold to passe ouer into *Sicily*, and landed not farre from *Gela*; where *Agathocles* was soone readie to examine the cause of their coming. Many skirmishes passed betwene them, in which (commonly) the *Syracusian* had the better. But his good successe begat presumption; whereby hee lost a battaile, more important than all the other fights. One aduerser chance is enough to ouerthrow the state of a Tyrant, if it be not vpheld by great circumspection. The war was soone transferred to the walls of *Syracuse*; within which *Agathocles* was closed vp, and driuen to make his last defence by their helpe, who may be iudged to haue loued him not very greatly. But the inhabitants of *Syracuse*, after that great massacre of the principall men, made in the beginning of this new Tyrannie, were (for the most part) such, as had bene either mercenary Souldiers, infranchised slaues, or bafe & needie people; helpers in establishing the present Government, and Executioners of the murders, and spoyle, committed in that change. If there were any other (as some there were) they were so well obserued, and (withall) so fearefull, that they durst not stirre. But it was enough, that they agreed in the common defence of themselves and their Citie; Famine was likely to grow vpon them, and enforce them to change their resolution. In this necessity, *Agathocles* aduertured vpon a strange course, which the euent commended as wise. He imbarqued as many as he thought meet, in those vessels that rode in the Hauen; and committing the government of the Citie to his brother *Antander*, willed the people to be of good courage, for that (as he told them) hee had bethought himselfe of a meane, both to raise the siege, and to repaire all other losses. A *Carthaginian* fleet lay in the mouth of the Hauen, both to hinder the entrance of victuallers, and to keepe the besieged from issuing forth.

Now, at such time as *Agathocles* was ready to depart, aduertisement came, that many ships of burden, laden with cofee, and other provisions, were drawing neere vnto *Syracuse*. To intercept these, the *Carthaginians* hoist saile, and lanch forth into the deepe. They were not farr gone, when they might behold *Agathocles*, issuing forth of the Port, with purpose (as they thought) to giue conuoy vnto his victuallers. Heereupon they wheele about, and make amaine towards him, as thinking him the better bootie. He neither abode their coming, nor fled backe into the Citie, but made all speed towards *Africke*; and was pursued by the *Carthaginians*, as long as the day would giue them light. In the meane season, the victuallers were gotten to *Syracuse*; which was the more plentifully relieved by their coming, for that *Agathocles* had vnburdened the place of no small number. When the *Carthaginian* Admirall perceiued; first, that by pursuing two fleets at once, he had missed of them both; and if secondly, that *Agathocles* returned not againe, but was gone to seeke his fortune elsewhere, hee thought it good to pursue those that were fled, and to attend so well vpon them, that they should not haue leisure to doe much mischief in some other part.

The *Carthaginian* Naue followed *Agathocles* (whether by chance, or by relation of such as had met with him at Sea) directly towards *Africke*, and ouer-tooke him after sixe dayes. He had (at the first) a great start of them; so that (belike) they rowed hard; and wearied themselves, in seeking their owne misfortune. For he fought with them, & beat them; and, hauing funke, or taken many, draue the rest to flie which way they could, laden with such strange tidings of his voyage.

When *Agathocles* had landed his men in *Africke*, then did hee discouer vnto them his proiect, letting them vnderstand, That there was no better way to diuert the *Carthaginians*, not onely from *Syracuse*, but fro all the Ile of *Sicily*, than by bringing the war to their owne doores. For here (said he) they haue many that hate them, and that will readily take armes against them, as soone as they perceiue that there is an Armie on foote, which dares to looke vpon their walls. Their Townes are ill fortified; their people vntrained, and

and vnexperienced in dangers, the mercenary forces, that they leuie in these parts, will rather follow vs than them, if we offer greater wages than they can giue: which wemay better promise and make good, by letting them haue some share with vs in all the wealth of the *Carthaginians*, than our enemies can doe, by making some addition to their stipends. Thus he talked, as one already Master of all the riches in *Africk*; and with many braue words encouraged his men so well, that they were contented to let fire on all their ships (referring one or two to vie as Messengers,) to the end that no hope should remaine, saue onely in victory. In this heat of resolution, they winne by force two Cities, which after they had thoroughly sacked, they burnt to the ground; as a marke of ostentation to all that should make resistance. The *Carthaginians*, hearing this, are amazed, thinking that *Amilcar* is broken, and his whole Armie destroyed in *Sicil*. This impression so dismaies them, that when they know the truth of all, by such as had escaped in the late Sea fight, yet still they feare, and know not what. They suspect *Amilcars* faith, who had suffered *Agathocles* to land in *Africk*: they suspect their principall Citizens at home, of a meaning to betray *Carthage* vnto the enemy; they raise a great Armie, and know not to whose charge they may safely commit it.

There were at that time two famous Captaines in the Citie, *Hanno*, and *Bomilcar*, great enemies, and therefore the more vnlkely to conspire against the Common-wealth. These are made Generalls of the Armie leuied, which farre exceeded the forces of *Agathocles*. But it seldom happens, that dissension betwene Commanders produceth any so fortunate event. Necessity draue *Agathocles* to fight: and the courage of his men, resolved to deale with the whole multitude of the *Carthaginians*, made easie the victorie against the one halfe of them. For *Bomilcar* would not stirre: but suffered *Hanno* to be cut in pieces.

The reputation of this great victorie, brought ouer a King of the *Africans*, from the *Carthaginian* society, to take part with *Agathocles*: who putting his victorie winneth many Townes, and lends word to *Syracuse* of his good successe. The *Carthaginians* also send into *Sicil*, willing *Amilcar*, their Generall, to succour the State of *Africk*, which was in danger to bee lost, whilst hee was trauieling in the conquest of *Sicil*. *Amilcar* sends them fether thousand men: all his forces hee thought it not needfull to transport; as hoping rather to draw *Agathocles* backe into *Sicil*, than to be drawne home by one, that could scarce retaine his owne Kingdome. But these good hopes had a badde issue. Hee spent some time in winning a few Townes, that adhered vnto the *Syracusians*: and hauing brought his matters to some good order, hee conceived a sudden hope of taking *Syracuse* by surpris. It was a prettie (though tragically) accident, if it were true, as *Tullie* relates it. *Amilcar* had a dreame, which told him that he should suppe the next day within *Syracuse*. His fancie begot this dreame, and he verily beleued it. He made more haste than good speed, toward the Citie: and comming vpon it on the sudden, had good hope to carry it. But his enemies were prepared for him, and had laied an ambush to intrappe him, whereinto he fell. So he was carried prisoner into the Citie; in which it was likely, that hee had no great charge to his supper: for they struck off his head, and sent it into *Africk* (a welcome present) to *Agathocles*.

This good successe of things at home, did put such courage into the *Sicilian* Armie, that *Agathocles* was bold to weare a Crowne, and stile himselfe King of *Africk*. Hee had allured *Opbellas*, King of the *Cyrenians*, to take his part, by promises to deliuer the Countie into his hands: for that (as he said) it was sufficient vnto himselfe to haue diuerted the *Carthaginians* from *Sicil*, wherein (after this warre ended) he might reigne quietly. *Opbellas* came with a great Armie, and was friendly entertained. But the traitorous *Sicilian*, taking an aduantage, did murder this his assistant; and afterwards by good words, and great promises, drew all the *Cyrenian* Armie to follow him in his Warres. Thus his villanie found good successe; and he so prevailed in *Africke*, that hee gotley sure to make a step into *Sicil*. Many Townes in *Sicil* had embraced a desire of recovering their libertie; thinking it high time to fight at length for their owne freedome, after that they had so long bene exposed, (as a reward of victorie) either vnto Aliens, or to Tyrants, of their owne Countie. These had prevailed farre, and gotten many to take their parts, as in a common cause: when the comming of *Agathocles* abated their high spirits, and his good successe in many fights, compelled them to Obedience. Out of

Sicil

And hee returned into *Africk*, where his affaires stood in very bad termes. *Archagathus*, his sonne, had lost a battaile; and (which was worse) had ill meanes to helpe himselfe: his Armie being in mutinie for lacke of pay. But *Agathocles* pacified the tumult, by the accustomed promises of great bootie and spoyle. It had now bene time for him, to offer peace to the *Carthaginians*: which to obtaine, they would (questionlesse) haue giuen to him, both money enough to pay his Armie, and all that they then held in *Sicil*. For their Citie had bene distressed, not onely by this his warre, but by the treason of *Bomilcar*, who failed not much of making himselfe Tyrant ouer them. But ambition is blind. *Agathocles* had all his thoughts fixed vpon the conquest of *Carthage* it selfe: out of which dreame hee was awaked, by the losse of a battaile, not so memorable in regard of any accident therein, as of the strange euents following it. The *Carthaginians*, after their great misfortunes in this warre, had renewed their old sacrifices of children to *Saturne*: from which they had abstained, euer since they made peace with *Gelon*. And now they made choice of some, the goodliest of their prisoners, taken in the battaile, to offer vnto the fildoll, in way of thankfulness for their victorie. The fire, with which these vnhappy men were consumed, caught hold vpon the lodgings neereft vnto the Altar; and spreading it selfe farther through the Campe, with the destruction of many men, caused such a tumult as is vsuall in the like cases. At the same time, the like accident of fire burnt vpon the Pavilion of *Agathocles*. Hereupon both the Armies fledde away; each of them beleuing, that the noise in the aduerser Campe, was a signe of the enemies comming to make it. But the *Carthaginians* had a safe retreat: *Agathocles*, by a second error, fell into a new calamitie. In the beginning of this his flight in the darke, hee met with his owne *African* Souldiers; and thinking them to be enemies, (as indeede the one halfe of them had revolted from him, to the *Carthaginians*, in the last battaile) hee beganne to assault them, and was so stoutly resisted, that hee lost in this blinde fight, about foure thousand of his men. This did so discourage his proud heart; that being fallen from the neere hope of taking the Citie of *Carthage*, vnto some distrust of his owne fastitie, he knew no more how to moderate his present weake feares, than lately he had known how to gouerne his ambition. Therefore hee tooke the way that came next into his head; which was, to steale closely a-boord his ships, with his younger sonne (the elder hee suspected of Incest, and of Ambition) and so to sit into *Sicil*; thinking it the best course to hit for himselfe, as wanting vessels wherein to transport his Armie. His elder son, *Archagathus*, perceived his drift, arrested him, and put him vnder custodie: but by meanes of a sudden tumult, he was let loose, escaped, and fled alone, leaving both his sonnes behinde him. His flight being noysed through the Armie, all was in vpror; and extremie of rage caused not onely the common Souldier, but euen such as had bene friends to the Tyrant, to lay hold vpon his two sonnes, and kill them. That this flight of *Agathocles* was extremely base; I need not vie words to proue: That his feare was truly, as all feare is said to be, a passion, depriving him of the succours which reason offered, the sequels doth manifest. His forsaken Souldiers, being now a headlesse company, and no longer an Armie to be feared, obtained neuertheless a reasonable composition from the *Carthaginians*: to whom they sold those places, whereof they had possession, for nintene talents. Likewise, *Agathocles* himselfe, hauing lost his Armie, did neuertheless, by the reputation of this late warre, make peace with *Carthage* vpon equal termes.

After this, the Tyrant, being deliuered from forraigne enemies, discouered his bloudie nature, in most abominable cruelties, among the *Sicilians*. His wants, and his feares, vied him so violently, that he was not satisfied with the spoyles of the rich, or the death of those whom he held suspected: but in a beastly rage depopulated whole Cities. Hee deuised new engines of torment; wherein straining to exceed the Bull of *Phalaris*, hee made a frame of brasse, that should serue to scorch mens bodies, and withall giue him leaue to behold them in their miserie. So deuillish is the nature of man, when reason, that should be his guide, is become a slaue to his brutish affections. In these mischiefs he was so outrageous, that he neither spared Sexe, nor Age; especially, when hee was informed of the slaughter of his children in *Africk*. But this was not the way to preferre his estate: he threw him into new dangers. They whom he had chased out of their Countie, took armes against him, and draue him into such feare, that hee was faine to secke the loue at *Carthage*, which by ruling well hee might haue had in *Sicil*. Hee freely de-

liuered

livered into the *Carthaginians* hands, all those Townes of the *Phenicians* in *Sicily*, belonging vnto them, which were in his possession. They required him honourably, with great store of corne, and with foure hundred talents of gold and siluer. So (though not without much trouble and hazard) he prevailed against the Rebels, and sealed his estate. Having no further businesse left in *Sicily*, he made a voyage into *Italy*. There he subdued the *Bruttians*, rather by terror of his name, than by any force, for they yielded at his first coming. This done, he went to the Isle of *Lipara*, and made the Inhabitants buy peace with one hundred talents of gold. But when hee had gotten this great summe, hee would needs exact a greater; and finding plainly that they had no more left, he was bold to spoyle the Temples of their gods. Herein (me-thinks) hee did well enough. For how could hee beleue those to be gods, that had continually giuen deafe eares to his horrible perjuries? Then he returned richly home, with eleuen ships loaden with gold: all which, and all the rest of his fleet, were cast away by foule weather at Sea; one Gallie excepted, in which he himselfe escaped, to suffer a more miserable end. A grievous sicknesse fell vpon him, that rotted his whole body, spreading it selfe through all his veines and sinewes. Whilest he lay in this case, all desiring his end, came only *Theogenia* (a wife that he had taken out of *Aegypt*) and her small children: his Nephew, the sonne of *Agathocles*, before mentioned, and a younger sonne of his owne, began to contend about the Kingdome. Neither did they seeke to end the contouersie by the olde Tyrants decision; they regarded him not so much. But each of them laied wait for the others life: wherein the Nephew sped so well that he slue his Vncle, and got his Grand-fathers Kingdome, without asking any leaue. These tidings wounded the heart of *Agathocles* with feare and sorrow. Hee saw himselfe without helpe, like to become a prey to his vngriuous Nephew, from whom he knew that no fauour was to be expected, either by himselfe, or by those, whom only hee now held deare, which were *Theogenia* and her children. Therefore he aduised her and them to flie before they were surprisid: for that otherwise they could by no means auoide, either death, or somewhat that would be worse. He gaue them all his treasures and goods, wherewith he euen compelled them (weeping to leaue him desolate in so wretched a case) to imbarke themselves hastily, and made speed into *Aegypt*. After their departure, whether hee threw himselfe into the fire, or whether his disease consumed him, there was none left that cared to attend him; but he ended his life as basely, as obscurely, and in as much want, as hee first beganne it.

After the death of *Agathocles* it was, that the *Mamertines* his Souldiers traitorously occupied *Messana*, and infested a great part of the Iland. Then also did the *Carthaginians* begin to renew their attempts of conquering all *Sicily*. What the Nephew of *Agathocles* did, I cannot finde. Likely it is that he quickly perished. For the *Sicilians* were driuen to fend for *Pyrrhus* to help them, who had married with a daughter of *Agathocles*. But *Pyrrhus* was soone wearie of the Countrey (as hath beene shewed before) and therefore left it; prophcing that it would become a goodly champion field, wherein *Rome* and *Carthage* should fight for superiouritie. In which businesse, how these two great Cities did speed, the order of our storie will declare.

§. V.

A recontinuatiō of the Roman warre in Sicily. How Hieron, King of Syracuse, seeks to settle the *Carthaginians*; and made his peace with *Rome*.

When *Appius Claudius*, following the aduantage of his victorie gotten at *Messana*, brought the warre vnto the Gates of *Syracuse*, and besieged that great City; *Hieron* found it high time for him to seeke peace: knowing that the *Carthaginians* had neither any reason to bee offended with him, for helping himselfe by what means hee could, when they were not in case to giue him assistance; and forcing withall, that when once he had purchased his quiet from the *Romans*, it would be free for him to sit still, without feare of molestation, whilst *Rome* and *Carthage* were fighting for the mastery. In this good mood, the new Roman Consul, *M. Valerius*, and *C. Octavius*, found him, and readily embraced the offer of his friendship. Yet they made

use of their present aduantage, and sold him peace for an hundred (some say two hundred) Talents.

These Consuls had brought a great Armie into *Sicily*; yet did they nothing else in effect, than bring ouer *Hiero* to their side. If the *Syracusians* held them busied (which I find not, otherwise than by circumstances, as, by the summe of monie imposed vpon him, and by their performing none other peece of seruice) all the whole time of their abode in the Iland; then was his departure from the friendship of *Carthage*, no less to his honour, than it was to his commoditie. For by no reason could they require, that he should suffer his owne Kingdom to runne into manifest perill of subuersion, for their sakes, that should haue receiued all the profit of the victorie: seeing they did expose him to the whole danger, without straying themselves to giue him reliefe. But the *Carthaginians* had lately made good proofe of the strength of *Syracuse*, in the daies of *Agathocles*: and therefore knew, that it was able to beare a very strong siege. And heereupon it is like that they were the more slacke, in lending helpe: if (perhaps) it were not some part of their desire, that both *Rome* and *Syracuse* should weaken one the other, whereby their owne work might be the easier against them both. Yet indeed, the case of the besieged City was not the same, when the *Romans* lay before it, as it had beene, when the *Carthaginians* attempted it. For there was great reason, to try the vtmost hazard of war against the *Romans*, who thought it sufficient if they could withdraw it from the party of their enemies. Besides, it was not all one to be gouerned by *Agathocles*, or by *Hiero*. The former of these cared not what the citizens endured, so long as he might preferue his owne tyrannie: the later, as a iust and good Prince, had no greater desire than to winne the love of his people, by seeking their commoditie; but including his owne felicitie within the publique, laboured to vphold both, by honest and faithfull dealing. Hereby it came to passe, that he enioyed a long and happy regne, liuing deare to his own Subjects, beloved of the *Romans*, and not greatly molested by the *Carthaginians*; whom, either the consideration, that they had left him to himselfe, or he left their societie, made vnrilling to seeke his ruine; or their more earnest businesse with the *Romans*, made vnable to compasse it.

§. VI.

How the *Romans* besiege and winne *Agigentum*. Their beginning to maintaine a fleet. Their first losse, and first victorie by Sea. Of Seafight in generall.

Hieron, having sided himselfe with the *Romans*, aided them with victuals, and other necessities: so that they, presuming vpon his assistance, recall some part of their forces. The *Carthaginians* finde it high time to bestirre them; they send to the *Ligurians*, and to the troopes they had in *Spain*, to come to their aide; who being arrived, they made the City of *Agigentum*, the seat of the war, against the *Romans*, filling it with all manner of munition.

The Roman Consuls, hauing made peace with *Hieron*, returne into *Italy*; and, in their places, *Lucius Posthumus*, and *Quintus Mamilius*, arrive. They goe on towards *Agigentum*: and finding no enemy in the field, they besiege it, though it were fortified with fiftie thousand Souldiers. After a while, the time of harvest being come, a part of the Roman Armie range the Countrey to gather corne, and those at the siege grow negligent; the *Carthaginians* sallie furiously, and indanger the Roman Armie, but are in the end repelled into the towne with great losse; but by the limar sele on both sides, the *Affilians* redoubled their guards, and the besieged kept within their couert. Yet the *Carthaginians*

meane miles about the walls; and it had sometimes in it eight hundred thousand Inhabitants. This City, by reason of the fertility of the soile, and the neighbour-hood of *Carthage*, grow in a short space from small beginnings, to great glory and riches. The pleasure and laurie thereof was so great, as it caused *Empedocles* to say, That the *Agigentines* built Palaces of such superfluous as they might haue for ever; and made such feasts as if they meant to die the next day. But their greatest pompe and magnificence, was in their yearly temples, and diuines, water-conduits, and fountains: the ruins whereof at this day are sufficient arguments, that *Rome* did neuer boast of the like. In the Porch of the temple of *Iupiter Olympus*, (by which way we may iudge of the temple it selfe) there was set out on one side the full proportion of the Giants, fighting with the gods, all cut out in polished marble of diuers colours, it would be most magnificient and rare, that euer hath bene seene. On the other side the warre of *Troy*, and the encounters which happened at the taking of the city in ancient times: In comparison of which, the latter workes of that kinde, are but peece things, and meere trifles. It would require a volume to expresse the magnificence of the temples of *Hercules*, *Asclepiades*, *Concord*, *Iuno Lucina*, *Chastitie*, *Prudence*, *Coffeand*, *Pallas*, wherein the Masterpieces of those exquisite painters, and Carvers, *Phidias*, *Xenocles*, *Myron*, and *Polygnetus*, were to be seene. But in proesse of time it ranne the same fortune that all other great Cities haue done, and was razed by diuers causes of warre: whereof this warre present brought vnto it not the least.

Romans

Romans, the better to assure themselves, cut a deepe trench, betwene the walls of the Citie and their Campe : and another on the out-side thereof ; that neither the *Carthaginians* might force any suddenly, by a fallie, nor those of the Countrie without break vpon them vnwares : which double defence kept the besieged also from the receiving any reliefe of victuals, and munitions, whilst the *Siracusian* supplies the assaillants with what they want. The besieged fend for succour to *Carthage* : after they had bene in this fort pent vp five months. The *Carthaginians* imbarke an Armie, with certaine Elephants, vnder the command of *Hanno* ; who arriues with it at *Heraclea*, to the West of *Aggrigentum*. *Hanno* puts himselfe into the field, and surpriseth *Erbelus*, a Citie wherin the *Romans* had bestowed all their provision. By means hereof, the famine without grew to be as great, as it was within *Aggrigentum* ; and the *Roman* campe no lesse streightly assieged by *Hanno*, than the Citie was by the *Romans* : inso-much, as if *Herens* had not supplied them, they had bene forced to abandon the siege. But seeing that this distresse was not enough to make them rise ; *Hanno* determined to giue them battaile. To which end departing from *Heraclea*, hee makes approach vnto the *Roman* campe. The *Romans* resolute to sustaine him, and put themselves in order. *Hanno* directeth the *Numidian* horsemen to charge the Vanguard, to the end to draw them further on ; which done, hee commands them to returne as broken, till they came to the body of the Army, that lay shadowed behinde some rising ground. The *Numidians* performe it accordingly ; and while the *Romans* pursued the *Numidians*, *Hanno* giues vpon them, and having slaughtered many, beates the rest into their Trenches.

After this encounter, the *Carthaginians* made no other attempt for two months, but lay strongly incamped, waiting vntill some opportunitie should inuite them. But *Annibal* that was besieged in *Aggrigentum*, as well by signes as messengers, made *Hanno* know how ill the extremities which he endured, was able to brooke such dilatory courses. *Hanno* thereupon, a second time, prouoked the Consuls to fight : But his Elephants being disordered by his owne Vanguard, which was broken by the *Romans*, he lost the day : and with such as escaped, he recovered *Heraclea*. *Annibal* perceiving this, and remaining hopelesse of succor, resolute to make his owne way. Finding therefore, that the *Romans*, after this daies victory, wearied with labour, and secured by their good fortune, kept negligent watch in the night ; hee rusht out of the Towne, with all the remainder of his armie, and past by the *Roman* campe without resistance. The Consuls pursue him in the morning, but in vaine : sure they were, that hee could not carry the Citie with him, which with little a-doe the *Romans* entered, and pittifully spoyled. The *Romans*, proud of this victorie, purposed rather to follow the direction of their present good fortunes, than their first determinations. They had resolved in the beginning of this Warre, only to succour the *Mamertines*, and to keepe the *Carthaginians* from their owne coasts : but now they determine to make themselves Lords of all *Sicily* ; and from thence, being fauoured with the winde of good successe, to saile out into *Africa*. It is the discase of Kings, of States, and also of priuate men, to couet the greatest things, but not to enioy the least ; the desire of that which weneither haue nor neede, taking from vs the true vse and fruition of what wee haue already. This curse vpon mortall men, was neuer taken from them since the beginning of the World vnto this day.

To prosecute this Warre, *Lucius Valerius* and *Titus O'Facilius*, two new Consuls, are sent into *Sicily*. Whereupon, the *Romans* being Masters of the field, many in-land Townes gaue themselves vnto them. On the contrary, the *Carthaginians* keeping still the Lordship of the Sea, many maritime places became theirs. The *Romans* therefore, as well to secure their owne coasts, often invaded by the *African* fleets, as also to equal themselves in euery kinde of warfare with their enemies, determine to make a fleet. And heerein fortune fauoured them with this accident, that being altogether ignorant in ship-wrights craft, a storme of winde thrust one of the *Carthaginian* Gallies, of five bankes, to the shore.

Now had the *Romans* a patterne, and by it they beganne to set vp an hundred *Quinqueremes*, which were Gallies, rowed by five on euery banke, and twenty, of three on a banke : and while these were in preparing, they exercised their men in the feat of rowing. This they did after a strange fashion. They placed vpon the Sea-larks many

many leares, in order of the bankes in Gallies, whercon they placed their water-men, and taught them to beat the land with long poles, orderly, and as they were directed by the Master, that so they might learne the stroke of the Gallie, and how to mount and draw their Oares.

When their fleet was finished, some rigging and other implements excepted, *C. Cornelius*, one of the new Consuls (for they changed euery yeere) was made Admirall : who being more in loue with this new kinde of warfare, then well aduised, past ouer to *Messina* with fouenteene Gallies, leauing the rest to follow him. There hee staid not, but would needs row along the coast to *Lipara*, hoping to doe some piece of seruice. *Hannibal*, a *Carthaginian* was at the sametime Governour in *Panormus* ; who being aduised of this new Sea mans arriuall, sent forth one *Boodes*, a Senator of *Carthage*, with twentie Gallies to entertaine him. *Boodes*, falling vpon the Consull vnwares,ooke both him and the fleet hee commanded. When *Hannibal* receiued this good news, together with the *Roman* Gallies, and their Consull ; hee grew no lesse foolishly hardie then *Cornelius* had bene. For hee, fancying to himselfe to surprize the rest of the *Roman* fleet, on their owne coast, ere they were yet in all points provided ; sought them out with a fleet of fittie saile : wherewith falling among them, hee was well beaten, and leauing the greater number of his owne behinde him, made an hard escape with the rest : for of one hundred and twentie Gallies, the *Romans* vnder *Cornelius* had lost but fouenteene, so as one hundred and three remained, which were not easily beaten by fittie.

The *Romans*, being aduised of *Cornelius* his ouerthrow, make hast to redeeme him, but giue the charge of their fleet to his Colleague, *Duisius*. *Duisius*, considering that the *Roman* vessels were heauie and slow, the *African* Gallies hauing the speed of them, deuised a certaine Engine in the prow of his Gallies, wherby they might fasten or grapple themselves with their enemies, when they were (as wee call it) boord and boord, that is, when they brought the Gallies sides together. This done, the waighier ships had gotten the aduantage, and the *Africans* lost it. For neither did their swiftnesse thrust them, nor their Mariners craft ; the Vessels wherewith both Nations fought, being open : so that all was to be carried by the aduantage of weapon, and valour of the men. Besides this, as the heauier Gallies were accidentally likely to crush and cracke the sides of the lighter and weaker, so were they by the reason of their breadth, more steadie ; and those that best kept their feet, could also best vse their hands. The example may be giuen betwene one of the long boates of his Maiesties great ships, and a *London barge*.

Certainely, hee that will happily performe a fight at Sea, must bee skilfull in making choice of Vessels to fight in : he must beleue, that there is more belonging to a good man of warre, vpon the waters, than great during ; and must know, that there is a great deale of difference, betwene fighting loose or at large, and grappling. The Gunnes of a slow ship pierce as well, and make as great holes, as those in a swift. To clap ships together, without consideration, belongs rather to a mad man, than to a man of warre : for by such an ignorant brauerie was *Peter Strofie*, lost at the *Azores*, when he fought against the *Marquesse of Santa Cruz*. In like sort had the Lord *Charles Howard*, Admirall of England, benee lost in the yeere 1588. if hee had not benee better aduised, than a great many malignant foles were, that found fault with his demeanour. The *Spaniards* had an Armie aboard them ; and hee had none : they had more ships then hee had, and of higher building and charging ; so that, had hee intangled himselfe with those great and powerful Vessels, hee had greatly endangered this Kingdome of England. For twentie men vpon the defences, are equall to an hundred that boord and enter ; whereas then, contrariwise, the *Spaniards* had an hundred, for twentie of ours, to defend themselves withall. But our Admirall knew his aduantage, and held it : which had hee not done, hee had not benee worthy to haue held his head. Heere to speake in generall of Sea-fight (for particulars are fitter for priuate hands then for the Presse) I say, That a fleet of twentie shippes, all good sailers, and good ships, haue the aduantage, on the open Sea, of an hundred as good ships, and of slower sayling. For if the fleet of an hundred saile keepe themselves neere together, in a grosse Squadron ; the twentie ships, charging them vpon any angle, shall force them to giue ground, and to fall backe vpon their owne next fellows : of which so many as intangle, are made vnseruiceable or lost. Force them

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they may easily, because the twentie ships, which give themselves scope, after they have giuen one broad side of Artillicrie, by clapping into the winde, and staying, they may give them the other: and so the twentie ships batter them in pieces with a perpendicull vollic; whereas those, that fight in a troope, haue no room to turne, and can alwayes vse but one and the same beaten side. If the fleet of an hundred saile give themselves any distance, then shall the lesser fleet preuaile, either against those that are a-reare & hindmost, or against those, that by advantage of our-failing their fellows keepe the winde: and if vpon a Lee-shore, the ships next the winde bee constrained to fall backe into their owne squadron, then it is all to nothing, the whole fleet must suffer shipwacke, or render it selfe. That such advantage may be taken vpon a fleet of vnequall speed, it hath bin well enough conceiued in olde time; as by that Oration of *Hermocrates*, in *Thucydides*, to which he made to the *Syracusians*, when the *Athenians* invaded them, it may easily be obserued.

Of the Art of Warre by Sea, I haue written a Treatise, for the Lord *Henry*, *Prince of Wales*; a subiect, to my knowledge, neuer handled by any man, ancient or moderne but God hath spared mee the labour of finishing it, by his losse; by the losse of that brave Prince, of which, like an Eclipse of the Sunne, we shall finde the effects hereafter. Impossible it is to equall words and forrowes; I will therefore leaue him in the hands of God that hath him. *Cursus loquuntur, ingentes spent.*

But it is now time to returne to the beaten *Carthaginians*, who by losing their advantage of swift boats, & boarding the *Romans*, haue lost the sickele of their Gallies: as on the other side, their enemies by commanding the Seas, haue gotten libertie to saile about the West part of *Sicily*, where they raised the siegelayed vnto *Segesta*, by the *Carthaginians*, and wonne the Towne of *Macella*, with some other places.

§. VII.

Diners enterprizes of warre, betweene the Romans and Carthaginians, with variable success. The Romans prepare to invade Africk: and obtaine a great victory at Sea.

THe victorie of *Dulius*, as it was honoured at *Rome*, with the first Nauell triumph, that was euer scene in that Citie; so gaue it vnto the *Romans* a great encouragement, to proceede in their warres by Sea; whereby they hoped, not onely to get *Sicily*, but all the other Iles betwene *Italie* and *Africk*, beginning with *Sardinia*, whether soone after they sent a fleet for that purpose. On the contrary side, *Amilcar* the *Carthaginian*, lying in *Panormus*, carefully waited for all occasions, that might helpe to recompence the late misfortune: and being aduertised, that some quarrell was growne betwene the *Roman* Souldiers, and their Auxiliaries, being such as caused them to in campe a part, he sent forth *Hanno* to set vpon them, who taking them vnawares, buried foure thousand of them in the place. Now during the continuance of the Land-warre in *Sicily*, *Hannibal*, who had lately beene beaten by Sea, but escaped vnto *Carthage*, meaning to make amends for his former error, obtained the trust of a new fleet, wherewith he arrived at *Sardinia*: the conquest of which Iland, the *Romans* had entertained for their next enterprize. Now it to fell out, that the *Romans*, crossing the Seas from *Sicily*, arrived in the port where *Hannibal* with his new fleet anchored. They set vpon him vnawares, and tooke the better part of the fleet which he conducted; himselfe hardly escaping the danger. But it little equalled him to haue escaped from the *Romans*. His good friends the *Carthaginians*, were so ill pleased with this his second vnfourte voyage, that they hanged him vp for his dilIGENCE: for (as it hath beene laid of old) *Non est hic in bello perire, in warre it is too much to offend twice.*

After this, it was long ere anything of importance was done by the Consuls, till *Panormus* was besieged: where, when the *Romans* had fought in vaine to draw the *Carthaginians* to the field; being vnable to force that great Citie, because of the strong Garrison therein bestowed: they then departed from thence, and tooke certaine In-land Townes, as *Mytilastrum*, *Enna*, *Camerina*, *Hippana*, and others, betwene *Panormus* and *Messana*.

The year following, *C. Attilius* the Consul, who commanded the *Roman* fleet, discovered a company of the *Carthaginian* Gallies, ranging the coast: and, not staying for his whole number, pursued them with ten of his. But hee was well beaten for the haste hee made, and lost all, save the Gallie which transported him: wherein himselfe escaped with great labour. But ere all was done, the rest of *Attilius* his fleet was gotten vp: who renewing the fight, recovered from the *Carthaginians* a double number of theirs: by which the victory remaining doubtfull, both challenge it. Now to try at once, which of these two Nations should command the Seas, they both prepare all they can. The *Romans* make a fleet of three hundred and thirty Gallies, the *Carthaginians* of three hundred and fiftie, *Triremes*, *Quadriremes*, and *Quinqueremes*.

The *Romans* resolve to transport the warre into *Africk*, the *Carthaginians*, to arrest them on the coast of *Sicily*. The numbers, with which each of them filled their fleet, was (perhaps) the greatest that euer fought on the waters. By *Polybius* his estimation, there were in the *Roman* Gallies an hundred and forty thousand men; and in those of *Carthage* an hundred and fifty thousand: reckoning one hundred and twenty Souldiers, and three hundred rowers to every Gallie, one with the other. The *Roman* fleet was diuided into foure parts, of which the three first made the forme of a Wedge or Triangle; the two first squadrons making the Flanks, and the third Squadron, the Base: the point thereof (wherein were the two Consuls as Admiralls) looking toward the enemy, and the middle space lying empty. Their Vessells of carriage were towed by the third Squadron. After all came vp the fourth, in forme of a *Crescent*; very well manned, but exceeding thinn: so that the hornes of it inclosed all the third Squadron, together with the corners of the first and second. The order of the *Carthaginian* fleet I cannot conceiue by relation; but, by the manner of the fight afterwards, I coniecture, that the front of their fleet was thinn, and stretched in a great length, much like to that which the *French* call *Combat en hay*; a long front of horse, and thinn: which forme, since the Pistoll preuailed ouer the Lance, they haue changed. Behind this first outstretched front, their Battalions were more solide: for *Amilcar*, Admirall of the *Carthaginians*, had thus ordered them, of purpose, (his Gallies hauing the speed of the *Romans*) that, when the first fleet of the *Romans* halted to breake through the first Gallies, they should all tume taile, and the *Romans* pursuing them (as after a victory) disorder themselves, and, for cagernesie of taking the Run-awaies, leaue their owne three squadrons fare behind them. For so it must needs fall out; seeing that the third Squadron towed their horse-boats, and victuallers; and the fourth had the Rearward of all. According to *Amilcars* direction it succeeded. For when the *Romans* had charged, and broken, the thinn front of the *Carthaginian* first fleet, which ranne away, they forthwith gaue after them with all speed possible, not so much as looking behinde them for the second Squadron. Hereby the *Romans* were drawne nere vnto the body of the *Carthaginian* fleet, led by *Amilcar*, and by him (at the first) receiued a great losse, vntill their second Squadron came vp, which forced *Amilcar* to betake him to his Oares. *Hanno* also, who commanded the right wing of the *Carthaginian* fleet, invaded the *Romane* Rearward, and preuailed against them. But *Amilcar* being beaten off, *Marcus Attilius* fell backeto their succour, and put the *Carthaginians* to their heeles; as not able to sustain both squadrons. The Rearre being relieved, the Consuls came to the aide of their third Battalion, which towed the victuallers, which was also in great danger of being beaten by the *Carthaginians*: but the Consuls, joining their squadrons to it, put the *Carthaginians* on that part also to running.

This victorie fell vnto the *Romans*, partly by the hardinesse of their Souldiers; but principally, for that *Amilcar*, being first beaten, could neuer after ioyne himselfe vnto any of his other squadrons, that remained as yet in a faire likelihood of preuailling, so long as they fought vpon equal termes, and but Squadron to Squadron. But *Amilcar* forsaking the fight, thereby left a full fourth part of the *Romane* fleet vnengaged, and readie to giue succour to any of the other parts that were opprest. So as in conclusion, the *Romans* got the honour of the day: for they lost but foure and

twentie of theirs; whereas the *Africans* lost thirtie that were sunke, and threecore and three that were taken.

Now, if *Amilcar*, who had more Gallies than the *Romans*, had also diuided his fleet into foure squadrons, (besides those that hee ranged in the front to draw on the enemies, and to ingage them) and that, whilst hee himselfe fought with one squadron that charged him, all the rest of the enemies fleet had bene at the same time entertained, hee had prevailed: But the second squadron, being free, came to the rescue of the first, by which *Amilcar* was oppressed: and *Amilcar*, being oppressed and scattered, the Consuls had good leisure to relieue both the third and the fourth squadron, and got the victorie.

Charles the first, among other his Precepts to *Philip* the second his sonne, where hee aduise him concerning Warre against the *Turkes*, tells him, that in all batailles betweene them and the *Christians*, he should neuer faile to charge the *Tamfars* in the beginning of the fight, and to ingage them at once with the rest. For (saith he) the *Tamfars*, who are alwaies reserved intire in the Rere of the bataille, and in whom the *Turke* repositeth his greatest confidence, come vp in a grosse body, when all the troops, on both sides are disbanded and in confusion; whereby they carrie the victorie before them without resistance. By the same order of fight, and reservation, did the *Romans* also preuaile against other Nations. For they kept their *Triarij* in store (who were the choice of their Armie) for the vp-shot and last blow. A great and victorious advantage it hath ever been found, to keepe some one or two good troopes to looke on, when all else are disbanded and ingaged.

§. VIII.

The *Romans* preuaile in *Africa*. *Atilius* the Consul propoundeth intollerable conditions of peace to the *Carthaginians*. He is utterly beaten, and made prisoner.

NOW the *Romans* according to their former resolution, after they had repaired and re-victualled their fleet, set saile for *Africa*, and arrived at the *Promontorie* of *Hercules*, a great Head-land, somewhat to the East of the Port of *Carthage*, and 30 some fortie leagues from *Hercules* in *Sicily*, where *Amilcar* himselfe as yet staid. From this Head-land (leaving the entrance into *Carthage*) they coasted the East-side of the *Promontorie*, till they came to *Clypea*, a Towne about fiftie English mile from it. There they disembarked, and prepared to besiege *Clypea*; which, to ease them of labour, was yielded vnto them. Now had they a Port of their owne on *Africa* side; without which all inuasions are foolish. By this time were the *Africans* also arrived at their owne *Carthage*; fearing that the *Roman* fleet and armie had directed themselves thither: burbidge aduertised that they had taken *Clypea*, they made provisions of all forts, both by Sea and Land, for their defence. The *Romans* send to *Rome* for directions, and in the meane while waste all round about them. The order given from the Senate, was, that one of the Consuls should remaine with the Armie, and that the other should returne, with the fleet into *Italy*. According to this direction, *Manlius* the Consul is sent home to *Rome*; whither he carried with him twenty thousand *African* Captaines, with all the *Roman* fleet and armie; except fortie ships, fiftene thousand foot, and five hundred horse, that were left with *Atilius*.

With these forces, *Regulus* easily wanne some Townes and Places that were walled, and laid siege to others. But hee performed no great matter, before hee came to *Adis*. Yet I hold it worthy of relation, that neere vnto the Riuer of *Bagrada*, hee encountered with a Serpent of one hundred and twenty foot long, which hee slew, not without losse of many Souldiers, being druen to vse against it such engines of warre, as were properly for the assaulting of Townes. At *Adis* he met with the *Carthaginian* Armie, whereof the Captaines were *Hanno* and *Bozlar*, together with *Amilcar*, who had brought ouer out of *Sicily* six thousand foote, and five hundred horse to succour his Countrey. The (be-like) had an intent, rather to wearie him out of *Africa*, by warie protraction of time, than to vndergoe the hazard of a maine fight. They were careful to hold themselves free, from necessity of coming to blowes: yet had they a great desire, to save the Towne of *Adis* out of his hands. Intending therefore to follow their generall purpose, and yet to disturbe him in the siege of *Adis*, they incampe neere vnto him, and strongly

strongly (as they thinke) on the top of an hill: but thereby they loose the seruices, both of their Elephants, and of their horie-men. This disadvantage of theirs *Regulus* diuouers, and makes vse of it. He assailes them in their strength, which they defend a-while, but in fine the *Romans* preuaile, & force them from the place, taking the spoile of their campe. Following this their good fortune at the heeles, they proceeded to *Tunis* a Citie within sixteen miles of *Carthage*, which they assault and take.

By the losse of this battaile at *Adis*, and more especially by the losse of *Tunis*, the *Carthaginians* were greatly dismayed. The *Namidiens*, their next Neighbours towards the West, insult vpon their misfortunes; invade, and spoile their Territory, and force those that inhabite abroad, to forsake their villages and fields, and to hide themselves within the walls of *Carthage*. By reason hereof, a great famine at hand threatens the Citizens. *Atilius* findes his owne advantage, and assures himselfe that the Citie could not long hold out: yet hee feared lest it might defend it selfe, vntill his time of Office, that was nere expired, should bee quite ranne out; whereby the new Consuls were like to reape the honor of obtaining it. Ambition therefore, that hath no respect but to it selfe, perswades him to treat of peace with the *Carthaginians*. But hee propounded vnto them to vniuersall and bafe conditions, as thereby their hearts, formerly possessed with feare, became now so couragious and disdainfull, that they refused, either to defend their libertie, or dieto the last man. To strengthen this their resolution, there arrived at the same time a great troope of *Greekes*, whom they had formerly sent to entertaine. Among these was a very expert Souldier, named *Xanthippus*, a *Spartan*: who being informed of what had passed, and of the overthrow which the *Carthaginians* received were vnto *Adis*, gaue it our publicly, that the same was occasioned by default of the Commanders, and not of the Nation. This bruit ranne, till it came to the Senate; *Xanthippus* is sent for; gives the reason of his opinion; and in conclusion, being made Generall of the *African* forces, he puts himselfe into the field. The Armie which he led, consisted of no more then twelve thousand foot, and foure thousand horse, with an hundred Elephants. No greater were the forces wherewith the *Carthaginians* fought for all that they had, Libanie, Liores, Goods, Wiues, and Children: which might well make it suspected, that the Armies by 30 sea, before spoken of, were misse-numbered; the one consisting of an hundred and forty thousand, and the other of an hundred and fiftie thousand: were it not commonlie found that they which vse the seruice of mercinarie Souldiers, are stronger abroad, than at their owne dores.

Xanthippus, taking the field with this Armie, marched directly towards the *Romans*; and ranging his troops vpon sure and leuell ground, fittest both for his Elephants and Horse, presented them battaile. The *Romans* wondered much, whence this new courage of their enemies might grow: but confident they were, that it should soone bee abated. Their chiefe care was, how to resist the violence of the Elephants. Against them they placed the *Velites*, or light-armed Souldiers, as a *forlorne hope*; that these might, either with darts and other casting weapons, drue backe the beasts vpon the enemies, or at least brake their violence, and hinder them from rushing freely vpon the Legions. To the same end, they made their batailles deeper in file, than they had bene accustomed to doe. By which meanes, as they were the lesse subiect vnto the impression of the Elephants; so were they so much the more exposed vnto the violence of horse, wherein the Enemie did farre exceed them. The Elephants were placed by *Xanthippus*, all in one ranke, before his Armie; which followed them at a reasonable distance: his horsemen, and some light-armed foot, of the *Carthaginian* Auxiliaries, were in the wings. The first onse was given by the Elephants, against which the *Velites* were so vnable to make resistance, that they brake into the battalions following, and put them into some disorder. In this case, the depth of the *Roman* battaile was helpfull. For when the beasts had spent their force, in piercing through a few of the first ranks; the squadrons neuertheless persisted in their order, without opening. But the *Carthaginian* horse, hauing at the first encounter, by reason of their advantage in number, druen those of *Atilius* out of the fildes, beganne to charge the *Roman* battalions in flanke, and put them in great distresse; who being forced to turne face every way, could neither passe forward nor yet retire; but had very much ado to make good the ground whereon they stood. In the meane while, such of the *Romans*, as had escaped the furie of the Elephants, and left them at their backes,

fell vpon the *Carthaginian* Armie, that met them in very good array. It was no cūm match. The one were a disordered Companie, wearied with labour, and hurt; the other, fresh, and well prepared, to haue dealt with the enemie vpon equall termes. Here was therefore a greater slaughter with little fight; the *Romanes* hastily recoyling to the bodie of their Armie, which being surrounded with the enemie, and spent with traualle, fell all to rout, vpon the defeat of these troupes, that open the way to a generall overthrow. So the *Carthaginians* obtained a full victorie; destroying the whole *Roman* Armie, saue two thousand, and taking five hundred prisoners, together with *Attius* the Confull. Of their owne they lost no more then eight hundred mercenaries, which were slaine, when the fight began, by two thousand of the *Romanes*: that wheeling about to auoid the Elephants, bare downe all before them, and made way cūen to the *Carthaginians* to trenches. These were the two thousand that escaped, when the whole Armie behinde them was routed. All the rest were either taken or slaine. Hereby fortune made the *Romanes* know, that they were no lesse her vassals, than were the *Carthaginians*: how insolent ſouer they had beene in their proposition of peace, as if they had purchased from her the inheritance of their proprietie, which she neuer gaue nor sold to any mortall man. With what ioy these newes were welcommed, when they came to *Carthage*, we may easily coniecture; and what great things the vertue of one man hath often brought to passe in the World, there are many examples to proue, no lesse then this of *Xantippus*: all of them confirming that sentence of *Eurypides*, *Mens vna sapiens, plurium viciis manus*; *Many mens hands equal not one wise minde*.

After this great seruice done to the *Carthaginians*, *Xantippus* returned into *Greece*; whether for that hee was more enuid then honoured, or for what other cause, it is vknowne.

The death of *Attius Regulus* the Confull, was very memorable. Hee was sent from *Carthage* to *Rome*, about the exchange and ranſome of prisoners on both ſides: ſignifying his faith to returne if the buſineſſe were not effected. When he came to *Rome*, and plainde ſaw that his Countie ſhould loſe by the bargain: ſo ſaue was he from vrging the Senate vnto compaſſion of his owne miſerie, that hee earnestly perſwaded to haue the prisoners in *Africke* left to their ill deſtinies. This done, hee returned to *Carthage*: where for his paines taken, hee waſteward d with an horrible death. For this his conſtancie and faith, all Writers highly extoll him. But the *Carthaginians* ſeemed to haue iudged him an obſtinate and malicious enemie; that neither in his proſperitie would hearken to reaſon, nor yet in his calamitie would haue the naturall care, to preſerue himſelfe and others, by yielding to ſuch an office of humanitie, as is common in all warres (not grounded vpon deadly hatred) onely in regard of ſome ſmall advantage. Whatſoeuer the *Carthaginians* thought of him; ſure it is, that his faithfull obſeruance of his word giuen, cannot be too much commended. But that graue ſpeech, which he made in the Senate, againſt the exchange of prisoners, appeares, in all reaſon, to haue proceeded from a vaine-glorious forwardneſſe, rather than from any neceſſitie of State. For the exchange was made ſoone after his death; wherein the *Romanes* had the worſe bargain, by loſe⁴⁰ much as *Regulus* himſelfe was worth. As for the authoritie of all Hiſtorians, that magnifie him in this point; we are to conſider that they liued vnder the *Roman* Empire: *Philinus*, the *Carthaginian*, perhaps did cenſure it otherwiſe. Yet the death which he ſuffered with extreme torments, could not be more grieuous to him than it was diſhonourable to *Carthage*. Neither doe I thinke that the *Carthaginians* could excuſe themſelves herein, otherwiſe than by recrimination: ſaying, That the *Romanes* deſerued to be no better intreated, for as much as it was their ordinary praſtice to vie others in the like ſort. Crueltie doth not become more warrantable, but rather more odious, by being cuſtomarie. It was the *Roman* faſhion, to whip almoſt to death, and then to behead, the Captaines of their enemies whom they tooke; yea although they were ſuch as had alſo waies made faire warres with them. Wherefore it ſeemes not meet, in reaſon, that they ſhould crie out againſt the like tyrannicall inſolencie in others, as if it were lawfull onely in themſelves.

The conſideration both of this miſfortune, that rewarded the pride of *Attius* his intolerable demands; and of the ſudden valour, whereinto the *Carthaginians* feare was changed by mere deſperation; calls to remembrance, the like inſolencie of others in proſperitie, that hath bred the like reſolution in thoſe, to whom all reaſonable grace hath bene

bee denied. In ſuch caſes I neuer hold it impertinent, to adde vnto one, more teſtimonies approving the true rules, from which our paſſions carry vs away.

In the yeere 1378. the *Genowais* wonne ſo faſt vpon the *Venicians*, as they not onely drave their Gallies out of the Sea, but they brought their owne fleet within two miles of *Venice* itſelfe. This bred ſuch an amazement in the Citizens of *Venice*, that they offered vnto the *Genowais* (their State referred) whatſoeuer they would demand. But *Peter Doria*, blowne vp with many former victories, would hearken to no compoſition; ſaue the yielding of their Citie and State to his diſcretion. Hereupon, the *Venicians*, being filled with diſdaine, thruſt out to Sea with all their remaining power, and aſſaile *Doria* with ſo rich deſperate furie, that they brake his fleet, kill *Doria* himſelfe, take nineteene of his Gallies, foureſcore boats of *Padoa*, and foure thouſand priſoners; recouer *Chiozza*, and all the places taken from them; and following their victorie, enter the Port of *Genoa*, enforcing the *Genowais*, baſely to begge peace, to their extreme diſhonour and diſadvantage, being beaten; which, being victorious, they might haue commanded, to their greateſt honour and advantage. The like hapned to the Earle of *Flanders*, in the yeere 1380. when hauing taken a notable, and which all an ouer-cruell reuenge vpon the *Gantois*, hee reſuſed mercy to the reſt, who in all humilitie, ſubmitting themſelves to his obedience, offered their Citie, goods, and eſtates, to be diſpoſed at his pleaſure. This when hee had vniuſuſedly reſuſed, and was reſolved to extinguiſh them utterly; they iſſue out of their Citie with five thouſand choſen men, and armed with a deſperate reſolution, they charge the Earle, brake his Armie, enter *Bruges* (pell-mell) with his vanquiſhed followers, and enforce him to hide himſelfe vnder an heape of ſtraw, in a poore cottage; out of which with great difficultie hee eſcaped, and ſaued himſelfe. Such are the fruits of inſolencie.

§. IX.

How the affairs of *Carthage* prospered after the victorie againſt *Attius*: How the *Romans* hauing loſt their fleet by tempeſt, reſolue to ſorke the Seas: The great advantages of a good fleet in warre, betwene Nations diuided by the Sea.

BY the reputation of this late victorie, all places that had beene loſt in *Africke*, returned to the obedience of *Carthage*. Onely *Clypea* ſtands out; before which the *Carthaginians* ſit downe, and aſſaile it, but in vaine: For the *Romans*, hearing of the loſſe of *Attius* with their forces in *Africke*, and withall, that *Clypea* was beſieged, make ready a groſſe Armie, and transport it in a fleet of three hundred and ſixtie Gallies, commanded by *M. Aemilius*, and *Ser. Fulvius*, their Conſuls. At the Prorogatory of *Mercurie*, two hundred *Carthaginian* Gallies, ſet out for purpoſe, vpon the bruite of their comming, encounter them: but greatly to their coſt. For the *Romans* tooke by force an hundred and foureteene of their fleet, and drew them after them to *Clypea*; where they ſtaid no longer, than to take in their owne men that had beene beſieged: and this done, they made amaine toward *Sicily*, in hope to recouer all that the *Carthaginians* held therein. In this haſty voydge they deſpise the aduice of the Pilots, who pray them to ſinde harbour in time, for that the ſeaſon threatned ſome violent ſtormes, which enuſhaped betwene the riſing of *Orion*, and of the * *Dog-Starre*. Now although the Pilots of the *Roman* Fleete had thus fore-warned them of the weather at hand, and certiſied them withall, that the South coaſt of *Sicily* had no good Ports, wherein to ſaue themſelves vpon ſuch an accident: yet this victorious Nation was perſwaded, that the winde and ſeaſe feared them no leſſe, than did the *Aſſians*; and that they were able to conquer the Elements themſelves. So reſuſing to ſtay within ſome Port, as they were aduſed, they would needes put out to Sea; thinking it a matter much helping their reputation, after this victorie againſt the *Carthaginian* fleet, to take a few wortheleſſe Townes vpon the coaſt. The merceleſſe winde in the meane while ouertake them, and nere vnto *Camerins*, ouerturne and thruſt headlong on the rocks, all but foureſcore

⁴¹ *There is no Part of the World, which hath not ſome certaine times of outrageous weather: beſides their accidental ſtormes. We haue vpon our coaſt a Michaſmas ſtorm, that ſeldom or neuer fails: In the weſt Indies, in the months of Auguſt and September, there are ſuch ſtormes, which the Spaniards call the *Nortes*, or Northwindeſ; and therefore they that Navigate in thoſe parts, eſcude harbour all thoſe months take end. Charles the ſixt being as ill aduſed, in paſſing the Seas towards *Algerie*, in the Winter quarter, contrary to the counſaile of *A. Doria*, as hee was in like vniſonable time: ſo continue his ſiege before *Meſin*, in *Lorraine*, loſt an hundred and foure ſhips by tempeſt, and ſixtine Gallies, with all in eſſe in them of men, victualles, horſes, and munition: a loſſe no leſſe great, than his gain, both from before the one and the other, was extreme diſhonourable.*

of three hundred and forty ships: so as their former great victory was denoured by the Seas, before the same thereby recovered Rome.

The *Carthaginians*, hearing what had hapned, repaire all their warlike Vessels, hoping once againe to command the Seas: they are also as confident of their land-forces since the ouerthrow of *Attilus*. They send *Afrubal* into *Sicily* with all their old Souldiers, and an hundred and fortie Elephants, imbarqued in two hundred Gallies. With this Armie and fleet he arriues at *Lilybæum*; where he begins to vex the *Partisans of Rome*. But industrie doth not discourage the *Romanes*: They build in three moneths (a matter of great note) one hundred and twenty ships; with which, and the remainder of their last shipwracke, they row to *Panormus*, or *Palerma*, the chiefe Citie of the *Africans* in *Sicily*, and surround it by Land and Water: after a while they take it, and leaving a Garrison there, in, returne to *Rome*.

Very desirous the *Romans* were to be doing in *Africk*: to which purpose they imployed *C. Scruilius*, and *C. Sempronius*, their Consuls. But these wrought no wonders. Some spoile they made vpon the coasts of *Africa*: but Fortune robbed them of all their gettings. For in their returne, they were first set vpon the sands, and like to haue perished, nerec vnto the lesser *Syres*, where they were faine to heaue all ouer-board, that they might get off: then, hauing with much a doe doubled the Cape of *Lilybæum*, in their passage from *Panormus* towards *Italie*, they lost an hundred and fittie of their ships by foule weather. A greater discouragement neuer Nation had; the god of the warres fauoured them no more, than the god of the waters afflicted them. Of all that *Marcus* enriched them with vpon the Land, *Neptune* robbed them vpon the Seas. For they had now lost, besides what they lost in fight, foure hundred and fixe Ships and Gallies, with all the munition and Souldiers transported in them.

The exceeding damage hereby receiued, perswaded them to giue out their Navigation, and their fight by Sea, and to send onely a Land-armie into *Sicily*, vnder *L. Cassius*, and *P. Furius*, their Cor suls. These they transported in some three score ordinary pottage-boats, by the streights of *Messana*, that are not aboue a mile and a halfe broad from land to land. In like fort, the ouerthrow which *Attilus* receiued in *Africa*, occasioned chiefly by the Elephants, made them lesse cholericke against the *Carthaginians*, than before; so that for two yeeres after, they kept the high and wooddie grounds, not daring to fight in the faire and champion Countreys. But this late resolution of forsaking the Seas lasted not long. For it was impossible for them to succour those places which they held in *Sicily*, without a Nauie, much lesse to maintain the warre in *Africa*. For whereas the *Romans* were to send forces from *Messana* to *Egeita*, to *Lilybæum*, and to other places in the extreme West parts of *Sicily*, making sometimes a march of aboue an hundred and forty *Englisb* mile by land, which could not be performed with an Armie, and the propositions that follow it, in lesse than foure score daies, the *Carthaginians* would passe it with their Gallies, in eight and fortie houres.

An old example we haue, of that great aduantage of transporting Armies by water, betweene *Canutus* and *Edmond Ironside*. For *Canutus*, when he had entred the *Thames* with his Nauie and Armie, and could not preuaile against *London*, suddenly imbarqued, and sailing to the West, landed in *Dorsetshire*, so drawing *Edmond* and his Army thither. There finding ill entertainment, he againe shipt his men, and entred the *Suuerne*, making *Edmond* to march after him, to the succour of *Worcestershire*, by him greatly spoiled. But when he had *Edmond* there, he sailed backe againe to *London*: by meanes whereof, he both wearied the King, and spoiled where he pleased, ere succour could arriue. And this was not the least helpe, which the *Netherlands* haue had against the *Spaniards*, in the defence of their liberty, that being Masters of the Sea, they could passe their Armie from place to place, vnwearied, and entrie, with all the Munition and Artillerie belonging vnto it, in the tenth part of the time, wherein their enemies haue beene able to doe it. Of this, an instance or two. The Count *Maurice of Nassau*, now liuing, one of the greatest Captaines, and of the worthiest Princes, that either the present or preceeding Ages haue brought forth; in the yeare 1590. carried his Armie by Sea, with fortie Canons, to *Brada*: making countenance either to besiege *Brissledac*, or *Gertreniden Berg*; which the enemy (in preuention) filled with Souldiers, and victuals. But as soone as the wind serued, he suddenly set saile, arriuing in the mouth of the *Menze*, turned vp the *Rhine*, and thence to *Tissel*, and sat downe before *Zunphen*. So before the *Spaniards* could

could march ouer-land round about *Holland*, aboue fourescore mile, and ouer many great Riuers, with their Cannon and carriage, *Zunphen* was taken. Againe, when the *Spanish* Armie had ouercome this wearisome march, and were now farre from home, the Prince *Maurice*, making countenance to saile vp the *Rhine*, changed his course in the night; and following downe the streame, he was set downe before *Hulst* in *Brabant*, ere the *Spaniards* had knowledge what was become of him. So this Towne he also tooke, before the *Spanish* armie could returne. Lastly, the *Spanish* armie was to sooner arriue in *Brabant*, than the Prince *Maurice*, well attended by his good fleet, hauing fortified *Hulst*, set saile againe, and presented himselfe before *Nymegen* in *Gelder*, a Citie of notable importance, and mastered it.

And to say the truth, it is impossible for any maritime Countreie, not hauing the coasts admirably fortified, to defend it selfe against a powerfull enemy, that is master of the Sea. Hereof I had rather, that *Spain* than *England* should be an example. Let it therefore be supposed, that King *Philip* the second had fully resolved to hinder Sir *Iohn Norris* in the yeare 1589. from presenting *Don Antonio*, King of *Portugale*, before the gates of *Lysborne*; and that he would haue kept off the *Englisb*, by power of his land-forces; as being too weak: at Sea, through the great ouerthrow of his mighty Armada, by the fleet of Queene *Elizabeth*, in the yeere foregoing. Surely, it had not bene hard for him, to prepare an Armie, that should be able to resist our eleuen thousand. But where should this Armie haue beene bestowed? If about *Lysborne*; then would it haue bene easie vnto the *Englisb*, to take, ransacke, and burne the Towne of *Graine*, and to waste the Countreie round about it. For the great and threatening preparations of the Earle of *Alcama*, the Marquesse of *Serriba*, and others, did not hinder them from performing all this. Neither did the hastie leaue of eight thousand, vnder the Earle of *Andrada*, serue to more effect, than the increase of honour to Sir *Iohn Norris* and his Associates: considering, that the *Englisb* charged these, at *Puente de Burgos*, and passing the great Bridge, behinde which they lay, that was flanked with shot, and barricadoed at the further end, routed them, tooke their campe; tooke their Generals standard with the Kings Armes, and pursued them ouer all the Countreie, which they fired. If a royal Armie, and not (as this was) a Companie of priuate aduenturers, had thus begun the warre in *Galicia*; I thinke it would haue made the *Spaniards* to quit the guard of *Portugale*, and make haste to the defence of their *S. Iago*, whose Temple was not far from the danger. But, had they held their first resolution; as knowing, that Sir *Iohn Norris* his maine intent was, to bring *Don Antonio*, with an Armie, into his Kingdome, whither coming strong, he expected to be readily and joyfully welcomed: could they haue hindred his landing in *Portugale*? Did not he land at *Peniche*, and march ouer the Countreie to *Lysborne*, sixe dayes iourney? Did not hee (when all *Don Antonio* his promises failed) passe along by the River of *Lysborne* to *Cascalis*, and there, hauing won the Fort, quickly imbarque his men, and depart? But these, though no more than an handfull, yet were they *Englisbmen*. Let vs consider of the matter it selfe; what another Nation might doe, euen against *England*, in landing an Armie, by aduantage of a fleet, if we had none. This question, whether an inuading Armie may be resisted at their landing vpon the coast of *England*, were there no fleet of ours at the Sea to impeache it; is already handled by a learned Gentleman of our Nation, in his obseruations vpon *Cæsars* Commentaries, that maintains the affirmatiue. This he holds onely vpon supposition; in absence of our shipping: and comparatively, as that it is a more safe and easie course, to defend all the coast of *England*, than to suffer any enemy to land, and afterwards to fight with him. Surely I hold with him, that it is the best way, to keep our enemy from treading vpon our ground: wherein, if we faile, then must we seek to make him wish, that he had staid at his owne home. In such a case, if it should happen, our iudgements are to weigh many particular circumstances, that belong not vnto this discourse. But making the question general, and positiue, Whether *England*, without helpe of her fleet, be able to debarre an enemy from landing; I hold that it is vnable so to doe: and therefore I thinke it most dangerous to make the aduerture. For the incouragement of a first victory to an enemy, and the discouragement of being beaten to the inuaded, may draw after it a most perillous consequence.

I thinke, that the Marshall *Momius*, in his Commentaries, doth greatly complaine, that by his wanting forces, wherewith to haue kept the frontier of *Guienne*, they of the

Protestant

Protestant religion, after the battaile of *Moncouster*, entred that Countrey, and gathered great strength and reliefe thence; for if the King (saith he) would haue giuen me but reasonable means, *Jeusiebiu garde a Monsieur l'Admiral, de faire boire Jes Cheuaux en la Garonne, I would haue kept the Admiral from watering his horses in the River of Garonne.* Monsieur de *Langey*, on the contrary side, preferres the not fighting vpon a frontier with an invading enemy, and commends the delay; which course the Constable of France held, against the Emperour *Charles*, when he inuaded *Prouence*. Great difference I know there is; and a diuers consideration to be had, betwene such a Countrey as France is, strengthened with many fortified places; and this of ours, where our Rampars are but of the bodies of men. And it was of inuasions vpon firme land, that these great Captaines spake: whose entrances cannot be vncertaine. But our question is, of an Armie to be transported ouer Sea, and to be landed againe in an enemies Countrey, and the place left to the choice of the Inuader. Hereunto I say, That such an Armie cannot be redisted on the coast of *England*, without a fleet to impeach it; no, nor on the coast of *France*, or any other Countrey: except euery Creeke, Port, or sandy Bay, had a powerfull Armie, in each of them, to make opposition. For let his whole supposition be grained, That *Kent* is able to furnish twelve thousand foot, and that those twelve thousand be layed in the three best landing places within that Countrey, to wit, three thousand at *Margat*, three thousand at the *Nesse*, and six thousand at *Foulkston*, that is some what equally distant from them both; as also that two of these troupes (vnlesse some other order be thought more fit) be directed to strengthen the third, when they shall see the enemies fleet to bend towards it: I say, that notwithstanding this prouision, if the enemy, setting saile from the Ile of *Wight*, in the first watch of the night, and towing their long boates at their sternes, shall arrive by dawne of day at the *Nesse*, and thrust their Armie on shore there; it will be hard for those three thousand that are at *Margat*, (twenty and foure long miles from thence) to come time enough to re-enforce their fellows at the *Nesse*. Nay, how shall they at *Foulkston* be able to doe it, who are neerer by more than halfe the way? seeing that the enemy, at his first anall, will either make his entrance by force, with three or foure hundred shot of great Artillery, and quickly put the first three thousand, that they were intrenched at the *Nesse*, to 30 runne; or else giue them so much to doe, that they shall be glad to fend for helpe to *Foulkston*, and perhaps to *Margat*: whereby those places will be left bare. Now let vs suppose, that all the twelve thousand *Kentish* Souldiers arrive at the *Nesse*, ere the enemy can be ready to disembark his Armie, so that he shall finde it vnwise, to land in the face of so many, prepared to withstand him; yet must we beleue, that he will play the best of his owne game; and (hauing liberty to goe which way he list) vndercovert of the night, set saile towards the East, where what shall hinder him to take ground, either at *Margat*, the *Downes*, or elsewhere, before they at the *Nesse* can be well aware of his departure? Certainly, there is nothing more easie than to doe it. Yea the like may be said of *Waymouth*, *Parbeck*, *Poole*, and of all landing places on the South Coast. For there 40 is no man ignorant, that Ships, without putting themselves out of breath, will easily outrun the Souldiers that coast them. *Les Armees ne violent point en poste; Armees neither flye, nor run post*, saith a Marshall of France. And I know it to be true, that a fleet of Ships may be seen at Sunne-set, and after it, at the *Lizard*; yet by the next morning they may recouer *Portland*, whereas an Armie of foot shall not be able to march it in fixe dayes. Again, when those troupes, lodged on the Sea-shores, shall be forced to run from place to place in vaine, after a fleet of Ships, they will at length sit downe in the mid-way, and leaue all at adventure. But say it were otherwise, That the invading enemy will offer to land in some such place, where there shall be an Army of ours ready to receive him; yet it cannot be doubted, but that when the choice of all our trained bands, and the choice of our Commanders and Captains, shall be drawn together (as they were at *Tilbarie* in the yeere 1588.) to attend the person of the Prince, and for the defence of the Citie of *London*: they that remaine to guard the coast, can be of no such force, as to encounter an Armie like vnto that, wherewith it was intended that the Prince of Parma should haue landed in *England*.

The Ile of *Tercera* hath taught vs by experience, what to thinke in such a case. There are not many Ilands in the world, better fenced by nature, and strengthened by art: it being euery where hard of access, hauing no good harbour whereto shelter a Naue of

of friends; and vpon euery coue or watering place a Fort erected, to forbid the approach of an enemies boat. Yet when *Emanuel de Sylua*, and *Monsieur de Chatter*, that held it to the vie of *San Antonio*, with five or sixe thousand men, thought to haue kept the *Marquesse* of *Santa Cruz*, from setting foot on ground therein; the *Marquesse* hauing shewed himselfe in the Roade of *Angra*, did set saile, ere any was aware of it, and arrived at the Port des *Moles*, farre distant from thence, where he was a Fort, and landed, ere *Monsieur de Chatter*, running thither in vaine, could come to hinder him. The example of *Philip Strusse*, saue the yeere before, without all regard of his worth, and of three hundred French prisoners murdered in cold blood, had instructed *de Chatter* and his followers, what they might expect at that *Marquesse* his hands: Therefore it is not like, that they were slow in carrying reliefe to Port des *Moles*. Whether our *English* would be perswaded to make such diligent haste, from *Margat* to the *Nesse*, and backe againe, it may be doubted. Sure I am, that it were a greater march than all the length of *Tercera*; wherof the French-men had not measured the one halfe when they found themselves preuented by threemore nimble ships of *Spain*.

This may suffice to proue, that a strong Armie, in a good fleet, which neither foot, nor horse, is able to follow, cannot be denied to land where it list in *England*, *France*, or elsewhere, vnlesse it be hindered, encountered, and shuffed together, by a fleet of equal, or answerable strength.

The difficult landing of our *English*, at *Fajal*, in the yeere 1597. is alleged against this: which example moues me no way to thinke, that a large coast may be defended against a strong fleet. I indeede thinke *English* in *Fajal*, my selfe, and therefore ought to take notice of this instance. For whereas I finde an action of mine cited, with omission of my name; I may by a ciuill interpretation, thinke, that there was no purpose to defraud me of any honour; but rather an opinion, that the enterprise was such, or so ill managed, as that no honour could be due vnto it. There were indeede some which were in that voyage, who advised me not to vndertake it: and I harkened vnto them, somewhat longer than was requisite, especially, whilest they desired me, to reserve the title of such an exploit (though it were not great) for a greater person. But when they began to tell me of difficulty: I gave them to vnderstand, the same which I now maintain, that it was more difficult to defend a coast, then to inuade it. The truth is, that I could haue landed my men with more easie then I did; yea without finding any resistance, if I would haue rowed to another place, yea euen there where I landed, if I would haue taken more company to helpe me. But, without fearing any imputation of rashnesse, I may say, that I had more regard of reputation, in that businesse, than of safetie. For I thought it to belong vnto the honour of our Prince and Nation, that a few *Spaniards* should not thinke any advantage great enough, against a fleet set forth by *Elizabeth*: and further, I was vnwilling, that some *Low-Country* Captaines, and others, not of mine owne Squadron, whose assistance I had refused, should please themselves with a sweet conceit (though it would haue been short, when I had landed in some other place) That for want of their helpe I was driuen to turne backe. Therefore Iooke with me none, but men assured, Commanders of mine owne Squadron, with some of their followers, and a few other Gentlemen, voluntaries, whom I could not refuse; as, Sir *William Brooke*, Sir *William Harney*, Sir *Arthur Gorges*, Sir *John Stan*, Sir *Thomas Ridgway*, Sir *Henrie Thimne*, Sir *Charles Morgan*, Sir *Walter Chute*, *Marcellus Broockmorton*, Captaine *Laurence Kemis*, Captaine *William Morgan*, and others, such as well vnderstood themselves and the enemy: by whose helpe, with Gods fauour, I made good the enterprise I vnderooke. As for the working of the Sea, the steepnesse of the Cliffs, and other troubles, that were not new to vs, we ouercame them well enough. And these (notwithstanding) made five or sixe Companies of the enemies, that sought to impeach our landing, abandon the wall, whereon their Musketers lay on the rest for vs, and won the place of them without any great losse. This I could haue done with lesse danger, so that it should not haue serued for example of a rule, that failed euen in this example: but the reasons before alleged, (together with other reasons well knowne to some of the Gentlemen aboue named, though more priuate, then to be here laid downe) made me rather follow the way of brauery, and take the shorter course, hauinge still in mine owne power to fall off when I should thinke it meet. It is easily said, that the Enemy was more then a Coward; (which yet was more then we knew) neither will it magnifie such a small peece of seruice, by seeking to proue him better: whom had I thought

thought equall to mine owne followers, I would otherwise haue dealt with. But for so much as concerns the Proposition in hand; he that beheld this, may well remember that the same enemy troubled vs more in our march towards *Fayal*, than in our taking the shore; that he fought how to stop vs in place of his advantage; that many of our men were slain or hurt by him, among whom Sir *Arthur Gorges* was shot in that march; and that such, as (thinking all danger to be past, when we had won good footing) would needs follow vs to the Towne, were driuen by him, to forsake the pace of a man of war, and besetke themselves to an hasty trot.

For end of this digression, I hope that this question shall neuer come to triall, his Maiesties many moueable Forts will forbid the experience. And although the *English* will no lesse disdain, than any Nation vnder heauen can doe, to be beaten vpon their owne ground, or elsewhere by a forraigne enemy; yet to entertaine those that shall assaile vs, with their owne becke in their bellies, and before they care of our *Kentish* Capons, I take it to be the wisest way. To doe which, his Maiesty, after God, will imploy his good ships on the Sea, and not trust to any intrenchment vpon the shore.

§. X.

How the Romans attempt againe to get the mastery of the Seas. The victory of Cæcilius the Roman Consul at Panormus: The siege of Lilybæum. How a Rhodian Gallie entered Lilybæum at pleasure, in despite of the Roman fleet. That it is a matter of great difficultie to stop the passage of good ships. The Romans, by reason of grievous losses received, vnder Claudius and Iunius their Consuls, abandon the Seas againe.

When, without a strong Naue, the *Romans* found it altogether impossible, either to keepe what they had already gotten in *Sicily*, or to enlarge their Dominions in *Africa* or elsewhere, they resolved once againe, notwithstanding their late misadventures, to strengthen their fleet and ships of warre. So causing fiftie new Gallies to be built, and the old to be repaired, they gaue them in charge (together with certaine Legions of Souldiers) to the new Consuls, *C. Asilius*, and *L. Manlius*. On the other side, *Asdrubal* perceiving that the *Romans*, partly by reason of the shipwracke which they had lately suffered, partly by reason of the ouerthrow which they received by *Antippos* in *Africa*, were lesse daring than they had beene in the beginning of the warre: and withall, that one of the Consuls was returned into *Italie*, with the one halfe of the Armie; and that *Cæcilius*, with onely the other halfe, remained at *Panormus*; he remoued with the *Carthaginian* forces from *Lilybæum* towards it, hoping to prouoke *Cæcilius* to fight. But the Consull was better aduised. For when *Asdrubal* had made his approches somewhat neerer the Towne, *Cæcilius* called a deepe trench to be cut, a good distance without the ditch of the Citie: betweene which and his trench he left ground sufficient, to embattle a Legion of his Souldiers. To these he gaue order that they should aduance themselves, and passe over the new trench, till such time as the *African* Elephants were thrust vpon them. From those beasts he commanded them to retire, by slow degrees, till they had drawne on the Elephants to the brink of the new trench, which they could by no means passe. This they performed accordingly. For when the Elephants were at a stand, they were so gawled and beaten, both by those Souldiers that were on the inside of the trench, and by those that lay in the trench itselfe, that being intraged by their many wounds, they brake backe furiously vpon their owne foot-men, and vterly disordered them. *Cæcilius*, espying this advantage, sallied with all the force he had; and charging the other troups, that stood embattailed, he vtterly brake them, and put them to their heeles; making a great slaughter of them, and taking all their Elephants.

The report of this victory being brought to *Rome*, the whole State, filled with courage, prepared a new fleet of two hundred saile, which they sent into *Sicily*, to giue end to that warre, that had now lasted fouretee yeeres. With this fleet and armie the *Romans* resolved to attempt *Lilybæum*, the onely place of importance which the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicily*, and all (indeede) laue *Drepanum*, that was neere adioyning. They set down before it, and possessed themselves of all the places of advantage neere vnto it, especially of such as command the haven, which had a very difficult entrance. They also beat to the ground, sixe towres of defence, and by forcible engines weaken so many other parts of the Citie,

towers of defence; and by forcible engines weaken so many other parts of the Citie, as the defendants begin to despair. Yet *Himilco*, Commander of the Place, saileth not all that belongs to a man of Warre. All that is broken, he repaireth with admirable diligence; he maketh many furious sallies, and giueth to the *Romans* all the affronts that possibly could be made. He hath in Garrison (besides the Citizens) ten thousand Souldiers, among which there are certaine Lieutenants, and other petty Officers, that conspire to render and betray the Towne. But the matter is revealed by an *Achæan*, called *Alexon*, who had formerly, in danger of the like treason, saved *Agrippionem*. *Himilco* vseth the helpe of *Alexon*, to assure the hired Souldiers, and imployeth *Himilco* to appeale the troups of the *Gauls*, which did waue, and had sent their agents to the enemy. All this he doth with constancie and truth; so that the Traitors, being vnable to performe what they had vndertaken, are faine to lue in the *Roman* campe as fugitiues, that had wrought no good whereby to deserue their bread. In the meane while, a supply of ten thousand Souldiers sent from *Carthage* to their reliefe, hauing *Himilco* the sonne of *Amilcar*, for their Comandor: who, in despite of all resistance, entered the Port and Citie, to the incredulity of the besieged. The old Souldiers, together with the new Companies, (thereto prouoked by *Himilco* with hope of great reward) resolute to set vpon the *Romans* in their Trenches, and either force them to abandon the siege, or (at least) to take from them, or set on fire, their engines of batterie. The attempt is presently made, and pursued to the extremest, with great slaughter on both sides. But the *Romans* being more in number, and hauing the aduantage of the ground, hold still their places, and with extreme difficulty defend their engines.

They of *Carthage* desire greatly to vnderstand the state of things at *Lilybæum*; but know not how to send into the Towne. A certaine *Rhodian* vndertakes the seruice; and hauing received his dispatch, sailes with one *Galliero Agusta*, a little Island neere *Lilybæum*. Thence, taking his time, he steered directly with the Port; and hauing a passing swift Gallie, he past through the best of the Channel, and recovered the water-gate, ere any of those, which the *Romans* had to guard the Port, could thrust from the shores on either side.

The next day, neither attending the covert of the darke night, nor dreading to be boorded by the *Roman* Gallies, who wated his returne, he set saile, and shipped his Oares (his Gallie being exceeding quicke of sterage, and himselfe expert in all parts of the channell) recovered the Hauens mouth, and the Sea, in despite of all the pursuit made after him. Then, finding himselfe out of danger of being incompassed by the party, he turned againe towards the mouth of the Hauens, challenging any one, if any one durst come forth, to vndertake him. This enterprize, and the well performing of it, was very remarkable, and much wondered at in those dayes: and yet, where there was no great Artillerie, nor any other weapons of fire, to kill a farre-off, the aduantage which this *Rhodian* made, was not greatly hazardous. For in this Age, a valiant and iudicious man of warre will not feare to passe by the best appointed Fort of *Europe*, with the helpe of a good Tide, and a leading gale of winde: no though some peeces of great Artillerie open their mouths against him, and threaten to teare him in pieces.

In the beginning of our late Quenes time, when *Denmarke* and *Sweden* were at War, our *East Land* fleet, bound for *Leifland*, as forbidden by the King of *Denmarke* to trade with the subjects of his enemies, & he threatened to sinke their ships if they came through the straits of *Elfsenour*. Notwithstanding this, our Merchants (hauing a ship of her Maiesties, called the *Atimion*, to defend them) made the aduantage, and sustaining some Volleys of shot, kepe on their course. The King made all the prouision he could, to stop them, or sinke them, at their returne. But the *Atimion* commanded (as I take it) by *William Burroughs*, leading the way, did not onely passe out with little losse, but beat downe, with artillerie, a great part of the Fort of *Elfsenour*; which at that time was not so well ramparted, as now perhaps it is: and the fleet of Merchants that followed him, went through without any wound received. Neither was it long since, that the Duke of *Ferna* besieging *Antwerp*, and finding no possibilitie to master it, otherwise than by famine, laid his Canon on the bancke of the Riuier, so well to purpose and so cūen with the face of the water, that hee thought it impossible for the least boat to passe by. Yet the *Hollanders* and *Zelanders*, not blowne vp by any winde of glorie, but comming to finde a good market for their Butter and Cheefe, euen the poore

men, attending their profit when all things were extreame deare in *Antwerp*, passed in boats often or twelve Tonne, by the mouth of the Dukes Cannon, in despite of it, when a strong Westerly winde, and a Tide of flood fauoured them; as also with a contrarie winde, and an ebbing winde, they turned backe againe: so as hee was forced, in the end, to build his *Stockado* ouerthwart the Riuer, to his maruailous trouble and charge.

The Fort *Saint Philip* terrified not vs in the yeere 1596. when we entred the Port of *Caliz*; neither did the Fort at *Puntal*, when we were entred, beat vs from our anchoring by it; though it plaid vpon vs with foure Demi-cannons within point blanche, from fixe in the morning till twelue at noone. The siege of *Offend*, and of many other places, to may be giuen for proofe, how hard a matter it is to stop the passage of a good ship, without another as good to encounter it. Yet this is true, that where a Fort is so set, as that of *Angrain Teretia*, that there is no passage along beside it, or that the ships are driuen to come vpon a bow-line towards it, wanting all helpe of winde and tide; there, and in such places, is it of great vse, and feare full: otherwise not.

But to returne to our aduenturous *Rhodian*: He arriues in safety at *Carthage*, and makes them know the estate of *Lilybaeum*. Others also, after this take vpon them to doe the like, and performe with the same successe. The *Romans* therefore labour to choke the channell; and, for that purpose, fill many Merchants ships with great stones, and sinke them therein. The force of the Tides cleares it againe in part: but they grounded so many of those great bellied boates in the best of the entrance, as at last it made a manifest rising and heape, like a ragged Island, in the passage. Hereby came to passe, that a *Carthaginian* Gallie, taking her courte by night, and not suspecting any such impediment, ranne her selfe a-ground thereon, and was taken. Now comes the braue *Rhodian*, thinking to enter, as hee had done before: but this *Carthaginian* Gallie, a little before taken, gaue him chase, and gathered vpon him; hee findes what she is, both by her forme and by her swiftnesse: and being not able to runne from her, refused to fight with her. But she is too well manned for him, so that hee is beaten and taken.

Lilybaeum, after this, is greatly distressed; the Souldiers being worne with labour and watching. But in this despaire there is so violent a tempest, as some of the *Romans* wooden Towers, by which they ouer-top the wals of *Lilybaeum*, were ouer-turned. A *Greeke* Souldier vnder takes to fire those that were fallen, and performs it: for the fire was no sooner kindled, but being blowne vnto by the bellowes of a tempest, it increased so fast, as it became resistlesse, and in the end burned all to ashes, and melted the brazen heads of the battering Rammes. Hereupon, despaire and wearinesse hinder the *Romans*: from repairing their Engines: so that they resolute, by a long siege, to starue the defendants.

Vpon relation of what had past, a supply of tenne thousand Souldiers is sent from *Rome*, vnder *M. Claudius*, the Consull. Hee arriues at *Messana*, and marcheth ouer land to *Lilybaeum*: where hauing re-inforced the Armie, and supplied the Gallies with new Rowers, he propounds the purpose of *Drepanum*, a Citie on the other side of the Bay of *Lilybaeum*. This seruice the Capitaines and Souldiers willingly embrace. So the Consull imbarques his troups, and arriues on the sudden in the mouth of the Port. *Adherbal* is Gouernour of the Towne, a valiant and prudent man of warre, who being ignorant of the new supply arriued at *Lilybaeum*, was at first amazed at their sudden approach; but hauing recovered his spirits, he perswades the Souldiers, rather to fight broad, than to be inclosed. Herewithall he promisseth great rewards to such, as by their valour shall deliuer them; offering to leade them himselfe, and to fight in the head of his fleet. Hauing sufficiently encouraged his men, he thrusts into the Sea towards the *Romans*. The Consull, decciued of his expectation, calls backe the foremost Gallies, that he might now marshall them for defence. Hereupon some row backward, some forward, in great confusion. *Adherbal* findes and followes his aduantage, and forceth the Consull into a Bay at hand, wherein he rangeth himselfe, hauing the land on his backe: hoping thereby to keepe himselfe from being inclosed. But hee was thereby, and for want of Sea-roume, so straitened, as hee could not turne himselfe any way from his enemies, nor range himselfe in any order. Therefore when hee found no hope of resistance, keeping the shore on his left hand, hee thrust out of the Bay with thirty

thirte Gallies, besides his owne, and so fled away: all the rest of his fleet, to the number of nineteene and foure ships, were taken or sunke by the *Carthaginians*. *Adherbal* for this seruice is greatly honoured at *Carthage*, and *Claudius*, for his indiscretion and flight, as much disgraced at *Rome*.

The *Romans*, notwithstanding this great losse, arme threecore Gallies, with which they send away *L. Iunius*, their Consull, to take charge of their businesse in *Sicill*. *Iunius* arriues at *Messana*, where he meetes with the whole remainder of the *Roman* fleet, those excepted which rode in the Port of *Lilybaeum*. One hundred and twentie Gallies hee had; and besides these, hee had gotten together almost eight hundred ships of burthen, which were laden with all necessary prouisions for the Armie. With this great fleet hee arriues at *Syracuse*, where he staies a while; partly to take in corne; partly, to wait for some, that were too slow of saile, to keepe company with him along from *Messana*. In the meane time, hee dispatcheth away towards *Lilybaeum*, his *Quaestor*, or Treasurers; to whom he commits the one halfe of his victuallers, with some Gallies for their comoy.

Adherbal was not carelesse, after his late victory: but studied how to vse it to the best aduantage. The ships and prisoners that he had taken, he sent to *Carthage*. Of his owne Gallies hee deliuered thirte to *Carthalo*, who had threecore and tenne more vnder his owne charge; and sent him to try, what good might be done against the *Roman* fleet, in the Haven of *Lilybaeum*. According to this direction, *Carthalo* suddenly enters the mouth of that Hauen, where he findes the *Romans*, more attentive to the keeping in of the besieged *Carthaginians*, than to the defence of their owne against another fleet. So hee chargeth them, boards and takes some, and fires the rest. The *Roman* Campe takes alarme, and hasties to the rescue. But *Himilco*, Gouernour of the Towne, is not behinde hand; who kills out at the same time, and putting the *Romans* to great distresse, giues *Carthalo* good liuetie to goe through with his enterprize.

After this exploit, *Carthalo* ranne all along the South coast of *Sicill*, deuiling how to worke mischief to the enemy; wherein Fortune presented him with a faire occasion, which hee wisely managed. He was aduertised by his Scouts, that they had descried, neere at hand, a great fleet, consisting of all manner of Vessels. These were the victuallers, which the Consull *Iunius*, more hastily than providently, had sent before him towards *Lilybaeum*. *Carthalo* was glad to heare of their comming: for he and his men were full of courage, by reason of their late victories. Accompanying therefore the great multitude of *Roman* Hulks approaching, to be rather a prey, than a fleet, likely to make strong opposition, hee hastens to encounter them. It fell out according to his expectation. The *Romans* had no minde to fight: but were glad to seeke shelter in an open Road, full of rocks, vnder covert of a poore Towne, belonging to their partie; that could helpe to saue them only from the present danger, by lending them engines and other aide, wherewith to beat off the *Carthaginians* that assailed them. *Carthalo* therefore, hauing taken a few of them, lay waiting for the rest, that could not long ride vnder those rocks, but would be forced by any great change of winde, either to put out into the deepe, or to faile their men, how they could, by taking land, with the losse of all their shipping. Whilest hee was buied in this care, the Consull *Iunius* drew neere, and was discovered. Against him *Carthalo* makes out, and findes him altogether vnprepared to fight, as being wholly ignorant of what which had hapned. The Consull had neither means to flee, nor abilitie to fight. Therefore he likewise ran into a very dangerous Creeke; thinking no danger so great, as that of the enemy. The *Carthaginian*, seeing this, betakes himselfe to a Station betwene the two *Roman* fleets, where hee watcheth, to see which of them would first stir, with a resolution to assault that, which should first dare to put it selfe into the Sea. So as now all the three fleets were on the South coast of *Sicill*, betwene the *Promontorie of Pachinus* and *Lilybaeum*; a Tract exceeding dangerous, when the winde stormed at South. The *Carthaginians*, who knew the times of tempest, and their signes, finding (belike) some swelling billow (for so we doe in the West of *England*, before a Southerly storme) hastened to double the Cape of *Pachinus*, thereby to couer themselves from the rage at hand. But the *Romans*, who knew better how to fight, than how to Nauigate, and neuer found any soule weather in the entrails of their beasts, their Soothsayers being all land-prophets, were suddenly ouer-taken with a boisterous South winde, and all their Gallies forced against the rocks, and vtterly wracked.

This calamity so discouraged the *Romans*, that they resolved againe to forsake the Seas, and trust onely to the seruice of their Legions vpon firme ground. But such a resolution cannot long hold. Either they must be strong at Sea, or else they must not make waite in an Land, against those that haue a mightier fleet. Yet are they to be excused, in regard of the many great calamities which they had suffered, through their want of skill. Here I cannot forbear to commend the patient vertue of the *Spaniards*. We seldom, or neuer finde, that any Nation hath endured so many misadventures and miseries, as the *Spaniards* haue done, in their *Indian discoveries*. Yet persisting in their enterprises, with an invincible constancie, they haue annexed to their Kingdome so many goodly Provinces, as burie the remembrance of all dangers past. Tempests and shipwracks, famine, overthrowes, mutinies, heat and cold, pestilence, and all manner of diseases, both old and new, together with extreme povertrie, and want of all things needefull, haue beene the enemies, wherewith euery one of their most noble Discoverers, at one time or other, hath encountered. Many yeeres haue passed ouer some of their heads, in the search of not so many leagues: yea more then one or two, haue spent their labour, their wealth, and their liues, in search of a golden Kingdome, without getting further notice of it, than what they had at their first setting forth. All which notwithstanding, the third, fourth, and fift vndertakers, haue not bene disheartened. Surely, they are worthily rewarded with those Treasures, and Paradises, which they enioy; and well they deserve to hold them quietly, if they hinder not the like vertue in others, which (perhaps) will not be found.

§. XI.

The Citie of Eryx is surprized by the Romans, and recovered by Amilcar, who stoutly holds warre with them five yeeres. The Romans hauing emptied their common treasure, build a new fleet, at the charges of priuate men. The great victorie at Sea of Lucianus the Consul; whereby the Carthaginians are forced to crane peace. The conditions of the peace betwene Rome and Carthage.

THE *Romans* were carefull, to supply with all industry, by land, the want of strength at Sea. Therefore they continue the siege of *Lilybaeum*, and seek to make sure to themselves all places, whither the enemy ships could not bring reliefe. The Consul *Iunius*, to cure the wound of dishonour, which he had received, betought him what enterprises to vndertake. In the end he resolved to attempt the Mountaine and Citie of *Eryx*, with the Temple of *Venus Erycina*: which was the fairest and richest of all the Island; and of these, by cunning or treason, he got possession. *Eryx* was commodiously seated betwene *Drepanum* and *Panormus*; so that it seemed a fit place for a Garrison, that should retrain the *Carthaginians* from making roads into the Countrey. Wherefore *Iunius* fortified both the top of the Mountaine, and the first entrance of the passage from the bottome, (both which places were very defensible) with a good strength of men. But shortly after, in the eighteenth yeere of this warre, the *Carthaginians* sent forth *Amilcar*, furnished *Barcas*, Father of the great *Hannibal*, with a fleet and armie, who sailing to the coasts of *Italie*, did thoroughly repay the spoyle which the *Romans* made in *Africa*. For hee first of all wasted and destroyed the Territories of the *Locrines*, and of the *Brutians*, that were dependants of *Rome*. Then entred hee into *Sicily*; and finding there no walled Citie in the *Carthaginians* power, that serued fitly to infect the *Romans*, he occupied a peece of ground of great advantage, and lodged his Armie thereon; to confront as well the *Romans*, that were in *Panormus*, as those that kept about *Eryx*, putting himselfe betwene both Armies with admirable resolution.

The place that *Amilcar* had seized vpon, was not onely very strong by situation, but he had the command of a Port: whereby it gaue him oportunitie, to scoute all the coast of *Italie* with his fleet, waiting all along as farre as to *Cuma*. In the Isle of *Sicily* he held the *Romans* to hard worke: lying neere vnto *Panormus*, where in three yeeres abode he did many notable acts, though not of much consequence, for that the enemy could neuer be drawne to hazard the maine chance. Having wearied himselfe and the *Romans* long enough about *Panormus*, hee vndertooke a strange peece of worke at *Eryx*. The Roman Garrisons placed there by *Iunius*, on the top, and at the bottome of the Mountaine,

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were very strongly lodged. Neuerthelesse *Amilcar* found a way, lying towards the Sea-side, by which he conueighed his men into the Citie of *Eryx*; that was about the middle of the ascent, ere the enemy knew of it. By this it came to passe, that the *Romans* which kept the top of the Mountaine, were straightly held (as it were) besieged. And no lesse was *Amilcar* himselfe restrained, by both of these Garrisons, and such as came to relieue them. There he found them pastime about two yeeres more, hoping still to wearie out those that lay ouer his head, as they on the contrary did their best, to thrust him out of those quarters.

At this time, all the care, both of the *Romans* and of the *Carthaginians*, was bent vnto the prosecuting of this businesse at *Eryx*. Wherein it seemes true (as *Hannibal* in *Lute*, *Lib. Dec. 3. 11*) spoke vnto *Scipio*) that the affaires of *Carthage* neuer stood in better termes, since the beginning of the warre, than now they did. For whereas the *Romans* had utterly forsaken the Seas, partly by reason of their great losses; partly vpon confidence of their land-forces, which they held resistlesse; *Amilcar*, with a small Armie, had so well acquired himselfe, to the honour of his Countrey, that by the triall of five yeeres warre, the *Carthaginian* Souldier was iudge'd equall, if not superiour to the *Roman*. Finally, when all, that might be, had bene deuiled and gone, for the dislodging of this obstinate Warriour: no way seemed better to the Senate of *Rome*, than once againe to build a fleet; whereby, if the meltrie of the Sea could once be gotten, it was likely that *Amilcar*, for lacke of supply, should not long be able to hold out. But in performing this, extreme difficulty was found. The common treasure was exhausted: and the cost was not little, that was requisite vnto such an enterprife. Wherefore there was none other way left, than to lay the burden vpon priuate purses. Diuers of the principall Citizens vndertooke to build (each at his owne charges) one *Quinquereme*, which example wrought so well, that they, whose abilities would not serue to doe the like, ioyned with some others, and laying their monie together, concurred two or three of them, in building of another; with condition to be repaid, when the war was finished. By this voluntary contribution, they made and furnished two hundred new *Quinqueremes*: taking for their patterne, that excellent swift rowing Gallie which they had gotten from the *Rhodian*, in the Port of *Lilybaeum*, as was shewed before. The charge of this fleet was committed to *C. Lucilius Catulus*, who past with the same into *Sicily*, the Spring following, and entred the Port of *Drepanum*, inducuring by all meanes to haue forced the Citie. But being advertised that the *Carthaginian* fleet was at hand, and being mindefull of the late losses which his Predecessours had received; he was carefull to put himselfe in order, against their arrival.

Hann was Admirall of the *Carthaginian* fleet; a man (as his actions declare him) wise in picture, exceedingly formall, and skillfull in the art of seeming reuerend. How his reputation was first bred, I doe not finde; but it was vp-held by a factious contradiction, or things vndertaken by men more worthy than himselfe. This qualitie procured vnto him (as it hath done to many others) both good liking among the ancient sort, whose cold temper is auerle from new enterprises, and therewithall an opinion of great fore-sight, confirmed by euery losse received. More particularly, he was gracious among the people for that he was one of the most grievous oppressors of their libertie Provinces; whereby he procured vnto the *Carthaginians* much wealth, but therewithall such hatred, as turned all to their great losse. He had ere this bene employed against the *Numidians*; and wilde *Africans*, that were more like to Routers, than to Souldiers, in making Warre. Of those fugitive Nations, he learned to neglect more manly enemies, to his owne great dishonour, and to the great hurt of *Carthage*; which lost not more by his bad conduct, than by his malicious counsaile, when, hauing shewed himselfe an unworthy Capitaine, hee betooke himselfe to the long Robe. Yet is hee much commended in *Roman* Histories, as a temperate man, and one that studied how to preferre the League betwene *Carthage* and *Rome*. In which regard, how well hee deserved of his owne Countrey, it will appeare hereafter: how beneficiall hee was to the *Romans*, it will appeare, both hereafter, and in his present voyage; wherein he reduced the *Carthaginians* to a miserable necessitie of accepting, vpon hard conditions, that peace which he thenceforth commended.

Hann had very well furnished his Naue, with all needefull prouisions for the Souldiers at *Eryx*: (for dexteritie in making preparation was the best of his qualities) but he

had neither bene carefull in traying his Mariners, to the practice of Sea-fight, nor in manning his Gallies with stout fellows. He thought, that the fame of a *Carthaginian* fleet was enough, to make the vnexpert *Romans* glue way: forgetting, that rather the restlesse force of tempests, than any other strength of opposition, had made them to forsake the Seas. Yet in one thing he had either conceiued aright, or else was sent forth well instructed. It was his purpose, first of all to saile to *Eryx*, and there to discharge his ships of their lading: and hauing thus lightened himselfe, he meant to take aboard some part of the Land-armie, together with *Amilcar* himselfe, by whose helpe he doubted not, but that he should be able to make his enemy repent of his new aduventure to Sea. This was a good course, if it could haue bene performed, But *Catulus* vsed all possible diligence, to prevent the execution of this designe: not because he was informed of the enemies purpose, but that he knew it to be the best for them, & for that he feared no danger so greatly, as to encounter with *Amilcar*. Wherefore although the weather was very rough, and the Seas went high, when the *Carthaginian* fleet was descried; yet he rather chose to fight with the enemy, that had the winde of him, than to suffer this conuoy to passe along to *Eryx*, vpon unlikely hope of better opportunitie in the future. All that *Hanno* should haue done, *Catulus* had performed. He had carefully exercised his men in Rowing; he had lightened his Gallies of all vnneccessarie burthens; and he had taken aboard the choicest men of the *Roman* Land-souldiers. The *Carthaginians* therefore, at the first encounter, were vtterly broken and defeated, hauing fittie of their Gallies stemmed and sunke, and seauentie taken, wherein were few lesse than ten thousand men, that were all made prisoners: the rest, by a sudden change of winde, escaping to the Ile of *Hieroneſus*.

The state of *Carthage*, vtterly discouraged by this change of fortune, knew not whereon to resolve. Meines to repaire their fleet in any time there were none left; their best men of warre by Sea were consumed; and *Amilcar*, vpon whose valour and iudgement the honour and safetie of the Common-weale rested, was now surrounded by his enemies in *Sicily*, where hee could not be relieved. In this extremitie, they make dispatch vnto *Amilcar* himselfe, and authorize him to take what course should seeme best vnto his excellent wisdom; leauing all conclusions to his election and sole countaile.

Amilcar, whom no aduersitie, accompanied with the least hope or possibilitie of recovery, had euer vanquished, looking ouer euery promise, true or false, that the present time could make him, (so to attend anything from the future hee was not able) resolved to make triall, whether his necessitie might be compounded vpon any reasonable termes. Hee therefore sent to *Lutatius* the Conſull an Ouerture of peace: who considering it well, gathered so many arguments from the present poertie of the *Roman* State, waisted beyond expectation in the former warre, that hee willingly harkened vnto it. So, in conclusion, an accord was made, but with prouision, That it should hold none otherwife, than if the Senate and People of *Rome* would ratifie it with their allowance.

The conditions were: First, that the *Carthaginians* should clearely abandon the Ile of *Sicily*. Secondly, that they should neuer vnder-take vpon *Hieron* King of *Syracuse*, nor inuade any part of his Territories, nor the Territories of any of his Friends and Allies. Thirdly, that they should set at liberty and send backe into *Italy*, all the *Romans*, whom they hold prisoners, without ranſome. Lastly, that they should pay vnto the *Romans* two thousand and two hundred talents; which make, as the *French* reckon the talent, thirtene hundred and twenty thousand crownes: the same to be deliuered within twenty yeeres next following.

These Articles were sent to *Rome*, where they were not thoroughly approued: but ten Commissioners were sent into *Sicily*, to make perfect the agreement. These Commissioners added a thousand talents to the former sum; and required a shorter time of payment. Further also, they took order, that the *Carthaginians* should not only depart out of *Sicily* it selfe, but should also with-draw their Companies out of all the other Ilands betwene it and *Italy*, renouncing their whole interest therein.

Such was the end of the first *Punick Warre*, that had lasted about twentie foure yeeres without intermission; in which time the *Romans* had lost, by fight or shipwracke, about seuen hundred *Quinqueremes*; and the *Carthaginians*, about five hundred: the greatnesse of which losses, doth serue to proue the greatnesse both of these two Cities, and of

of the Warre it selfe; wherein I hold good the iudgement of *Polybius*, That the *Romans*, in general, did thew themselves the brauer Nation; and *Amilcar*, the most wortheie Capitaine.

CHAP. II.

Of diuers actions passing betwene the first and second
Punick Warres.

§. I.

Of the cruell Warre begonne betwene the *Carthaginians* and their owne Merce-
naries.



HE *Romans*, hauing partly by force, and partly by composition, thrust the *Carthaginians* out of *Sicily*, and all the little Ilands thereunto adiacent, gaue them rather meanes and leasure to helpe themselves in a following Warre; then cause to hold themselves contented with the present peace. It is an ancient and true rule, *Quod leges à victoribus dicuntur, accipiuntur à victis*; That lawes are giuen by the Conquerors, and receiued of the conquered. But the *Romans* had either forgotten the answer that was made vnto them, by one of the *Prinernates*; or else had forgotten to follow it, in this waighy businesse. For

when one of *Prinernum*, after a rebellion, defending in the Senate the cause of his City, was demanded by a Senator, what peace the *Romans* might hope for, or assure themselves of, if they quitted their present aduantage over them; he answered in these words, *Si bonum desideris, et fidem et perpetuam; si malum, haud diuturnam*; If the peace be good and faithful that you giue vs, it will be perpetual; if it be ill, then of little continuance. To this answer, the Senate, at that time, gaue such approbation, that it was said, *Viri et liberi vocem audiamus, an credi posset, nullum populum, aut hominem denig in ea condicione, cuius tempestate, diutius quam necesse sit mansurum? That it was the speech of a manly, and a free man; for who could beleue, that any people, or indeed any one man, would continue long in an over-burdened estate, than mere necessity did enforce? Now if the *Romans* themselves could make this iudgement, of those Nations, who had little else, besides their manly resolution, to defend their libertie; surely, they grossly flattered themselves, in presuming, that the *Carthaginians*, who neither in power nor in pride, were any way inferior vnto themselves, would sit downe any longer by the losse and dishonour receiued, than vntill they could recouer their legs, and the strength, which had a while failed them, to take reuenge. But Occasion, by whom (while well entertained) not only private men, but Kings and publique States, haue more prevailed, than by any proper prouesse or vertue, with-held the tempest from the *Romans* for a time, and turned it most fearfully vpon *Africa*, and the *Carthaginians* themselves.*

For after that the first *Punick Warre* was ended; *Amilcar*, leauing *Eryx*, went to *Lilibanum*, from whence most conueniently the Armie might be transported into *Affrick*: to the care of which businesse he committed vnto *Gesco*, to whom, as to a man of approved sufficiencie, he deliuered over his charge. *Gesco* had an especial consideration of the great summes, wherein *Carthage* was indebted vnto these Mercenaries; and, withall, of the great disability to make payment. Therefore he thought it the wisest way, to send them out (as it were) by handfulls, a few at a time; that so the first might haue their dispatch, and begone, ere the second or third Companies arrived. Heerein he dealt prouidently. For it had not bene hard to perswade an small number, lodged within so great a City as *Carthage*, vnto some such reasonable composition, as the present extremitie of the common Treasure did require: so that the first might haue bene friendly discharged; and a good president left vnto the second and third; whilst their disfunction had made them

them vnable to recouer their whole due by force. But the *Carthaginians* were of a contrary opinion. They thought to finde, in the whole Armie, some that would bee contented to graetifie the Publique State, by remitting a great part of their owne due : and hoped by such an example, to draw all the multitude to the like agreement and capitulation. So they detained the first and second commers ; telling them, that they would make an euen reckoning with all together. Thus euery day the number increased, and many disorders (a thing incident among Souldiers) were committed ; which much disquieted the Citie, nor accustomed vnto the like. In this regard it was thought fit, to remove them all to some other place where they might bee lesse troublesome. This must bee done by some colourable words of persuasion : for their number was already so great, that it was not safe to offend them too farre. Wherefore it is deuised, that they should all attend the coming of their fellows, at *Sicca* : receiuing euery one a piece of gold, to beare his charges in the meane while.

This motion is accepted, and the Souldiers began to dislodge ; leauing behinde them their wiues, their children, and all their baggage, as meaning shortly to fetch away all, when they came backe for their pay. But the *Carthaginians* haue no fancie to their returning into the Towne, and therefore compell them to trust vp their fardells, that they might haue none occasion left to make any errands thither. So to *Sicca* they removed, with all their goods, and there lay waiting for newes of their fellowes arrivall, and their owne pay. Businesse they had none to do, and therefore might easily be drawn to mutinie : the whole argument of their discourse inclining them to nothing else. Their chiefe talke was, how rich they should be, when all their money came in ; how much would fall to euery single share ; and for how long time the Citie was behinde hand with them in reckoning. They were all growne *Arithmeticians* ; and hee was thought a man of worth, that could finde most reason to increase their demands, to the very highest, euen beyond their due. No part of their long seruice was forgotten ; but the comfortable words and promises of their Captaines, leading them forth to any dangerous fight, were called to minde, as so many obligations, not to be cancelled, without satisfying their expectation by some vnordinarie largesse.

Thus the time passeth away ; vntill the whole Armie being arrived, and lodged in *Sicca*, *Hanno* comes thither to cleare the accompt. Now is the day come, wherein they shall all be made rich ; especially if they can hold together, in maintaininge thoutie the common cause. So thinke they all ; and assemble themselves to heare what good newes this messenger had brought : with a full resolution to help his memorie, in case he should happen to forget any part of the many promises made to them ; all which were to be considered in their Donatiue. *Hanno* begins a very formall Oration ; wherein he bewailes the poverty of *Carthage* ; tells them, how great a summe of money is to bee paid vnto the *Romans* ; reckons vp the excessiue charges, wherewith the common wealth had bene in the late warre ; and finally desires them to hold themselves contented with part of their pay, and out of the loue which they beare vnto the Citie, to remit the rest. Few of them vnderstood his discourse : for the *Carthaginian* Armie was composed of sundry Nations, as *Greekes, Africans, Gauls, Ligurians, Spaniards*, and others, all of different languages. Yet they stared vpon him, and were (as I thinke) little pleased with his very gesture. But when such, as conceived the whole tenor of his speech, had informed the rest what cold comfort he brought ; they were all enraged, and fared like mad men, so that nothing would serue to appease them.

Hanno would faine haue asswaged their furie, but he knew not how : for hee lesse vnderstood their dissonant lowd noyses, than they did his Oration. An Army collected out of so many countries, that haue no one language common to all, or to the greater part of them, is neither easilie stirred vp to mutinie, nor easilie pacified, when once it is broken into outrage. The best that *Hanno* can do, is to vse the helpe of Interpreters and messengers. But these Interpreters mistake his meaning, some, for want of skill, others of seru purpose ; and such as deliuer his errands in the worst sense, are best beleued. Finally, they thinke themselves much abused by the *Carthaginians*, and resolute to demand their owne in peremptorie termes, at a nearer distance. In this mood they leaue *Sicca*, and march as farre as *Tunis*, that is within a very little of *Carthage*, and there they incampe.

Now begin the *Carthaginians* to finde their owne errour. It is a good rule,

Carthagini

*Curandum imprimis, ne magna iniuria fiat
Fortibus & miseris.*

Haue speciall care, that valiant pouertie
Be not opprest with too great iniurie.

But this proud citie, hauing neglected the rule, hath alio beene carelesse in providing to secure her selfe against the inconuenience that might follow. Shee had suffered the whole multitude, whereunto she was like to giue cause of discontent, to ioyne it selfe into one bodie, when the seuerall troupes might easily haue bene dispersed : she hath turned out of her gates the wiues, children, and goods of these poore men, which had she retained in these of kindest, the might haue vsed them as Hostages, for her own safety ; and by employing a miserable pennie-father, in her negotiation with men of Warre, she hath weakened the reputation of her brauest Captaines, that might best haue serued to free her from the threatening danger. Yet likely it is, that *Amilcar* had no desire to bee vsed as an instrument in defrauding his owne Souldiers of their wages : especially considering, that as he best could beare witness of their merits, so was he not ignorant, that meanes to content them were not wanting, if the Citizens had bene willing thereunto. Hereunto may be added a probable coniecture, that *Hanno*, with his complices, who at this very time was a bitter enemy to *Amilcar*, had the boldnesse to impose the blame of his owne wretched counsaile, vpon the liberal promises made by the Captaines. *Amilcar* therefore did wisely, in suffering those that maligned him, to haue the managing of their owne plot, and to deale the cards which themselves had shuffled. This they continue to doe as foolishly, as they had at first begun. They furnish a market at *Tunis*, for the souldiours ; whom they suffer to buy what they list, and at what price they list. They send euer and anon some of their Senators into the Campe ; who promise to satisfie all demands, as farre forth as it should be possible. And thus by shifting from one extreame to another, they make the Souldiours vnderstand, into what feare the Citie was driuen ; which cannot chuse but adde much infolencie to the passions already stirred vp.

This sudden change of weather, and the true cause of it, is quickly found by the Army, which thereupon growes wise, and finding the season fit, labors to make a great haruest. Many must be had, and without any abatement. This is granted. Many haue lost their homes, in publique seruice of the state. The state shall pay for them. They had liued some yeares, by making hard shift, without receiuing their allowance of victuals from *Carthage*. If they had liued, they wanted not meat ; therefore what was this to the *Carthaginians* : Was it not all one, whether the ships did bring in prouision ; or their Captaine direct them where to fetch it ? But this would not serue. They said that they had bene sometimes driuen to buy ; and that (since they could not remember, how much, or at what rate they bought) they would be paid for their prouision, during the whole time, and according to the dearest price that wheat had borne, whilst the Warre lasted. Such are now the demands of these Mutiners ; who might easily haue bene satisfised with farre lesse charges, and farre more honour, by receiuing their due at the first. But now they make none end of crauing. For whilst the *Carthaginians* are perplexed, about this Com-monie, the Souldiers haue deuised many more tricks, whereby to extort a greater sum of money, without all regard of shame. Since therefore no good end could be found of these controuersies which daily did multiply, it was thought conuenient, that one of the *Carthaginians*, which had commanded in *Sicily*, should be chosen by the Souldiers, to reconcile all differences. Hereunto the Armie condescended, and made choise of *Gesco* : partly out of good liking to him, who had shewed himselfe at all times a friendly man to them, and carefull of their good, especially when they were to be transported into *Africke* : partly out of a dislike which they had conceived of *Amilcar* ; for that hee had not visited them in all this busie time. So *Gesco* comes among them ; and, to please them the better, comes not without money : which might giue better countenance to his proceedings, than barren eloquence had done to the negotiation of *Hanno*. Hee calls vnto him first of all, the Captaines, and then, the seuerall Nations apart ; rebuking them gently for that which had passed ; aduising them temperately concerning the present ; and exhorting them to continue their loue vnto the State, which had long entertained

ned them, and would needs alwaies be mindefull of their good seruices. After this he began to put hand to his purse : offering to giue them their whole pay in hand ; and then after to consider of other reckonings at a more conuenient time. This had bene well accepted, and might haue serued to bring all to a quiet passe ; if two seditious ring-leaders of the multitude had not stood against it.

There was in the Campe one *Spendius*, a sturdie fellow, and audacious, but a slave ; that in the late war had fled from a *Roman* whom he serued, and therefore stood in feare, lest he should be deliuered backe to his Master ; at whose hands he could expect no less, than to be whipt and crucified. This wretch could finde no better way to prolong his owne life, than by raising such troubles as might serue to with-draw men from care of priuate matters, and make his owne restitution impossible, were his Master neuer soim, to portunate. With *Spendius* there associated himselfe one *Matho* ; an hore-headed man, that had bene so forward in stirring up the tumult, as he could not chooseth but feare, lest his owne death should be made an example, to deterre others from the like seditious behaviour. This *Matho* deals with his Countymen the *Africans* ; telling them, that they were in faire worse condition, than either the *Gauls*, the *Greekes*, the *Spaniards*, or any fortynie mercenaries. For (saith he) *these our companions haue no more to doe, than to receive their wages, and forget them gone : but wee, that are to stay behinde in Africa, shall be called to another manner of accompt, when wee are left alone ; so that wee shall haue cause to woe, that we had returned home beggers, rather then laden with the monie, which (little though it be) shall break our backs. Tce are not ignorant, how tyrannically those our hangy Masters of Carthage doe reigne over vs. They thinke it reasonable, that our lines and goods should bee at their disposition ; which they haue at other times bene accustomed to take from vs, euen with our apparent cause, as it were to declare their Souereignie : what will they now doe, seeing that we haue demeaned our selues as free men, and been bold to set a good face on the matter, demanding our owne, as others haue done ? Ye all doe know, that it were a very shame for vs, if hauing bene as forward in euery danger of warre, as any other men, wee should now stand quaking like slaves, and not dars to open our mouthes, when others take libertie to require their due. This notwithstanding yee may allure your selues, that we are like to be taught better manners, as soone as our fellows are gone : in regard of whom they are content to shew their indignation with a good, but a forced countenance. Let vs therefore be wise, and consider, that they base and feare vs. Their hatred will shew it selfe, when their feare is once past : unless wee now take our time, and, whilst we are the stranger, enseeble them so greaues, that their hatred shall not be able to doe vs wrong. All their strength consisteth in monie, where withall they haue hired others against vs, & vs against others. At the present they haue neither monie nor friends. The best Armie that euer serued them, whereof we are no small part, lies at their gates, ready to helpe vs if we be men. A better opportunity cannot be expected : for were our sword once drawn, all Africk would rise on our side. As for the Carthaginians, whither can they send for helpe ? The cause it selfe is plaine : but wee must quickly resolute. Either we must prevent the diligence of Geico, by incensing these *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, and procuring them to draw blood, or else it behooueth vs to please our good masters, by ioyning with them against our fellows. yea by offering to forgiue vnto them all our wages, if so (peradventure) they may bee wonne to forgiue vs, or not our crueltie to punish our faults committed. Hee is most worthilie a wretched slave, that neither hath care to winne his Masters loue, nor the courage to attempt his owne libertie.*

By such perswasions *Matho* winnes the *African* souldiers to his owne purpose. They are not now so greedie of monie, as of quarrell, which he that seeketh, will not misse to finde. When *Geico* therefore offered to pay them their whole stipend presently, but referred their other demands, for horse and victuals, to some other more conuenient time, they brake into great outrage, and say that they will haue all, euen all at once, and that out of hand. In this tumult, the whole Armie flocke together about *Matho* & *Spendius* ; whose diligence is not wanting, to adde more fuell to the fire already blazing. *Matho* and *Spendius* are the onely men to whom the souldiers will hearken : if any other stand vp to make a speech, a shew of stoncs, flying about his eares, puts him to silence, that hee shall neuer afterwards speake word more. Neither stay they to consider what it is that any man would say : enough hath been said already by those good spokemen ; so that no other word (though perhaps to the same purpose) can bee heard, save onlie *Thron, thron*.

Now

Now the Rebellion begins to take forme. *Matho* and *Spendius* are chosen Captaines ; who, followed by a desperate crue of *Ruffians*, will suffer no man to make his owne peace, but pursue their owne ends, vnder faire pretence of the common cause. All which notwithstanding, *Geico* is not wanting to the good of his countrie, but adventures himselfe vpon their furie. One while he deals with the Captaines, and other principal men ; taking them by the hand, and giuing gentle words : another while hee workes with the fearefull Nations ; putting them all in hope of their own harts desire, if any reason would content them. None of them are so fullen as the *Africans* : indeed none of them had so good cause. They require him peremptorie, to giue them their owne, and not to feede them with words. The truth is, that they are not so couetous as they seeme : but will be more glad of an ill answer, than of a good payment. This is more then *Geico* knows : hee sees not that *Matho* hath any more then bare words to bestow vpon them. Wherefore, as rebuking their inconsiderate heat, he tells them, That they may doe well, if they stand in want of mony, to seeke it of their Captaine, *Matho*. This is enough. Shall hee both defraude them and deride them ? They stay no longer, but lay violent hands vpon themselves that he had brought ; yea vpon him also, and all that are with him : as intending to take this in part of payment, and, for the rest, to take another course. *Matho* and *Spendius* are glad of this. It had little pleased them to see their fellowes beginne to grow calme, by his faire language : wherefore they cast into bonds both him, and all the *Carthaginians* that they can finde ; that so the Armie may bee freed from danger of good aduention, which they call Treason. After this followes open warre. *Matho* solicits all *Africk*, and his Embassadors are euery where well entertained. Neither is it needfull to see perswasion : the very fame of this rebellion sufficeth to draw the whole countrie into it. Now must the *Carthaginians* be plagued for those oppressions, with which they haue plagued others. It is true that aduersitie hath neuer bene vtold of her errors : and as hee euer assured to heare her owne, so commonly with her owne shee vndergoes those of other men. The *Africans* finding the *Carthaginians* hang vnder the wheele, tell them boldly, that their Impositions were mercilesse ; that theyooke from them the one halfe of their corne, that they doubled their tributes in all things else ; and that they inflicted vpon their vassals the greatest punishment for the least offences. These cruelties the *Carthaginians* themselves haue forgotten : but the people, that haue suffered so much, retain all in perfect memorie. Wherefore not onely such as can beare Armes, are ready to doe seruice in this great Commotion, but the very women bring forth their Jewels, and other ornaments, offering all to sale for the maintenance of so iust a quarrell. By this great forwardnesse, and liberrall contribution, *Matho* and *Spendius* are supplied with a strong aide of threescore and tenne thousand *Africans* : and are moreover furnished with mony, not only to satisc the present appetite of their men, but sufficient to continue the warre begun, though it should be of long endurance.

§. II.

Diuers obseruations vpon this warre with the mercenaries.

†. I.

Of Tyrannie, and how Tyrants are saide to use the helpe of mercenaries.

¶ Ere let vs rest a while, as in a conuenient place : whence wee may take a prospect of the subiect, over which we trauaile. Behold a tyrannicall City, persecuted by her owne mercenaries with a deadly warre. It is a common thing, as becometh almost necessarie, that a tyrannie should be vpheld by mercenary forces : it is common that mercenaries should be false : and it is common that all warre made against Tyrants, should be exceeding full of hate and cruelty. Yet we seldom heare, that euer the mine of a tyrannie is procured or fought, by those that were hired to maintain the power of it : and seldom or neuer do we reade of any warre that hath been prosecuted with such inextinguishable hatred, as this that is now in hand.

That which we properly call Tyrannie, is *A violent forme of government, not respecting the good of the subiect, but onely the pleasure of the Commander*. I purposely forbear to say, that it is the vniuersall rule of one ouer many : for very truly doth *Cleom in Thucydides* tell the

the Athenians, that their dominion over their subiects, was none other than a meere tyrannie; though it were so, that they themselves were a great Citie, and a popular estate. Neither is it peradventure greatly needfull, that I should call this forme of commanding, violent: since it may well and easily be conceived, that no man willingly performs obedience, to one regardlesse of his life and welfare; vnlesse himselfe be either a mad man, or (which is little better) wholly possessed with some extreme passion of loue. The practice of tyrannie, is not alwaies of a like extremity: for some Lords are more gentle, than others, to their very slaues; and he that is most cruell to some, is milde enough towards others, though it be but for his owne aduantage. Neuertheless, in large Dominions, wherein the Ruler's discretion cannot extend it selfe, vnto notice of the difference which might be found between the worth of severall men; it is commonly seene, that the taste of sweetnesse, drawne out of oppression, hath so good a relish, as continually inflames the Tyrants appetite, and will not suffer it to bee restrained with any limits of respect. Why should hee seeke out bounds to prescribe vnto his desires, who cannot endure the face of one so honest, as may put him in remembrance of any moderation? It is much that he hath gotten, by extorting from some few: by sparing none, he should haue riches in goodly abundance. Hee hath taken a great deale from euery one: but euery one could haue spared more. He hath wrung all their purses, & now he hathenough: but (as Cato saith) is neuer satisfied. He thinks that all this is too little for a stocke, though it were indeed a good yearly Income. Therefore he deuise new tricks of robbie, and is not better pleased with the gaine, than with the Art of getting. He is hated for this, and he knows it well: but he thinks by crueltie to change hatred into feare. So he makes it his exercise, to torment and murder all, whom he suspecteth: in which course, if he suspect none vnjustly, he may be said to deale craftily; but if Innocency be not safe, how can all this make any Conspirator to stand in feare, since the Traitor is no worke rewarded, than the quiet man? Wherefore hee can thinke vpon none other security, than to disarme all his Subiects; to fortifie himselfe within some strong place; and for defence of his Person and state, to hire as many lustie Souldiers as shall be thought sufficient. These must not be of his owne Countrey: for if not euery one, yet someone or other might chance to haue a feeling of the publique miserie. This considered, he allures vnto him a desperate rabble of strangers, the most vnthrift that can be found; such as haue neither wealth nor credit at home, and will therefore be carefull to support him, by whose onely fauor they are maintained. Now left any of these, either by detestation of his wickednesse, or (which in wicked men is most likely) by promise of greater reward, than he doth giue, should be drawne to turne his sword against the Tyrant himselfe: they shall all be permitted to doe as hee doth; to robbe, to rauish, to murder, and to satiate their owne appetites, in most outrageous manner; being thought so much the more assured to their Master, by how much the more he sees them grow hatefull to all men else. Considering in what Age, and in what Language I write; I must be faine to say, that these are not dreames: though some Englishman perhaps that were vnacquainted with Historie, lighting vpon this lease, might suppose this discourse to be but little better. This isto shew, both how tyrannie growes to stand in neede of mercinarie Souldiers, and how those Mercenaries are, by mutuall obligation, firmly assured vnto the Tyrant.

†. II.

That the tyrannie of a Citie over her Subiects is worse, than the tyrannie of one man: and that a tyrannicall Citie must likewise vse mercinarie Souldiers.

Now concerning the tyrannie, wherewith a Citie or State oppresseth her Subiects; it may appeare some waies to be more moderate, than that of one man: but in many things it is more intolerable. A Citie is ialous of her Dominion; but not (as is one man) fearefull of her life: the lesse need hath she therefore, to secure herselfe by crueltie. A Citie is not luxurious in consuming her treasures; and therefore needs the lesse, to plucke from her Subiects. If warre, or any other great occasion, drive her to necessity, of taking from her Subiects more than ordinarie summes of money: the same necessity makes either the contribution easie, or the taking excusable. Indeed, no wrongs are so grieuous & hatefull, as those that are insolent. Remember (saith Caligula the Emperour, to

to his Grand-mother Antonia) that I may doe what I list, and to whom I list: these words were accounted horrible, though he did her no harme. And Iuuenal reckons it, as the complement of all torments, inflicted by a cruell Roman Dame vpon her slaues; that whilst she was whipping them, shee painted her face, talked with her Gossips, and vsed all signes of neglecting what those wretches felt. Now seeing that the greatest grievances wherewith a domineering State offendeth her Subiects, are free from all fence of indignity: likely it is, that they will not extremely hate her, although desire of liberty make them weane of her Empire. In these respects it is not needfull, that shee should keepe a Guard of licentious cut-throats, and maintaine them in all villanie, as a Dionysius or Agasthenes must doe: her owne Citizens are able to terrifie, and to hold perforce in obedience, all male-contents. These things, considered alone by themselves, may serue to proue, that a Citie is scarce able to deserue the name of a Tyrannesse, in the proper signification.

Altho this notwithstanding, it shall appeare, That the miseries, wherewith a Tyrant loadeth his people, are not so heauie, as the burdens imposed by a cruell Citie. Not without some apparence of truth, it may be said, that Lust, and many other private passions, are no way incident to a City or Corporation. But to make this good, we shall haue neede of the helpe of such distinctions, as the Argument in hand doth not require. Was not Rome lasciuious, when Cato was faine to rise and leaue the Theater, to the end, that the reuerend regard of his grauity, might not hinder the people, from calling for a shew of naked Courtisins, that were to be brought vpon the open stage? By common practice, and generall approued custome, we are to censure the quality of a whole State, not by the private vertue or vice of any one man; nor by metaphysicall abstraction the vniuersall from the singular; or of the Corporation, from those of whom it is compounded. I say therefore (as I haue said elsewhere) that it were better to liue vnder one pernicious Tyrant, then vnder many thousands. The reasons, prouing this, are too many to leaue downe: but few may suffice. The desires of one man, how inordinate soeuer, if they cannot be satisfied, yet they may be wearied; he is not able to search all corners, his humour may be found, and soothed; age or good aduice, yea, or some vnexpected accident, may reforme him: all which failing, yet is there hope, that his successe may proue better.

Many Tyrants haue bene changed into worthy Kings: and many haue ill vied their ill-gotten Dominion, which becoming hereditary to their posterity, hath growne into the most excellent forme of Government, euen a lawfull Monarchy. But they that liue vnder a tyrannicall Citie, haue no such hope: their Mistresse is immortal, and will not slacken the reines, vntill they be pulled out of her hands; and her owne mouth receiue the bridle of a more mightier Chariotier. This is wofull: yet their present sufferings make them lesse mindefull of the future. New flies, and hungry ones, fall vpon the same fore, out of which, others had already sucked their fill. A new Gouernor comes yearly among them, attended by all his poore kindred and friends, who meane not to returne home empty to their huius, without a good lading of waxe and honey. These flie into all quarters, and are quickly acquainted with euery mans wealth, or whatsoever else, in all the Prouince, is worthy to be desired. They know all a mans enemies, and all his feares: becoming themselves, within a little space, the enemies that he seareth most. To grow into acquaintance with these masterfull guests, in hope to winne their friendship, were an endless labour (yet it must be vndergone) and such as euery one hath not meanes to goe about: but were this effected, what aualleth it? The loue of one Gouernour is purchased with gifts: the Successor of this man, he is more louing than could be wished, in respect of a faire Wife or Daughter: then comes the third, perhaps of the contrary faction at home, a bitter enemy to both his fore-goes, who seeks the ruine of all that haue bene toward with them. So the miseries of this tyranny are not simple, but intricad (as it were) with the calamities of ciuill warre. The Romans had a Law De Repetundis, or Of Reuery, against extorting Magistrates: yet wee finde, that it serued not wholly to restrain their Prouinciall Gouernours; who presuming on the fauour of their owne Citizens, and of their kindred and friends at home, were bolde in their Prouinces to worke all these enormities rehearsed; though somewhat the more sparingly, for feare of iudgement. If the subiects of Rome groined vnder such oppressions, what must we thinke of those that were vassals vnto Carthage? The Romanes imposed no burthen some

tributes; they loued not to heare, that their Empire was grievous; they condemned many noble Citizens, for hauing bene ill Gouvernours. At Carthage all went quite contrary: the rapines newly deuised by one Magistrate, serued as Presidents to instruct another; every man resolu'd to doe the like, when it should fall to his turne; and hee was held a notable Statesman, whose robberies had been such, as might afford a good share to the common treasure. Particular examples of this Carthaginian practice, are not wanting: the government of *Verrus the Roman in Sicily*, that is lively set out by *Tullie*, may serue to informe vs, what was the demeanour of these Punick Rulers, who stood in feare of no such condemnation, as *Verrus* vnder-went. By prosecuting this discourse, I might inferre a more generall Proposition: That a Citie cannot gouerne her subiect Provinces so mildly, as a King: but it is enough to haue shewed, That the tyrannie of a Citie is farre more intolerable, than that of any one most wicked man.

Surtable to the crueltie of such Lords, is the hatred of their subiects: and againe, suitable to the hatred of the subiects, is the iealousie of their Lords. Hence it followed, that in warres abroad, the Carthaginians durst vse the seruice of African souldiers; in Africa it selfe, they had rather be beholding to others, that were farther fetcht. For the same purpose did *Hannibal*, in the second Punick Warre, shift his mercenaries out of their own Countries; *¶ In Afrin Hispania*, *Hispania in Africa*, *melior procul ab domo futurus ceteris milibus, velut mutuis pignoris obligati stipendia facerent*; That the Africans might serue in Spain, the Spaniards in Africa, being each of them like to proue the better Souldiers, the further they were from home, as if they were obliged by mutuall pledges. It is disputable, I confess, whether these African, and Spanish hirelings, could properly be termed Mercenaries: for they were subiect vnto Carthage, and carried into the field, not onely by reward, but by duetie. Yet seeing their dutie was no better than enforced, and that it was not any loue to the State, but meer desire of gaine, that made them fight; I will not nicely stand vpon proprietic of a word, but hold them, as *Polybius* also doth, no better than Mercenaries.

†. III.

The dangers growing from the vse of mercenarie Souldiers, and forraigne Auxiliaries.

THE extreame danger, growing from the impliment of such Souldiers, is well observed by *Machiavel*: who sheweth, that they are more terrible to those whom they serue, than to those against whom they serue. They are seditious, vnfaithfull, disobedient, deuourers, and destroyers of all places and countries, whereinto they are drawne; as being held by no other bond, than their owne commoditie. Yea, that which is most fearefull among such hirelings, is, that they haue often, and in time of greatest extremity, not onely refused to fight, in their defence, who haue entertained them, but reuolted vnto the contrarie part; to the vtter ruine of those Princes and States, that haue trusted them. These Mercenaries (saith *Machiavel*) which filled all *Italie*, when *Charles* the eighth of France did passe the *Alpes*, were the cause that the said French King wonne the Realme of *Naples*, with his Buckler without a sword. Notable was the example of *Sforza*, the Father of *Francis Sforza*, Duke of *Millan*; who being entertained by *Queene Ioane of Naples*, abandoned her seruice on the sudden; and forced her to put her selfe into the hands of the King of *Arragon*. Like vnto his father was *Francis Sforza*, the first of that race Duke of *Millan*; who being entertained by the *Millanois*, forced them to become his slaues; even with the very same Armie which themselves had leuied for their owne defence. But *Lodowick Sforza*, the sonne of this *Francis*, by the iust iudgement of God, was made a memorable example vnto posteritie, in losing his whole Estate by the treacherie of such faithlesse Mercenaries, as his owne Father had bene. For, hauing waged an Armie of *Switzers*, and committed his Dutchie, together with his person, into their hands; hee was by them deliuered vp vnto his enemy the French King, by whom hee was inclosed in the Castle of *Loches* vnto his dying day.

The like inconuenience is found, in vsing the helpe of forreigne Auxiliaries. We see, that when the Emperour of *Constantinople* had hired ten thousand *Turkes* against his neighbour Princes; hee could neuer, either by perswasion or force, get them againe out the Sea vpon *Asia* side: which gaue beginning to the *Christian* seruitude; that soon after followed.

followed. *Alexander*, the sonne of *Cassander*, fought aide of the great *Demetrius*: but *Demetrius*, being entred into his Kingdome, the same *Alexander*, who had inuited him, and made himselfe King of *Macedon*. *Syracuse* the Turke was called into *Aegypt* by *Samar the Soldan*, against his Opposite: but this Turke did settle himselfe so surely in *Aegypt*, that *Saladine* his Successor became Lord thereof; and of all the holy Land, soon after. What need we looke about for examples of this kinde? Euery Kingdome, in effect, can furnish vs. The Brittaines drew the Saxons into this our Countrey; and *Mac Murrough* drew the English into *Ireland*: but the one and the other soon became Lords of those two Kingdomes.

Against all this may bee alleaged, the good successe of the vnited Provinces of the *Netherlands*, vsing none other than such kinde of Souldiers, in their late warre. Indeed these Low Countries haue many goodly and strong Cities, filled with Inhabitants that are wealthie, industrious, and valiant in their kinde. They are stout Sea-men, and therein is their excellencie; neither are they bad, at the defence of a place well fortified: but in open field they haue seldome been able to stand against the Spaniard. Necessity therefore compelled them to seek helpe abroad: and the like necessitie made them forbear to arme any great numbers of their owne. For, with monie raised by their Trade, they maintained the Warre: and therefore could ill spare vnto the Pike and Musket, those hands, that were of more vse in helping to fill the common purse. Yet what of this? they typed well. Surely they sped as ill as might be, whilst they had none other than mercenarie Souldiers. Many fruitlesse attempts, made by the Prince of *Orange*, can witness it: and that braue Commander, Count *Lodowick of Nassau*, felt to his griefe, in his retreat from *Greeningham*; when in the very instant, that required their seruice in fight, his mercenaries cried out aloud for monie, and so ranne away. This was not the onely time, when the hired souldiers of the States, haue either fought to hide their cowardize vnder a shew of greedinesse; or at least, by meer couetousnesse, haue ruined in one houre the labour of many moneths. I will not stand to proue this by many examples: for they themselves will not denie it. Neither would I touch the honor of *Monseigneur the Duke of Anion*, brother to the French King; saue that it is follie to conceale what all the world knowes. He that would lay open the danger of forraigne Auxiliaries, needeth no better patterne. It is commonly found, that such Aiders make themselves Lords ouer those, to whom they lend their succour: but where shall we meet with such another as this *Monseigneur*, who, for his protection promised, being rewarded with the Lordship of the Countrey, made it his first worke, to thrust by violence a galling yoke sponthe peoples necke? Well, he liued to repent it, with griefe enough. Euen whilst hee was counterfeiting vnto those about him, that were ignorant of his plot, an imaginative sorrow for the poore burghers of *Antwerpe*, as verily beleeking the Towne to bee surpris'd and wonne; the death of the Count *S. Aignan*, who fell ouer the wall, and the Cannon of the Citie, discharged against his owne troups, informed him better what had hapned; shewing that they were his owne French, who stood in need of pittie. Then was his feigned passion changed, into a very bitter angur of minde; wherein, lining his brest, and wringing his hands, hee exclaimed, *Helas, mon Dieu, que veulx tu faire de moy*; *Alas, my God, what wilt thou doe with me*? So the affaires of the *Netherlands* will not serue to proue, that there is little danger in vsing mercenarie souldiers, or the helpe of forraigne Auxiliaries. This notwithstanding, they were obedient vnto necessity, and sought helpe of the English, Scots, and French: wherein they did wisely, and prospered. For when there was in France a King, partaker with them in the same danger, when the Queen of England refused to accept the Soueraignty of their Countrey, which they offered, yet being prouoked by the Spaniard their enemy, pursued him with continual warre; when the heire of England reigned in Scotland, a King too iust & wise (though not engaged in any quarrell) either to make profit of his Neighbours miseries, or to help those that had attempted the conquest of his own inheritance: then might the *Netherlands* very safely repose confidence, in the forces of these their Neighbour-Countries. The souldiers that came vnto them from hence, were (to omit any other commendations) not onely regardfull of the pay that they should receiue, but well affected vnto the cause that they tooke in hand: or if any were cold in his deuotion, vnto the side whereon hee fought; yet was hee kept in order, by remembrance of his owne home, where the English would haue rewarded him with death; if that his faith had bene corrupted by

by the *Spaniards*. They were therefore trusted with the custodie of Cities; they were held as friends, and patrons; the necessity of the poorer sort was relieved, before the pay-day came, with *lendings*, and other helps, as well as the abilitie of the States could permit. When three such Princes, reigning at one time, shall agree so well, to maintaine against the power of a fourth, injurious (or at least so seeming) to them all, a Neighbor-Country, of the same Religion, and to which they all are lovingly affected: then may such a Countrie be secure of her Auxiliaries, and quietly intend her Trade, or other business, in hope of like successe. But these circumstances meet so seldom, as it may well hold true in generall: *That mercinarie, and forraigne auxillarie forces, are no lesse dangerous, than the enemye, against whom they are entertained.*

†. III.

That the moderate government of the Romanes gave them assurance to use the service of their owne subjects in their warres. That in mans nature there is an affection breeding tyrannie, which hindreth the use and benefit of the like moderation.

Here may it be demanded, whether also the *Romanes* were not compelled to violence of other souldiours in their many great warres, but performed all by their owne Citizens? for if their manner to arme their owne subjects, how happened it that they feared no rebellion? if strangers; how then could they avoid the inconveniences aboute rehearsed? The answer is; That their Armies were compounded vntually of their owne citizens, and of the *Latines*, in equall number: to which they added, as occasion required, some companies of *Campanes*, *Hetrurians*, *Samnites*, or other of their subjects, as were either interested in the quarrell, or might best be trusted. They had, about these times (though seldom they did employ so many,) ten *Romane* Legions; a good strength, if all other helps had beene wanting: which served to keepe in good order their subjects, that were alwaies fewer in the Army than themselves. As for the *Latines*, if consanguinitie were not a sufficient obligation; yet many priuileges and immunities, which they enioyed, made them assured vnto the State of *Rome*: vnder which they liued almost at libertie, as being bound to little else, than to serue it in warre. It is true, that a yoke, how easie focer, seemest trouble some to the necke that hath beene accustomed to freedom. Therefore many people of *Italie* haue taken occasion of seuerall aduantages, to deliuer themselves from the *Romane* subiection. But still they haue been reclaimed by Warre; the Authors of rebellion haue sharply bin punished; and the people by degrees, haue obtained such libertie, as made them citeeme none other wise of *Rome*, than as the common citie of all *Italie*. Yea, in proceesse of time it was granted vnto many Cities, that all the Burgeses should be free of *Rome* itselfe. This favor was conferred absolutely vpon some; vpon some, with restraint of giuing voice in election of Magistrates, or with other such limitation, as was thought fit. Hereunto may be added, that it was their manner, after a great conquest, to release vnto their new subjects halfe of their tribute which they had beene wont to pay vnto their former Lords, which was a readie way, to bring the multitude into good liking of their present condition; when the reuiew of harder times past, should rather teach them to feare a relapse, than to hope for better in the future, by seeking inuouation. Neither would it be forgotten, as a speciall note of the *Romanes* good government, That when some, for their well-deseruing, haue had the offer to be made Citizens of *Rome*, they haue refused it, and held themselves better contented with their owne present estate. Wherefore it is no maruell, that *Petellia*, a Citie of the *Brutians* in *Italie*, chose rather to endure all extremities of warre, than vpon any condition, to forsake the *Romans*; euen when the *Romans* themselves had confessed, that they were vnable to helpe these their subjects, and therefore willed them to look to their owne good, as hauing beene faithfull to the vnto. The summe of all is: They had, of their owne, a strong Armie; they doubled it, by adioyning therunto the *Latines*; and they further increased it, as need required, with other helpe of their owne subjects: all, or the most of their followers, accounting the propriety of *Rome* to be the common good.

The moderate vse of soueraigne power being to effectuall, in assuring the people

vnto their Lords, and consequentie, in the establishment or enlargement of Dominion: it may seeme strange, that the practice of tyrannie, whose effects are contrarie, hath been so common in all ages. The like, I know, may be said, of all Vice, and Irregularity whatsoever. For it is lesse difficult (whosoever thinke otherwise and more wise, to keepe the way of Iustice and Honesty, than to turne aside from it; yet commonly our passions do leade vs into by-paths. But where Lust, Anger, Feare, or any the like Affection, seduceth our reason; the same vntuly appetite either bringeth with it an excuse, or at least wile maketh away all cause of wonder. In tyrannie it is not so: for as much as we may hardly desire the passion, that is of force to infigure it selfe into the whole tenour of a Government. It must be confessed, that lawlesse desires haue bred many Tyrants: yet so, that these desires haue seldom beene hereditarie, or long-lasting; but haue ended commonly with the Tyrants life, sometimes before his death; by which meanes the government hath beene reduced to a better forme. In such cases, the saying of *Aristotle* holds, That Tyrannies are of a short continuance. But this doth not satisfie the question in hand. Why did the *Carthaginians* exercise Tyrannie? Why did the *Athenians*? Why have many other Cities done the like? If in respect of their generall good, how could they be ignorant, that this was an ill course for the safetie of the Weale publique? If they were ledde hereunto by any affection, what was that affection wherein to many thousand Citizens, diuided and subdivided within themselves by factions, did all concur, notwithstanding the much diuersitie of temper, and the vehemencie of priuate hatred among them? Doubtlesse, we must bee faine to say, That Tyrannie is, by it selfe, a Vice distinct from others. A Man, we know, is *Animal politicum*, apt euen by Nature, to command, or to obey; every one in his proper degree. Other desires of Mankind, are common likewise vnto brut beasts; and some of them, to bodies wanting sense: but the desire of rule belongeth vnto the nobler part of reason; whereunto is also answerable an aptnesse to yeeld obedience. Now as hunger and thirst are giuen by nature, not onely to Man and Beast, but vnto all sorts of Vegetables, for the sustentation of their life: as Feare, Anger, Lust, and other Affections are likewise naturally, in conuenient measure, both vnto Mankind, and to all creatures that haue sense, for the shunning or repelling of harme, and seeking after that which is requisite: euen so is this desire of ruling or obeying, engrafted by Nature in the race of Man, and in Man onely as a reasonable creature, for the ordering of his life, in a ciuile forme of Iustice. All these in-bred qualities are good and vselfull. Neuertheless, Hunger and Thirst are the Parents of Gluttonie and Drunkennesse, which, in reproach, are called beastly, by an vnproper terme: since they grow from appetites, found in lesse worthy creatures than beasts, and are yet not so common in beasts, as in men. The effects of Anger, and of such other Passions as descend no lower than vnto brut beasts, are held lesse vile; and perhaps not without good reason: yet are they more horrible, and punished more grievously, by sharper Lawes, as being in generall more pernicious. But as no corruption is worse, than that which is best; there is not any Passion, that nourisheth a vice more hurtfull vnto Mankind, than that which issueth from the most noble roote, euen the depraved Affection of ruling. Hence arise those two great mischiefs, of which hath beene an old question in dispute, whether be the worse; That all things, or That nothing should be lawfull. Of these, a dull spirit, and over-loaden by fortune, with power, whereof it is not capable, occasioneth the one; the other proceedeth from a contrary diltemper, whose vehemency the bounds of Reason cannot limit. Vnder the extremitie of either, no Countrie is able to subsist: yet the defective dulnesse, that permitteeth any thing, will also permitte the execution of Law, to which, meere necessity doth enforce the ordinarie Magistrate; whereas Tyrannie is more active, and pleaseth it selfe in the exercise, with a false colour of iustice. Examples of stupiditye, and vnaptnesse to rule, are not very frequent, though such natures are euery where to be found: for this quality troubles not it selfe in seeking Empire; or if by some error of fortune, it encounter therewithall, (as when *Claudius*, hiding himselfe in a corner, found the Empire of *Rome* some friend or else a wife, is not wanting to supply the defect, which also crueltye doth helpe to shadow. Therefore this Vice, as a thing vnknewne, is without a name. Tyrannie is more bold, and feareth not to bee knowne, but would be reputed honorable: for it is *prosperum* by *felix scelus*, a fortunate mischiefe, as long as it can subsist. There is no reward or honour (saith *Peter Charron*) assigned vnto those, that know

how to increase, or preserve humane nature: all honours, greatness, riches, dignities, empires, triumphs, trophies, are appointed for these, that know how to flourish, to trouble, or destroy it. *Cesar and Alexander*, have vnto made and slaine, each of them, more then a million of men: but they made none, nor left none behind them. Such is the error of Mans judgement, in valuing things according to the common opinion. But the true name of Tyrannic, when it growes to ripenesse, is none other, than *Feritie*: the same that *Aristotle* saith to bee worse than any vice. It exceedeth indeede all other vices, issuing from the Passions incident both to Man and Beast, no lesse than Perurie, Murder Treason, and the like horrible crimes, exceed in villanie, the faults of Gluttony and Drunkenesse, that grow from more ignoble appetites. Hereof *Sciron, Procrustes, and Polycompes*, that vied their bodily force to the destruction of Mankinde, are not better examples, than *Phalaris, Dionysius and Agathocles*, whose mischievous heads were cast by the hands of detestable Ruffians. The same barbarous desire of Lordship, transported those old examples of *Feritie*, and these later Tyrants, beyond the bounds of reason: neither of them knew the vse of Rule, nor the difference between Freeman, and slaves.

The rule of the husband ouer the wife, and of parents ouer their children, is naturall, and appointed by God himselfe; so that it is alwaies, and simply, allowable and good. The former of these, is as the dominion of Reason ouer Appetite; the latter is the whole authoritie, which one free man can haue ouer another. The rule of a King is no more, nor none other, than of a common Father ouer his whole countrie: which he that knows what the power of a Father is, or ought to be, knows to be enough. But there is a greater, and more Masterlie rule, which God gaue vnto *Adam*, when hee said; *Hee dominion ouer the fish of the Sea, and ouer the fowle of the aire; and every living thing that moueth vpon the earth*: which also he cominueth vnto *Noah*, and his children, saying, *The feare of you, and the dread of you, shall be vpon every beast of the earth, and vpon every foule of the aire, vpon all that moueth vpon the earth, and vpon all the fishes of the Sea; into your hands are they deliuered*. He who gaue this dominion vnto Man, did giue also an appetite to vse it. The execution of this power hath since extended it selfe, ouer a vnerie part of Mankinde. There are indeede no small numbers of men, whose dilabillie to gouerne themselves, prooueth them, according vnto *Aristotles* doctrine, to be natural³⁰ lie slaves.

Yet finde I not in Scripture any warrant, to oppresse men with bondage: vnlesse the lawfullnesse thereof be sufficiently intimated, where it is said, That a man shall not be punished for the death of a seruant, whom hee hath slaine by correction, if the seruant liue a day or two, because *he is his monie*; or else by the captiuitie of the *Midianites* gyles, which were made bond-slaves, and the *Sanctuarie* had a part of them for the *Lord tribute*. Doubtlesse the custome hath bene very ancient: for *Noah* laid this curse vpon *Canaan*, that he should be a seruant of seruants; and *Abraham* had of *Pharaoh*, among other gifts, *men seruants and maid seruants*, which were none other then slaves. Christian Religion is said to haue abrogated this olde kinde of seruilitie: but surely, they are deceived that thinke so. *Saint Paul* desired the libertie of *Onesimus*, whom hee had wonne vnto *Christ*: yet wrote for this vnto *Philemon*, by way of request, crauing it as a benedict, nor vrging it as a dutie. Agreeable hereto is the direction, which the same *Saint Paul* giueth vnto seruants: *Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called: art thou called, being a seruant? care not for it, but if thou maist be made free, vse it rather*. It is true, that Christian religion hath procured libertie vnto many: not onely in regard of pietie, but for that the Christian Masters stood in feare, of being discovered by their slaves, vnto the persecuters of religion. *Mahomet* likewise by giuing libertie to his followers, drew many vnto his impetie: but whether he forbade it, as vnlawfull, vnto his sectators, to hold one another of them in bondage, I cannot tell; saue that by the practice of the *Turks* and *Moors*, it seemes hee did not. In *England* we had many bond-servants, vntill the time of our last ciuill warres: and I thinke that the Lawes concerning *Villages* are still in force, of which the latest are the sharpest. And now, since slaves were made free, which were of great vnto and seruice, there are growne vp a rabble of Rogues, Curpeses and other the like Trades; slaves in Nature, though not in Lawe.

But whether this kinde of dominion be lawfull, or not; *Aristotle* hath well prooued, that it is naturall. And certainly wee finde not such a latitude of difference in any creature,

creature, as in the nature of man: wherein (to omit the infinite distance in estate of the dect and reprobate) the wisest excell the most foolish, by far greater degree, than the most foolish of men doth surpass the wisest of beasts. Therefore when Commiseration hath giuen way to Reason: we shall finde that Nature is the ground even of Masterly power, and of seruile obedience, which is thereto correspondent. But it may be truly said, that some countries haue subsisted long, without the vse of any seruilitie: as also it is true, that some countries haue not the vse of any tame cattell. Indeede the affections which vphold ciuill rule, are (though more noble) not so simply needefull, vnto the sustentation either of our kinde, as are Lust, and the like; or of euery one, as are hunger and thirst; which notwithstanding are the lowest in degree. But where most vile, and seruile dispositions, haue liberty to shew themselves begging in the streets; there may we more iustly wonder, how the dangerous toyle of sea-faring men can finde enough to vnderake them, than how the swarme of idle vagabonds should increase, by access of those, that are weary of their owne more painfull condition. This may suffice to proue, that in Mankind there is found, ingrafted euen by Nature, a desire of absolute dominion: whereunto the generall custome of Nations doth subscribe, together with the pleasure which most men take in thatters, that are the basest of slaves.

This being so, we finde no cause to maruaile, how Tyranny hath bene so rise in all ages, and practised, not onely in the single rule of some vicious Prince, but euer by consim of whole Cities and Estates: since, other vices haue likewise gotten head, and borne a generall sway, notwithstanding that the way of vertue be more honourable, and commodious. Few there are that haue vied well the inferior Passions: how then can we expect, that the most noble affections should not be disordered? In the gouernment of wife and children, some are vterly carelesse, and corrupt all by their dull conuiniencie; others, by masterly rigour, hold their owne blood vnder condition of slavery. To be a good Gouernour is a rare commendation; and to preserve the Weale publike aboute all respects whatsoeuer, is the Vertue iustly termed *Heroicall*. Of this Vertue, many ages afford not many examples. *Hector* is named by *Aristotle*, as one of them, and deservedly, if this praise be due to extraordinary height of fortitude, vied in defence of a mans owne countrie. But if we consider, that a loue of the generall good cannot be perfect, without reference vnto the fountain of all goodnesse: we shall finde, that no Morall vertue, how great soeuer, can, by it selfe, deserue the commendation of more than Vertue, as the *Heroicall* doth. Wherefore we must search the Scriptures, for patterns hereof; such as *Dauid, Isaphat, and Isayas* were. Of Christian Kings, if there were many such, the world would soone be happy. It is not my purpose to wrong the worth of any, by denying the praise where it is due; or by preferring a lesse excellent. But he that can finde a King religious, and zealous in Gods cause, without enforcement either of aduersitie, or of some regard of state; a procurer of the generall peace and quiet; who not onely vse his authoritie, but adde the trauell of his eloquence, in admonishing his Iudges to doe iustice; by the vigorous influence of whose Gouernment, ciuilitie is infused, euen into those places, that haue bene the dens of savage Robbers and Cutthroates; one that hath quite abolished a slavish *Brehon* Law, by which an whole Nation of his subiects were held in bondage; and one, whose higher vertue and wisdom doth make the praise not onely of Nobilitie and other ornaments, but of abstinence from the blood, the wines, and the goods, of those that are vnder his power, together with a world of chiefe commendations belonging vnto some good Princes, to appeare lesse regardable; he, I say, that can finde such a King, findeth an example, worthy to adde vnto vertue an honourable title, if it were formerly wanting. Vnder such a King, it is likely by Gods blessing, that a Land shall flourish, with increase of Trade, in countries before vnknowne; that Ciuilitie and Religion shall be propagated, into barbarous and heathen countries; and that the happinesse of his subiects, shall gaule the Nations farre off removed, to wish him their Soueraigne. I neede not adde hereunto, that all the actions of such a King, euen his bodily exercises, doe partake of vertue; since all things tending to the preservation of his life and health, or to the multiplying of his cares, (who, fixing his contemplation vpon God, seeketh how to imitate the vnspokeable goodnesse, rather than the inaccessible malice, with both of which himselfe is indied, as farre as humane nature is capable) doe also belong, to the furtherance of that common good, which he procureth. Lest any man should thinke me transported with admiration, or other affection, beyond the bounds of reason; I adde herto,

hereunto, that such a King is neuertheless a man, must die, and may erre: yet wil dome and same shall set him free, from *error*, and from *death*, both with and without the helpe of *time*. One thing I may not omit, as a singular benefit (though there be many other besides) redounding vnto this King, as the fruit of his goodnesse. The people that liue vnder a pleasant yoke, are not onely loyng to their Soueraigne Lord, but free of courage, and no greater in muster of men, then of stout fighters, if need require: whereas on the contrary, he that ruleth as ouer slaues, shall be attended in time of necessity, by flauith mindes, neither loyng his person, nor regarding his or their owne honour. Cowards may be furious, and slaues outrageous, for a time: but among spirits that haue once yielded vnto slavery, vnuerfally it is found true, that *Homer* saith, *God becauseth a man of halfe his vertue, that day when hee casteth him into bondage.*

Hem. Ody. l. 17

O! these things, I might perhaps more seasonably haue spoken, in the general discourse of Government: but where so liuely an example, of the calamity following a tyrannical rule, and the vse of Mercenaries, thereupon depending, did offer it selfe, as is this present businesse of the *Carthaginians*; I thought that the note would be more effectuell, than being barely deliuered, as out of a common place.

§. III.

How the warre against the Mercenaries was diuersly managed by Hanno and Amilcar, with variable successe. The bloody counsailes of the Mercenaries; and their small destruction.

* *Vtica* is seated in the great Bay that enters towards Carthage, not farre from the Promontorie of *Apello*. At this time it is called *Porto Fartina*, or *Biserta*, &c. by the also doth.Africanthem-fellies, *Garet*.Molte, *Niger* faith, that the Towne itselfe is ruined, and the place, whereon it stood, now called *Matzacha*. It was very ancient, and built before Carthage, faith *Silius*. As he is fortified before Carthage was, so he did it after Carthage was thrown down by the *Romans*, in the third Punicke Warre. Famous it was by the death of *Cato* the younger, who held it against *Cicero* *Victor*, that worthy Diuine, was Bishop thereof in the time of the *Consul* the *Arrian*: who liued all the time of that Tyrant, and hath written the storie of his cruelties.

BEing now to returne vnto those Mercenaries, from whom I haue thus farre digressed, I cannot readily finde, by what name henceforth I should call them. They are no longer in pay with the *Carthaginians*; neither care they to pretend, that they seeketh their wages already due; so that they are neither Mercenaries, nor Mutiniers. Had they all bene subjects vnto Carthage, then might they iustly haue bene termed Rebels: but *Spendius*, and others, that were the principall part of them, ought none allegiance to that State, which they endeouored to subuert. Wherefore I will borrow the name of their late occupation, and still call them Mercenaries, as *Polybius*

These vsing the aduantage of their present strength, besieged * *Vtica*, and *Hippagreta*, Cities of great importance, as being seated vpon the western Hauens of Carthage, where it is diuided by a necke of land; *Hippagreta* standing inwards vpon the great Lake, *Vtica* further out vpon the Sea. Neither was the Campe at *Tunes* abandoned, which lay fitly to hinder the *Carthaginians*, from passing vp into the countrey: for *Mattho* and *Spendius* wanted not men, to follow the war in all parts at once.

How the *Carthaginians* were amazed with this vnexpected perill, any man may conceiue. But the businesse it selfe awakes them hastily. They are hardly prest on all sides, and therefore it auailed their braynes to the vttermost, how to shake off these furious dogs from their shoulders, who sometimes by night, sometimes by day, came vnto the very walls of their Citie. In this exigent *Hanno* was made their Generall: who failed not in his accustomed diligence of making all good preparation: but had gotten together what focuer was needfull, as well to relieue a Towne besieged, as to batter and assaile any place defended against him. With these prouisions, and with an hundred Elephants, he came vnto *Vtica*, so suddenly, that the enemies as men surpris'd, forsooke their Trenches, and retir'd themselves vnto a rising peece of woody ground, wherethey might be safe against the violence of his beasts. *Hanno*, thinking that he had to doe with *Namidian*, whose custome was, after any losse, to flee two or three whole dayes iourney off; presently entered the Towne; to shew himselfe, after this his victory. But these good fellows, against whom he was to warre, had leamed of *Amilcar*, to retire and to fight againe, many times so in one day, as neede required. Therefore as soone as they perceiued, that he knew not how to vie a victory; they assailed their owne Campe, and with great slaughter, drave the *Carthaginians* out of it, forcing them to hide themselves within *Vtica*; and got possession of all the store, that *Hanno* had brought for the reliefe of the Towne. This had beginning *Hanno* followed with suitable indiscretion: loosing the benefit of many faire opportunities, and suffering the enemies to take possession of all the entrance from Carthage to the firme land.

The

The *Carthaginians*, perceiuing this, were exceedingly troubled, and did therefore let fall their shere anchor; sending to the field their great Capitaine, *Amilcar*, whom they furnished with ten thousand foot of supply, and seuerie Elephants. *Amilcar* had worke enough to doe, before he should be able to meete with the enemy vpon equall ground. For besides other places of aduantage that the Mercenaries had occupied, *Hanno* had suffered them to win the onely Bridge, by which the Riuer *Mactra*, or *Bagradas*, was passable vnto these, that were to traualle into the Continent. This Riuer had not many foords, nor those easie for a single man to get ouer: but vpon them all was kept such guard, as gaue to *Amilcar* little hope of preuailling in seeking way by force. As for the Bridge it selfe, *Mattho* and his followers were there lodged: and had there built a Towne, where in to ly commodiously, intentiue onely to the custody thereof. But *Amilcar* had obserued, that the very mouth of *Bagradas* vsed to be sometimes cloyed with sand and grauell, that was driuen in by certaine customarie winde, and could not be driuen out againe, by force of that slow Riuer, till the winde falling, or changing, suffered the weight of the wanes, to disburden their channell. Hereof he made vse; and taking his opportunitie, pulled the Riuer, contrary to all expectation, either of the enemy, or of his owne Citizens.

There was no neede to bid *Spendius* looke about him, when once it was heard, that *Amilcar* was come ouer *Bagradas*: all the Mercenaries were troubled with the new s; knowing that they were no longer to deale with the imprudent grauity of *Hanno*, but with an able spirit, euen with their owne Master in the Art of Warre, whom they admired, though they hated him. But this feare was soone changed into presumption; when more than fiftene thousand of their owne society, were come from *Vtica*; and other ten thousand from the gard of the Bridge. Their Armie was farre greater, than that of *Amilcar*; and they were, in their owne iudgement, the better men, vpon which confidence, they resolu'd to charge him on all sides, and beate him downe, in despite of his worth and reputation. With this resolution they attended vpon him, watching for some aduantage, and still exhorting one another to play the men, and giue the onie. Especially they that followed him in the Rere, had a great minde to begin the fight; wherevpon their promptnesse was such, as tooke from them their former circumspection. *Amilcar* held his way towards the Bridge, keeping himselfe on plaine grounds, that were fittest for the seruice of his Elephants, which he placed in front of his Armie. Neither made he shew of any desier to fight, but suffered the rashnesse of his enemies to increafe, till it should breake into some disorder. At length perceiuing, that with more boldnesse than goodherde, they followed him so neere, as would be little for their good, if hee should tame vpon them, he hastened his march, euen to such a pace, as made a shew little differing from plaine flight. The Mercenaries presently fell vpon his skirts; beleeuing, that for feare of them he was ready to run away. But whilst they confusedly, as in sudden opinion of victory, were driving at the heeles of those that had the Reare; *Amilcar* wheeled about, and met them in the face, charging them hotly, but in very good order, so that amazed with the apprehension of unexpected danger, they fled without making any resistance. In this ouerthrow, there were fixe thousand of the Mercenaries slaine, and about two thousand taken, the rest fled, some to the Campe at *Vtica*, others to the Towne at the Bridge; whither *Amilcar* followed them so fast, that he wan the place easily; the enemies being thence also fled vnto *Tunes*, as not hauing recollect'd their spirits to make it good.

The fame of this victory, together with the diligence of *Amilcar* in pursuing it, caused many Towns reuolted, partly by feare, partly by force, to returne to their former obedience. Yet was not *Mattho* wanting to himselfe, in this dangerous time. He sent about *Namidia* and *Africke*, for new supplies; admonishing the people, now or neuer to doe their best, for the recovery of their freedome; he perswaded *Spendius*, and *Ausartus* that was Capitaine of the *Gauls*, to wait vpon *Amilcar*, and alwayes to keepe the higher grounds, or at least the foot of some hill, where they might be safe from the Elephants; and he himselfe continued to presse the Towne of *Hippagreta* with an hard siege. It was necessary for *Amilcar*, in passing from place to place, as his businesse required, to take such wayes as there were: for all the Countrey lay not leuell. Therefore *Spendius*, who still coulted him, had once gotten a notable aduantage of ground: the *Carthaginians* lying in a Plaine, surrounded with hils, that were occupied by the Mercenaries, with their

Namidian

Numidian and *African* succours. In this difficultie, the fame of *Amilcar* his personall worth did greatly benefit his countrie. For *Naraulus*, a yong gentleman commanding ouer the *Numidians*, was glad of this occasion seruing to get the acquaintance and loue of so braue a man, which he much desired: and therefore came vnto *Amilcar*, signifying his good affection to him, with offer to doe him all seruice. *Amilcar* ioyfully entertained this friend; promised vnto him his owne daughter in marriage; and so wan from the enemies two thousand horse, that following *Naraulus* turned vnto the *Carthaginians* side. With this helpe he gaue battaile vnto *Spendius*: wherein the *Numidian* laboured to approach his owne valour, to his new friend. So the victory was great: for there were slaine tenne thousand of *Spendius* his fellows, and foure thousand taken prisoners; but *Spendius* himselfe, with *Autarius* the *Gauls*, escaped to doe more mischief. *Amilcar* dealt very gently with his prisoners: pardoning all offences past, and dismissing as many, as were vntoiling to become his followers; yet with condition, that they should neuer more beare armes against the *Carthaginians*; threatening to take sharpe reuenge vpon all, that should breake this Couenant.

This humanitie was vehemently suspected by *Matho*, *Spendius*, and *Autarius*, as tending to win from them, the hearts of their Souldiers. Wherefore they resolved to take such order, that not a man among them should dare, to trust in the good nature of *Amilcar*, nor to hope for any safetie, whilst *Carthage* was able to doe him hurt. They counterfeited letters of aduertisement, wherein was contained, that some of their company respectiue onely of their priuate benefit, and carelesse of the generall good, had a purpose to betray them all vnto the *Carthaginians*, with whom they held intelligence; & that it was needfull, to looke well vnto *Gesco*, and his companions, whom these traitours had a purpose to enlarge. Vpon this Theme *Spendius* makes an Oratio to the Souldiers, exhorting them to fidelitie; and shewing with many words, that the seeming humanitie of *Amilcar*, toward some, was none other than a baite, wherewith to entrap them all at once together; as also telling them, what a dangerous enemy *Gesco* would proue, if he might escape their hands. While he is yet in the midst of his tale, were letters come, to the same purpose. Then steps forth *Autarius*, and speaks his minde plainly: saying, that were the best, yea the onely way, for the common safetie, to cut off all hope of reconciliation with *Carthage*; that if some were desiring to make their owne peace, it would goe hard with those that had a care of the warre; that it were better to make an end of *Gesco* his life, than to trouble themselves with looking to his custody; that by such a course euery one should be engaged in the present Action, as hauing none other hope left, than in victory alone; finally, that such as would speake here against, were worthy to be reputed Traitors. This *Autarius* was in great credit with the souldiers, and could speake sundry languages, in such sort, that he was vnderstood by all. According to his motion therefore it was agreed, that *Gesco*, and all the other prisoners, should forthwith be put to horrible death, by torments. Neuertheless there were some, that for loue of *Gesco*, sought to alter his intended cruelty; but they were forthwith stoned to death, as a Document vnto others; and so the Decree was put in execution. Neither were they therewith all contented; but further ordained, that all *Carthaginian* prisoners which they tooke, should be serued in like sort: and that the subjects or friends of *Carthage*, should lose their hands, and so be sent home: which rule they obserued euer afterwards.

Of this cruelty I neede say no more, than that it was most execrable feritie. As for the counsaile of viding it, it was like vnto the counsaile of *Achitophel*; *All Israel shall beare, that thou art abhorred of thy father; then shall the hands of all that are with thee, be strong*. Such are the fruits of desperation. He that is past all hope of pardon, is afraid of his owne fellows, if they be more innocent; and to auoide the punishment of leffe offences, committeth greater. The cowardize of offenders, and the reuengefull spirits of those that haue bene wronged, are breeders of this desperation: to which may be added, some deficiency of Lawes, in distinguishing the punishments of malefactors, according to the decree of their severall crimes. A coward thinks all punishment too little for his owne securitie. If *Phocas* be a coward (saide the Emperour *Mauritius*) then is he murderous. To be stedfast and sure, in taking reuenge, is thought a point of honour, and a defensatiue against new iniuries. But wrongfully: for it is oppositie to the rule of *Christianitie*; and such a qualitie discovered, makes them deadly enemies, who other-

wile would haue repented, and sought to make amends, for the wrong done in passion. This was it, which wrought so much woe to the *Carthaginians*; teaching *Matho*, and his *Africans*, to suspect euen their gentleness, as the introduction to extreame rigour. Like vnto the errors of Princes and Gouvernours, are the errors of Lawes. Where one and the same punishment, is awarded vnto the leffe offence, and vnto the greater, he that hath aduertured to robbe a man, is easily tempted to kill him, for his owne securitie.

Against these inconueniences Mercy and Seueritie, vsed with due respect, are the best remedies. In neither of which *Amilcar* failed. For as long as these his owne souldiers were any way likely to be reclaimed, by gentle courses; his humanity was ready to intemperate. But when they were transported with beastly outrage, beyond all regard of honesty and shame, he rewarded their villanie with answerable vengeance; casting them vnto wilde beasts, to be deuoured.

Vntill this time *Hanno*, with the Armie vnder his command, had kept himselfe apart from *Amilcar*, and done little, as may seeme, for that nothing is remembered of him, since his late losses. Neither was *Amilcar* sorry to want his helpe, as being able to doe better without him. But when the warre grew to such extremity, as threatened vnto ruine to the one or the other side: then was *Hanno* sent for, and came to *Amilcar*, with whom he ioyned his forces. By this access of strength *Amilcar* was not enabled, to doe more then in former times: rather he could now performe nothing, such was the hatred betwene him and his vnworthy Colleague. The Towns of *Pitta* and *Hippagreta*, that had stood alwaies firme on the *Carthaginian* party, did now reuolt vnto the enemy, murdering all the souldiers that they had in Garrison, and casting their bodies forth, without suffering them to be buried. The provisions brought by sea, for maintenance of the Armie, were lost in foul weather: and *Carthage* it selfe stood in danger of being besieged, about which *Matho* and *Spendius* consulted, whilst one of the *Carthaginian* Generals did (as it were) binde the others hands.

In that in all Ages beene vsed, as the safest course, to send forth in great Expeditions, two Generals of one Armie. This was the common practice of those two mighty Cities, *Athen* and *Rome*, which other States and Princes haue often imitated; perswading themselves, that great Armies are not so well conducted by one, as by two: who out of emulation to excell each other, will vse the greater diligence. They haue also ioyned two chiefe Commanders in equall commission, vpon this further consideration; the better to restrain the ambition of any one, that should be trusted with so great a strength. For heretofore all Common-weales haue bene iealous, hauing bene taught by their examples that haue made themselves Tyrants ouer those Cities and States that haue employed them. In this point, the *Venetians* haue bin so circumspect, as they haue for the most part, trusted strangers, and not their owne, in all the warres which they haue made. It is true, that the equall authoritie of two commanding in chiefe, serueth well to bridle the ambition of one or both, from turning vpon the Prince or State that hath giuen them trust: but in manning the warre it selfe, it is commonly the cause of ill successe. In warres made neere vnto *Rome* it selfe, when two good friends were Consuls, or such two at least, as concurred in one desire of *Triumph*, which honor (the greatest of any that *Rome* could giue) was to be obtained by that one yeeres seruice; it is no maruaile, though each of the Consuls did his best, and referred all his thoughts vnto none other end then victory. Yet in all dangerous cases, when the Consuls proceeded otherwise then was desired, one Dictator was appointed, whose power was neither hindered by any partner, nor by any great limitation. Neither was it indeede the manner, to send forth both the Consuls to one warre; but each went, whither his lot called him, to his owne Prouince; vnlesse one business seemed to require them both, and they also seemed fit to be ioyned in the administration. Now although it was so, that the *Romans* did many times preuaile with their ioynt Generals: yet was this neuer or seldome, without as much concord, as any other vertue of the Commanders. For their modesty hath often bene such, that the lesse able Capitaine, though of equall authority, hath willingly submitted himselfe to the other, and obeyed his directions. This notwithstanding, they haue many times, by ordaining two Commanders of one Armie, received great and most dangerous overthrowes; whereof in the second *Punic* warre we shall finde examples. On the contrary side, in their warres most remote, that were alwayes managged by one, they seldome failed

failed to win exceeding honour, as hereafter shall appeare. Now of those ten Generals, which serued the *Athenians* at the Battaille of *Marathon*, it may truly be said, that had not their temper beene better, than the iudgement of the people that sent them forth, and had not they submitted themselves to the conduction of *Miltiades*: their affaires had found the same success which they found at other times, when they coupled *Nicias* and *Alcibiades* together in *Sicily*: the one being so ouer-warie, and the other so hasty, as all came to nought that they undertooke; whereas *Cimon* alone, as also *Aristides*, and others, hauing sole charge of all, did their Countie and common-weale most remarkable seruice. For it is hard to finde two great Capitaines, of equall discretion and valour; but that the one hath more of sinitie than of iudgement, and so the contrary, by which the best occasions are as often ouerslipped, as at other times many actions are vnseasonably undertaken. I remember it well, that when the Prince of *Condy* was slaine after the Battaille of *Iarnac*, (which Prince, together with the Admirall *Chastillon*, had the conduct of the Protestant Armie) the Protestants did greatly bewaile the losse of the said Prince, in respect of his Religion, person, and birth; yet comforting themselves, they thought it rather an aduancement, than an hindrance to their affaires. For so much did the valour of the one, out-reach the aduisednesse of the other, as whatsoeuer the Admirall intended to win by attending the aduantage, the Prince aduirtured to lose, by being ouer-confident in his owne courage.

But we neede no better example, than of the *Carthaginians* in this present businesse: who, though they were still sicke of their ill-grounded loue to *Hanno*, and were vnwilling to disgrace him; yet seeing that all ranne towards ruine, through the discord of the Generals, committed the decision of their controuersies, vnto the Armie that serued vnder them. The iudgement of the Armie was, that *Hanno* should depart the Campe: which he did, and *Hannibal* was sent in his stead, one that would be directed by *Amilcar*; and that was enough.

After this, the affaires of *Carthage* began to prosper somewhat better. *Matho* and *Spendius* had brought their Armie neere vnto the Citie; and lay before it, as in a siege. They might well be bold, to hope and aduventure much; hauing in their Campe about fiftie thousand, besides those that lay abroad in Garrisons. Neuertheless, the Citie was too strong for them to win by assault: and the entrance of victualles they could not hinder, if any should be sent in by friends from abroad.

Eueron, King of *Syracuse*, though during the warres in *Sicily* hee assisted the *Romans*, and still continued in their Alliance, yet now sent succours to the *Carthaginians*: fearing their fall, and consequently his owne; because if no other State gaue the *Romans* somewhat to trouble their digestion, the Principalltie of *Syracuse* would soone be deuoured by them. The *Romans* also gaue them some slender assistance, and for the present refused good offers made vnto them by the Mercenaries. This they did, to shew a kinde of noble disposition; which was indeede but counterfeite, as the sequelle manifestly proued.

Whilest *Matho* and his followers were busily pressing the Citie, *Amilcar* was as diligent, in waiting at their backs, and cutting off all that came to their supply: so that finding themselves more tightly besieged by him, than *Carthage* was by them, they purposed to desist from their vaine attempt, and try some other course. Hereupon they issued into the field: when *Spendius*, and one *Zartas* an African Capitaine assisting the rebellion, take vpon them to finde *Amilcar* worke; leauing *Matho* in *Tunis*, to negotiate with their friends, and take a generall care of the businesse. The Elephants of *Carthage*, and horse of *Naransus*, made *Spendius* fearefull to descend into the Plaines. Wherefore hee betooke himselfe to his former method of warre; keeping the mountaines, and rough grounds, or occupying the straightest passages, wherein the desperate courage of his men might shew it selfe, with little disadvantage. But *Amilcar* had more skill in this Art, than could be matched by the labour of *Spendius*. Hee drew the enemy to many skirmishes; in all which the success was such, as added courage to his owne men, and abated the strength and spirit of the Rebels. Thus hee continued, prouoking them night and day: still intrapping some of them, and sometimes giuing them the overthrow in plaine battaille: vntill at length hee got them into a streight, whence ere they should get out, he meant to take of them a good account. Their iudgement was enough, to perceiue their owne disadvantage: and therefore they had the lesse stomack to fight;

fight; but awaiting for helpe from *Tunis*. *Amilcar* prudently foreseeing, that necessity might reach them, to dare impossibilities, vied the benefit of their present feare, and shut them close vp with Trench and Rampart. There they waited miserably for succour, that came not: and hauing spent all their victualles, were so pinched with hunger, that they fed vpon the bodies of their prisoners. This they suffered patiently, as knowing that they had not deserved any fauour from *Carthage*: and hoping, that their friends at *Tunis* would not be vnmindfull of them. But when they were driuen to such extremity, that they were faine to deuoure their owne companions, and yet saw none appearance or likelihood of reliefe: their obstinacie was broken, and they threatened their Capitaines with what they deserved, vnlesse they would goe forth to *Amilcar*, and seeke such peace as might be gotten. So *Spendius*, *Zartas*, and *Antarius*, fell to consultation, wherein it was resolved to obey the multitude, and yeeld themselves, if it were so required, vnto the death, rather than perish by the hands of their owne Companions. Hereupon they sent to craue parley, which is granted; and these three come forth to talke with *Amilcar* in person. What they could say vnto him, it is hard to coniecture: yet by the conditions which *Amilcar* granted, it seemes that they tooke the blame vpon themselves, and craued pardon for the multitude. The conditions were, that the *Carthaginians* should choose, out of the whole number of these enemies, any ten whom they pleased, to remaine at their discretion; and that the rest should all be dismissed, each in his shirt, or in one single cocate. When the peace was thus concluded; *Amilcar* told these Ringleaders, that he chose them: presently, as part of the ten, and so commanded to lay hands on them: the rest he forthwith went to fetch, with his whole Armie in order. The Rebels, who knew not that peace was concluded vpon so gentle articles, thought themselves betrayed: and therefore amazedly ran to armes. But they wanted Capitaines to order them; and the same astonishment, that made them breake the Couenants of peace, whereof they were ignorant, gaue vnto *Amilcar* both colour of iustice, in accomplishing reuenge, and ease in doing the execution. They were all slaine: being forie thousand, or more, in number.

This was a famous exploit: and the newes thereof, exceeding welcome to *Carthage*, and terrible to the revolted Cities of *Africa*. Henceforward *Amilcar*, with his *Naransus* and *Hannibal*, carried the warre from Towne to Towne, and found all places ready to yeelde: *Pica* and *Hippagreta*, onely standing out, vpon feare of deferred vengeance; and *Tunis*, being held by *Matho*, with the remainder of his Armie. It was thought fit to begin with *Tunis*, wherein lay the chiefe strength of the enemy. Coming before this Towne, they brought forth *Spendius*, with his fellows, in view of the defendants, and crucified them vnder the wals; to terrifie those of his old companions, that were still in armes. With this rigor the siege began; as if speedy victory had beene assured. *Hannibal* quartered on that part of *Tunis*, which lay towards *Carthage*; *Amilcar* on the opposite side: too far asunder to helpe one another in sudden accidents; and therefore it behoued each, to be the more circumspect.

Matho from the wals beheld his owne destinie, in the misery of his companion, and knew no how to auoide it otherwise than by a cast at dice with fortune. So hee brake ouerpon that part of the *Carthaginian* Armie, that lay secure, as if all danger were past, vnder the command of *Hannibal*: and with so great and vnexpected furie hee sallied, that after an exceeding slaughter, hee tooke *Hannibal* prisoner, on whom, and thirtie the most noble of the *Carthaginian* prisoners, hee presently reuenged the death of *Spendius* by the same torture. Of this *Amilcar* knew nothing, till it was too late; neither had hee strength enough remaining, after this great losse, to continue the siege; but was faine to make it vp, and remoue vnto the mouth of the River *Bagradas*, where hee incamped.

The terror was no lesse within *Carthage*, vpon the same of this losse, than had beene the ioy of the late great victory. All that could beare armes, were sent into the field, vnder *Hanno*; whom, it seemes, they thought the most able of their Capitaines foruiuing the late accidents of Warre. If there were any Law among them, forbidding the imployment of one sole Generall, neere vnto their Citie (for they are knowne to haue tried one man abroad) the time did not permit, in this hasty exigent, to deuise about repealing it. But thirtie principall men are chosen by the Senate, to bring *Hanno* to *Amilcar*'s camp: & by all good perswasions to reconcile them. This could not be effected in one day.

It neerely touched *Amilcar* in his honour, that the carelesse of *Hannibal* seemed to be imputed vnto him, by sending his enemy to moderate his proceedings. Neethertheless after many conferences, the authority of the Senators prevailed; *Amilcar* and *Hanno* were made friends; and thenceforth, whilest this warre lasted, *Hanno* tooke warning by *Hannibals* calamities, to follow good directions, though afterwards he returned to his old and deadly hatred.

In the meane season *Matho* was come abroad, as meaning to vse the reputation of his late success, whilest it gaue some life vnto his businesse. He had reason to doe as he did; but he wanted skill to deal with *Amilcar*. The skirmishes, and light exercises of warre, wherein *Amilcar* trained his *Carthaginians*, did so farre abate the strength, and withall diminish the credit of *Matho*, that he resolved to try the fortune of one battaile: wherein either his owne desire should be accomplished, or his cares ended. To this conclusion the *Carthaginians* were no lesse prone, than *Matho*: as being weary of these long troubles, and insupportable expences; confident in the valour of their owne men, which had approved it selfe in many trials; and well assured of *Amilcar* his great worth, wherein the enemy hath nor what to oppose. According to this determination, each part was diligent in making provision: inuiting their friends to helpe; and drawing forth into the field all that lay in Garrison.

The issue of this battaile might haue beene foretold, without helpe of witchcraft. *Matho*, and his followers, had nothing whereon to presume, save their daring spirits, which had been well cooled by the many late skirmishes, wherein they had learned how to run away. The *Carthaginians* had reason to dare, as hauing beene often victorious; and in all points else they had the better of their enemies; especially (which is worth all the rest) they had such a Commander, as was not easily to be marched in that Age. Neither was it likely, that the desire of liberty should worke so much, in men accustomed to seruitude; as the honour of their State would, in Citizens, whose future and present good lay all at once engaged in that aduventure. So the *Carthaginians* wan a great victory, wherein most of the *Africans* their enemies were slaine; the rest fled into a Towne, which was not to be defended, and therefore they all yielded; and *Matho* himselfe was taken alive. Immediately vpon this victory, all the *Africans* that had rebelled, made submission to their old masters: *Vtica* onely, and *Hippagreta* stoop out, as knowing how little they deserved fauour. But they were soone forced, to take what conditions best pleased the victours. *Matho* and his fellows were led to *Carthage* in triumph; where they suffered all torments that could be deuised, in recompence of the mischiefs which they had wrought in this warre. The warre had lasted three yeeres, and about foure moneths, when it came to this good end: which the *Carthaginians*: whose subjects did not loue them, should with lesse expence, by contenting their Mercenaries, haue prevented in the beginning.

§. IIII.

How the Mercenaries of the Carthaginians, that were in Sardinia, rebelled: and were afterwards driven out by the Islanders. The faithlesse dealing of the Romans with the Carthaginians, in taking from them Sardinia, contrary to the peace.

Hilfest *Matho* and *Spendius* were making terrible combustion in *Africke*; other Mercenaries of the *Carthaginians* had kindled the like fire in *Sardinia*: where murdering *Bolifar* the Governour, and other *Carthaginians*, they were in hope to get, and hold that Iland to their owne vse. Against these, one *Hanno* was sent with a small Armie (such as could be spared in that busie time) consisting likewise of Mercenaries, leuiued on the sudden. But these companions that followed *Hanno*, finding it more for their safety, and present profit, to ioyne themselves with those that were already revolted, than to indanger themselves by battaile, for the good of that commonweale, of which they had no care; began to enter into practice with the *Sardinian* Rebels; offering to runne one course of fortune with them in their enterprise. This their offer was kindly taken; but their faith was suspected. Wherefore, to take away all ielousie and distrust, they resolved to hang vp their Commander *Hanno*, and performed it. A common practice it hath beene in all Ages, with those that haue vndertaken the quarrell of an vnjust warre, to enioyne the performance of some notorious and villanous act,

to those that come in to them as seconds, with offer to partake, and to assist the impious purposes which they haue in hand. It is indeede the best pawne, that desperate men can deliuer to each other, to performe some such actions, as are equally vnardonable to all.

By such a kinde of crueltie did the vngratefull *Mantinsians* murder a Garrison of *Achaians*, sent vnto them for their defence against the *Lacedaemonians*, by *Aratus*; who, when hee had formerly posselt himselfe of their Citie, by right of warre, did not onely spare the sacke and spoyle thereof, but gaue them equall freedom with the rest of the Citie vnted. These *Results* are also common in our Court-warres; where, in the conquests of new fortunes, and making of new parties, without the dejection or destruction of old friends, we cannot be receiued and trusted by old enemies. *Ce sont les coups de vieille ecrime*. These, (say the French) be the blowes of the old art of fencing.

The Mercenaries in *Sardinia* were no whit lesse violent in their purpose, than were *Spendius*, and his associates: onely they wanted a *Matho* among them, to negotiate with the inhabitants of the Prouince. The Islanders were no lesse glad, than the souldiours, that the *Carthaginians* were expelled the Countrey: but they could not agree about the price of the victory. The *Sardinians* thought that it was enough, if they rewarded the souldiours for their paines taken. Contrariwise, the souldiours were of opinion, that the title of the *Carthaginians* to that Ile, was deuolued vnto themselves, by right of conquest. The same quarrell would (in likelihood) haue risen, betweene *Spendius* with his Mercenaries, and their *African* friends, if the common desire of both had once taken effect: vnlesse the riches of *Carthage* had serued to content them all. But in *Sardinia*, where there was none other valuable reward, than possession and rule of the Countrey; the matter was not easily taken vp. So they fell to blowes, which how they were dealt, I know not; but finally the Mercenaries were driven out, and compelled to saue themselves in *Italie*. Before their departure out of *Sardinia*, they had inuited the *Romans* into it, with as good right, as the *Mantertines* had called them into *Sicil*. Yet this offer was refused, vpon reasons that follow.

Some *Italian* Merchants had relieved *Matho* and *Spendius* with corne: of whom the *Carthaginians* tooke almost fise hundred, and held them in prison. Hereof was made a great complaint: so that the *Romans* sent Embassadors to *Carthage*, requiring satisfaction. It was no time for the *Carthaginians* to dispute: they quietly yielded to release them all. This was so kindly taken, that they forbade all their Merchants, to trade thenceforth with the Rebels; admonishing them to carry all provisions to *Carthage*. And vpon the same reason, did they forbear to meddle with *Sardinia*, or to accept the Citie of *Vtica*, offering it selfe vnto their subiection. This might haue serued, as a notable example of the *Roman* faith, to all posteritie: had not the issue proued, that it was meerere of greater profit, which kept them so temperate, no longer than the hope lasted of thiuing better thereby, than they should haue done by open breach of faith. The whole estate of *Carthage* depended at that time, vpon the vertue of *Amilcar*: who had beene ouerthrowne by *Spendius* or *Matho*, in one maine battaile, that mightie Citie must either haue fallen into the barbarous hands of mercilesse villains, or haue humbled her selfe vnder protection of the *Romans*, with whom she had lately struen for superiority. That extreme necessity, wherinto *Matho* reduced the Citie, by the fortune of one fallie made out of *Tunis*, is enough to proue, that *Carthage*, was not farre from such a miserable choyce. Wherefore it was not vnwisely done of the *Romans*, to make such demonstration of kindnesse, and honourable dealing, as might inuite a rich, but sinking shippe, to runne her selfe aground vpon their shore. But when all was well ended in *Africke*, and the *Carthaginians* began to prepare for the recovery of *Sardinia*: then did Ambition put off her goodly vizour. The *Romans* perceiving that *Carthage*, beyond their hope, had recovered her feete againe; began to strike at her head. They continued the proffer of those Mercenaries, that were fled out of *Sardinia*; and they denounced warre against this enfeebled and impouerished Citie, vnder a shamelesse pretence, that the preparations made for *Sardinia*, were made indeede against Rome it selfe. The *Carthaginians* knew themselves vnable to resist; and therefore yielded to the *Roman* demand; renouncing vnto them all their right in *Sardinia*. But this was not enough. They would haue twelve hundred talents, in recompence belike (for I see

nor what reason they could alledge) of the great feare which they had endured, of an inuasion from *Carthage*. It is indeede plaine, that they impudently fought occasion of warre. But necessity taught the *Carthaginians* patience; and the monie was paid, how hardly fouer it was raised. From this time forward, let not *Rome* complaine of the *Punic* faith, in breach of Covenants: she her selfe hath broken the peace already, which *Amilcar* purposeth to make her dearly repent; but what *Amilcar* liues not to performe, shall be accomplished by *Hannibal* his renowned sonne.

§. V.

How the affaires of Carthage went betwene the African Rebellion, and the second Punicke warre.

His iniurious dealing of the *Romans*, expressing their desire to picke a quarrell, serued to instruct the *Carthaginians* in a necessarie lesson. That either they must make themselves the stronger, or else resolute to be obedient vnto those that were more mighty. In a Citie long accustomed to rule, the brauer determination easily tooke place: and the best meanes were thought vpon, for the increafe of puissance and Empire. The strength, and the ialousie of the *Romans*, forbad all attempts vpon the Mediterranean seas; but the riches of *Spain*, that lay vpon the Ocean, were unknowne to *Rome*: wherefore that Province might serue, both to exercise the *Carthaginians* in warre, and to repaire their decayed forces, with all needefull supplies. Of this *Spanish* Expedition, the charge and soueraine trust was committed vnto *Amilcar*: vpon whom his Countrie did wholly repose it selfe, in hope to recouer strength by his means, that had saued it from ruine.

Hanno, with some other enuious men that were of his faction, tooke little pleasure in the generall loue and honour, which daily increased towards *Amilcar* and his friends. Yet could they not denie him to be the most worthy of command in all the Citie: onely they commended peace and quietnesse; aduising men to beware of prouoking the *Romans*, in whose amity they said, that the felicity of *Carthage* did consist. By such discourses, harsh to the eares of good Citizens, who had feeling of the wrong done to their Common-weale, they got none other reputation, than of singularity: which the ignorant sort suspected to be wisdom.

But the glory of *Amilcar* was continually vpheld and enlarged, by many notable seruices that he did, to the singular benefit of his Countrie. He passed the Streights of *Straites*, (now called the Streights of *Gibraltar*): and landed on the westerne coasts of *Spain*; in which Countrie, during nine yeeres that he liued there, he subiected vnto the State of *Carthage* the better part of all those Prouinces. But finally, in a battaile that hee fought with a Nation in *Portugale*, called the *Vettones*, (defending himselfe a long time with an admirable resolution) he was inuironed and slaine: carrying with him to the graue the same great honour and fame, by which in many signall victories, hee had acquired the name of a second *Mars*.

After the death of *Amilcar*, *Asdrubal* his sonne in law was made Generall of the *Carthaginian* forces in *Spain*. This was a good man of warre; but farre better in *prudence* and cunning than in deedes of armes. By his notable dexteritie in matter of negotiation, he greatly enlarged the Dominion of *Carthage*: adding to many subiects and confederates thereunto, that the *Romans* began to grow ialous againe of this haile increafe. He built a goodly Citie, vpon a commodious Haven, in the Kingdome of *Granada*, opposite to that of *Oran* in *Africa*, and gaue it the name of *New Carthage*, which to this day it neerey retaineth, being called now * *Carthagena*. With this successe of the *Carthaginians* in *Spain*, the *Romans* were not a little troubled; but begin to caule their owne negligence. For whereas they had formerly taken so much paines to beate them out of the Ile of *Sicily*, as suspecting their neighbourhood there; they had now, by cumbering themselves in a warre of farre lesse importance, (whereof I shall speake anon) giuen them leysure, without interruption, to recouer vpon their owne Continent, a Dominion by farre exceeding, both in the bodies of men and in reuence, that which the *Romans* had taken from them. But how to helpe this, at the present they knew not; for they daily expected to be inuaded by the *Gauls*, their ancient enemies, and nereest neighbours to the West. But he needeth little helpe of force, that knoweth himselfe

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to be feared: it is enough if he request, since his request shall haue the vertue of a command.

Yet were the *Romans* vtterly destitute of all good colour, that might helpe them to intermeddle in *Spain*. The *Spaniards* were then vnacquainted with *Rome*, whereof (in probability) they scarce had heard the name: so that there were no *Mamertines*, nor other such Rebels, to call in *Roman* succours. But in the enterprise of *Sardinia*, the *Romans* had learned an impudent pretence, that might also serue their turne in *Spain*. For though it were apparent, that the *Spanish* affaires had no relation to the peace betwene these two Cities; and though it were nothing likely, that *Asdrubal* had any purpose, to extend his victories vnto the gates of *Rome*, or to any of the *Roman* frontiers: yet (as if some such matter had bene suspected) they sent vnto him, requiring that he should forbear to proceede any further, than to the Riuer of *Iberus*. In addressing their messengers, rather to *Asdrubal*, than to the Citie of *Carthage*; they seeme to haue hoped, that howeuer the generalitie of the *Carthaginians* had sweetly swallowed many bitter pillles, so would all occasion of warre with *Rome*: yet the brauery of one man might proue more stubborn, and resisting the iniurie, returne such answere, as would intangle his whole Countrie in the quarrell, that they so much desired; and might embrace at leisure, when once they had found apparent cause. But *Asdrubal* finely deluded their expectation. He pretended no manner of dislike at all: and whereas they would haue this insolent countenance inserted into the articles of peace, he tooke vpon him to doe it, of his owne power, with such appearance of conformity to their will, that they went their wayes contented, and fought no further.

It had bene so, that the State of *Carthage*, thereunto pressed by the *Romans* for feare of present warre, had ratified this new composition made by *Asdrubal*, yet should it not haue stood bound in honour, to obserue the same carefully, vnlesse an oath had also beene sworn, to make all sure. But since all passed quietly, vnder the bare authority of *Asdrubal*, this Capitulation was none other in effect, than a second breach of peace, whereof the *Romans* might be accused more iustly, than they could accuse the *Carthaginians* of perurie, (as they after did) for refusing to stand to it.

By this Treatie with *Asdrubal*, the *Romans* wan some reputation in *Spain*. For when it was once concurred by the *Spaniards*, that the Citie which would needs be mistrusted ouer them, stood in feare her selfe, of receiuing blows from a stouter Dame; there were some found some, that by offering themselves to the protection of *Rome*, became (as they thought) fellow-seruants with *Carthage*. But the *Carthaginians* will shortly teach them another lesson. The *Saguntines*, a people on the South-side of *Iberus*, entered into confederacie with the *Romans*, & were gladly accepted. Surely it was lawfull vnto the *Romans*, to admit the *Saguntines*, or any other people (neither subiect, nor open enemy in warre to the *Carthaginians*) into their societie: and vnlawfull it was vnto the *Carthaginians*, to vse violence towards any that should thus once become confederate with *Rome*. Neuerthelesse, if we consider the late agreement made with *Asdrubal*, we shall finde that the *Romans* could haue none other honest color of requiring it, than an implicit covenant of making the Riuer *Iberus* a bound, ouer which they themselves would not passe, in any Discovery or Conquest by them intended to be made vpon *Spain*: in which regard, they might haue some honest pretence to require the like of the *Carthaginians*; though *Rome* as yet had no foot, on the one side of *Iberus*, whereas *Carthage*, on the other side of that Riuer, held almost all the Countrie. Howsoever it were, this indignitie was not so easily digested, as former iniuries had bene. For it was a matter of ill consequence, that the Nations which had heard of no greater power than the *Carthaginians*, should behold *Saguntum* resting securely amongst them, vpon confidence of helpe from a more mighty Citie. Wherefore either in this respect, or for that the sense is most feeling of the latest iniuries; or rather for that now the *Carthaginians* were of power to doe themselves right: warre against *Saguntum* was generally thought vpon, let the *Romans* take it how they list. In such termes were the *Carthaginians*, when *Asdrubal* died, after he had commanded in *Spain* eight yeeres: (being slaine by a flauie, whose master hee had put to death) and the Great *Hannibal*, sonne of the Great *Amilcar*, was chosen Generall in his stead.

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*The Spaniards haue since built a Citie of the same name in the West India: which being peopled by them in the yeere 1532. was called by the English in the yeere 1583.

be feared: it is enough if he request, since his request shall haue the vertue of a command.

Yet were the *Romans* vnterly destitute of all good colour, that might helpe them to intermeddle in *Spain*. The Spaniards were then vnacquainted with *Rome*, whereof (in probability) they scarce had heard the name: so that there were no *Mamertines*, nor other such Rebels, to call in *Roman* succours. But in the enterprise of *Sardinia*, the *Romans* had learned an impudent pretence, that might also serue their turne in *Spain*. For though it were apparent, that the Spanish affaires had no relation to the peace betwene these two Cities; and though it were nothing likely, that *Asdrubal* had any purpose, to extend his victories vnto the gates of *Rome*, or to any of the *Roman* frontiers: yet (as if some such matter had bene suspected) they sent vnto him, requiring that he should forbear to proceede any further, than to the Riuer of *Iberus*. In addressing their messengers, rather to *Asdrubal*, than to the Citie of *Carthage*; they seeme to haue hoped, that howsoever the generallitie of the *Carthaginians* had sweetly swallowed many bitter pillies, to auoid all occasion of warre with *Rome*: yet the brauery of one man might proue more fildious, and resenting the iniurie, returne such answere, as would intangle his whole Countrie in the quarrell, that they so much desired; and might embrace at leysure, when once they had found apparent cause. But *Asdrubal* finely deluded their expectation. He pretended no manner of dislike at all: and whereas they would haue his insolent councell inserted into the articles of peace; he tooke vpon him to doe it, of his owne power, with such appearance of conformity to their will, that they went their wayes contented, and sought no further.

It had bene so, that the State of *Carthage*, thereunto pressed by the *Romans*, for feare of present warre, had ratified this new composition made by *Asdrubal*; yet should it not haue stood bound in honour, to obserue the same carefully, vnlesse an oath had also been extorted, to make all sure. But since all passed quietly, vnder the bare authority of *Asdrubal*, this Capitulation was none other in effect, than a second breach of peace, whereof the *Romans* might be accused more iustly, than they could accuse the *Carthaginians* of peritrie, (as they after did) for refusing to stand to it.

By this Treatie with *Asdrubal*, the *Romans* wan some reputation in *Spain*. For when it was once conceiued by the Spaniards, that the Citie which would needes be mistruied over them, stood in feare her selfe, of receiuing blowes from a stouter Dame; there were soone found some, that by offering themselves to the protection of *Rome*, became (as they thought) fellow-seruants with *Carthage*. But the *Carthaginians* will shortly teach them another lesson. The *Saguntines*, a people on the South-side of *Iberus*, entred into confederacie with the *Romans*, & were gladly accepted. Surely; it was lawfull vnto the *Romans*, to admit the *Saguntines*, or any other people (neither subiect, nor open enemy in warre to the *Carthaginians*) into their societie: and vnlawfull it was vnto the *Carthaginians*, to vse violence towards any that should thus once become confederate with *Rome*. Neertheless, if we consider the late agreement made with *Asdrubal*, we shall finde that the *Romans* could haue none other honest color of requiring it, than an implicit couenant of making the Riuer *Iberus* a bound, ouer which they themselves would not passe, in any Discovery or Conquest by them intended to be made vpon *Spain*: in which regard, they might haue some honest pretence to require the like of the *Carthaginians*; though *Rome* as yet had no foot, on the one side of *Iberus*, whereas *Carthage*, on the other side of that Riuer, held almost all the Countrie. Howsoeuer it were, this indignitie was not so easily digested, as former iniuries had bene. For it was a matter of ill consequence, that the Nations which had heard of no greater power than the *Carthaginians*, should behold *Saguntum* resting securely among them, vpon confidence of helpe from a more mighty Citie. Wherefore either in this respect, or for that the sense is most feeling of the least iniuries; or rather for that now the *Carthaginians* were of power to doe themselves right: warre against *Saguntum* was generally thought vpon, let the *Romans* take it how they list. In such termes were the *Carthaginians*, when *Asdrubal* died, after he had commanded in *Spain* eight yeeres: (being slaine by a slave, whose master hee had put to death) and the Great *Hannibal*, sonne of the Great *Amilcar*, was chosen Generall in his stead.

§. VI.

The estate of Greece from the death of Pyrrhus, to the reigne of Philip the sonne of Demetrius in Macedon.

IN the long terme of the first *Punic* warre, and the vacation following, betweene it and the second; the estate of *Greece*, after the death of *Pyrrhus*, was growne somewhat like vnto that, wherein *Philip* of *Macedon* had found it; though faire weaker, as in an after-spring. The whole countrie had recovered by degrees, a forme of libertie: the petty tyrannies (bred of those inferiour Capitaines, which in the times of generall combustion, had seised each vpon such Townes as he could get) were, by force or accident, extirpated, and reformed; and some States were risen to such greatnesse, as not onely serued to defend themselves, but to giue protection to others. This conseruation to the better, proceeded from the like dissensions and tumults in *Macedon*, as had bene in *Greece*, when *Philip* first began to encroach vpon it. For after many quarrels and great warres, about the Kingdome of *Macedon*, betweene *Antigonus* the elder, *Cassander*, *Demetrius*, *Lysimachus*, *Seleucus*, *Pyrrhus*, and the *Gauls*: *Antigonus*, the sonne of *Demetrius*, finally got and held it, reigning fixe and thirtie yeeres; yetso, that he was diuers times thence expelled, not onely by the *Gauls*, and by *Pyrrhus*, as hath bene already shewed, but by *Alexander* the sonne of *Pyrrhus* the *Epirot*, from whose father hee had hardly wonne it. This happened vnto him, by the reuolt of his souldiours, euen at such time, as hauing ouerthrowne with great slaughter an Armie of the *Gauls*, hee was conuerting his forces against the *Athenians*, whom he compelled to recue his Garrisons. But his young sonne *Demetrius* raised an Armie, wherewith he chased *Alexander*, not onely out of *Macedon*, but out of his owne *Epirus*, and restored his father to the Kingdome.

By the helpe of this young Prince *Demetrius* (though in another kinde) *Antigonus* got into his possession the Citadell of *Corinth*; which was iustly termed the *Gate of Greece*. The Citadell called *Acrocorinthus*, stood vpon a steepe rockie hill on the North side of the towne, and was by nature and art so strong, that it seemed impregnable. It commanded the towne, which was of much importance, as occupying the whole breadth of the *Isthmus*, that running betweene the *Argear* and *Ionique* Seas, toyneth *Peloponnesus* to the maine of *Greece*. Wherefore he that held possession of this Citadell, was able to cut off all passage by land, from one halfe of *Greece* vnto the other; besides the commodity of the two Seas, vpon both of which, this rich and goodly Citie had commodious hauens. *Alexander*, the sonne of *Polyperchon*, and after his death, *Crateipolis* his wife, had gotten *Corinth* in the great shuffling of Provinces and Townes, that was made betweene *Alexanders* Princes. Afterwards it passed from hand to hand, vntill it came, I know not how, to one *Alexander*; of whom I finde nothing else, than that he was thought to be poysoned by this *Antigonus*, who deceived his wife *Nicea* thereof, and got it from her by a trick. The device was this. *Antigonus* sent his yong *Demetrius* to *Corinth*, willing him to court *Nicea*, and seeke her marriage. The foolish old widdow perceived not how vnfit a match hee was for the yong Prince, but entertained the fancie of marriage, where-to the old King was euen as ready, to consent, as was his sonne to desire, and came thither in person to solemnize it. Hereupon all *Corinth* was filled with sacrifices, feasts, plaies, and all sorts of games: in the middelt of which, *Antigonus* watched his time, and got into the Citadell, beguiling the poore Lady, whose ialousie had bene exceeding diligent in keeping it. Of this purchase he was so glad, that he could not containe himselfe within the grauity becoming his old age. But as hee had stollen it; so was it againe stollen from him: neither liued he to reuenge the losse of it, being already spent with age.

Demetrius, the sonne of this *Antigonus*, succeeding vnto his father, reigned ten yeeres. He made greater proofe of his vertue before he was King than after. The *Dardanians*, *Atolians*, and *Acheans*, held him continually busied in warre; wherein his fortune was variable, and for the more part ill. About these times the power of the *Macedonians* began to decay: and the *Gracians* to cast off their yoke.

Philip, the onely sonne of *Demetrius*, was a yong childe when his father died, and therefore *Antigonus*, his vncle, had the charge of the Kingdome, during the minority of the Prince.

Prince; but he assumed the name and power of a King, though he respected *Philip* as his owne sonne, to whom he left the Crowne at his death; This *Antigonus* was called the *Tutor*, in regard of his Protectorship; and was also called *Dolon*, that is as much as, *Will-gie*, because he was slow in his liberaltie. He repressed the *Dardanians* and *Thessalians*, which molested his Kingdome, in the beginning of his reigne. Vpon confidence of this good service, he took stare vpon him, as one that rather were King in his own right, then onely a Protector. Heereupon the people fell to mutinie; but were soone appeased by faire words, and a seeming vnwillingnesse of his to meddle any more with the Gouerment. The *Acheians* tooke from him the City of *Athen*, soone after *Demetrius* his death; and likely they were to hate wrought him out of all, or most that hee held in *Greece*, if their owne estate had not bin endangered by a neerer enemy. But euill dissention, which had ouerthrowne the powert of *Greece*, when it flourished most; ouerthrew it casily now againe, when it had scarcely recovered strength after a long sicknesse; and gave to this *Antigonus* no lesse authoritie therein, than *Philip* the father of *Alexander*, got by the like advantage.

The *Acheians* from small beginnings, had increased in short time to great strength and fame: so that they grew the most redoubted Nation of all the *Greeks*. By the equallitie of their Lawes; and by their clemencie (notwithstanding that they were a long time held vnder by the *Macedonians* and *Spartans*) they did not onely draw all others by their loue and alliance, but induced, through their example, the rest of the Cities of *Peloponnesus* to be gouerned by one Law, and to vse one and the same sort of waights, measure, and monie.

Aratus, the *Sicyonian*, was the first that vnited them againe; and gaue them courage, after that they had bene by the *Macedonian* Captaines diuided into many Principalities. In elder times they were gouerned by Kings, as most of the great Cities of *Greece* were; to which kinde of rule they first subiected themselves, after the descent of the *Heracidae*, when *Tismenus* the sonne of *Orestes* possessed the Territorie of *Achaia*. In this estate they continued to the time of *Gyges*; after whom, when his sons sought to change the Legall gouernment of their Predecessors into Tyrannie, they expelled them, and made their State popular; as seeming most equall. This forme of Common-weale had continuance, with some small changes according to the diuersitie of times, till the reigne of *Philip* and *Alexander* Kings of *Macedon*: who tempest-like ouerturnd all things in that part of the world. For those twelue Cities, called the Cities of alliance, whereof *Helice*, and *Eraor* *Olenus*, the Sea had eaten vp a litle before the Battaille of *Leuctres*; were, by disturbance of the *Macedonians*, diuided from each other, and trained into a warre, no lesse foolish than cruell, among themselves. But in the one hundred and foure and twentieth *Olympiad*, in which, or neere it, *Ptolomies* the sonne of *Lagus*, *Lysimachus*, *Seleucus*, and *Ptolomie Ceraunus*, left the world; two of ten remaining Cities and people, namely, the *Patenses* and the *Dimai*, vnited themselves, and laid the foundation of that generall accord, and re-vnion, which after followed. For hauing bene, some of them *Partisans* with sundrie *Macedonian* Capitaines, and others hauing bene gouerned by petty Kings; they began to fasten themselves in a strong league of amitie, partly, in the *Olympiad* before spoken of, and partly, at such time as *Pyrrhus* made his first voyage into *Italie*. Now after the vnting of the *Patenses* and *Dimai*, to whom also the Cities of *Tritea*, and *Phara*, ioyned themselves; *Agira* chased out her Garrisons: and the *Enriens*, killing their Kings, entred with the *Ceraunians* into the same Confederacie. These Cities, for twentie and five yeeres, vsed the same forme of Gouerment with the *Acheians*; who by a Senatorie and two Prators, ordered all things in their Commonweale; and soone after, by one Prator, or Commander: of which, *Marcus Carynes* was the first, and *Aratus* the second.

This *Aratus* was a noble yong Gentleman of *Sicyon*, who liuing at *Argos* in exile, whilst his Countrie was oppressed by Tyrants, found means, through the helpe of other banished men, to enter their owne Citie by night, with ladders; whence they chased the Tyrant, and restored the people to libertie. This was in the time of *Antigonus* King of *Macedon*, a Prince more busie in watching what to get among the *Greeks*, than wife in looking to his owne. For feare of *Antigonus*, the *Sicyonians* entred into the *Achaian* league: which though at that time it receiued more increase, by their accession, than it added strength to them; yet the benefit of this coniunction serued well enough against

against *Antigonus*, whose subtiltie was somewhat greater than his valor. As the industry and counsaile of *Aratus* deliuered his Country from bondage, and fortified it by the *Achaian* league; so further, by his great liberalitie, with the exceeding great cost of 150. talents, he pacified the inexplicable controuersies, between the banished *Sicyonians*, which returned with him, & the other Citizens that had possession of these mens Landes, as also with the same money he drew many others to assist him in those enterprises following, that redounded to the singular good of all *Achaia*. The money he obtained of *Ptolomy* *Euergettes* King of *Egypt*; who partly had a desire to hold some strong and sure friendship in *Greece*, partly was delighted with the conuersation of *Aratus* himselfe, that made a dangerous voyage to him into *Egypt*, and fed his pleasure in goodly pictures, with the gift of many curious peeces, wherein the workemen of *Sicyon* excelled.

The first of *Aratus* his great attempts, was the surprize of the *Acrocorinthus* or Citadel of *Corinth*; which he warneby night, being thereto guided by some theeres that hee had hired for the purpose, who liuing in the place, had practised to rob *Antigonus* his treasure, passing in and out by a secret path among the rocks. Yet was hee faine to fight for it, ere hee could get it: though indeede *Antigonus* his Souldiers were rather ouer-come by their owne feare, than by any force of the assailants; as mistrusting lest the *Achaians* were more in number, than in truth they were, and hauing lost the advantages of the place already, vpon which they had presumed, before they were aware of any enemy.

In these kinde of night-seruices, ambushments, surprisings, and practices, *Aratus* was very cunning, aduenturous, and valiant: in open field, and plaine battaile, hee was astimorous. By this strange mixture of cowardice and courage, he ministred argument of disputation, to Philosophers and others: Whether a valiant man (as he was esteemed, and in some cases approach) might look pale and tremble, when he began battaile; and whether the vertue of Fortitude were diminished, by the sundry natures of men, & in a manner confined, vnto several sorts of action. In resolving which doubts it may be said, that all vertue is perfected in men by exercise, wherein they are trained by occasion: though a naturall inclination stand in need of little practice; whereas the defect hereof must be supplied with much instruction, vse, good success, and other helps, yet hardly shall grow absolute in generall. Such was *Aratus* in matter of Warre. In sincere affection to his Countrey hee was vnreprouable, and so acknowledged: as his following actions will truely testifie.

When *Acrocorinthus* was taken, and ioyned vnto the Common-wealth of *Achaia*, the *Megarians* revolted soon: after from *Antigonus*, and entred into the same Corporation. So did the *Trezenians*, and the *Epidaurians*: whereby this new created State grew so powerfull, that it aduentured to take *Athens*, from the *Macedonians*; and *Argos* & *Megalopolis*, from Tyrants that held them. The enterprise vpon *Athens* was of none effect. For though *Aratus* wasted the Ile of *Salamis*, to shew his strength, and sent home the *Athenian* prisoners, without ranfome, to allure the Citie by shew of loafe; yet the *Athenians* stirred neither against him, nor for him, as being now growne honest flues to the *Macedonians*. Vpon *Argos* the aduenture was carried more strongly. The *Achaians* came somerimes to the gates of the Citie, but the people stirred not: once they entered it, and might haue wonne it, if the Citizens would haue lent any helpe to the recouerie of their own freedome; sundry times, and with diuers euents, they fought with the Tyrants, (who rose vp one after another in *Argos*) in open field, and slue one of them in battaile; but all sufficed not: vntill at length *Aristomachus* the Tyrant was so terrified, perswaded, and hired, by *Aratus*, that hee consented to resigne his Estate. The like did *Xenon* the Tyrant of *Hermione*, and *Cleonymus* that had oppressed the *Phliasians*.

Whilst this businesse with the *Argives* was on foot, *Lysias* the Tyrant of *Megalopolis* was so well handled by *Aratus*, that, without compulsion, hee gaue liberie to his Citie, and annexed it to the Councell of *Achaia*: whereby he got such credit, that hee was chosen Generall of their forces (which was a yeerely Office, and might not be held two yeeres together by one person): euery second yeere, for a certaine while, he and *Aratus* succeeded one another by turns. But those late Tyrants, and new Citizens, *Lysias* and *Aristomachus*, were carried with priuate passion from care of the generall good; in which courses they opposed *Aratus*, to the great hurt of *Achaia*, as shall appeare in due time.

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The *Achaians* hauing obtained so much puissance and reputation, that *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt* was become Patron of their Alliance, and (in title of honour) Generall of their forces by Sea and Land; made open Warre vpon *Demetrius* the sonne of *Antigonus* Governor, for the libertie of *Athens*. It is strange and worthy of noting, That when *Aratus* in this quarrell had lost a battaile, the *Achaians* wore Garlands, in signe of ioy, to flatter their good Lords the *Macedonians*, that had wonne the victorie. Such were now the *Achaians* become; in whom the rule was verified, that hold true in generall of the multitude, *Aut humiliter seruit, aut superbe dominatur*; It is either base in seruise, or insolent in command. Neuert helesse when *Demetrius* was dead, *Aratus* performed that by monie, which he could not by force; and corrupting the Capitaine of the *Macedonian* Garrison, purchased liberty to the *Athenians*, who thenceforth held good correspondence with the *Achaians*, louing them, and speaking well of them, which was all that they could doe: but into their Corporation they entred not, scorning it belike, in regard of their owne out-worne glorie.

Now as the Common-wealth of *Achaia* daily increased within *Peloponnesus*, by iustice and honestie; so did the *Achaians*, in the vnder part of *Greece*, yea and within *Peloponnesus* it selfe, waxe very powerfull, by sturdinesse of bodie, and rude courage in fight, without helpe of any other vertue. They had stoutly defended themselves against *Antipater* and *Craterus*; partly by daring to doe and suffer much; partly by the naturall strength and fastnesse of their Countrey; but especially by the benefit of the time, which called away these famous Captaines to other businesse, as hath bene related. They had molested *Cassander*, in fauour of *Antigonus*; and were themselves as much plagued by him, and by the *Acarnanians*, a little, but a stout Nation, that tooke his part. Afterwards they had to doe with *Demetrius*, the sonne of the first *Antigonus*, and more or lesse, with all the Kings of *Macedon* succeeding him. They likewise held often Warre with the *Acarnanians*, *Athamanians*, *Epirots*, and many Cities in *Peloponnesus*: so that they were brinded with perpetuall trauaile; seldom putting off their Armour. But their hardnesse ill deserved the name of valor, seeing they had no regard of honesty or friendship; measuring all things by their owne insolent will, and thinking all people base-minded; that were not as fierce and outrageous as themselves.

These *Achaians* had lately made great spoyles in *Peloponnesus*, and occupied a good part of the Countrey. They had invaded the friends of the *Achaians*; taken and sacked *Palene*, where although they were soundly beaten by *Aratus*, yet their desire of gaine made them make a new voyage thither, as to a Countrey wherein somewhat was to be gotten. But they were forced to looke another way, by *Demetrius* the sonne of *Antigonus* *Gonatas*: who pressed them so hardly, that they were driuen to seeke helpe of the *Achaians*; which they obtained. The warre which the *Achaians* made vpon *Demetrius*, without *Peloponnesus*, in *Attica*, though it tended to expelling the *Macedonians* out of *Greece*; yet the benefit thereof redounded chiefly vnto the *Achaians*, at whose instance it was set on foot: for thereby were the *Macedonian* forces diuered from them. Neither was this good turne vnacknowledged; though very basely the *Achaians*, giving thanks in words, deuised how to requite the benefit with some great mischief. They saw that the *Achaians* were desirous, to bring all *Peloponnesus* into their Alliance and Corporation: of which intent, the *Lacedemonians* were very jealous. Wherefore these *Achaians* laboured earnestly, to set the *Lacedemonians* and *Achaians* together by the eares: hoping that if this might come to passe, they themselves should be called in to helpe (it skilled not on what side) and so get no small share, both in bootie and Territorie. Neither did they forbear to communicate this their deuce vnto *Antigonus*; offering to make him partaker of their gaine, whom they knew to be offended with the many losses, that this Kingdome had sustained by the *Achaians*. Of this plot *Aratus* was aware: who therefore determined to suffer many indignities, rather than to giue the *Lacedemonians* cause to take Armes. But this resolution was taken somewhat too late: and not altogether in his owne power to hold. He had bene meddling with the *Arcadians*, that were dependants of *Lacedemon*; and thereby had prouoked the *Lacedemonians* to looke about them; seeing that all *Peloponnesus*, excepting themselves, the *Eleans*, and a few *Arcadians*, their friends (who also were attempted) was already become *Achaean*.

The Citie of *Sparta* was in ill case about these times; and subiect to the iniuries of any stronger Neighbor. *Pyrrhus* had greatly weakened it; The *Achaians* entering *Laconia* with

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an Armie, had carried away fiftie thousand flaves; and, which was worse, their discipline was corrupted, Avarice and Luxurie reigned among them, the poore was oppressed by the rich, and the generosity of spirit, that had sometime bene their generall vertue, was hardly now to be found among the best of them. There were left in *Sparta* more then seven hundred natural Citizens; of whom not above one hundred had Lands: all the rest were needie people, and desirous of innovation. Hereupon followed intestine sedition; which endangered the Citie most of all. *Agis* a good King, who sought to reforme the disorders of the State, exhorted the people to a strict obseruation of *Lycurgus* his lawes. To which purpose he caused them to passe an Act, for the abolishing of all debts, and equall diuision of Lands. All the yonger, and pooreer fort were glad of this: but the rich men opposed it. These had recourse vnto *Leonidas* the other King, (for in *Sparta* were two Kings) who took their part: being himselfe a dissolute man, as one trained vp in the Court of *Syria*, whence also he had his wife. In this contention *Leonidas* was expelled the Citie, and a new King chosen in his stead. But *Agis* his friends and Counsaillors in this enterprise, abused his good meaning to their owne priuate commoditie. They were haffie to take away all debts, and cancell all bonds, for they themselves were deeply indebted: but the diuision of lands they afterwards hindered, because their owne possessions were great. Hence arose a tumult in *Sparta*, which these men increased by their foule oppression of the pooreer Citizens. So that in fine, *Leonidas* was brought home, and restored to his Kingdome, and the two aduersie Kings driuen to take a Sanctuary; out of which, *Cleombrotus*, the late-made King, was dismissed into exile: but *Agis* was trained forth, drawn into prison, and there by his enemies condemned and strangled, together with his Mother, and his old Grandmother. The like to this was neuer knowne in *Sparta*: and (which is the more odious) this crueltie proceeded from the *Ephori*, Magistrates that should haue giuen Patronage to the lawes, vsing their power, and more power than to them belonged, against a King, that had proceeded orderly in reforming the Citie, as the law required.

The death of *Agis* was much lamented by all good Citizens; and serued to establish the impotent rule of a few tyrannicall oppressors. In which case *Aratus* might well hope to aduoyne *Lacedamon* to the *Achaean* Common-wealth: though it were great iniustice to take such aduantages, and attempt by force, that which would haue redounded to the generall good of *Peloponnesus*, and to the benefit of *Sparta* it selfe, if it could haue bene wrought by perswasion.

But the same man who redressed the disorders of *Sparta*, and reuenged the death of *Agis*, did also requite the iniust attempts of the *Achaean*, even in their owne kinde: obtruding vpon them by force, an vnion of all *Peloponnesus*; though little to their good liking, for that the *Lacedamonians* and their King, should haue bene the principall, not they and their Prætor. *Leonidas* hauing thus caused *Agis* to be slaine, tooke his wife that was very rich and beautifull, and gaue her in marriage (perforce) to his owne sonne *Cleomenes*. This yong Prince fell greatly enamoured on his wife, and sought to win her affection, as well as she had her person. He discouered much with her about the purpose of her former husband *Agis*, and by pitying his misfortune, began to entertaine a desire of accomplishing that, wherein *Agis* had failed. So comming himselfe to be King, whilst he was very yong, hee gladly embraced all occasions of Warre: for that hee hoped by strong hand to effect that, which *Agis*, by proceeding formally, in so corrupt estate of the Citie, had attempted to his owne ruine. Therefore when the *Ephori* gaue him in charge, to take and fortifie *Athenæum*, a Temple on the marches of *Laconia*, to which both they and the *Megalopolitans* pretended title; he readily performed it. Hereof *Aratus* made no complaint, but sought to take by surprize *Tegea* and *Orchomenus*, Cities then confederate with the *Lacedamonians*; wherein, his intelligence failing, he lost the labor of a painful night's trauell, & discouered his enmity to *Sparta*, of which *Cleomenes* was nothing sorrie. By these degrees the warre began. In the entrance whereto *Aratus* had discouered the *Aetolian* practice, & therefore would haue staid the quarrell from proceeding too farre. But *Lyfias* & *Aristomachus* would needs fight, and he could do none other than be ruled by them; especially seeing *Cleomenes* was so yrger. *Aristomachus* was at that time Generall of the *Achaean*, (He and *Lyfias* being of great account, since they had abandoned their tyrannie) who sent vnto *Aratus*, lying then in *Athens*, and required his assistance in a iourne to be made into *Laconia*. No dissuasions of *Aratus* would serue: therefore

therefore he came in person, and tooke part of a businesse, little pleasing him in the present, and lesse in the future. When he met with *Cleomenes*, he durst not fight; but opposed himselfe against *Aristomachus*, who desired to gaine battaile. Yet had the *Achaean* twentie thousand foot, and one thousand horse, in their Armie: whereas *Cleomenes* had no more than sixe thousand in all. This gaue reputation to the *Lacedamonians*, and raised an ill report vpon *Aratus*; which *Lyfias* helped to make worse, by accusing his cowardise. Neuertheless the *Achaean*s would not fall out with *Aratus* their Benefactor, but chose him their Generall the yeere following, against *Lyfias* his accuser that sued for the place. Being Generall himselfe, it behoued him to confute, with deedes, the slanderous words of *Lyfias*. Therefore hee purposed to set vpon the *Eleus*: but was met withall on the way, nere vnto the Mount *Lyceus*, by *Cleomenes*; who vanquished him in great battaile, and draue him to hide himselfe all night for feare, so that hee was thought to haue bene slaine. This misaduenture *Aratus* recompenced by a tricke of his owne more naturall occupation: performing with his broken Armie, that which could hardly haue bene expected, had hee bene victorious. For whilst there was no suspicion of any great matter that he could vndertake; he suddenly wrought with some of the *Mantineans*, who did let him into their Citie. The *Mantineans*, who did let him into their Citie. The *Mantineans* had once before ioynted themselves with the *Achaean*s; but shortly vpon feare, or some other passion, they gaue themselves to the *Aetolian*s; and from the *Aetolian*s, presently after this victorie, to *Cleomenes*, from whom immediately they were thus wonne. For this their leuitie they were not punished, but freely admitted now againe into the *Achaean* societie. As this good successe repaired the credit of *Aratus*; so another battaile almost ruined it. *Cleomenes* and he encountered nere vnto *Megalopolis*, wherethe *Achaean*s had some what the better at the first, but their Generall durst not follow his aduantage. Thereupon *Lyfias*, of whom we spake before, grew somewhat impatient with anger; and taking with him all the horse, brake vpon the *Lacedamonians*, whom he routed at the beginning, but pursuing them too farre into places of hard passage, he was slaine by them, and his followers driuen backe vpon their owne Companions; in such sort, that finally all the Armie was disordered and put to flight. This was a great losse, and incensed the *Achaean*s against *Aratus*: yet their indignation proceeded no further, than that they refused to make any longer contribution, towards the pay of those Mercenaries which he had waied. This *Aratus* tooke patiently, and followed the warre nevertheless; wherin though *Cleomenes* wanne some Townes, and *Aratus* got the better in one small fight, yet little of importance was done; the *Achaean*s being wearie, and the *Spartan* King intente to another businesse.

Cleomenes hauing ledde into the field all that were like to hinder his purpose, and tired them with painfull iournies, forsooke the *Achaean* warre on a sudden, and came vnexpected home to *Sparta*, where hee slue the *Ephori*, and restored by force the ancient discipline of *Lycurgus*. Then gaue hee an account of his doings: and shewing by what degrees the *Ephori* had incroched vpon the power of Kings, & many disorders had grown in the Citie, he iustified his proceedings, and forthwith began to make equall diuision of the Lands, reducing all to the first institution. Hee also supplied the defect of Citizens, by choosing new, out of such as were friends to the State, and valiant men: so that henceforth his Countrey might not altogether stand in need of Mercenarie helpe, as it hadie had done, to saue it selfe from the *Aetolian*s, *Illyrians*, and such other enemies. All this was dispatched in great haste; the *Spartans* well satisfied; and *Cleomenes* himselfe ready in the field, ere his enemies could take any aduantage of these his domestick troubles.

The *Achaean*s hearing of this great alteration in *Sparta*, thought that it would be long, ere *Cleomenes* durst issue forth of the Citie, for feare of some rebellion. But it was not long ere they heard, that he had wasted all the Countrey of *Megalopolis*; had ranged ouer all *Arcadia* at his pleasure; and was admitted into *Mantineia*; and ready to take other places, euen of *Achaia*. These newes displeased them not a little: but they must patiently heare worse. For when *Cleomenes* had shaken off the power of the *Ephori*, that curbed his authoritie, he proceeded more roundly in his worke; being better obeyed, and by better men. His *Lacedamonians* resumed their ancient courage; and hee himselfe had the heart to demand the Principallitie of *Greece*. Hee did not therefore henceforth contend, about the possession of a few Townes: but aduentured to winne or lose all.

all The *Aetolians*, in fauour of his attempt, declared themselves on his side : and whereas he had gotten *Mantineas*, *Tegae*, and other places, to which they had some title, they willingly renounced all their interest vnto him.

Aratus did apprehend the danger of his Countrie, and saw that *Antigonus* with the *Aetolians*, or perhaps without them, would shortly make an end of that, which *Cleomenes* had thus begonne. Therefore he deuised how to prouide against the worst, and eyther to repaire all, or (if it could not be) to saue all from vtter ruine. The office of Generall when it was next put vpon him, he refused; fearing to be so far prest, as to hazard in one battaile all the force of his Countrie, to which as he had neuer any affection, nor purchase courage, so was his manner of warfare otherwise. For hee commonly attempted by surpris, & defended vpon the aduantage of place, after the manner of the *Trifans*, and of all other Nations, ouer-charged with numbers of men. Yet did hee not forsake the care of the Weale-publique, though in aiming at the generall good, it seems that private passion drew him into an ill course. He saw, that *Megalopolis* could not be defended without making a dangerous hazzard of battaile; that *Mantineas* had noronlie opened her gates vnto *Cleomenes*, but slaine the *Achean* Garrison that lay therein; that other Townes had yielded vnto him, without compulsion; and that *Aristomachus*, once Tyrant of *Argos*, and since Generall of the *Acheans*, was now reuolted vnto the enemy, following the fortune of *Cleomenes*. *Ptolemy* was too farre off to helpe; and the neerensse of *Antigonus* was very dangerous; yet might be vsfull, if this King would (as *Polybius* saith) like others, be friend or enemy, as should best agree with his owne profit. To maketriall hereof, *Aratus* practised with some of *Megalopolis*, whom hee found apt vnto his purpose; and instructed them how to deale both with *Antigonus*, and the *Acheans*.

The Citie of *Megalopolis* had bene well affected to the *Macedonians*, euer since the time of *Philip* the Father of *Alexander*, who had obliged it vnto him by some especiall benefits. At this time it lay neerest vnto the danger; was very faithfull, and therefore desired succour; yet could not well be rescued by the *Acheans*, with their owne proper strength. Wherefore it was thought meet, that Embassadors should be sent vnto the generall Councell of *Achaia*, requesting leave and good allowance, to trie the fauour of *Antigonus* in their necessitie. This was granted, for lacke of what else to answer: and the same Embassadors dispatched away to *Antigonus*. They did their owne errand briefly; telling him of the good will and respect which their Citie had of long time borne vnto him and his Predecessors, of their present neede; and how it would agree with his honour to giue them aide. But when they deliuered the more generall matter, wherein *Aratus* had giuen them instruction; shewing how the ambition of *Cleomenes*, and violence of the *Aetolians*, might redound to his owne great losse or danger, if the one and the other were not in time preuented; how *Aratus* himselfe did stand affected; and what good likelihood there was of reducing the *Acheans* vnder the Patronage of *Macedon*: then beganne *Antigonus* to lend a more attentive eare to their discourse. Hee embraced the motion: and to giue it the more life, hee wrote vnto the *Megalopolitans*, that his helpe should not be wanting, so farre forth, as it might hand with the *Acheans* good liking. Particularly he commended himselfe, by these Messengers to *Aratus*, assuring them, that he thought himselfe highly bound to this honourable man, whose former actions hee now perceived, not to haue bene grounded vpon any hatred to the *Macedonians*, but only vpon a iust and worthy loue to his owne Nation. With this answer they returned to *Megalopolis*: and are presently sent away to the Councell of *Achaia*, there to make some speedy conclusion, as the necessity of the time required. The *Acheans* were glad to hear, that *Antigonus* was so inclinable to their desire, and therefore were ready to entertaine his fauour, with all good correspondence. Hereunto *Aratus* gaue his consent; and praised the wisdom of his Countreimen, that so well discerned the best and likeliest means of their common safetie: adding neuerthelesse, that it were not amisse, first of all to try their owne abilitie, which if it failed, then should they doe well to call in this gracious Prince, and make him their Patron and Protector. Thus he deuised himselfe moderate, in that which himselfe of all others did most wish: to the end, that he might not afterward sustaine the common reprehension, if anything fell out amisse; since it might appeare, that hee had not bene Author of this Decree, but only followed, and that leisurely, the generall consent.

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Neuerthelesse in true estimation, this finenesse of *Aratus* might haue bene vsed, with his greater commendation, in a contrarie course. For it had bene more honourable, to make an end of the War, by yeelding vnto *Cleomenes* that power which they gaue vnto *Antigonus*: since thereby he should both haue freed his Countrie from all further trouble, and withall should haue restored vnto the vniuersall state of *Greece*, that honourable condition, whereof the *Macedonians* had bereft it. But it is commonly found (which is great pitty) that Vertue hauing risen to honour by degrees, and confirmed it selfe, (as it were) in the seat of Principalltie, by length of time, and successe of many actions; can ill endure the hastie growth of any others reputation, wherewith it sees it selfe likeli to be ouer-topped. Other cause to despise the *Lacedemonians* there was none; than that they lately had bene in dangerous case: neither could any reason be found, why *Aratus* should preferre *Antigonus* before *Cleomenes*, than that hee had stood in doubt of the one, when hee thought himselfe more mighty, than the other. Wherefore hee was iustly plagued, when he saw his owne honors reuerfed by the insolent *Macedonians*; and instead of siuing as a companion with *Cleomenes*, that was defended of a long race of Kings, the posteritie of *Hercules* was faine to doe sacrifice vnto *Antigonus*, as vnto a god, and was finally poysoned by *Philip*, whose Nobilitie was but of five descents, and whom perhaps hee might haue seene his fellowes, if hee had not made them his Lords. By this inclination to the *Macedonians*, the loue of *Ptolemy* was lost: who forthwith tooke part with *Cleomenes*, though hee did not supply him with such liberalltie, as hee had vsed to the *Acheans*; being warned, as may seeme, by their example, to be more warie both in trulling and disburling. *Cleomenes* himselfe, whilest this businesse with *Antigonus* was a-foot, passed through *Arcadia* with an Armie, and laboured by all means to draw the *Acheans* to battaile. At the Citie of *Dymes* in *Achaia* were assembled all the remaining forces of the Nation; with which it was concluded, to make triall, whether perhaps they might amend their estate, without seeking helpe of the *Macedonian*. Thither went *Cleomenes*, & there fought with them; where he had so great a victorie, that the enemy was no longer able to keep the open field. The calamitie was such, that *Aratus* himselfe durst not take vpon him to be their Generall, when his tume came in the next election. Wherefore the *Acheans* were compelled to sue for peace; which was granted vpon this easie condition: That they should not arrogate vnto themselves the command of *Peloponnesus*, but suffer the *Lacedemonians* (as in former ages) to be their Leaders in warre. Hereunto if they would condescend, he promised vnto them, that hee would prescinde reuerall places taken from them, and all his prisoners ransom-free: also that they should enioy their owne Lawes and Liberties without molestation. This gentle offer of *Cleomenes* was very pleasing to the *Acheans*: who desired him to come to the Citie of *Lerna*, where a Parliament should be held, for the conclusion of the Warre.

Now seemed the affaires of *Greece* likely to be settled in better order, than they had euer bene since the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* Warres, yea or since the *Persian* inuasion: when God, who had otherwise disposed of these matters, hindeed all, with a draught of cold water, which *Cleomenes* dranke in great heat, and thereupon fell extreame sicke, and so could not be present at *Lerna*, but caused the Parliament to be deferred to another time. Neuerthelesse he sent home the chiefe of his prisoners to shew that he meant no other than good faith. By this faire dealing he confirmed the *Acheans* in their desire of his friendship: who assembled againe at *Argos*, there to establish the League. But *Aratus* was violently bent against it; and fought by great words, and terrible threats, to make his Countreimen afraid of resolving. When all would not serue turne, hee betooke himselfe to his cunning, and sent word to *Cleomenes*, that he should doe well to leaue his Armie behinde him, and come alone into *Argos*, receiving hostages for safetie of his person. *Cleomenes* was alreadye farre on his way, when he met with this aduertisement: and tooke it in ill part, that he should be thus deluded. For it had bene an easie matter, to haue told him so much at the first, and not haue made him come so far with an Armie, which afterwards hee must dismiss. Yet that which chiefly seemed to haue troubled him, was the drift of his oppugners; who sought thereby, either to make him wait without the gates, and deale onely with themselves and their Messengers; or if hee would aduenture himselfe into the Citie, then to depriue him of all Royall shew, that might breed respect of him in the multitude. This was that indeed which *Aratus* feared, and for which he sought to hinder his coming thither in person: lest the people, hearing the promises

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of *Cleomenes* ratified by his owne mouth, should presently be wonne with his gentle words, and finish the bargain without more adoe. Therefore *Cleomenes* wrote vnto the whole Councell, bitterly complaining against these juggling trickes: and *Aratus* vnto not farre behind with him, in as bitter an Oration. So betwene feare of the one, and reverence of the other, the Assembly knew not how to proceed, but abruptly brake vpleasing all as it were to fortune. *Cleomenes* tooke his aduantage of their present weakness, and renewed the Warre. Many Cities yeelded vnto him willingly; many he forced; and partly by force; partly by terror, he wanne *Argos*, which neuer King of *Sparta* before him could doe. In this case *Aratus* sent his owne sonne to *Antigonus*, entreating him to deferre no time, but come presently to relieue the distressed *Achaens*. *Antigonus* gaue good words as could be wished: saying that hee vnterly refused to doe any thing, vnlesse hee might first haue *Acrocorinthus* put into his hands. This demand was some what like vnto that of the Hunter, who promised to helpe the Horse against his enemy the Stagge: but with condition, that the horse should suffer himselfe to be saddled and bridled. *Aratus* was herewithall contented, but wanted all honest colour to doe it: seeing the *Corinthians* had no way deferred, to be thus giuen away to the *Macedonians*. Yet at length an occasion was found; for that the *Corinthians*, perceiving what he intended, were minded to arrest him. So he withdrew himselfe out of their Cite, and sent word to *Antigonus*, that the Castle should be ready to let him in. The *Corinthians* on the other side ranne to *Cleomenes*; who lost no time, but made haste with them to *Corinth*, where he fought how to get possession of their Castle, or at least to saue it from *Antigonus* by surrounding it within Trenches, that none might issue nor enter without his leave. Whilst this was doing, he tooke speciall order, that *Aratus* his house and goods, within the Towne, should be kept for the Owner; to whom he sent Messenger after Messenger, desiring him to come to agreement, and not to bring in the Barbarous *Macedonians*, and *Illyrians*; to *Peloponnesus*; promising that if he would hearken to these persuasions, then would hee giue him double the same pension, which he had been wont to receiue of King *Ptoleme*. As for the Castle of *Corinth*, which was the gate of *Peloponnesus*, and without which none could hold assured soueraigntie of the Countrey; hee desired that it might not be committed vnto his owne disposition, but be jointly kept by the *Lacedemonians* and *Achaens*. All this entreaty serued to no purpose. For *Aratus*, rejecting vnterly the motion, sent his owne sonne as an Hostager to *Antigonus*; and laboured with the *Achaens*, to put *Acrocorinthus* into his hands. Which when *Cleomenes* vnderstood, he seized vpon the goods of *Aratus* in *Corinth*, and wasted all the Countrey of *Sicyon*, whereof this his Aduersary was native.

Antigonus in the meane time drew nere to the *Isthmus*; hauing passed with his Army through *Euboea*, because the *Ætolians* held the streights of *Thermopyla* against him. This they did, either in fauour of *Cleomenes*, which they pretended; or in doubt of the greatnesse, whereunto the *Macedonians* might attaine by the good successe of this iourney. At his comming thither he found the *Lacedemonians* ready to forbid his entrance: and that with sufficient strength; yet with no purpose to hazzard bataille, but rather to weary him thence with hunger, against which hee came not well provided. *Antigonus* therefore laboured hard to make his way by force; but he was not able to doe: hee secretly got into the *Corinthian* Hauens; but was violently driuen out againe, with great losse of men; finally he resolved to turne aside, and seeke a passage over the gulfes of *Corinth*, to *Sicyon*, or some other part of *Achaia*; but this required much time, and great preparation, which was not easily made.

In this perplexity newes from *Argos* came by Sea, that greatly comforted *Antigonus*, and no lesse troubled his enemies. The *Achaens* were gotten into that Cite; and the Garrison which *Cleomenes* had left therein, though it was not driuen out of the Citadell, yet was hardly distressed, and stood in need of present helpe. *Argos* had alwayes beene to enemy to *Sparta*, and well affected to the Kings of *Macedon*. When *Cleomenes* tooke it, he forbore to chase out those whom he most suspected; partly, at the entreaty of offenders; and partly, for that they all made shew to be glad of his prosperity. They were glad indeed of *Cleomenes* his victories, both in *Argos* and elsewhere, as many as hoped that hee would cause all debtors to be discharged from their creditors, as he had lately done in *Sparta*. But what which *Cleomenes* had done in *Sparta*, was agreeable to the *Spartan* institution: in other places, where it would haue been tyrannicall, hee did it not. Thereupon, such

such as were disappointed of their vniust hopes, began to turne good Common-wealths men; and called him Tyrant for his doings at home, because he would not doe the like abroad. So they tooke their time; inuited the *Achaens*; assailed his Garrisons; cut in peeces the Reliefe that he sent; and compelled him at length, to forsake the defence of *Corinth*, and looke vnto the enemies that were behind his backe. For when he vnderstood by continuall messages, that his men which held the Citadell at *Argos*, were almost lost: hee began to feare, lest his labour in guarding the entry, should grow fruitlesse; the *Achaens* in the meane while spoiling all that lay within. Therefore hee forooke his custody of the *Isthmus*, and made all haste towards *Argos*: which if hee could saue, he meant to trust fortune with the rest. And so farre he preuailed at his comming to *Argos*; that both *Argues* and *Achaens* were glad to house themselves, leaving him Master of the Citie; when the horsemen of *Antigonus* were discovered a farre off; hastning to relieue the Citizens; and *Antigonus* himselfe (to whom *Corinth* was yeelded, as soone as the *Spartans* had turned his backe) following apace with the bodie of his Armie. *Cleomenes* therefore had no more to doe, than to make a safe retreat. This hee did; and got him home into *Laconia*: losing in short space all, or most of that which hee had beene long in getting.

Antigonus hauing shewed himselfe at *Argos*, and commended the Citizens, went into *Aradus*; where hee wane such Castles as were held for *Cleomenes*, and restored them to the old Possessors. This done, hee tooke his way to *Aegium*, where was held a Parliament by the *Achaens*; to whom he declared the cause of his comming, and spake braue words, that filled them with hope. The *Achaens* were not behinde with him; but made him Captaine Generall ouer them and their Confederates; and further entered into covenant with him, That they should not deale with any Prince or State, either by writing or Embassage, without his consent. All this while, and somewhat longer, *Aratus* was the only man, that seemed to rule the Kings heart: carrying him to *Sicyon*, his owne Towne (for Winter was come on) where hee not onely sealed him as a great Prince, but suffered more than humane honours, as sacrifices and the like, to be done vnto him. This example of *Aratus* and his *Sicyonians*, was followed by the rest of *Achaia*: which had made (forsooth) a very wise bargain, if in stead of *Cleomenes* that would haue beene a King, it had obtained the protection of a God. But this God was poore; and wanting wherewith to pay his *Macedonians*, imposed the burden vpon the *Achaens*. This was hardly taken; yet worse must be endured in hope of better. Neither was *Aratus* himselfe ouer-carefully respected; when the statues of those Tyrants, which hee had throwne downe in *Argos*, were againe erected by *Antigonus*; or when the statues, which hee had erected, of those that had taken *Acrocorinthus* with him, were all throwne downe by the same King, and one onely left vnto himselfe at his earnest entreatie. It might therefore appeare, that this God was also spitefull. Neuerthelesse in taking reuenge vpon those that offended him, *Aratus* did satisfie his own passion by the ayde of these *Macedonians*. For with extreame torments hee did put *Aristomachus* to death, who had beene once Tyrant of *Argos*; afterwards Generall of the *Achaens*; and from them reuoluing vnto *Cleomenes*, did fall at length into their hands. In like sort handled he (though not as yet) the *Manians* for their ingratitude and cruelty shewed to the *Achaens*. For hee slue all the principall Citizens, and sold the rest, men, women, and children, all for bond-slaves: diuiding the spoyle, two parts to the *Macedonians*, and the third to the *Achaens*. The Towne it selfe was giuen by *Antigonus* to the *Argues*: who peopled it with a Colony of their owne; and *Aratus* hauing charge of this businesse, caused it to bee new-named *Antigenia*. Surely of this cruelty there can be no better excuse, than euen the flattery, which *Aratus* was driuen to vnto *Antigonus*: forasmuch as it was a token of frailty, whereinto they had yrred and brought him; whom he, as in reuenge thereof, did thus requite. But leauing to speake of this change, which the comming in of the *Macedonian* wrought, in the Ciuill state of the *Achaens*; Let vs returne into his warre-against the *Lacedemonians*.

The next Summer *Antigonus* wane *Teges*, *Manina*, *Orchomenus*, *Heræa*, and *Telphassa*; *Manina* hee dispeopled, as was said before; in *Orchomenus* hee placed a Garrison of his *Macedonians*; the rest he restored to the *Achaens*: with whom hee wintered at *Ægium*, where they held a Parliament. Once onely *Cleomenes* had met him this yeare, & that was on the borders of *Laconia*, where hee lay ready to defend his owne Territorie. The

reason why he stirred no further, nor followed *Antigonus* to *Nauplia* and to those other Townes that he wanne, was this: He had few Souldiers, and had not money enough to wage more. *Ptolemie* the *Egyptian* promised much, but would performe nothing, unless he might haue *Cleomenes* his owne Mother, and his children in pledge. These were sent into *Egypte*, yet the aide came not. For *Ptolemie* was slow; as dealing in the business of *Greece*, rather for his mindes sake, than vpon any apprehension of aeternitie. *Cleomenes* therefore provided for himselfe, as well as his owne abilitie would serue. He manumitted all the *Heilistes*, which were the *Lacedaemonian* slaves; taking money for their libertie, and arming two thousand of them, after the *Macedonian* fashion. Having thus increased his forces, he came on the sudden to *Megalopolis*; that lay secure, as hauing defended it selfe in more dangerous times, and hauing now *Antigonus* no nearer hand. The Towne he wanne: but after he was entred, all that were fit to beate Armes, rose hostilie against him; and though they could not driue him out, yet saued the multitude, to whom they gaue a Port free for their escape. He sent after the Citizens, offering their Towne and goods to them againe; if they would be of his partie. But they brauely refused his offer: wherefore he sacked and ruined it; carrying with him to *Sparta* a great bootie that he found therein. These newes astonished the *Achaean* *Antigonus*, who thereupon brake vp their Parliament. *Antigonus* sent hastily for his *Macedonians*, out of their wintering places: but they were so long in coming, that *Cleomenes* was safely gone home. Therefore hee returned them backe to their lodgings, and went himselfe to *Argos*; to receiue the rest of his vnlucky winter, somewhat further from the eyes of the greene *Achaean*. When hee had laine a while at *Argos*, *Cleomenes* was at the gates; with no greater number of men, yet with more than *Antigonus* had then about him. The *Achaean* perceiving that their Countrey would be spoiled, if *Antigonus* did not issue into the field, were very earnest with him to goe forth and fight. But he was wisest then to behead with their clamors, and suffered them to see their villages burnt, to bid him resigne his Office of Protector vnto some that were more valiant; and to scisise their passions with foolish words; rather than hee would bee overcome in fight, and thereby lose more honor than could easily be repaired. By this *Cleomenes* had his desire in weakening the reputation of his enemy: though he thereby added neither followers, nor other strength vnto *Lacedaemon*.

Afterwards, when the season was more fit for warre, *Antigonus* gathered together all his troops; meaning to requite the brauado's of his enemy, with the conquest of *Sparta*. *Cleomenes* on the other side, laboured to keepe the warre from his owne gates; and therefore entred vpon the Countrey of *Argos*; where he made such hauocke, as drew *Antigonus* thither, from his intended inuasion of *Laconia*. Many great affronts the *Macedonians* was faine to endure, in coasting of the *Spartan* King; that ranging ouer the Countrey of the *Argives*, *Phlians*, and *Orchomenians*, draue a Garrison of his out of *Oligyria*; and did sacrifice, as it were, before his face, in the suburbs of *Argos*, without the Temple of *Iuno*, that was shut vp; sending vnto him in scorn, to borrow the keyes. These were light things; yet serued to dishearten the *Achaean* side, and to fill the enemy with courage, which was no matter of light importance. Therefore hee concluded to lay apart all other regard of things abroad, and to put all to hazzard; by setting vp his reit, without any more delay, vpon *Sparta* it selfe. Hee had in his Armie eight and twenty thousand foot, and twelue hundred horse, collected out of sundry Nations, as *Macedonians*, *Illyrians*, *Gauls*, *Epirots*, *Bowthians*, *Acarnanians*, and others; together with the *Achaean*, and their friends of *Peloponnesus*. *Cleomenes* had of all sorts, twentie thousand, with which hee lay at *Selasia*: fortifying slightly the other passages into *Laconia*, through which the *Macedonians* were not likely to seeke entrance. *Antigonus* coming vnto *Selasia*, found his enemy so strongly incamped, vpon and betwene the hills of *Eua* and *Olympus*; that hee was constrained to spend much time there, before hee could advance any one foot: neither lay it in his power to come hastily to blowes, which hee greatly desired, without the hazard of his whole Armie, in assaying their well-defenced Campe. But at length (as it happens, when men are wearie both of their hopes and feares) both Kings beinge resolved to make an end one way or other; *Antigonus* attempted with his *Illyrians*; to force that part which lay on the hill *Eua*. But his *Illyrians* were so ill reconded by the *Achaean* foot, that the *Spartan* horse, and light-armed foot, incamped in the streight vallie betwene those hills, issuing forth, fell vpon their skins, and not onlie

disordered them, but were like to haue endangered all the rest. If *Cleomenes* himselfe had stood in that part of the battaile, he would haue made great vse of such a faire beginning. But *Euclidas*, his brother, a more valiant than skilfull Souldier, commanded in that wing: who neither followed this aduantage, nor tooke such benefit as the ground afforded, whenon he lay. *Philopamen* the *Arcadian* of *Megalopolis*, who afterwards proued a famous Capitaine, serued then on horse, as a private yong man, among the *Achaean*. He seeing that all was like to goe to rout, if their *Illyrians* were driuen to fall backe vpon the Armie following them; perswaded the Captaines of the *Achaean* horse, to brake vpon the *Spartan* Mercenaries. But they would not: partly despising his youth and want of charge; partly, for that *Antigonus* had giuen order, that they should keepe their places, vntill they receiued a signe from him, which was not as yet. *Philopamen* perceiving them to be more orderly, then wel aduised, entreated some of his own Countreimen to follow him; gaue a charge on the *Spartans*; and forced them, not only to leaue the *Illyrians*, but seek how to saue themselves. Being so farre aduanced, he found the place which the *Illyrians* had attempted, like enough to be wonne, through the skilfulnesse of him that held it. Wherefore hee alighted, and perswaded the men at Armes his Companions to doe the like: the folly of *Euclidas* being manifest, who kept the top of the Hill, and stirred not to hinder those that ascended, but waited for them in a Plaine, where they might fight vpon euene terms. So he recovered the Hill top; where though he was sore hurt, yet he made good the place that he had gotten, vntill the whole Armie came vp to him; by which the *Lacedaemonians* were beaten from it, with great slaughter of them in their descent. This ouerthrow, and death of *Euclidas*, made *Cleomenes* lose the day: who fighting brauely on the other side, vpon *Olympus*, against *Antigonus* himselfe, was like to haue bene furrounded and lost, if he had not withdrawne himselfe with an extraordinary speed. In this battaile ended the glory of *Lacedaemon*, which, as a light readie to goe out, had with a great, but not long blaze, shined more brightly of late, then in many ages past.

Cleomenes fled vnto *Sparta*: where he had no desire to stay, finding onely two hundred left, of sixte thousand *Spartans* that he had led vnto this battaile, and most of his hired Souldiers dead, or gone away. So he perswaded his people to yeeld themselves vnto *Antigonus*; and promising to doe all that should at any time lye in his owne power, for their good, he hastied away to the Sea-side (where he had shipping long before provided against all that might happen) & imbarqued himselfe for *Egypte*. He was louingly embraced by *Ptolemie Evergetes*; who vnderooke to restore him to his Kingdome; and (perhaps) meant no lesse, as being much delighted with his gallant behaviour and qualities. In the meane season hee had a pension allowed him, of foure and twentie Talens, yearly. But this *Ptolemie* died; and his sonne *Ptolemie Philopater* succeeded him: a vicious young Prince, wholly governed by lewd Women, and base Men, vnmindfull of all vertue, and hating any in whom it was found. When therefore *Cleomenes* was desirous to returne into *Greece*, whither the troubles in *Peloponnesus* did seeme to inuite him; *Ptolemie* and his Minions, would neither giue him aide; nor yet dared to dismisse him (as he desired) to trie his owne friends in *Greece*, because hee was too well acquainted with the weakenesse of *Egypte*: nor well knew how to detain him against his will. At length they deuised matter against him, and made him prisoner. The last act of him was; that with thirtie of his Countreimen, hee vnderooke a desperate enterprise: breaking out of the prison, and prouoking the *Alexandrines* to rebell and seeke their libertie. In which attempt hee slue some enemies of his that hee met; and hauing walked vp and downe the streets without resistance (no man offering to take his part, or which is very strange, to fight against him on the Kings behalf) hee, and his Companions, agreed together to be ministers of their owne death. Vpon his dead body *Ptolemie* was bold to shew his indignation: and slue his Mother and Children, that had bene fient thither as Hostages, together with the wiues of his Adherents, as many as were there, attending vpon the old Queene. Such was the end of *Cleomenes*; a generous Prince, but Sonne of *Leonidas*, who had caused *Agis*, with his Mother and Grand-mother, to come to such a bloudie ende, as now befall his owne Wife, Sonne, and Grand-children.

After the victorie at *Selasia*, *Antigonus* without resistance entred *Sparta*: wherein to neuer the force of anie Enemy, before him, could make way. He kindly entreated the

the Citizens, and left them to their owne Lawes and Government: tarrying there no longer than two or three daies; after which he hastened out of *Peloponnesus*, and neuer returned. The cause of his speedy departure was, an aduertisement that he received out of *Macedon*; how the *Illyrians* ouer-ran, and destroyed the Countrey. Had these newes come a little sooner; or had *Cleomenes* either deferred the fight, a few daies longer, or least-wife tarried a few daies after the fight, in *Sparta*: the Kingdome of *Lacedaemon* would haue stood, and perhaps haue extended it selfe ouer all *Greece*. But God had otherwise determined.

Antigonus fought a great battaile with the *Illyrians*, and ouer-came them. Yet therein he caught his bane: not by any wound, but by ouer-straying his voyce; wherewith he brake a veine that bled inwardly, and in short space finished his life, who was troubled before with a consumption of the lungs. His Kingdome descended vnto *Philip*, the son of *Demetrius*, being then a Boy: as also about the same time it was, that *Antiochus* sumamed (I know not why) *the Great*; and *Ptolemy Philopater*, beganne to reigne in *Asia*, and *Egypt*; Boyes all. Of these, *Ptolemy*, though old enough to loue Harlots, when he first was King, yet continued a Boy, all the seuentene yeeres of his reigne. The wastage of *Philip* and *Antiochus*, bred such intestine inconuenience to their Kingdomes, as is visible in the minority of Princes: but their elder yeares brought them acquainted with the *Romans*; vpon which occasion, when it comes, we shall more seasonably speak of them, and of their Kingdomes, more at large.

§. VII.

How the Illyrians infested the coast of Greece; and how they were subdued by the Romans.

Whilest things thus passed in *Greece*; and whilest the *Carthaginians* were busie in their conquest of *Spain*: the *Romans* had found themselves worke among the *Sardinians* and *Corficans*, that were easily subdued at first, and easily vanquished againe, when they rebelled. They made also warre with the *Illyrians*, wherein they got much honour with little paine. With the *Gauls* they had much adoe, that lasted not long; being rather, as *Linie* saith, a tumult than a warre. So that by all these light exercises, their valour was little kept from rust. How they got the Islands in the *Mediterranean Sea*; it hath bin shewed before: of their dealings with *Illyrians* and *Gauls*, it is not meete to be vterly silent.

The *Illyrians* inhabited the Country now called *Slauonia*: a troublesome Nation, impatient of rest, and continually making warre for gaine, without either regard of friend or foe. They were inuited by *Demetrius* King of *Macedon*, to helpe the *Mydians*, his friends, that were besieged by the *Aetolians*; for that they refused to be of their societie. Before the *Illyrian* succours came, the *Mydians* were so farre spent, that the *Aetolians* contended about the booty: the old Praetor, or chiefe Magistrate of their Nation, who was going out of his Office, clayming to haue the honour of the victory, and the diuision of the spoyle to be referred vnto him; for that hee had in a manner brought the siege to an end, and wonne the Towne: others, that were in hope to bee chosen into the Office, contradicting this, and desiring that olde orders might be kept. It was a pretie strife, and somewhat like to that of the *French* in later ages, who thought vpon diuiding the prey, before they had wonne the victories, which anon they lost, at *Poitiers* and *Agincourt*. The *Aetolians* wisely compounded the difference, ordering it thus: That the olde, and the new Praetor, should be ioynly intitled in the victorie, and haue equal authority in distribution of the gettings. But the *Illyrians* finished the strife much more elegantly, and after another fashion. They arrived, and landed, ere any was aware of them; they fell vpon the *Aetolians*; & though good resistance was made, yet got the victorie, partly by force of their multitude, partly by the helpe of the *Mydians*, that were not idle in their owne busines, but stoutly sallied out of the Town. Many of the *Aetolians* were slain, more were taken, their Campe and all their baggage was lost: the *Illyrians* tooke the spoyle, and went their way; the *Mydians* erected a Trophee, inscribing the names, both of their olde and new Magistrate (for they also chose new Officers at the same time) as the *Aetolians* had directed them by example.

The successe of this voyage, highly pleased *Agroon* King of the *Illyrians*: not onely in

regard

regard of the mony, wherewith *Demetrius* had hired his assistance; or of the booty that was gotten; but for that hauing vanquished the stoutest of the *Greeks*, he found it not vn-calle to enrich himselfe by setting vpon the lesse warlike. For ioy of this he feasted, and dranke so immoderately, that hee fell into a *Fleuriſſe*, which in few dayes ended his life. His Kingdome, together with his great hopes, he left vnto *Touta*, his wife.

Touta gaue her people free liberty, to rob all sorts at Sea, making no difference betweene friend and foe; as if theee had bene sole Mistresse of the salt Waters. She armed a fleet, and sent it into *Greece*: willing her Captaines, to make warre where they found aduantage, without any further respect. These fell with the westerne coast of *Peloponnesus*; where they inuaded the *Eleans*, and *Messenians*. Afterwards they returned along by *Epirus*, and stayed at the Citie of *Phenice*, to take in victualles and other necessities. There lay in *Phenice* eight hundred *Gauls*; that hauing bene Mercenaries of the *Carthaginians*, went about to betray, first *Agismentum*, then *Eryx*, to the *Romans*; but failing to doe either, they neuerthelesse reuolted, and were for their misdeedes disarmed, and sent to Sea by the *Romans*, yet entertained by these *Epirots*, and trusted to lye in Garrison within their Towne. The *Gauls* were soone growne acquainted with the *Illyrians*, to whom they betrayed *Phenice*; which deserued none other, in trusting them. All *Epirus* was presently in armes, and hastned to driue out these vnwelcome guests. But whilest the *Epirots* lay before the Towne, there came newes into their Campe, of another *Illyrian* Armie, that was marching thitherward by Land, vnder one *Scerdilaidas*, whom *Queene Touta* had sent to helpe his fellowes. Vpon this aduertisement, a part of them is sent away towards *Antigonia*, to make good that Towne, and the streights adioyning, by which these new commers must enter into their Countrey; another part of them remains at *Phenice*, to continue the siege. Neither the one, nor the other, sped well in their businesse. For *Scerdilaidas* found meanes to ioyne with his fellowes; and they that were besieged within *Phenice*, sallied out of the towne, and gaue such an ouerthrow to the *Epirots*, as made them despaire of sauing their Countrey, without great and speedy helpe from abroad. Wherefore Embassadours were sent to the *Achaens* and *Aetolians*: craving their helpe, with very pittifull tearmes of entreatie. They obtained their suit; neither was it long, before an Armie, sent by these two Nations, was ready in *Epirus*, to present battaile vnto *Scerdilaidas*. But *Scerdilaidas* was called home, by letters from *Touta* the Queene, that signified a rebellion of some *Illyrians* against her: so that he had no minde to put his forces to hazzard, but offered composition, which was accepted. The agreement was, That the *Epirots* might ransom their Towne, and all their people that were prisoners; and that the *Illyrians* should quietly depart, with all their bootie and slaues. Hauing made this profitable and honourable bargain; the *Illyrians* returned into their owne Countrey by Land, sending their bootie away by Sea. At their coming home, they found no such great trouble, as that which they brought, or had occasioned in this voyage. For in fulfilling the commandement of their Queene, they had taken many *Italian* Merchants, whilest they lay at *Phenice*; and made them good prize. Hereof the complaints, made vnto the *Roman* Senate, were so frequent, that Embassadours were sent to require of *Touta*, that she should abstaine from doing such iniuries. These Embassadours found her very iolly; both for the riches which her fleet had brought in; and for that shee had, in short space, tamed her Rebels, and brought all to good order, saue onely the towne *Issa*, which her forces held feightly besieged. Swelling with this prosperity, shee could hardly afford a good looke to the *Romans*; that found fault with her doings; and calling them by a true name, *Pyrracy*, required amends. Yet when their speech was ended, shee vouchsafed to tell them, That iniury in publike thee would doe them none: as for priuate matters, no account was to be made of them; neither was it the manner of Kings to forbid their Subiects to get commodity, how they best could by Sea. But (said the yonger of the two Embassadours) wee *Romans* haue a manner, and a very laudable one, to take reuenge in publike, of those priuate wrongs that are borne out by publike authority: therefore we shall teach you, God willing, to reforme your kingly manners, and learne better of vs. These words the Queene tooke so impatiently, that no reuenge could satisfie her, but the death of him that had spoken them. Wherefore, without all regard of the common Law of Nations, shee caused him to be slaine: as if that had bene the way, to set her heart at rest; which was indeed the meane, to disquiet and afflict it euer after.

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The *Romans*, provoked by this outrage, prepare two great Armies; the one by Sea, consisting of two hundred saile, commanded by *C. Fulvius*, the other by Land, led by *A. Posthumus*. They trouble not themselves any more, with requiring satisfaction: for this inhumane Law, to vse violence towards Embassadors: the reason and ground whereof, seemes to be this; that since without mediation, there would neuer be an end of warre and destruction, therefore it was equally receiued by all Nations, as a lesson taught by Nature, that Embassadors should passe freely, and in safetie, betwene enemies. Neuerthelesse, as I take it, this generall Law is not without limitation. For if any King or State, lay hold vpon Embassadors sent by their enemies, not vnto themselves, but vnto some third, whom they should draw into the quarrell, then it is as lawfull, to vse violence to those Embassadors (thus employed, to make the war more terrible) as it is to kill the men of war, and subiects, of an enemy. And so might the *Athenians* haue answered it, when they slew the *Lacedamonian* Embassadors, that were sent to *Xerxes*, to draw him into a warre vpon the *Athenians*. Neither are those Embassadors, which practise against the person of that Prince, in whose Countreies they reside, warranted by any Law whatsoever. For whereas the true Office of an Embassador residing, is the maintenance of amitie, if it be not lawfull for one Prince, to practise against the life of another, much lesse may an Embassador doe it without incurring iustly the same danger of punishment, with other Traitors; in which case, his place giues him no priuiledge at all. But we will leaue this dispute to the *Civilians*; and goe on with the reuenge, taken by the *Romans*, for the slaughter of their Embassador *Coruncanus*.

The *Illyrian* Queene was (scare of the *Romans*, as if they would not dare to stir against her. She was in leede in an error; that hath vndone many of all sorts, greater and lesse than she, both before and since: *Having more regard vnto fame, than vnto the substance of things*. The *Greekes* were at that time more famous than the *Romans*; the *Aetolians* and *Epirots* had the name of the most warlike people in *Greece*; these had the easily vanquished, and therefore thought, that with the *Romans* she should be little troubled. Had she considered, that her whole Armie, which wrought such wonders in *Greece*, was not much greater, than often thousand men; and that neuerthelesse, it preuailed as much, by odds of number, as by valour, or skill in armes; she would haue continued to vie her advantage, against those that were of more fame than strength, with such good caution, that she should not haue needed to oppose her lare-gotten reputation, against those that were more mighty than her selfe. But she was a woman, and did what she listed. She sent forth a greater fleet than before, vnder *Demetrius* of *Pharos*; with the like ample commission to take all that could be gotten. This fleet diuided it selfe, and one part of it fell with *Dyrrachium*, the other with *Coreyra*. *Dyrrachium* was almost surpris'd by the *Illyrians*; yet was it rescued by the stout Citizens. In *Coreyra* the *Illyrians* landed, wasted the isle, and besieged the Towne. Hereupon the *Aetolians* and *Achaens* were called in to helpe: who came, and were beaten in a fight at Sea; losing, besides others of lesse note, *Marcus Caryneis*, the first Prætor of *Achaia*, whom *Aratus* succeeded. The Towne of *Coreyra*, dismaied with this ouerthrow, opened the gates vnto *Demetrius* *Pharius*; who tooke possession of it, with an *Illyrian* Garrison: sending the rest of his forces to besiege *Dyrrachium*. In the meane season, *Tenta* was angry with her Captaine *Demetrius*: I know not why; but so, as he resolved to trie any other course, rather than to trust her.

The *Romans* were euen ready to put to Sea, though vncertaine which way to take, when aduertisement was brought to *C. Fulvius* the Confull, of *Demetrius* his feare and discontent. Likely it was, that such an occasion might greatly helpe to aduance the business in hand. Wherefore the Confull sailed thither; where he found the Towne of *Coreyra* so well prepared to his hand by *Demetrius*, that it not only receiued him willingly, but deliuered into his power the *Illyrian* Garrison, and submitted it selfe vnto the *Roman* protection.

After this good beginning, the Confull sailed along the coast, to *Apollonia*; accompanied with *Demetrius*, whom he vsed thenceforth as his counsailler and guide. To *Apollonia* came also *Posthumus*, the other Confull, with the Land-Armie, numbered at twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse. Thence they hasten towards *Dyrrachium*, which the *Illyrians* had besieged; but vpon newes of the *Roman* Armie, they disperse themselves.

From

a *Dyrrachium*, sometime called *Epidamnus*, and now *Durazzo*, (situated vpon the Adriatick Sea, betwene the Islands of *Pharus* & *Coreyra*, an Illand of the Adriatick Sea, not farre from *Durazzo*; called now *Corfu*, and in the partition of the *Pontians*).

c *Apollonia*, a Citie neere *Dyrrachium*, in *Durazzo*, vpon the Sea-coast. *Pompeius* calls it *Argenteum*.

Prohibited the *Romans* to take *Pharus*, and take *Pharus*, beat the *Illyrians* by Sea; take twenty of their ships, and enforce the Queene *Tenta* to forsake the coast, and to couer her selfe in *Epiron*, far within the Land. In the end, part of the *Romans* haste them homeward, and leaue the best places of *Illyria* in the hands of *Demetrius*; another part stays behinde, and proceeseth the war, in such sort, that *Tenta* was forced to beseege, which the vntail and vpon miserable conditions; to wit, That she should quit the better part of *Illyria*, and pay tribute for the rest; andauerthenceforth, neuer send any of her ships of war, towards the coasts of *Greece*, beyond the Land of *Epiron*: except it were some one or two vessels, warranted, and by way of Trade.

After this *Illyrian* warre, the *Romans* sent Embassadors into diuers parts of *Greece*, signifying their loue to the Countreies, and how, for good will therunto, they had made warre with good successe vpon *Tenta*, and her people. They hoped, belike, that some distressed Citiees would take this occasion, to rescue their patriotes; which if it hapned, they were wile enough to play their owne games. But no such matter fell out. The Embassadors were onely rewarded with thanks; and a decree made at *Corinth*; That the *Romans* thenceforth might be protectors of the *Illyrian* patriotes. This was an idle courtie, but well meant by the voice *Greeks*, and therefore well taken by the *Romans*; who by this *Illyrian* Expedition got nothing in *Greece*, save a little acquaintance; that shall be more hereafter.

§. VIII.

Of the warre betwene the *Romans* and *Gauls*, somewhat before the coming of *Hannibal* into *Italie*.

The *Gauls* that dwelt in *Lombardie*, were the next, against whom the *Romans* tooke armes. These were a populous Nation, and often molested *Rome*, sometimes with their owne forces, and sometimes with the assistance of those that inhabited *France*. Once their fortune was good; when they tooke *Rome*, and burnt it: though the issue of that warre proved not answerable to the beginning; if we may giue credit vnto *Roman* Historians. In following times, their successe was variable, and commonly bad. Many ouerthrowes they receiued; and if they got any victory, it yielded them no profit, but was soone extorted out of their hands. They were indeede more fierce, than well aduised: lightly stirred vp to warre, and lightly giuing order. At the first brunt, they were said to be more than men; but when that was past, lesse than women. The *Romans* were acquainted with their temper, by long experience, and knew how to handle them: yet gaue alwayes carefull heede to their approach, were it onely bruited. For the danger of them was sudden, and vncertaine; by reason of their neighbourhood, and want of intelligence among them. Few of their attempts vpon *Rome*, were called warres, but tumultuous *Gallick*, tumults of the *Gauls*; and rightly. For they gaue many alarms to *Italie*, and vsed to rise with great Armies: but after a few dayes march, and sometimes before their setting forth, any small occasion serued to disperse them. Having receiued an ouerthrow; they would rest ten or twelue yeeres, sometimes twenty or thirty: till they were stirred vp againe, by yonger heads, vnacquainted with the danger. Whilest they rested, the state of *Rome*, that against them made onely defensive warre, had leisure to grow; by setting vpon others. Herein God provided well for that Monarchie, which he intended to raise: that the *Gauls* neuer fell vpon *Italie*, with a mighty power, in the time of any other great and dangerous warre. Had they attempted to conquer it, whilest *Dyrrachium* was troubling in the same enterprise; or in either of the two former *Punicke* warres: it may be doubted what would haue become of this imperious Citie. But it seemeth that the *Gauls* had no better intelligence in the affaires of *Italie*, than strangers had in *Gaul*. At least, they knew not how to vse their times: and were therefore like to smarr, wheneuer the enemies, whom they had much provoked, and little hurt, should find leisure to visit them at their owne home: which was now after the first *Punicke* Warre. Once before this, the *Romans* had bene bold, to set vpon the *Gauls* in their own Countreies; and that was three yeeres before the coming of *Pyrrius* into *Italie*. At that time the *Senones*, a Tribe of the *Gauls*, invading *Belgium*, and besieging *Arretium*, had won a great battaile, and slaine *L. Caninius* with the most of his Armie. *Mannius Curius* the new Confull, sent Embassadors to them, to treat about ransom of prisoners. But these

Embassa-

Embassadors they sue. Therefore when fortune turned to the better, the *Romans* followed it so well, that they expelled these *Senones* out of their Countie, and sent a Colonie of their owne to inhabit it. This caused the *Boij*, another people of *Gauls*, to seize the like measure: who thereupon tooke armes, and drew the *Helvetians* to their side. But the *Romans* purshew them in two great battailes; and thereby made them sue for peace, which lasted vntill this end of the *Illyrian* warre.

e There were diuers nations of the *Boij*; as in *Commanis*, *Lyres*, *Germanie*, in *Bourbon*, in *France*, and in *Aquaine*; but these *Boij* were of the *Franks*, and dwelt at this time about the mouth of the *Ritter* of *Pe*.

It vexed the *Gauls*, to see a *Roman* Colonie planted in their Countie, who had bene accustomed to enlarge their bounds, by diuining out their Neighbours perforce. Wherefore they laboured with the *Transalpins* (so the *Romans* called those in *France*, as lying from them beyond the *Alpes*, though to vs they were neerer, like as they called *Cisalpins*, or by *higher* the *Alpes*, those who dwell between them and the *Mountaines*) to draw them to their party: reasonably presuming, that as their disunion had caused their losse, so their vniou might recompence it, with large amends. But the businesse was so foolishly carried, that the *Cisalpins* and *Transalpins*, fell together by the eares, putting the *Romans* openly to a *sumult*, without further trouble of warre. Soone after, they were vrged by a greater indignitie, to go more substantially to worke. For *C. Flaminius*, a popular man in *Rome*, propounded a Decree which was ratified by the people; That, besides one Colonie already planted in the territorie of the *Senones*, as many more should be carried thither, as would serue to people the whole Countie betweene *Ancona* and *Ariminum*; exterminating vtterly those *Gauls*. Such an offer, were it made in *England*, concerning either *Virginia*, or *Guiana* it selfe, would not ouer-joy the Multitude. But the Common-ty of *Rome*, took this in so good part, notwithstanding all danger ioyned with the benefit, that *Flaminius* had euer after their good will.

This dreadful President extremely displeased the *Boij*: who being Neighbours to *Ariminum*, feared the like displacement. And because the *Boij* of the *Gauls* had reason to resolve, that themselves also should be rooted out by degrees; the great Nation of the *Insubrians*, which inhabited the Duchie of *Milan*, ioyned with the *Boij*, and vpon a common purpose entertained the *Gessates*, Nations about *Rhodanus*, wasgable as the *Switzers* in these times. The *Gessates* having received a great Imprest, come to the field vnder the conduct of their Kings, *Concolianus* and *Anerostus*: who with the *Boij* and *Insubrians*, compassed an Armie of fiftie thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse, and those of the best men, and best appointed, that euer invaded the *Roman* Territorie; to whom, the *Senogalli*, that had bene beaten out of their possessions, gave a great increase of strength. On the contrary side, the *Venetians*, and the *Cenomanni*, adhered to the *Romans*: as better believing in their prosperitie and rising fortune. For feare of whole incursions therefore, the *Gauls* were forced to leave a good part of their Armie, on the frontier of *Milan*: with the rest of their forces they entered into *Tuscane*. The *Romans* hearing of this danger, send *Amilius* to *Rimini*, to stop their passage; and in the place of *C. Atilius* their other Consull, who then was in *Sardinia*, they employ one of their Praetors, for the defence of *Tuscane*.

f *Cenomanni*, are the people about *Bergama*, on the North side of the *River* *Pe* in *Italie*. There were also of these *Cenomanni* in *France*, and inhabited the Countie of *Alain*.

Being at this time greatly troubled, with the consideration of this powerfull Armie, which the *Gauls* had assembled, they caused a view to be taken, as well of all thir owne forces, as of those of their Allies: who were no lesse willing than themselves, to oppose the incursions of the barbarous people; fearing, as they had cause, that their owne destruction could not be prevented otherwise, than by the good fortune of *Rome*. The numbers, found in this Muster, deserue to be recorded: because they set out the power of the *Romans* in those dayes. With the Consulls they sent forth to the warre foure Legions of their owne: euerie Legion consisting of fise thousand two hundred foot, and three hundred horse; and of their Allies, thirtie thousand foot, and two hundred horse. There were also appointed for Supplies (if any misaduenture came to these) of the *Salines* and *Helvetians* fiftie thousand foot, and four thousand horse; which Armie was to be lodged in the border of *Helvetia*. Of the *Vmbri* and *Sarfinates*, which inhabited the *Apenines*, there were twenty thousand; and of the *Venetians* and *Cenomanni*, other twenty thousand: which latter Armies were directed, to invade the *Boij*, that forcing them to defend their owne Territories, the generall Armie of the *Gauls* should be thereby diminished. There were besides these, to be ready against all vn certaine changes of war, thirtie thousand foot, and fiftene hundred horse, garrisoned in *Rome* it selfe, of their owne people; and of their Allies, thirtie thousand foot, and two thousand horse. Our and

youe

about these great troupes; in the Roll of the *Latines*, that was sent vnto the Senate, there were numbered foure score thousand foot, and fise thousand horse; in that of the *Samites*, seecente thousand foot, and of horse seuen thousand, in that of the *Lepages*, and *Messages*, fiftie thousand foot, and sixerene thousand horse; the *Lucans* sent a list of thirtie thousand foot, and three thousand horse; the *Marfi*, *Marrucini*, *Terentini*, and the *Velitini*, of twenty thousand foot, and foure thousand horse. The *Romans* had also two Legions in *Sicill*, and about *Tarentum*, containing eight thousand foure hundred foot, and four hundred horse. So as of the *Romans* and *Campani* ioynly, reckoning men armed, and fit to beare armes, there were registred two hundred and fiftie thousand foot; and of horse three and twentie thousand: of which, reckoning the *Romans* apart, there were an hundred and fiftie thousand foot, and about sixe thousand horse. Casting vp the whole forces of all the Prouinces in *Italie*, both of the *Romans* and their Confederates, it amounted to seuen hundred thousand foot, and seuecie thousand horse. But the number is somewhat misse-cast by *Polybius*; not with a purpose to enrich himselfe by the dead paies: for where he reckons nine hundred horse too many, he fals short nine thousand two hundred of the foot.

How great focuser this Muster was, it seemes to haue bene like vnto that, which *Lodowick* *Sforza* made, when *Lepus* the twelfth invaded *Milan*: at what time, the better to encourage himselfe, and his subiects, he tooke a Roll of all persons able to beare armes, within the Dutchie, though indeede he were neuer able to bring a tenth part of them into the field. Certaine it is, that the battailes of *Trebia*, *Trasymen*, and *Canna*, did not consume any such proportion, as was answerable to this large accompt. Yet were the *Romans* faine to arme their slaues, euen for want of other Souldiers, after their ouerthrow at *Canna*. Wherefore the maruaille is not great, that the *Carthaginians* and others were little terrified, with report of such a multitude. For all heads are not fit for Helms: though the *Roman* Citizens were, in generall, as good fighting men, as elsewhere might be found.

Notwithstanding all these counter-preparations, the *Gauls* keepe on their way: and coming into *Tuscane*, destroy, and put to fire and sword, all that lay before them. From thence they march directly towards *Rome*; hoping to finde the *Romans*, rather in deliberation, than in the field. But their intelligence failes them. For the *Roman* Armie, sent into *Tuscane*, having taken some other way than they did, and finding that it had misfed of them, came againe fast after them, to arrest them in their iourne. Hereof when they heard the rumour, fearing to be charged on their backs, they turned head: and in the same turning discouered the *Roman* Armie, by whom they incamped. It was now a matter of apparant necessitie, that fight they must. Wherefore they helped themselves with a stratageme: that shewed no great fincenne of wit, but such, as well becomed those that had none other occupation than warre; and stood them in good stead at the present. In the dead of the night, they cause their foot to march away, but not farre: leaving their horse in guard; to whom they giue order, to come off at the first light of day, with such speed, as might rather argue a running away, than a retreat, as if they had not dared to abide battaile. The *Romans*, interpreting this their haile departure, as the *Gauls* desired they should, follow them in disorder. The *Gauls* returne; charge them, and kill sixe thousand vpon the place; the rest take a peece of ground of aduantage, and defend themselves, till *L. Amilius*, being at *Ariminum*, comes to their succour. Vpon the coming of the Consull, the *Gauls* confult, whether they should giue the *Romans* battaile, or forbear. In which dispute, *Anerostus*, one of their Kings, perswades them, rather to returne into their owne Countie; where, after they had disposed of the great spoiles and riches which they had gotten, they should then renew the warre, being without carriage, pester, or other impediment. This aduice they all embrace; for being they that were Mercenaries, had obtained what they came for, to wit, the spoiles of their enemies, they thought it wisdome, to hazzard neither it, nor themselves, any further.

This indeede had bene a good resolution, if they had taken it, before the enemy had bene in sight. But as well in the warres of these latter ages, as in former times, it hath euer bene found extreme dangerous, to make a retreat in the Head of an enemies Armie. For although they that retire, doe often turne head, yet in alwayes going on from the pursuing enemy, they finde within a few miles, either streight, hedge, ditch, or place of aduantage, which they are inforced to passe in disorder. In such cases, the Souldier knows

g *Latyes*; and *Messages* seeme to be one Nation; who are also called *Salmates*, *Procerani*, *Apuliani*, & *Calabrians*. The Countie is now *Apulia*, containing the Northernmost head-land of *Calabria*. h A people of the kingdom of *Naples*. i *Ptoleme* calls them a people of *Italie*. k A people of *Campanie*, called to this day *Terentines*, faith *Leander*.

knowes it, as well as the Capitaine, that he which forsakes the field, perceives, and teares some advantage of the Enemies. Feare, which is the berraiet of those succours that Reason offereth, when it hath once possessed the heart of man, it casteth thence both courage and vnderstanding. They that make the retreat, are alwayes in feare to be abandoned; they that lead the way, feare to be engaged: and so the hindmost treads on his heels that is foremost, and consequently, all disband, run, and perish, if those that favour the retreat, be not held to it by men of great courage. The miserable overthrow, that the French received in Naples, in the yeere 1503. vpon a retreat made by the Marques of Salodoch, testifie no lesse. For although a great troupe of French horse, sustained the pursuing enemy a long time, and gave the foot leisure to trot away; yet being retarded by often turnings, the Spanish foot over-tooke, and defeated them utterly. During the wars between to the Imperials, & the French, Boiss and Mont were lost at Brignolles, who in a brauery would needes see the enemy, before they left the field. So was Strossi overthrowne, by the Marques of Marignan, because he could not be perswaded, to dislodge the night before the Marques his arrivall. Therefore did the French King Francis the first, wisely: when without respect of point of honour, he dislodged from before Landersley, by night; as many other, the most aduised Capitaines, (not finding themselves in case to giue battail) haue done. *Le ne trouue point (saith the Marshall Monluc) au fait des armes chose si difficile, qu'une retraite; I finde nothing in the art of warre so difficult, as to make a safe retreat.* A sure rule it is, that there is lesse dishonour to dislodge in the darke, than to be beaten in the light. And hercof M. de la Noue giues this iudgement, of a dayes retreat, made in France, presently before the battail of Moncontour. For (saith he) staying vpon our reputation, in shew, not to dislodge by night; we lost our reputation indeede, by dislodging by day: whereby we were forced to fight vpon our disadvantage, and to our ruine. And yett did that worthy Gentleman, Count Lodowick of Nassau, brother to the late famous Prince of Orange, make the retreat at Moncontour with so great resolution, as he saved the one halfe of the Protestant Armie, then broken and disbanded, of which my selfe was an eye-witnesse, and was one of them that had cause to thanke him for it.

Now the Gauls, embracing the safe aduice (as they take it) of one of their Kings, turne their backs to the enemy, and their faces homeward. *Æmilus* follows them, as neere as he can, without ingaging himselfe, attending his advantage. In the meane while, *C. Atilius* the other Consul, with the Legions of *Sardinia*, lands at *Psas*, so as the Gauls, inclosed betweene two Armies, are forced to fight. They therefore equally strengthen their Reare, and Front. To sustaine *Æmilus*, they appoint the *Gessates*, and the *Milanois*; in the Front, they range the *Piemontis*, and the rest of the Gauls inhabiting vpon the Riuers of *Po*. The manner of the fight *Polibius* describeth at large: which was well fought of all hands. But in the end the Gauls felt; and so did *Atilius* the Consul: who died in the place, accompanied with the two Kings of the Gauls, *Concolitanus* and *Anercesius*, with fortie thousand of their Vassils.

After this fatal overthrow, the Gauls lost courage; and, ere long, all that they held in *Italie*. For they were invaded the yeere following this overthrow, by the new Consuls, *Fulsius* and *Manlius*. The Romans knew well how to vse their victory: they gate not ten, twentie, or thirtie yeeres time, to the Gauls, to repaire their forces, as the Gauls had done to them. These new Consuls beat the Boij; but by reason of the great raines that fell, and the great pestilence that reigned, they were compelled for that present to surcease. In the second yeere, *Furius*, and *Flaminius*, invade the *Milanois*; and preuaile very farre, being strongly assisted by the *Senonians* and the *Venetians*. Neuertheless these Consuls were reuoked out of their Prouince, by the Senate of *Rome*, and compelled to resigne their Office: because the *Augures*, or *Soothsayers*, had found, that some token or other of the Birds (in which, and all sorts of their diuination, the Romans were extremely superstitious) had not onely foreshewed little good, when they were chosen, but had also nullified the election. *C. Flaminius*, receiving letters of this reuocation, from the Senate, and being otherwise aduerted of the contents, was not hasty to open them: but first gaue battail vnto the enemies, vanquished them, and spoiled their Countrey; then perused the letters; and returning home obtained a triumph, for against the will of the Senate, and not altogether with good liking of the people, who yett bare him out, for that he sided in faction with the Commonaltie, though a man of great Nobilitie.

This

This was that *Flaminius*, who had propounded the Decree, for diuiding the Countrey of the *Senones* among the people of *Rome*. He was the first, or one of the first, that vnderstanding the Maiestie of *Rome* to be indeede wholly in the people, and no otherwise in the Senate, than by way of Delegation, or grand Commission; did not stand highly vpon his birth and degree, but courted the multitude, and taught them to know and vse their power, ouer himselfe, and his fellow-Senators, in reforming their disorders. For this, the Commons highly esteemed him, and the Senators as deeply hated him. But he had the fier side, and found imitators, that rose by the same art, which in proceesse of time, grew the onely or chiefe way to preferment.

Flaminius and his Colleague, being deposed; *M. Caudius Marcellus*, and *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*, were chosen Consuls, for the rest of that yeere. The Gauls about this time desired peace, and were like to haue obtained it: though the new Consuls were against it, as fearing to want worke. But when thirtie thousand of the *Gessates*, following their King *Britomarus*, were come ouer the *Alpes*, and ioyned with the *Insubrians*: all other discourse, of present warre, was at an end. So the Consuls halted into their Prouince, where they besieged *Acerra*, a towne not farre from *Nouaro* (so far had the Romans pierced already in the Duchie of *Milan*). To diuert them from this siege, *Britomarus* sent downe before *Clusidum*, a Towne in the same Tract, with great part of his forces: leaving the rest, with the *Insubrians*, to attend vpon the Consuls at *Acerra*, and to looke to the defence of *Milan*. But this would not suffice, to make the Romans breake vp their siege. *Marcellus*, taking with him the greatest part of the horse, and fixe hundred foot lightly armed; thought to deale well enough with those at *Clusidum*. *Britomarus* heard of the Consuls coming, and met him vpon the way: so suddenly, that the Romans had no leisure to rest themselves after their iournie, but were compelled instantly to fight: Herein *Britomarus* had done well, if he had not forthwith, in a rash brauery, lost his game at a cast. Hee had aduantage enough in number, both of horse and foot: but he thought so well of his owne personal valour, that he rode out single before his Armie, proouoking any one to fight with him. *Marcellus* was no lesse daring, than the barbarous King: whether more wise in this action, I will not dispute; he was more fortunate, & that sufficed to commend him. Hee lue and disarmed *Britomarus*, in presence of both Armies: whereby his owne men took such courage, and his enemies were so dismayed, that without much trouble of fight the Romans obtained a great victory.

This was the third and last time, that euer any Roman General slue the General of the enemies, with his owne hand. To this kinde of victory, belonged a peculiar triumph; whereof onely *Romulus*, *Cossus*, and this *Marcellus*, had the honour: yet I dare say, that the two *Scipios*, and diuers other Roman Capitaines, especially *Cæsar*, were better men of wane than any of these three; though they neuer offered vp to *Insipit*, *Opimus*, *Polio*; *The Amour of a General slain by themselves, when they were Generals*, nor perhaps affected so to doe.

After this victory, *Acerra* was yielded to the Romans; and *Milan* soone after: with all that belonged to the *Cisalpinis*, or Gauls, that dwell in *Lumbardie*. Thus was that valiant and mighty Nation, that had so many yeeres vexed the State of *Rome*, and in former times taken the Citie it selfe, brought to nothing in a short time; their pleasant and fertile Territories possessed by the Romans; and the remainder of their Nation, inhabiting *Italie*, so many as would not submit their neckes to the Roman yoke, either forced to abandon their Countreys, or to hide themselves in the cold and barren Mountaines, like Out-lawes and Thieves. And thus did the Romans spend the three and twentie yeeres, following the peace made with *Carthage*. In part of which time, they were at such leisure, that they closed vp the Temple of *Ianus*: which they neuer did before, (it standing alwaies open, when they had any warre) saue once, in the reigne of *Numa*, nor in long time after, vntill the reigne of *Augustus*. But this their present happinesse was not to last long: a dangerous warre, and perhaps the greatest that had euer beene, was to come vnto their gates; which being well ended, they might boldly vndertake, to extend their Monarchie as far, as their ambition could reach.

SIII

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of the second Punick Warre.

§. I.

The warres of Hannibal in Spain. Quarrels betwene the Romans and Carthaginians. Hannibal besieged and taketh Saguntum, whilst the Romans are busied with the Ithyrians. warre proclaimed betwene Rome and Carthage.



Hannibal, the sonne of Amilcar, was about fixe and twentie yeeres old, when he was chosen Generall of the Carthaginian forces in Spain. He was elected by the Armie, as soon as Adrubal was dead: and the election was ratified by the State of Carthage; wherewith Hanno and his Complices were nothing pleased. This was now the third of the Barchine family (so called of Amilcar, whose surname was Barcas) that had command in chiefe, ouer the men of warre. Which honour would perhaps haue bene lesse enuied, by these domestical enemies; if the Allies and Friends of the Barchine house, had not also borne the whole sway in government, and bene the onely men regarded, both by the Senate and the people. This generall good will, as it was first purchased by the most worthy defense of Amilcar, in saving his Countrey from imminent ruine, enlarging the Dominion thereof, and enriching it with treasures and great reuenues; so was it retained by the same good arts, among his friends and followers. Hanno therefore, and his Partisans, being neither able to take the vertue of their enemies, that was very probable; nor to performe the like triuies vnto the Common-weale, had nothing left, whereby to value themselves, excepting the generall reprobation of Warre, and enuious aduice of not prouoking the Romans. This they season'd oth'rwisles with detraction; saying, that the Barchine faction were about to oppress the libertie of the Citie. But their malicious words were vregarded; and if were factious, to beare ill will to Rome, then were all the Citizens (very excepted) no lesse Barchine, than Hannibal himselfe. For it was long since apparent, that the oath of the Romans, to the articles of peace, afforded no securitie to Carthage, were the neuer so quiet, and officious; yndle the would yeeld to become their Subjects. Since therefore the peace was like to hold no longer, than vntill the Romans could finde some good advantage, to renew the Warre: it was rather desired by the Carthaginians, that whilst their owne state was in good case, the warre should begin; than that in some unhappy time of famine or pestilence, or after some great losse of Armie or Fleet, they should be driven to yeeld vnto the impudent demands of their enemies; and to giue away busily their lands and treasures, as they had lately done, or miserably fight, vpon termes of disadvantage.

This disposition of his Countrymen, Hannibal well vnderstood. Neither was he ignorant (for his father, and other friends, had long time deuised of this business) that in making war with the Romans, it was no small advantage to get the start of them. If once he could bring an Armie into Italie, without much lestation; there was good hope, that he should finde friends and assistance, euen of those people, that helped to increate the Roman Armies in foreigne wars. But this could neuer be effected, if the matter were openly disputed at Carthage. For it was to be doubted, that the Carthaginians, how glad soeuer they would be, to heare that he had set the war on foot, would neuertheless be slow and timorous, as commonly men are in the beginning of great enterprises, if the matter were referred to their deliberation. Which if it should happen; then were the Romans like to be made acquainted, not onely with the generalities of his purpose, but with such particulars as must be discouered, in procuring allowance to his designe. This might suffice to disorder the whole Project. Wherefore, he resolved to lay siege vnto Saguntum, which might seeme not greatly to concerne the Romans; and would highly please the Carthaginians, that had fresh in minde the indignitie of that Spanish Townes alliance with their halfe friends. So should he assaile both the patience of his enemies, and the disposition of his owne Citizens.

Having

Having thus concluded, he neuertheless went faire and orderly to worke: and beginning with those that lay next in his way, approaching vnto Saguntum by degrees. This he did (saith Lince) to giue some colour to his proceedings: as if hee had not principally intended the warre against Saguntum, but had bene drawne thither by course of business. Yet reason teacheth plainly, that without regard of such formalities, it was needefull to finish the conquest of the rest, before he did any thing that should prouoke the Romans. First therefore he entred vpon the Territorie of the Oleades; and hauing besieged Althaa (Lince calleth it Cartia) their chiefe Citie, he became, in a few dayes, Master not onely thereof, but of all the other townes of their Countrey. This Nation which he first vnderooke, being subdued, and the winter at hand; he rested his Armie in New Carthage, or Carthagena; and imparted liberally to the Souldiers, the spoiles he had gotten in his late conquest.

In the Spring following, he pursued the warre against the Vaccai: and without any great difficulty, wan first Salamanica, now called Salamanka; and after it, Arbucala, by assault: though not without a long siege, and great difficulty. But in his returne, he was part to the height, both of his courage, and of his Martiall iudgement. For all such of the Vaccaes as were able to beare armes, being made desperate by the spoile of their Countrey, with those of Salamanka, and of the Oleades, that had fled in the late ouerthrow, joining themselves with the Toletans; compounded an Armie of an hundred thousand able men: and stayed Hannibal on the banks of the River Tagus, which runneth to the Sea by Lisbonne in Portugale. These four Nations, hauing had experience of Hannibals invincible courage, and that he neuer saw enemy, vpon whom he durst not giue charge; were thoroughly refoised, that his naturall valour would at this time no lesse neglect the cold aduice of discretion, than at other times it had seemed to doe, when the like great occasion perswaded him to vse it. But he that makes himselfe a body of Cry stall, that all men may look through him, and discern all the parts of his disposition; makes himselfe (withall) an Asse: and thereby teacheth others, either how to ride, or drine him. Wise men, though they haue single hearts in all that is iust and venturous; yet they are like Coffers with double bottomes: which when others looke into, being opened, they see not all that they hold, on the sudden, and at once. It is true, that this subtle Carthaginian, when he seru'd vnder Adrubal, was, of all the men of mark in the Armie, the most aduenturous. But that which may be seeme a Captaine, or inferior Commander, doth not alwayes become a Cheefe; though it hath sometime succeeded well with such great ones, as haue bene found more fortunate, than wise. At this time, our great Man of warre knew as well how to dissemble his courage, as at other times to make it good. For hee with-drew himselfe from the River-side, as if fearefull to land it; thereby to draw ouer that great multitude, from their banks of advantage. The Spaniards, apprehending this in such sort, as Hannibal desired that they should; thrust themselves in furie and disorder, into the swift streame, with a purpose to charge the Carthaginians, abandoning (as they thought for feare) the defense on the contrarie side. But when Hannibal saw them in their way, and well nere ouer; he turned backe his Elephants to entertaine them at their landing: and thrust his Horse-men, both aboue and beneath them, into the River. These carrying a kinde of Lance de gey, sharpe at both ends, which they held in the midst of the flut; had such an aduantage ouer the foot, that were in the River, vnder their strokes, danc'd together, and vnable to move or shift their bodies, as on firme ground: that they slew all those, (in a manner) without resistance, which were already entred into the water; and pursued the rest, that fled like men amazed, with so great a slaughter, as from that day forward, there was not any Spaniard, on that side the River of Iberus (the Saguntines excepted) that had the daring to lift vp their hands against the Carthaginians.

The Saguntines, perceiving the danger towards them; cryed before they were hurt. They sent Embassidours to Rome, and bemoaned themselves, as likely to suffer that, which afterwards they suffered indeede; onely because of their alliance and friendship with this honourable Citie, which the Carthaginians hated. This tale moued the Senate; but much more a report, that Saguntum was already besieged. Hereupon some cry out, that Warre should be proclaimed by Land and Sea; as also that the two Consuls should be sent with Armies, the one into Spain, the other into Africke. But others went

Still 2

more

A people (saith Stephanus) were the River of Ebro. But in the old description of Spain, in Ortelius, they are found nere Tagus, and by Suidas, not far from New Carthage. A people of the old Arbucala, or Albuclia, an inland Citie of the Vaccaei in Aragon.

more Roman-like to worke, and carried it. So it was onely concluded; that Embassadours should be sent into *Spain*, to view the state of their Confederates: which were indeed none other, than the *Saguntines*. For if *Hannibal* intended warre against *Rome*, it was likely, that he would giue them, ere it were long, a more plausible occasion to take armes against him: if he had no such purpose, yet would it be in their power, to determine what they listed themselves, vpon the report of these Embassadours; and this their grauitie, in being not too rash at first, would serue to countenance their following Decree. Of these Embassadours *Lisius* reports, that they found *Hannibal* before *Saguntum*, but could not get audience of him, and therefore went to *Carthage*, where also they were not regarded, nor heard. But *Polybius*, an Historian of sinceritie lesse questionable, tels, that they found him at *Carthage*, & had conference with him, though such as left them doubtful. This is more agreeable to the rest of *Hannibal* his whole course. And surely we might wonder, why the *Carthaginians* should afterwards admit a more peremptorie Embassage (as *Lisius* confesseth) and fall to disputation about the couenants of peace; if they had reiected that which was sent vpon none other pretence, than preuention of warre.

Whilest the Embassadours passed to and fro, *Hannibal* prepared not onely his forces, but some *Roman* pretences, against *Saguntum*. He found out *Mamerines*, or people that should doe as the *Mamerines* in *Sicily* had done for the *Romans*; and implore his helpe against the *Saguntines*. These were the *Turdetani*, a Nation adioyning to *Saguntum*, and hauing many quarrels with them: (as happens commonly among Neighbors) of which, *Hannibal* himselfe had hatched some. Finding therefore such an occasion, whatsoever it was, as made him able to say, that the *Saguntines* had first prouoked him, ere he meddled with them; he made no more adoe, but sat downe with his whole power before their Towne. He was now more secure, than he had formerly bene, of his owne Citizens: for that they had not entertained the *Roman* Embassadours, with any trembling reuerence, as of late yeeres they had bene wont. Neuertheless, he was glad of any hand some colour, to shadow his actions, not onely because the warre, which he so much desired, was not proclaimed; but that he might not be checked in his course, as an open enemy, before he could set foot in *Italy*. The *Romans* had the like, though contrary d-fire. They were glad of the quarrell: as hoping, that *Carthage*, with all thereto belonging, should thereby in short space become their owne. Yet were they not hastie to threaten, before they were ready to strike; but meant to temporize, vntill they had an Armie in readinesse to be sent into *Spain*, where they thought to make *Saguntum*, the seat of the Warre.

In the meane while, *Demetrius Pharius*, whom the *Romans* had made King ouer a great part of *Illyria*, rebelled against them: either for that he found himselfe ouer-sightly tyed vp by them, with hard conditions, or rather because he was of an vnthankfull disposition. The commotion of the *Gauls*, and afterward, the fame of the *Carthaginian* warre, emboldened him to despise his Benefactors and Patrons: whom he ought to haue defended and aided, in all perils, even with the hazard of his whole estate, which he had recieued of their gift. But he was a Traitor to his owne Queene; and therefore dealt according to his kinde, with those that had rewarded him for being such. First, he built ships, and spoiled the Isles of *Greece*, against the couenants to which he was bound. Then he aduentured further and seized vpon some places, that the *Romans* kept in their owne hands. If he had begun sooner, or rather if he had stayed somewhat longer, he might haue speeded better. For the businesse with the *Gauls*, was ended, with *Hannibal* not thoroughly begun: when he declared himselfe, by his doings, an enemy, and was vanquished. The *Roman* Consul, *Emilius*, was sent against him: who in seuen dayes won the strong Towne of *Dimalum*; and thereby brought such terror vpon the Countrey round about, that Embassadours were sent from all places, to yelde themselves, without putting him to further paines. Onely the Citie of *pharus*, in which *Demetrius* lay, prepared to resist: which he might haue done long, if the hot-headed Rebelle had not bene too foolish. *Emilius* landed a great part of his Armie, in the Isle of *pharus*, by night; and bestowed them in couert, presenting himselfe the next morning, with twenty ships before the Towne, & offering to force the Haven. *Demetrius* with all his power issued out against the Consul, & was soone intercluded from the Town, by those that lay in ambush. Wherefore he fled away through by-paths to a creeke, where he had shipping ready

ready for him, and embarked himselfe: leaving all his estate vnto them, of whose liberality he first had it.

This businesse, though it were soone dispatched, yet preuented it not the siege of *Saguntum*, before which *Hannibal* sat downe, ere *Emilius* was landed in *Illyria*. In the beginning of the siege, the *Carthaginians* were much discouraged, by reason of the braue sallies made by the *Saguntines*; in one of which, their Generall receiued a dangerous wound in the thigh, that caused him to lie many dayes vnable to moue. Neuertheless, he was not vnmindefull of his worke in the meane while; but gaue order to raise certaine mouable Towers, that might equall those which were built on the wals of the Citie; and to prepare to batter the curtains, and make a breach. These being finished and applied, had soone wrought their effect. A great and large breach was made, by the fall of durtis Towers, and a great length of wall; whereat an hot assault was giuen: but it was so well sustained by the *Saguntines*, as the *Carthaginians* were not onely beaten from the breach, and out of some ground within the Towne, which vpon the first furie they had won, but they were pursued euen to their owne trenches and campe. Neuertheless the *Carthaginian* Armie, wherein were about an hundred and fiftie thousand men, did sweare the Townesmen with continuall traualle, that at length it got within the wals; and was onely hindered from taking full possession of the Citie, by some counter-workes of the *Saguntines*, that were also ready to be won. In this extremity, there was one *Alcon Saguntine*, that conueyed himselfe out of the Towne, to treat with *Hannibal* for some accord. But the conditions which the *Carthaginian* offered, were so seuer, and without all compasse of honour, as *Alcon* durst not returne to propound them to his countymen. For *Hannibal* demanded all that they had; gold siluer, plate, and other riches within the Citie: yea, the Citie it selfe to be abandoned by the Citizens; promising, that hee would assigne some other place for their habitation: not allowing them, to carry out with them any other thing, wherewith to sustaine themselves, than the clothes on their backs; or other armes to defend them, than their nailes and teeth. Yet might they haue better haue submitted themselves vnto this miserable appointment, (seeing thereby they might haue enioyed their liues, and saved the honour of their wiues and daughters) than to haue rested at the discretion of the Conquerour, as soone after they did: by whom their wiues and daughters were defouled before their own faces; and all put to sword, that were aboue fouretee yeeres of age. For it was a poore comfort, which a great number of them tooke; when not daring to fight, and sell their blood at the deere rate, they shut themselves vp like most wretched creatures in their owne houses, and therein burnt themselves with all that they had: so dying vnreueged. The treasures found in *Saguntum*, which were very great, *Hannibal* kept, therewith to pay his Armie: the slaues, and other bootie, he diuided among his Souldiers; reseruing some things of choice, wherewith to present his friends at *Carthage*, and to animate them vnto the Warre.

These tidings exceedingly vexed the *Romans*; who had good cause to be angry at their owne slownesse, in forbearing to send helpe vnto the *Saguntines*, that held out eight moneths, looking still for succour, but in vaine. Wherefore they determined to repaire their honour, by taking sharpe reuenge. To this end they sent Embassadours against *Carthage*: demanding onely, whether it were by general consent and allowance of the *Carthaginians*, that *Hannibal* had made warre vpon *Saguntum*; which if they granted (as it seemed they would) then to giue them defiance. Hereunto answer was made, in the Senate of *Carthage*, to this effect. That this their second Embassage, howsoever qualified with milde words, was indeed more insolent than the former. For in that, they onely required iustice against *Hannibal*; but in this, the very State and Commonwealth of *Carthage*, was vrged to plead guiltie, or not guilty. But (said the *Carthaginian* Secretary) whether the Generall of our Armie in *Spain*, in besieging *Saguntum*, haue onely followed his owne counsaile; or whether he did it, by direction from vs: it is not the question which the *Romans* ought to aske vs. That which is indeede worthy examination or dispute, is; Whether it were lawfull or unlawfull, for *Hannibal* to doe as he hath done. For it belongs to vs, to call our owne Commanders in question, and to punish them according to their faults and errors; to you, to challenge vs, if we haue done any thing contrary to our late League and Contract. It is true, that in our negotiation with *Læti* the Consul, the Allies of both Nations were comprehended: but the *Saguntines* were

not then of your Allies, and therefore no parties to the peace then made; for of your Allies in the future, or of ours, there was no dispute. As touching the last agreement, betwene you and *Asdrubal*, wherein you will say, that the *Saguntines* were comprehended by name; it is you that haue taught vs, how to answer that particular. For whatsoever you found in the Treatie betwene vs and *Lulzimus*, to your owne disadvantage, you cast it vpon your Consuls presumption; as promising those things, for which he had no warrant from the Senate and People of *Rome*. If then it be lawfull for the *Romans*, to disauow the actions of their Consuls and Commanders, concluding any thing without punctuall and precise warrant; the same liberty may we also assume, and hold our selues no way bound in honour, to performe those bargaines, which *Asdrubal* hath made for vs, without our commandement and consent.

This was an impertinent answer, and little better than a meere cauill. For *Lulzimus* the Consul, in his Treatie of peace with the *Carthaginians*, had expressly referred the allowance thereof to the people of *Rome*. It had beene therefore much better, to haue dealt plainly; and to haue alleaged, That after this League was made, and confirmed on both parts, it was broken by the *Romans*, in robbing the *Carthaginians* of the Isle of *Sardinia*, and withall of twelue hundred talents: which periurie the State of *Carthage*, being now growne able, would reuenge with open warre. As for the *Saguntines*, it little skilled that the *Romans* had admitted them into confederacie, and forthwith inscribed their names into the Treatie of peace with *Asdrubal*: seeing that the Treatie with *Asdrubal*, and all other businesse betwene *Rome* and *Carthage*, following the violence and breach of peace, in taking away *Sardinia*, were no better than *Roman* iniuries, as implying this commination, *Do what you please, we require, else will we make warre, without regard of our oath, which we haue already broken.*

But this the *Carthaginians* did not allege, forgetting, in heat of contention (as *Polybius* takes it) the best of their Plea. Yet since *Linus* himselfe doth remember and acknowledge, that the taking of *Sardinia* from the *Carthaginians*, did inflame the spirit of *Amilcar* with desire of reuenge: we may reasonably thinke, that the mention of this iniurie was omitted, not so much vpon forgetfulness, as for that it was not thought convenient, by ripping vp such ancient matter of quarrell, to shew that the warre, now towards, had long beene thought vpon, and like to be made with extraordinary force; in other manner than heretofore. In conclusion, the *Carthaginian* Senate moued the *Roman* Embassadors, to deliuer vnto them in plaine termes the purposes of those that sent them, and the worst of that, which they had long determined against them: as for the *Saguntines*, and the confining of their Armies within *Iberus*; those were but their pretences. Whereupon *Scipio* gathering vp the skirt of his Gowne, as if somewhat had been laid in the hollow thereof, made this short reply: I haue here (quoth he) in my Gowne-skirt both Peace & War: make you (my Masters of the Senate) election of these two, which of them you like best, and purpose to embrace. Hereat all cryed out at once; Euen which of them you your selfe haue a fancy to offer vs. Marry then (quoth *Fabius*) take the Warre, and share it among you. Which all the assembly willingly accepted.

This was plaine dealing. To wrangle about pretences, when each part had resolved to make warre, it was merely frivolous. For all these disputes of breach of peace, haue euer beene maintained by the partie vnwilling, or vnable to sustaine the warre. Therewith sword, and the empty purse, doe alwayes pleade performance of covenants. There haue beene few Kings or States in the World, that haue otherwise vnderstood the obligation of a Treatie, than with the condition of their owne aduantage: and commonly (seeing peace betwene ambitious Princes and States, is but a kinde of breathing the best) aduised haue rather begun with the sword, than with the trumpet. So dealt the *Arragonois* with the *French* in *Naples*; *Henry* the second of *France*, with the *Imperiall*, when he wrote to *Brissac*, so surpriue as many places as he could, ere the war brake out; *Don John*, with the *Netherlands*, and *Philip* the second of *Spaine*, with the *English*, when in the great Imbargo he tooke all our ships and goods in his Ports.

But *Hannibal*, besides the present strength of *Carthage*, and the common feeling of iniuries receiued from these enemies, had another priuate and hereditarie desire, that violently carried him against the *Romans*. His father *Amilcar*, at what time hee did sacrifice, being ready to take his journey into *Spaine*, had solemnly bound him by oath, to pursue them with immortal hatred, and to worke them all possible mischief, as soone as he

he should be a man, and able. *Hannibal* was then about nine yeeres old, when his father caused him to lay his hand vpon the Altar, and make this vow: so that it was no maruell, if the impression were strong in him.

That it is inhumane, to bequeath hatred in this sort, as it were by Legacy, it cannot be denied. Yet for mine owne part, I doe not much doubt, but that some of those Kings, with whom we are now in peace, haue receiued the like charge from their Predecessors, that as soone as their coffers shall be full, they shall declare themselves enemies to the people of *England*.

§. II.

Hannibal takes order for the defence of Spaine, and Africke. His journey into Italy.

After being thus proclaimed, *Hannibal* resolved, not to put vp his sword, which he had drawne against the *Saguntines*, vntill he had therewith opened his passage vnto the gates of *Rome*. So began the second *Punicke warre*; second to none, that euer the Senate and people of *Rome* sustained. *Hannibal* wintered at *Carthage*, where he licenced his *Spanish* Souldiers to visit their friends, and refresh themselves against the Spring. In the meane while he gaue instructions to his brother *Asdrubal*, for the government of *Spaine* in his absence. Hee also tooke order, to send a great many troopes of *Spaniards* into *Africke*, to equall the numbers of *Africans* formerly drawne thence into *Spaine*; to the end, that so the one Nation might remaine as pledges and gages for the other. Of the *Spaniards*, he transported into *Africke* thirteene thousand, eight hundred and fiftie foot, and twelue hundred horse; also eight hundred slingers of the *Baleares*. Besides these, he selected foure thousand foot, all yong men, and of qualitie, out of the best Cities of *Spaine*; which he appointed to be garriison in *Carthage* it selfe, not so much in regard of their forces, as that they might serue for hostages: for among those foure thousand, the best of the *Spanish* Citizens, and those that swayed most in their seuerall States, had their Sonnes or Kinsmen. Hee also left with his brother, to guard the coast and Ports, fiftie and seuen Gallies; whereof thirty seuen were presendie armed, and appointed for the warre. Of *Africans* and other Nations strangers, he left with him about twelue thousand foot, and two thousand horse, besides one and twenty Elephants.

Having in this sort taken order for the defence of *Spaine* and *Africke*; he sent Discoverers before him, to view the Passages of the *Pyrenean* Mountains, and of the *Alpes*. Hee also sent Embassadors to the Mountainers of the *Pyrenes*, and to the *Gauls*, to obtain a quiet passage: that he might bring his Armie entire into *Italy*, and not be compelled to diminish his forces, by any warre in the way, till hee came to encounter the *Romans*. His Embassadors and discoverers being returned with good satisfaction; in the beginning of the Spring, hee past ouer the Riuer of *Iberus*, with an Armie consisting of fourescore and ten thousand foot, and twelue thousand horse. All those parts of *Spaine*, into which he had not entred before, hee now subdued: and appointed *Hanno* (not that old enemy of his house, who late still at *Carthage*) to gouerne *Spaine* on the East side of the *River*; to whom he left an Armie of ten thousand foot, and one thousand horse. Being arrived at the borders of *Spaine*, some of his *Spanish* Souldiers returned home, without asking leave: which that others might not also doe, or attempt, hee courteously dismissed many more, that seemed willing to be gone. Heereby it came to passe, that the iourneie seemed the lesse tedious vnto those that accompanied him; as being not enforced by compulsion. With the rest of his armie, consisting now but of fiftie thousand foot, and nine thousand horse, hee past the *Pyrenes*, and entred into *Gaul*. Hee found the *Gauls* that bordered vpon *Spaine*, ready in Armes, to forbid his entrance into their Countrey: but wonne them, with gentle speech, and rich presents that he bestowed vpon their Leaders, to fauour his Expedition. So without any molestation, hee came to the bank of *Rhodonius*; where dwell, on each side of the Riuer, a people called *Volca*. These were vnacquainted with the cause of his comming; and therefore sought to keepe him from passing ouer the water. But hee was greatly assisted by some of those *Gauls*, that inhabited on the West side of *Rhodonius*, to wit, by those of *Vinaret*; and *Lionnois*. For although many of them had transported themselves and their goods; into the Countrey of *Daulphine*,

phine, thinking to defend the further banke against him : yet such as remained, being very desirous to free their Countie of so many ill guests, were better pleased to haue their Countie-men well beaten, which had abandoned them, than to haue their owne store of corne and cattell wasted, by the long stay of so great an Armie, as lay vpon them. For which reason, they helped him to make boates; informed him of another more easie passage, higher vp the Riuer : and lent him guides. When the Velsels for transportation of his Armie were in readinesse; hee sent *Hanno*, the sonne of *Bomilcar*, vp the Riuer : himselfe in the meane while making countenance to enter the Foord below. The end of this labour was : that *Hanno* charging the *Gauls* vniuares vpon their owne side, and *Hannibal*, at the same time, passing the Riuer in their faces, the further banke was wonne, though with some difficultie; and the enemies dispersed. Yet was hee greatly troubled in conueying ouer his Elephants; who maruellouslie feared the water. He was therefore driuen to make rasses of trees, and couer them with earth and Turfe; whereof hee fastened one to each banke, that might serue as a bridge, to and from another of the same sort, but loose, vpon which the beasts were towed ouer.

Having past this first brunt, and ouer-come both the rage of the Riuer, and of those that defended it, he was visited by the Princes of the *Gauls* *Cisalpine*, that inhabited *Piemont* and *Milan*, who lately had revolted from the *Romans*. These informed him of the passages of the *Alpes*, that they were not so difficult, as common report made them; and from these he received guides, with many other encouragements. All which notwithstanding, he found himselfe extremely incumbered by the *Sauoians*: and lost, both of his carriages, and of his *Carthaginians*, more than willingly hee would, or had formerly thought that he should. For he was twice mainelie assailed by them, before he could recover the plaine Countie on the other side. And whereas this iourne ouer the Mountaines cost him fifteene dayes trouble, hee was every day, more or lesse, not only charged by those Mountainers, but withall extremely beaten with grievous weather and snow: it being the beginning of Winter, when hee began, and ouer-came this passage. But the faire and fertile Plainnes, which were now ready to receive them; with the assistance and conduct of the *Cisalpine Gauls*, who by their proper forces had so often invaded the *Roman* Territorie; gaue them great comfort and encouragement to go on: hauing nothing else of difficultie remaining, but that which from the beginning they made accompt to ouer-come, by their proper valour and resolution; namely the *Roman* Armies, and resistance.

§. III.

How the Romans in vaine solicited the Spaniards and Gauls to take their part. The rebellion of the *Cisalpine Gauls* against the Romans.

THE Countries of *Spain* and *Gaul*, through which the *Carthaginians* marched thus farre, had beene solicited before, by the same *Roman* Embassadors, who had denounced the warre at *Carthage*. These, as they were instructed by the Senate, tooke *Spain* in their way homeward from *Carthage*, with a purpose to draw into the *Roman* Alliance, as many of the Cities and Princes as they could; at least to disswade them from contracting any friendship with the *Carthaginians*. The first which they attempted, were the *Volcians*, a people in *Spain*; from whom, in open assembly, they received by one that spake for the rest, this vncomfortable answer: With what face (saith he) can ye *Romans* perswade vs to value your Alliance, or to preserve it before the friendship of the *Carthaginians*; seeing we are taught by the example of the *Sagunines*, to be more wise, than so? For they, relying on your faith and promised assistance, haue beene vterly routed out, and destroyed by the *Carthaginians*; whom they might else haue held their assured friends, and good neighbours, as wee, and other the people of *Spain* haue found them. Ye may therefore be gone, with this resolution from vs, That for our parts (and so I thinke, I may answer for the rest of our Countymen) the *Romans* henceforth are not to expect any kindnes at our hands; who are resolute, neuer to make account of their protection, nor amitie. From the *Volcians*, the Embassadors tooke their way towards the *Gauls*; vying their best arguments to perswade them not to suffer the *Carthaginians* to passe into *Italy*, through their Territorie: and withall greatly glorifying themselves,

thems, their strength, and large Dominion. But the *Gauls* laughd them to scorne, and had hardly the patience, to heare them speake. For shall wee (said one of their Princes) by resisting *Hannibals* passage into *Italy*, entertaine a war which is not meant to be made against vs: Shall wee hold the warre among our selues, and in our owne Territorie, by force, which marcheth with a speedy pace from vs, towards our ancient enemies: Haue the *Romans* deferred so well of vs, and the *Carthaginians* so ill, that wee should set fire on our owne houses, to saue theirs from burning? No, wee know it well, that the *Romans* haue already forced some Nations of ours, out of their proper Territorie and inheritance; and constrained others, as free as themselves, to pay them tribute. We will not therefore make the *Carthaginians*, our enemies; who haue no way as yet offended vs, nor we them.

With this vnpleasing answer the Embassadors returned home: carrying no good newes, of friends likely to helpe them; but rather some assurance from the people of *Majilia*, which were Confederates with *Rome*, that the *Gauls* were determined to take part with their enemy. Of this inclination, the *Cisalpine Gauls* gaue hastie proofe. For when the newes was brought into *Italy*, that the *Carthaginians* had passed *Iberus*, and were on the way towards *Rome*; this alone sufficed to stirre vp the *Boj*, and *Insubrians*, against the *Romans*. These people were lately offended at the plantation of new *Roman* Colonies; at *Cremona*, and *Placentia*, within their Territories. Relying therefore vpon the *Carthaginian* succour, which they supposed to be now at hand; they laid aside all regard of those hostages, which they had giuen to the *Romans*, and fell vpon the new Colonies. The Townes it seemes that they could not winne; for *Hannibal* shortly after failed to get them. But they forced the *Roman* Commissioners, (who belike were abroad in the Countie) to flee to *Modena*: where they besieged them. The siege of *Modena* had continued some small time; when the *Gauls*, hauing little skill in assaulting Cities, waxed wearie, & seemed desirous to haue peace, and to come to some good accord with the *Romans*. This they did of purpose, to draw on some meeting; that they might therein lay hand vpon the *Roman* Deputies, thereby to redeeme their hostages, in way of exchange. And it fell out, in part, according to their will. For the *Romans* sent out Embassadors to treat with them, and to conclude a peace; whom they detained. *Mantius* the Prætor, who lay in these quarters with an Armie, hearing this outrage; marched in all haste to the reliefe of the besieged. But the *Gauls*, hauing laid a strong ambush in a woodioyning to the way, fell vpon the Prætor so opportunely, as he was vterlye ouerthrowne, and all his followers left dead in the place; a few excepted, that recovered, by fast running, a little village, but defensible, vpon the Riuer of *Po*. When this was heard at *Rome*, *C. Attius*, another of the Prætors, was hastily sent, to relieue the besieged, with a Legion, and five thousand of the *Roman* associates: which forces were taken out of the Consuls Armie, and supplied by a new leue.

As the *Gauls* were too rash and hastie: so were the *Romans* too slow, and indeede too ill-advised, in the beginning of this warre. They were not perswaded, that *Carthage*, which had almost feruently endured so many indignities, in time of the late peace, would be so braue and courageous on the sudden, as to attempt the conquest of *Italy* it selfe. Wherefore they appointed one of their Consuls, to make warre in *Spain*, the other: in *Spain*: resting secure of all danger at home. *Titus Sempronius* tooke his way toward *Africa*, with an hundred an 60. *Quinqueremes*, or Gallies, of five to an Oare, which preparation may seeme to threaten euen the Citie of *Carthage*, to which it shall not come nere. *P. Cornelius Scipio*, the other Consull, made all possible haste, by the way of *Gomazino* *Prouence*, and vsed such diligence, hauing the winde also fauourable, as in five dayes he recovered *Majilia*. There he was aduertised, of *Hannibal* his hauing passed the Riuer of *Rhodanus*, whom he thought to haue found busie yet a while in *Spain*. *Hannibal* had also newes of the Consuls arrival: whereof he was neither glad, nor sorry, as not meaning to haue to doe with him. Each of them sent forth Scouts, to discouer the others number and doings: *Hannibal*, about five hundred *Numidians*; *Scipio*, three hundred of his better appointed *Roman* horse. These met and fought, and the *Numidians* were beaten: yet could not the *Romans* greatly bragge, hauing slaine onely two hundred, and lost of their owne, one hundred and fortie. But when *Scipio* drew nere, to haue met with the *Carthaginians*; hee found, that they were gone three daies before; and that (as he then found assuredly true) with an intent to looke vpon the walls of *Rome*.

This

This interrupted his intended voyage into *Spain*. Neuertheless hee sent away thither his brother *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*, with the greatest part of his Fleet and Army, to trie what might be done against *Asdrubal* & the other *Carthaginian* Lieutenants in that Countie. He himselfe, taking with him a few choice bands, returned by Sea to *Pisa*; and so passing through *Tuscane* into *Lombardie*, drew together the broken troops of *Manlius* & *Attilus*, that lately had bin beaten by the *Gauls*: with which forces he made head against the enemy, thinking to finde him over-laboured, with trauaile of his painefull iourne.

§. IIII.

Scipio the Romane Consull ouer-come by *Hannibal* at *Ticinum*. Both of the *Romane Consuls* beaten by *Hannibal*, in a great battaile at *Trebia*.

INue moneths *Hannibal* had spent in his tedious iourne from *Carthage*; what great murther he could make, when he had passed the *Alpes*, it is not easily found. Some reckon his foot at an hundred thousand, & his horse at twenty thousand; others report them to haue beene onely twenty thousand foot, and fixe hundred horse. *Hannibal* himselfe, in his Monument which he raised, in the Temple of *Iuno Lacinia*, agreeeth with the latter summe. Yet the *Gauls*, *Ligurians*, and others that ioined with him, are likely to haue mightily increased his Armie, in short space. But when he marched Eastward from the banks of *Rhodanus*, he had with him eight and thirty thousand foot, and eight thousand horse; of which all saue those remembered by himselfe in the Inscription of his Altar in *Iuno's* Temple, are like to haue perished, by diseases, enemies, Riuers, and Mountains, which multitudes had deuoured, each, their severall shires.

Having newly passed the *Alpes*, and scarce refreshed his wearied Armie in the Countie of *Piemonte*; he fought to winnethe friendship of the *Taurini*, who lay next in his way. But the *Taurini* held warre at that time with the *Insubrians*, which were his good friends; and refused (perhaps for the same cause) his amitie. Wherefore he assaulted their Towne; and wanne it by force in three daies. Their spoile serued well to harren his Armie; and their calamitie, to terrifie the Neighbour places. So the *Gauls*, without more ado, fell vnto his side: many for feare, many also for good-will, according to their former inclination. This disposition ranne through the whole Countie: which ioined, or was all in a readinesse to ioine with the *Carthaginians*; when the newes of *Scipio* the Consull his arriuall, made some to be more aduised, than the rest. The name of the *Romanes* was terrible in those quarters; what was in the *Carthaginians*, experience had not yet laid open. Since therefore the *Roman* Consull was already gotten through the most defensible passages, ere any speech had beene heard of his approach: many farre still for very feare, who else would faine haue concluded a League with these new-come friends; and some, for greater feare, offered their seruice against the *Carthaginians*, whom neuertheless they had wished well to speed.

This wavering affection of the Prouince, whereinto they were entred, made the two Generals hasten to the triall of a battaile. Their meeting was at *Ticinum*, now called *Pavia*; where each of the wondered at the others expedition: *Hannibal* thinking it strange that the Consull whom hee had left behinde him on the other side of the *Alpes*, could meet him in the face, before he had well warmed himselfe in the Plains; *Scipio* admiring the strange aduenture of passing those Mountaines, and the great spirit of his Enemy. Neither were the Senate at *Rome* little amazed at *Hannibal's* success; and sudden arriuall. Wherefore they dispatched a Messenger in all haste vnto *Sempronius*, the other Consull, that was then in *Sicilia* giuing him to vnderstand hereof: and letting him further know, that whereas he had bin directed to make the warre in *Africa*, it was now his pleasure that he should forbear to prosecute any such attempt, but that he should returne the Armie vnder his charge, with all possible speed, to saue *Italy* it selfe. According to this order, *Sempronius* sent off his Fleet from *Lilybeum*; with direction to land the Armie at *Arminum*, a Port Towne not farre from *Rauenna*: quite another way from *Carthage*, whither he was making haste. In the meane while, *Scipio* and *Hannibal* were come so neere, that fight they must, ere they could part asunder. Hereupon, both of them prepared the mindes of their Souldiers, by the best arguments they had: vnto which *Hannibal* added the Rhetoricke of a present example, that hee shewed vpon certaine prisoners

prisoners of the *Servians*, which he brought along with him, fitted for the purpose, into *Italy*. For these, hauing bene no lesse miserably fettered and chained, than sparingly fed, and withall so often scourged on their naked bodies, as nothing was more in their desire, than to be deliuered from their miseries by any kinde of present death, were brought into the middle of the Armie: where it was openly demanded, which of them would fight hand to hand with some other of his Companions, till the one of them were slaine, with condition being the Victor, to receiue his libertie, and some small reward. This was no sooner propounded, than all of them together accepted the offer. Then did *Hannibal* cause lots to be cast, which of them should enter the List, with such weapons, as the Chiefes of the *Gauls* were wont to vse in single combats. Every one of these unhappy men wished, that his owne lot might speed; whereby it should at least bee his good fortune, to end his miseries by death, if not to get a reward by victorie. That couple, whose good hap it was to be chosen, fought resolutely: as rather desiring, than fearing death; and hauing none other hope, than in vanquishing. Thus were some few couples matched, it skilled not how equally: for all these poore creatures were willing, vpon whatsoeuer vncertain termes, to ridde themselves out of slauiery. The same affection that was in these Combatants, and in their fellows which beheld them, wrought also vpon the *Carthaginians*, for whom the spectacle was ordain'd. For they deemed happy, not only him, that by winning the victorie had gotten his liberty, together with an hoire and armour: but even him also, who being slaine in fight, had escaped that miserable condition, vnto which his Companions were returned. Their Generall perceiving what impression this dumbe shew had wrought in them, beganne to admonish them of their owne condition, speaking to this effect: That hee had laid before them an example of their owne estates: seeing the time was at hand, wherein they were all to runne the same fortune; that these slaues had done; all to liue victorious and rich; or all to die; or (which these prisoners esteemed farre more grievous) to liue in a perpetual slauiery: That none of them all, in whom was common sense, could promise to himselfe any hope of escape by flight; since the Mountaines, the Riuers, the great distance from their owne Countie, and the pursuit of mercilesse Enemies, must needs retrench all such impotent imaginations. Hee therefore craied them to remember, that they, who had euen now praised the fortune both of the Victor, and of the vanquished, would make it their owne case; seeing that there was neuer any in the world, appointed with such a resolution, that had euer bene broken, or beaten by their enemies. On the contrary, hee told them, that the *Romanes*, who were to fight vpon their owne soile, and in view of their owne Townes, who knew as many waies to saue themselves by flight, as they had bodies of men to fight withall, could no way entertaine such a resolution as theirs: seeing the same necessity, (to which nothing seemed impossible) did no way presse them, or constrain them. In this sort did *Hannibal*, with one substantiall argument, That there was no meane betwene *Victorie* and *Death*, encourage his Companions. For (saith a great Captaine of France) la commodité de la retraite aduance la fuite; The commoditie of a retreat, doth greatly aduance a fast running away.

Scipio on the other side, after that hee had giuen order for the laying of a bridge ouer the River of *Ticinum*, did not neglect to vse the best arguments and reasons he could, to encourage the Armie he led: putting them in minde of the great conquests and victories of their Ancestors; against how many Nations they had prevailed; and ouer how many Princes, their Enemies, they had triumphed. As for this Armie commanded by *Hannibal*, although it were enough to tell them, that it was no better than of *Carthaginians*, whom in their late warre they had so often beaten, by Land and Sea; yet he prayed them withall to consider, that at this time it was not onely so diminished in numbers, as it rather seemed a troupe of Brigants and *Thebes*, than an Armie likelie to encounter the *Romanes*, but so weather-beaten, and starued, as neither the men, nor horses, had strength or courage to sustaine the first charge that should be giuen vpon them. Nay (saith he) yee your selues may make iudgement what daring they haue now remaining, after so manie trauailes and miseries; seeing when they were in their best strength, after they had passed the *Rhone*, their horse-men were not onely beaten by ours, and driuen backe to the verie Tranches of their Camp, but *Hannibal* himselfe, fearing our approach, ranne head-long towards the *Alpes*: thinking it a lesse dishonour, to die there by frost, famine, and precipitation, than by the sharpe swords of the *Romans*, which had so often cut downe his people,

a These diuile about Turin, a goodly City, now subiect vnto the Duke of Sauey: which from them took the name of Augustus Taurinorum.

people, both in *Africa*, and in *Sicil*. It was not long after this, ere the two Generals met: each being farre advanced before the grosse of his Armie, with his Horse, and the *Romans* hauing allo with him some light-armed foot, to view the ground, and the enemies countenance. When they discovered the approach one of the other, *Scipio* sent before him his horsemen of the *Gauls*, to beginne the fight, and bestowing his Darters in the void ground betweene their troopes, to assist them: himselfe with his *Roman* men at armes, followed softly in good order. The *Gauls* (whether desirous to trie the mettall of the *Carthaginians*, or hoping thereby to get fauour of the *Romans*) behaved themselves courageously, and were as courageously opposed. Yet their foot that should haue aided them, shrank at the first brunt, or rather fled cowardly away, without casting a Dart, for feare of being troden downe by the enemies horse. This notwithstanding, the *Gauls* main-¹⁰ tained the fight, and did more hurt than they received; as presuming that they were well backed. Neither was the Consull vnmindfull to relieue them: their hardnesse deseruing his aide; and the hasty flight of those that should haue stood by them, admonishing him that it was needfull. Wherefore he aduentured himselfe so farre, that he received a dangerous wound; and had beene left in the place, if his sonne (afterward furnamed *Africanus*) had not brought him off: though others giue the honour of this rescue to a *Ligurian* slaue. Whilest the *Romans* were busied in helping their Consull, an vnexpected storme came drining at their backes, and made them looke about how to helpe themselves. *Hannibal* had appointed his *Numidian* light-horse, to giue vpon the *Romans* in flanke, and to compass them about, whilest hee with his men at Armes sustained their²⁰ charge, and met them in the face. The *Numidians* performed this very well: cutting in peeces the scattered foot, that ranne a way at the first encounter; and then falling on the backs of those whose lookes were fastened vpon *Hannibal* and *Scipio*. By this impression, the *Romans* were shuffled together, and rowted: so that they all betooke them to their flight, and left vnto their enemies the honour of the day.

When *Scipio* saw his horsemen thus beaten, and the rest of his Armie thereby greatly discouraged; he thought it a point of Wisedome, hauing lost so many of his Fleet vpon the first puffe of the winde, to take Port with the rest, before the exorcement of the tempest ouerooke him. For he saw by the lowering morning what manner of day it was like to proue. Therefore his battaile of foot being yet vnbroken, he in a manner stolet³⁰ his reit, and recouered the bridge ouer *Ticinus*, which hee had formerly built. But notwithstanding all the haste that he made, he left sixe hundred of his Reare behinde him: who were the last that should haue passed, and staid to breake the bridge. Herein hee followed this rule of a good man of warre. *Si certamen quandoq; dubium videatur, uictam miles arripit fugam: fuga enim aliquando laudanda*: which must be vnderstood in this sort: If a Generall of an Armie, by some vnprosperous beginnings doubt the successe; or find his Army fearefull or wauering; it is more profitable to seale a safe retreat, than to abide the vncertaine event of battaile.

It was two daies after, ere *Hannibal* could passe the Riuer; *Scipio* the whilest refreshing his men, and easing himselfe of his wound in *Placentia*. But as soone as *Hannibal* presented his Armie before the Towne, offering battaile to the *Romans*, who durst not acceptit, nor issue forth of their Campe; the *Gauls*, that hitherto had followed *Scipio* for feare, gathered out of his feare, courage to forsake him. They thought that now the long-desired time was come, in which better Chieftaines and Souldiers, than *Anerostus*, *Briamurus*, and *Gessaters*, were come to helpe them: if they had the hearts to help themselves. Wherefore the same night they fell vpon the *Roman* Campe; wounded and slue many; especially of those guards that kept watch at the gate; with whose heads in their hands, they fled ouer to the *Carthaginians*, and presented their seruice. *Hannibal* received them exceeding courteously, and dismist them to their owne places: as men likely to bee of more vse to him, in perswading the rest of their Nation to become his Confederates,⁵⁰ than in any other seruice at the present.

About the fourth watch of the night following, the Consull stole a retreat, as hee had done before; but not with the like ease and securitie. *Hannibal* had a good eyecvpon him; and ere he could get farre, sent the *Numidians* after him: following himselfe with all his Armie. That night the *Romans* had received a great blow, if the *Numidians*, greedy of spoile, had not staid to ransacke their Campe; and thereby giuen time to all, save some few in Reare, that were slaine or taken, to passe the Riuer of *Trebia*, and save themselves.

Scipio,

being both vnable to traualle by reason of his wound, and withall finding it expedient to send the comming of his fellow-Consull; incampes himselfe strongly vpon the banks of *Trebia*. Necessitie required that he should so doe; yet this diminished his reputation. For every day, more and more of the *Gauls* fell to the *Carthaginian* side; among whom came in the *Boy*, that brought with them the *Roman* Commissioners, which they had taken in the late Insurrection. They had hitherto kept them as pledges, to redeeme their owne Hostages: but now they deliuer them vp to *Hannibal*, as tokens & pledges of their affections towards him; by whose helpe they conceiued better hope of recouering their owne men and lands. In the meane while, *Hannibal*, being in great scarcity of victuals, contempted the taking of *Clasidium*, a Towne wherein the *Romans* had laid vp all their store and munition. But there needed no force; a *Brundusian* whom the *Romans* had trusted with keeping it, sold it for a little monie.

The newes of these disasters, brought to *Rome*, filled the Senate and People, rather with a desire of hasty reuenge, than any great sorrow for their losse received; seeing that in a manner, all their foot, wherein their strength and hope consisted, were as yet entire. They therefore halted away *Sempronius*, that was newly arriued, towards *Ariminum*, where the Armie, by him sent out of *Sicil*, awaited his comming. Hee therefore halted his horse, and from thence he marched speedily towards his Colleague: who attended him vpon the banks of *Trebia*. Both the Armies being ioyned in one, the Consuls deuised about that which remained to be done: *Sempronius* receiving from *Scipio* the relation of what had passed since *Hannibal*'s arriual; the fortune of the late fight; and by what error or misadventure the *Romans* were therein foiled: which *Scipio* chiefly laid on the reuolt and treason of the *Gauls*.

Sempronius, hauing receiued from *Scipio* the state of the affaires in those parts; fought by all means to trie his fortune with *Hannibal*, before *Scipio* were recouered of his wounds, that thereby he might purchase to himselfe the sole glorie of the victory, which hee had already, in his imagination, certainly obtained. Hee also feared the election of the new Consuls: his owne time being well-neere expired. But *Scipio* perswaded the contrary, objecting the vnskillfulness of the new-come Souldiers: and withall gaue him good reason, to assure him that the *Gauls*, naturally vnconstant, were vpon termes of abandoning the partie of the *Carthaginians*: those of them inhabiting between the Riuer of *Trebia*, and *Po*, being already reuolted. *Sempronius* knew all this as well as *Scipio*: but being both guided and blinded by his ambition, he made haste to finde out the dishonor which he might otherwise easily haue auoided. This resolution of *Sempronius* was exceeding pleasing to *Hannibal*: who feared nothing so much as delay and losse of time. For the strength of his Armie, consisting in strangers, to wit, in *Spaniards* and *Gauls*; hee too leste feared the change of affection in the one, than the impatience of the other: who being farre from their owne home, had many passions mouing them to turne their faces towards it. To further the desire of *Sempronius*, it fell out so, that about the same time, the *Gauls* inhabiting neere vnto *Trebia*, complained of iniuries done by the *Carthaginians*. They did not supply *Hannibal* with necessaries, as he supposed that they might haue done, although hee daily reprehended their negligence, telling them, that for their sakes, and to set them at libertie, hee had vnderaken this Expedition. Seeing therefore how little they regarded his words, hee was bold to be his owne Caruer, and tooke from them by force, as much as hee needed of that which they had. Heereupon they fled to the *Romans* for helpe: and, to make their tale the better, say that this wrong is done them, because they refused to ioine with *Hannibal*. *Scipio* cared not much for this: hee suspected their falshood, and was assured of their mutabilitie. But *Sempronius* affirmed, that it stood with the honor of *Rome*, to preserve their Confederates from suffering iniurie; and that hereby might be wonne the friendship of all the *Gauls*. Therefore hee sent out a thousand horse: which comming vnlooked for vpon *Hannibal*'s forragers, and finding them heauy laden, cut many of them in peeces, and chased the rest euen into their owne campe. This indignitie made the *Carthaginians* sallie out against them: who caused them to retire faster then they came. *Sempronius* was readie to backe his owne men; and repelled the enemies. *Hannibal* did the like. So that at length, all the *Roman* Armie was drawne forth; and a battaile readie to be fought, if the *Carthaginian* had not retired it.

This victorie (for so the Consull would haue it called) made the *Romans* in generall desirous

T t t t

desirous to try the maine chance in open field: all the persuasions of *Scipio* to the contrary notwithstanding. Of this disposition *Hannibal* was aduertised by the *Gauls*, his spies, that were in the *Romane* Campe. Therefore he berought himselfe how to helpe forward the victorie, by adding some stratagem to his forces: He found in the hollow of a water-courfe, ouer-grown with high reede, a fit trench to couer an ambush. There in he cast his brother *Mago* with a thousand choyce horse, and as many foot. The rest of his Armie, after they had well warmed, and well fed themselues in their campe, he led into the field, and marched towards the Consul. Early in the morning, hee had sent ouer *Trebia* some companies of *Numidian* light-horse: to braue the enemye, and draw him forth to a bad dinner, ere he had broken his fast. *Sempronius* was ready to take any opportunitie to fight: and therefore not only issued out of his Campe, but footed the River of *Trebia*, in a most cold and miserable day; his foot being wet almost to the arme-holes: which, together with the want of food, did so enfeeble and coole their courages, as they wanted force to handle the armes they bare. Strong they were in foot, as well of their owne Nation, as of the *Latines*: hauing of the one, fixteene, of the other, twentie thousand. The masse of these they ranged in a grosse Battalion, guarded on the flanks with three thousand horse: thrusting their light-armed, and Danes, in looser troops in the head of the rest, in the nature of a Vanguard. The *Carthaginian* numbers of foot, were in a manner equall to their enemies; in horse, they had by farre the better, both in number and goodnesse. When therefore the *Roman* horse, ranged on the flanks of their foot, were broken by the *Numidians*; when their foot were charged both in front and flanke, by the *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, and *Elephants*; when finally the whole Armie was vnawares preft in the Rear, by *Mago* and his two thousand, that rose out of their place of ambush: then fell the *Romans*, by heapes, vnder the enemies swords; and being beaten downe, as well fighting in disorder, as flying towards the River, by the horsemen that pursued them, there escaped no more of fixe and thirty thousand, than ten thousand of all sorts, Horse and Foot.

Three great errors *Sempronius* committed, of which euery one deserued to bee recompensed with the losse that followed. The first was, that he fought with *Hannibal* in a Champeine, being by farre inferior in horse, and withall thereby subiect to the *African* Elephants, which in enclosed or vn-euen grounds and wood-lanes, would haue been of no vse. His second error was, that he made no discouerie of the place vpon which he fought; whereby he was grossely ouer-reacht, and insnared, by the ambush which *Hannibal* had laid for him. The third was, that hee dencht his footmen with empty stomacks, in the River of *Trebia*, euening in a most cold and frostie day, whereby in effect they lost the vse of their limbs. For as one faith well, *There is nothing more inconvenient and perillous, than to present an Armie tyred with traualle, to an enemy fresh and fed: since where the strength of bodie faileth, the generosities of minde is but as an vprofitable vapour.*

The broken remainder of the *Roman* Armie, was collected by *Scipio*, who got there-with into *Placentia*; stealing away the same night, which was exceeding rainy, from the *Carthaginians*, who either perceived him not, because of the showres; or would not perseeue him, because they were ouer-wearied. *Sempronius* escaped with extreme danger, flying through the Countie that was ouer-runne by the enemies horse. He was attended by more, than were requisite in a secret flight; yet by fewer, than could haue made resistance, if the enemy had met with him. Neuerthelesse hee got away, and came to *Rome*, where he did his office in choosing new Consuls for the yeere following; and then returned into his Province, with a fresh supply against *Hannibal*.

§. V.

The departure of *Hannibal* from the *Cisalpine* *Gauls* into *Etruria*. *Flaminius* the *Romane* Consul slain; & his Army destroyed by the *Carthaginians*, at the Lake of *Thrasymen*.

The Winter growing on apace, was very sharpe, and vnfit for seruiceto the great contentment of the *Romans*, who being not able to keepe the field, lay warme in *Placentia*, and *Ceremonia*. Yet *Hannibal* did not suffer them to rest very quiet: but vexed them with continuall Alarmes; asslaying diuers places; and taking some; beating the *Gauls* their adherents; and winning the *Ligurians* to his partie, who presented him, in token of their faithfull loue, with two *Romane* Quæstors or Treasurers,

Treasurers, two Colonels and six Gentlemen the Sonnes of Senatours, which they had intercepted. These, and in generall all such prisoners as he had of the *Romans*, he held in streight places, loaden with yrons, and miserably fedde: those of their followers he not only well entreated, but sent them to their Countie without ranfome; with this protestation, That hee therefore vnderooke the Warre in *Italie* to free them from the oppression of the *Romans*. By these meanes he hoped, and not in vaine, to draw many of them to his partie and assistance. But the *Gauls* were not capable of such persuasions. They stood in feare, lest he should make their Countie the seat of Warre, and perhaps take it from them. They were also more grieued than reason willed them, at this seducing vpon them, and waisting their Territorie. Wherefore some of them conspired against his life; others admonished him of the danger: and these that gaue him the aduice, were readie soon after to practise against him; but were in like sort detected. Hee was therefore glad to vse Periwigs of haire, and false beards of diuers colours, to the end that hee might not bee deseried, nor knowne, to those that should undertake to make him away. Faine hee would haue passed the *Appenines*, vpon the first appearance of Spring; but was compelled by the violence of weather, to tarry among the *Gauls*, till he had seene more Swallows than one. At length, when the yeare was somewhat better opened, he resolved to take his leave of these giddy Companions, and bring the warre neerer to the gates of *Rome*. So away he went, hauing his Armie greatly increased with *Ligurians* and *Gauls*; more seruicable friends, abroad, than in their owne Countie. That the passage of the *Appenine* Mountaines was troublesome, I hold it needlesse to make any doubt. Yet since the *Romane* Armies found no memorable impediment, in their marches that way: the great vexation which fell vpon *Hannibal*, when hee was trailing through and ouer them, ought in reason to be imputed rather to the extremity of Winter, that makes all waies foule, than to any intolerable difficultie in that iourne. Neuerthelesse to auoid the length of way, together with the resistance and fortifications, which may not improbably be thought to haue bene erected vpon the ordinarie passages towards *Rome*: he chose at this time, though it were with much trouble, to traualle through the Fencks and rotten grounds of *Tuscanie*. In those Marishes and bogges, hee led all his Elephants, saue one, together with the vse of one of his eyes; by the moistnesse of the ayre, and by lodging on the cold ground, and wading through deepe myre and water. In briefe, after he had with much adoe recovered the firm and fertile Plainnes; he lodged about *Arretium*: where hee somewhat refreshed his wearied followers, and heard newes of the *Roman* Consuls.

C. Flaminius, & *Cn. Seruilius* had of late been chosen Consuls for this yeere: *Seruilius*, a tractable man, & wholly governed by aduice of the Senate; *Flaminius*, an hot-headed popular Orator; who hauing once been robbed (as hee thought) of his Consulship, by a deuice of the Senators, was afraid to be serued so againe, vnlesse hee quickly finished the warre. This iealous Consul thought it not best for him to be at *Rome*; when hee entered into his Office, lest his aduersaries, by sayning some religious impediment, should detain him within the Citie, or finde other businesse for him at home, to disappoint him of the honour, that he hoped to get in the Warre. Wherefore hee departed secretly out of the Towne; and meant to take possession of his Office, when the day came, at *Ariminum*. The Fathers (so the Senators were called) highly displeased with this, reuoked him by Embassadors: but he neglected their iniunction; and hasting to meet with the *Carthaginians*, tooke his way to *Arretium*, where hee shortly found them.

The fierie disposition of this Consul, promised vnto *Hannibal* great assurance of victorie. Therefore hee prouoked, with many indignities, the vehement nature of the *Roman*; hoping thereby to draw him vnto fight, ere *Seruilius* came with the rest of the Armie. All the Countie betwene *Fesule* and *Arretium* he put to fire and sword, euening vnder the Consul's nose; which was enough to make him stirre, that would not haue sitten still, though *Hannibal* had bene quiet. It is true, that a great Captaine of France hath said, *L'oyauté n'est pas perdue; A wasted Countie is not thereby lost*. But by this waste of the Countie, *Flaminius* thought his owne honour to bee much impaired; and therefore advanced towards the Enemye. Many aduised him (which had indeed bene best) to haue patience a while, and stay for his Colleague. But of this hee could not abide to heare: saying, that he came not to defend *Arretium*, whilst the *Carthaginians* went burning downe all *Italie* before them, to the gates of *Rome*. Therefore hee rooke horse

and commanded the Armie to march. It is reported as ominous, that one of their Ensignes flucke so fast in the ground, as it could not be plucked vp by the Ensigne-bearer. Of this tale, whether true or false, *Tullie* makes a least: saying, that the cowardlie knave did faintly pull at it (as going now to fight) hauing hardly pitched it into the earth. Neither was the answer of *Flaminius* (if it were true) disagreeable hereto: for he commanded, that it should be digged vp, if feare had made the hands too weake to lift it: asking withall; whether letters were not come from the Senate, to hinder his proceedings. Of this their iealousie both hee, and the Senate that did giue him cause, are likely to repent.

All the Territorie of *Cortona*, as farre as to the Lake of *Thrasymene*, was on a light fire, which whilst the Consull thought to quench with his enemies bloud, hee pursued *Hannibal* so vnadvisedly, that hee fell with his whole Armie, into an ambush cunningly laid for him, betwene the Mountaines of *Cortona*, and the Lake. There was hee charged vnawares, on all sides, (saue onely where that great Lake of *Perusia* permitted neither his enemies to come at him, nor him to flie from them) knowing not which way to turne, or make resistance. So was hee slaine in the place, accompanied with fiftene thousand dead carcases of his Countreimen. About fixe thousand of his men, that had the Vanguard, tooke courage, as for the most part it happens, out of desperation; and breaking through the enemies, that stood in their way recovered the toppes of the Mountaines. If these had returned, and giuen charge vpon the *Carthaginians* backs, it was thought that they might haue greatly amended, if not wholly altered, the fortune of the day. But that violence of their feare, which kindled by necessitie, had wrought the effects of hardinesse; was well aswaged, when they ceased to despair, of sauing their liues by flight. They stood still, in a cold sweate, vpon the Hill-top; hearing vnder them a terrible noise, but not any way discouering how things went, because of the great fogge that held all that morning. When it grew toward noone, the aire was cleared, and they might plainly discern the lamentable slaughter of their fellows. But they staid not to lament it: for it was high time, they thought, to bee gone, ere they were desiered, and attacked by the enemies horse. This they should haue thought vpon sooner; since they had no minde to returne vnto the fight. For desiered they were, and *Maharbal* sent after them; who ouer-tooke them by night in a Village, which he surrounded with his horse: and so they yielded the next day, rendering vp their armes, vpon his promise of their liues and liberties.

This accord *Hannibal* refused to confirme; saying, that it was made by *Maharbal*, without sufficient warrant, as wanting his authoritie to make it good. Herein he taught them (yet little to his owne honour) what it was to keepe no faith: and fitted them with a trick of their owne. For if it were lawfull vnto the *Romans*, to alter couenants, or adde vnto them what they listed; if the *Carthaginians* must be faine to pay certain hundreds, and yet more hundreds of talens, besides their first bargain; as also to renounce their interest in *Sardinia*, and bee limited in their *Spanish* Conquests, according to the good pleasure of the *Romans*, whose present aduantage is more ample, than the conditions of the late concluded peace: then can *Hannibal* bee as a *Romane*, as themselves; and make them know, that perfidiouse gaineeth no more in prosperitie, than it loseth in the change of fortune. Fiftene thousand *Italian* prisoners, or thereabout, hee had in his hands: of which all that were not *Romans*, hee set free without rancome; protesting, as hee had done before, that it was for their sakes, and to free them and others from the *Roman* tyrannie, that he had vndertaken this warre. But the *Romans* he kept in straight prison, and in fetters, making them learne to eat hard meate. This was a good way to breed in the people of *Italie*, if not a loue of *Carthage*, yet a contempt of *Rome*: as if this warre had not concerned the generall libertie, but onely the preferring of her owne necke from the yoke of slaerie, which her ouer-strong enemies would thrust vpon her in reuenge of her oppressions. But an ancient reputation, confirmed by successe of many ages, is not lost in one or two battailes. Wherefore more is to bee done, ere the *Carthaginians* can get any *Italian* Partisans.

Presently after the battaile of *Thrasymene*, *C. Centronius*, with foure thousand *Roman* horse, drew neere vnto the Campe of *Hannibal*. Hee was sent from *Ariminum*, by *Seruilus* the other Consull, to increase the strength of *Flaminius*; but coming too late, hee increased only the misadventure. *Maharbal* was employed by *Hannibal*, to intercept this

company; who finding them amazed with report which they had newly heard of the great ouerthrow; charged them, and brake them: and killing almost halfe of them, draue the rest vnto an high piece of ground, whence they came downe, and simply yielded to mercie, the next day. *Seruilus* himselfe was in the meane while skirmishing with the *Carthages*; against whom he had wrought no matter of importance, when the newes was brought him, of his Colleague's ouerthrow and death in *Hetruria*; that made him hasten backe to the defence of *Rome*.

In these passages, it is easie to discern the fruits of popular iealousie, which perswaded the *Romans* to the yeerely change of their Commanders in the warres; which greatly endangered, and retarded the growth of that Empire. Certaine it is, that all men are farre better taught by their owne errors, than by the examples of their fore-goes. *Flaminius* had heard, in what a trap *Sempronius* had beene taken vp but the yeere before, by this subtle *Carthaginian*; yet suffered hee himselfe to bee caught soone after in the same manner. Hee had also be-like forgotten, how *Sempronius*, fearing to bee preuented by a new Consull, and ambitious of the sole honor of bearing *Hannibal* in battaile, without helpe of his companion *Scipio*, had beene rewarded with shame and losse: else would hee not, contrary to all good aduice, haue beene so hasty to fight, before the arrivall of *Seruilus*. If *Sempronius* had beene continued in his charge, it is probable that he would haue taken his companion with him the second time, and haue searched all suspected places, proper to haue shadowed an ambush: both which this new Consull *Flaminius* neglected. We may holdly know it, that by being continued in his gouernment of *France* 10. yeeres, *Cesar* taught that mightie Nation, together with the *Heluetians* and many of the *Germanes*, vnder the *Romane* yoke; into which parts had there bene euery yeere a new Lieutenant sent, they would hardly, if euer, haue beene subdued. For it is more than the best wit in the World can doe, to informe it selfe, within one yeeres compasse, of the nature of a great Nation, of the Factions, of the Places, Riues, and of all good helpes, whereby to prosecute a warre to the best effect. Our Princes haue commonly left their Deputies in *Ireland* three yeeres; whence, by reason of the shortnesse of that their time, many of them haue returned as wise as they went out; others haue profited more, and yet when they began but to know the first rudiments of Warre, and Government, siring the Countie, they haue beene called home, and new Apprentices sent in their places, to the great preiudice both of this and that Estate. But it hath euer bene the course of the World, rather to follow old errors, than to examine them: and of Princes and Gouernours, to vp-hold their slothfull ignorance, by the olde examples and policie of other ages and people; though neither likenesse of time, of occasion, or of any other circumstance, haue perswaded the imitation.

§. VI.

How *Q. Fabius* the *Roman* Dictator, fought to consume the force of *Hannibal*, by lining Warre. *Minutius* the Master of the Horse, honoured and aduanced by the People, for bold and successfull attempting, aduantes rashly vpon *Hannibal*; and is like to perish with his Armie, but rescued by *Fabius*.

Greatly werethe *Romans* amazed, at this their ill successe, and at the danger apparent; which threatned them in more terrible manner, than euer did war, since come it selfe was taken. They were good Souldiers, and so little accustomed to receiue an ouerthrow; that when *Pyrrhus* had beaten them, once and againe, in open field, all *Italie* was strangely affected with his successe, and held him in admiration, as one that could worke wonders. But *Pyrrhus* his quarrell was not grounded vpon hate: hee honestly sought honour, and fought (as it were) vpon a brauerie: demeaning himselfe like a courteous enemy. This *Carthaginian* detested the whole *Roman* name; against which he burned with desire of reuenge. *Ticinum*, *Trebia*, and *Thrasymene*, witnessed his purpose, & his ability. Which to withstand, they fled vnto a remedie that had long bin out of vse, and created a Dictator. The Dictators power was greater than the Consuls, and scarcely subject vnto controuersie of the whole Citi. Wherefore this Officer was fildome chosen, but vpon some excecutive, and for no longer time than fixe moneths. Hee was to be named by one of the Consuls, at the appointment of the Senate: though it were so, that the Consull (if he stood vpon his prerogative) might name whom he pleased. At this time, the

one Consull being dead, and the other too farre off, the People rooke vpon them, as ha-
uing supreme authoritie, to giue the Dignitie by their election, to *Q. Fabius Maximus*,
the best reputed man of warre in the Citie. *Novum sa. Tum, novum consilium expetit, Con-*
trarie vias, contrarie courses. *Q. Fabius* chose *M. Minutius Rufus* Master of the Horse:
which Officer was customarily, as the Dictators Lieutenant; though this *Minutius* grew
afterwards famous, by taking more vpon him.

The first act of *Fabius*, was the reformation of somewhat amisse in matter of religion:
a good beginning, and commendable; had the Religion bene also good. But if it were
true (as *Livie* reports it) that the bookes of *Sybil* were consulted, and gave direction in
this businesse of deuotion; then must we beleue, that these bookes of *Sybil*, preferred in
Rome, were dictated by an euill spirit. For it was ordained, that some Vow, made in the
beginning of this warre to *Mars*, should be made anew, & amplified; as hauing not bin
rightly made before: also that great Plaies should be vowed vnto *Impier*, and a Temple
to *Venus*; with such other trumperie. This vehemencie of superstition, proceeds alwaies
from vehemencie of feare. And surely this was a time, when *Rome* was exceedingly dis-
temper'd with passion: whereof that memorable accident, of two women that sud-
denly died, when they saw their sons returne aliue from *Thermyne*, may serue to beare
witness; though it be more properly an example of motherly loue. The walls and tow-
ners of the City were now repaired and fortified; the bridges vpon Riuer were broken
downe; and all care taken for defence of *Rome* it selfe. In this tumult, when the Dictator
was newly set forth against *Hannibal*; word was brought that the *Carthaginian* fleet had
intercepted all the supply, that was going to *Cn. Scipio* in *Spain*. Against these *Carthagi-*
nians, *Fabius* commanded *Servilius* the Consull to put to Sea; and taking vp all the ships
about *Rome* and *Ostia*, to pursue them: whilst he, with the Legions, attended vpon *Han-*
nibal. Four^e Legions he had leui'd in haste: and from *Ariminum* he receiued the Armie,
which *Servilius* the Consull had conducted thither.

With these forth-with he followed apace after *Hannibal*; not to fight, but to affright
him. And knowing well, what aduantage the *Numidian* horse had ouer the *Romans*, he
alwaies lodged himselfe on high grounds, and of hard access. *Hannibal* in the meane
while, pursuing his victorie, had ranged ouer all the Countrey, and vsed all manner of
cruelty towards the inhabitants; especially to those of the *Roman* Nation, of whom he
did put to the sword, all that were able to bear armes. Passing by *Spoleum* and *Ancora*, he
incamped vpon the *Adriatick* shores; refreshed his diseased, and ouer-trauail'd Com-
panies; armed his *Africans* after the manner of the *Romans*; and made his dispatches for
Carthage, presenting his friends, which were in effect all the Citizens, with part of the
spoils that he had gotten. Hauing refreshed his Army; fed his horses; cured his wounded
Souldiers; and (as *Polybius* hath it) healed his horse heels of his scratches, by walking their
pawterns in old wine: he followed the coast of the *Adriatick* Sea towards *Apulia*, a Nor-
therne Prouince of the Kingdome of *Naples*; spoiling the *Marrucini*, and all other Na-
tions lying in his way. In all this ground that he ouer-ran, he had not taken any one Ci-
tie: only he had assaied *Spoleum*, a Colonie of the *Romans*; and finding it well defended,
presently gaue it ouer. The malice of a great Armie is broken, and the force of it spent,
in a great siege. This the *Protestant* Armie found true at *Poitiers*, a little before the bat-
taille of *Moncouster*; and their victorious enemies, anon after, at *St. Iuan d'Angely*. But
Hannibal was more wise. Hee would not engage himselfe in any such enterprize, as
should detaine him, and giue the *Romans* leaue to take breath. All his care was to
weaken them in force and reputation: knowing, that when once hee was absolute Master
of the field, it would not be long ere the walled Cities would open their gates, without ex-
pecting any engine of battery. To this end hee presented *Fabius* with battaile, as soone
as he saw him; and prouoked him with all manner of brauado's. But *Fabius* would not
bite. He well knew the differences, betwene Souldiers bred vp, eu' since they were
Boyes, in warre and in blood, trayned and hardened in *Spain*, made proud and adven-
turous by many victories there, and of late by some notable acts against the *Romans*; and
such, as had no other seen the enemy, than bin vanquished by him. Therefore he attend-
ed the *Carthaginian* so nere, as hee kept him from straggling too farre; and preferred
the countrey from viter spoyle. He inured his men by litle and litle, and made them ac-
quainted with dangers by degrees; and hee brought them first to looke on the Lyon at
farre off, that in the end they might sit on his taile.

Now

Now *Minutius* had a contrary disposition, and was as fiery as *Flaminius*; taxing *Fa-*
bius with cowardise and care. But all stirred not this well-aduised Commander. For
while men are no more moued with such noise, than with wilde bruised out of a blad-
der. There is nothing of more indirection, and danger, than to pursue misfortune: It
resteth in selfe sooner by sufferance, than by opposition. It is the invading Armie that
destroys battaile: and thus of *Hannibal*, was both the invading and victorious. *Fabius* there-
fore suffered *Hannibal* to crosse the *Apennines*, and to fall vpon the most rich and pleasant
Territorie of *Campania*; neither could he by any arguments be perswaded, to aduan-
ce the *Roman* Armie in battaile: but being farre too weake in horse, he alwaies kept
the Hills & fast grounds. When *Hannibal* saw he could by no means draw this warie Di-
tator to fight, that the Winter came on, and that the Townes stood firme for the *Romans*,
whose Legions were in fight, though a farre off; he reloued to rest his Armie, that was
laden with spoyle, in some plentifull and assured place, till the following Spring. But
ere this can be done, he must pisse along by the Dictators Campe, that hung ouer his
head vpon the Hills of *Callicula*, and *Casilinum*: for other way there was none, by which
he might issue out of that goodly Garden-countrey, which he had already wasted; into
places more abundant of prouision for his wintering. It was by meere leuerrour of his
guide, that he first entered within these streights. For he would haue bin directed vnto
Casilinum, whence he might both assay the faire Citie of *Capua*, which had made him
specially promises vnder hand, and hinder the *Romans* from coming nere it to prevent
him. But his guide mis-vnderstood the *Carthaginian* pronunciation, and conducted him
away another way, from *Casilinum* to *Casilinum*, whence *Fabius* hoped that hee should
not easily escape. Now began the wisdom of *Fabius* to grow into credit; as if he had
taken the *Carthaginians* in a trap, and won the victory, without blows. But *Hannibal* re-
formed this opinion, and freed himselfe, by a slight inuention, yet seruing the turne as
well as a better. In driving the Countrey, he had gotten about two thousand Kine, whose
barnes he dressed with dry faggots, and setting fire to them in the darke night, caused
them to be driuen vp the hills. The spectacle was strange, and therefore terrible; espe-
cially to those, that knew it to be a worke of a terrible enemy. What it should meane, *Fa-*
bius could not tell: but thought it a deuice to circumuent him; and therefore kept with-
in his Trenches. They that kept the hill-tops, were horribly afraid, when some of these
fire Monsters were gotten beyond them; and ran therefore hastily away, thinking that
the enemies were behinde their backs, and fell among the light-armed *Carthaginians*; that
were no lesse afraid of them. So *Hannibal*, with his whole Armie, recovered sure ground;
without molestation: where he stayed till the next morning, and then brought off his
light footmen, with some slaughter of the *Romans*; that began to hold them in skirmish:
After this, *Hannibal* made semblance of taking his iournie towards *Rome*: and the Dicta-
tor coasted him in the worsted manner; keeping still on high grounds, betwene him
and the Citie, whilst the *Carthaginian* wasted all the Plains. The *Carthaginian* tooke
to *Ceryn*, an old ruinous Towne in *Apulia*, forsaken by the Inhabitants; which he turned
into Barnes and Store-houses for winter, and incamped vnder the broken wall. Other
manner of importance he did none: but the time passed idly, till the Dictator was cal-
led away to *Rome*, about some businesse of Religion, and left the Armie in charge with
Minutius the Master of the horse.

Minutius was glad of this good occasion to shew his owne sufficiency. He was fully
perswaded, that his *Romans*, in plaine field, would be too hard for the *Africans* and *Spa-*
niards: by whom if they had bene foiled already twice or thrice, it was not by open
force, but by subtiltie and ambush, which he thought himselfe wise enough to prevent.
All the Armie was of his opinion; and that so earnestly, as he was preferred by iudge-
ment of the Souldiers, in worthinesse to command, before the cold and warie *Fabius*.
In this iollity of conceit, he determined to fight. Yet had hee bene peremptorily for-
bidden so to doe, by the Dictator: the breach of whose command was extreme perill
of death. But the honour of the victory, which heeld vndoubtedly his owne; and the
loue of the Armie; and the friends that hee had at home bearing Office in *Rome*, were
enough to fauor him from the Dictators rods and axes, tooke he the matter neuer so hai-
nously. *Hannibal* on the other side was no lesse glad, that he should play with a more ad-
venturous gamester. Therefore he drew neerer; & to prouoke the *Romans*, sent forth a third
part of his Armie to waste the Countrey. This was boldly done, seeing that *Minutius*
incamped

incamped hard by him: but it seemes, that he now despised those whom he had so often vanquished. There was a peece of high ground betweene the two campe; which because it would be commodious to him that could occupie it, the *Carthaginians* seized vpon by night with two thousand of their light-armed. But *Minutius*, by plaine force, was in from them the next day; and entrenching himselfe thereupon, became their neerer neighbour.

The maine businesse of *Hannibal* at this time was, to prouide abundantly, not onely for his men, but for his horses, which he knew to be the chiefe of his strength, that he might keepe them in good heart against the next Summer: if besides this he could giue the *Romans* another blow, it would increase his reputation, encourage his owne men, terrifie his enemies, and giue him leaue to forrage the Countrey at will. Since therefore *Minutius* did not in many dayes issue forth of his Campe, the *Carthaginian* sent out (as before) a great number of his men, to fetch in harrest. This aduantage *Minutius* wisely espied, and tooke. For he led forth his Armie, and setting it in order presented battaile to *Hannibal*, that was not in case to accept it, euen at his owne Trenches. His horses, and all his light Armature, diuided into many companies, hee sent abroad against the forragers: who being disperfed ouer all the fields, and loaden with bootie, could make no resistance. This engered *Hannibal*, that was not able to helpe them; but worse did it anger him, when the *Romans* tooke heart to assaile his Trenches. They perceived that it was meer weakenesse, which held him within his Campe, and therefore were bold to despise his great name, that could not resist their present strength. But in the heat of the businesse, *Asdrubal* came from *Geryon* with foure thousand men, being informed of the danger, by those that had escaped the *Roman* horse. This emboldened *Hannibal* to issue forth against the *Romans*; to whom neuertheless he did not such hurt, as hee had received.

For this peece of seruice *Minutius* was highly esteemed by the Armie, and more highly by the People at *Rome*, to whom he sent die newes, with somewhat greater boast than truth. It seemed no small matter, that the *Roman* Armie had recovered spirit, so farre forth that it dared to set vpon *Hannibal* in his owne Campe; and that in so doing, it came off with the better, that the *Roman* Armie had recovered spirit, so farre forth that it dared to set vpon *Hannibal* in his owne Campe; and that in so doing, it came off with the better. Every man therefore praised the Master of the horse, that had wrought this great alteration; and consequently, they grew as farre out of liking with *Fabius*, and his timorous proceedings, thinking that he had not done any thing wisely, in all his Dictatorship: sauing that he chose such a worthy Lieutenant; whereas indeede in no other thing he had so greatly erred. But the Dictator was not so ioyfull of a little good lucke, as angry with the breach of discipline; and fearefull of greater danger, thereon likely to ensue. He said that he knew his owne place, and what was to be done; that hee would reach the Master of the horse to doe so likewise; and make him giue account of what he had done, if he were Dictator: speaking it openly, That good successe, issuing from bad counsaile, was more to be feared, than calamitie; for as much as the one bred a foolish confidence, the other taught men to be warie. Against these Sermons euery one cried out, especially *Metellus*, a Tribune of the people: which Office warranted him to speak, and doe what he list, without feare of the Dictator. Is it not enough (said hee) that this our onely Man, chosen to be General, and Lord of the Towne, in our greatest necessitie, hath done no manner of good, but suffered all *Rome* to be waisted before his eyes, to the utter shame of our State; vnlesse he also hinder others, from doing better than himselfe can, or dares? It were good to consider what he means by this. Into the place of *C. Flaminius* he hath not chosen any new Consull all this while; *Servilius* is sent away to Sea, I know not why; *Hannibal* and hee, haue as it were taken Truce; *Hannibal* sparing the Dictators grounds: (for *Hannibal* had indeede forborne to spoyle some grounds of *Fabius*, that so he might bring him into enuie and suspicion) and the Dictator giuing him leaue to spoyle all others, without impeachment. Surely his drift is euen this: He would haue the warre to last long, that he himselfe might be long in Office, and haue the sole Governement both of our Citie, and Armies. But this must not be so. It were better, that the Commonaltie of *Rome*, which gaue him this authoritie, should againe take it from him, and conferre it vpon one more worthy. But lest, in mouing the people hereto, I should seeme to doe him iniurie; thus farre forth I will regard his honour: I will

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only propound, That the Master of the House may be ioyned in equall authority with the Dictator; a thing not more new, nor lesse necessary, than was the election of this Dictator, by the People.

Though all men, euen the Senators, were ill perswaded of the course which *Fabius* had taken against *Hannibal*, as being neither plausible, nor seeming beneficiall at the present; yet was there none so inuitious, as to thinke that his generall intent, and care of the Weale publike, was lesse than very honourable. Whereas therefore it was the manner, in passing of any Act, that some man of credit and authority, besides the propounder, should stand vp, and formally deliuer his approbation; not one of the principall Citizens was found so impudent, as to offer that open disgrace, both vnto a worthy Personage, and (therewithall) vnto that Dignity, whose great power, had freed the State at severall times, from the greatest dangers. Onely *C. Terentius Varro*, who the yeere before had bene Praetor, was glad of such an opportunitie, to winne the fauour of the Multitude. This fellow was the sonne of a Butcher, afterwards became a shop-keeper; and being of a contentious spirit, grew, by often brabbling, to take vpon him as a Pleader, dealing in poore mens caules. Thus by little and little he got into Office; and rose by degrees, being aduanced by those, who in hatred of the Nobilitie fauoured his very baseness. And now he thought the time was come, for him to giue a hard puth at the Consullship; by doing that, which none of the great men, fearing or fauouring one another, either durst or would. So he made an hoc inuective, not onely against *Fabius*, but against all the Nobilitie, saying, That it grieved them to see the people doe well, and take vpon them what belonged vnto them, in matter of Governement; That they sought to humble the Commons by pouertie, and to impoverish them by warre; especially by warre at their owne doores, which would soone consume euery poore mans liuing, and finde him other worke to thinke vpon, than matter of State. Therefore he bade them to be wise: and since they had found one, (this worthy Master of the Horse) that was better affected vnto them and his Countrey, to reward him according to his good deserts; and giue him authority accordingly as was propounded by the Tribune, that so he might be encouraged and enabled, to proceede as he had begun. So the Act passed.

Before this busie day of contention, *Fabius* had dispatched the election of a new Consull, which was *M. Atilius Regulus*, in the room of *C. Flaminius*: and hauing finished all requisite businesse, went out of Towne, perceiuing well, that he should not be able to withstand the Multitude, in hindering the Decree. The news of *Minutius* his aduancement, was at the campe as soone as *Fabius*: so that his old Lieutenant, and new Colleague, began to treat with him as a Companion; asking him at the first, in what sort he thought it best to diuide their authority: whether that one, one day; and the other, the next; or each of them, successiually, for some longer time, should command in chiefe. *Fabius* briefly told him, That it was the pleasure of the Citizens, to make the Master of the horse equall to the Dictator, but that he should neuer be his superiour: Hee would therefore diuide the Legions with him, by lot, according to the custome. *Minutius* was not herewith greatly pleased; for that with halfe of the Armie he could not worke such wonders, as otherwise he hoped to accomplish. Neuertheless he meant to doe his best, and so taking his part of the Armie, incamped about a mile and a halfe from the Dictator. Needfull it was (though *Liuius* seems to tax him for it) that he should so doe. For where two severall Commanders are not subordinate one vnto another, nor ioyned in Commission, but haue each entire and absolute charge of his owne followers, there are the forces (though belonging vnto one Prince or State) not one, but two distinct Armies: in which regard, one Campe shall not hold them both, without great inconueniencie. *Pelgusius* neither findes fault with this disfunction, nor yet reports, that *Fabius* was unwilling to command in chiefe successiually (as the two Consuls vied) with *Minutius*, by turnes. Hee saith that *Minutius* was very refractory, and so proud of his aduancement, that continually hee opposed the Dictator: who thereupon referred it to his choice, either to diuide the forces betweene them, as is said before, or else to haue command ouerall by course. This is likely to be true. For Nature impatient of subiection, when once they haue broken loose from the rigour of authoritie, loue nothing more, than to contest with it: as if herein consisted the prooffe and assurance of their libertie.

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It behoued the Master of the horse, to make good the opinion which had thus aduanced him. Therefore he was no lesse carefull, of getting occasion to fight, than was *Fabius* of auoiding the necessity. That which *Minutius* and *Hannibal* equally desired, could not long be wanting. The Countrey lying betweene them was open and bare, yet as fit for ambush, as could be wished: for that the sides of a naked valley adioyning, had many, and spacious caues; able, some one of them, to hide two or three hundred men. In these lurking places, *Hannibal* bestowed five hundred horse, and five thousand foot, thrusting them so close together, that they could not be discouered. But left by any misadventure they should be found out, and buried in their holes; hee made offer betimes in the morning, to seize vpon a peece of ground that lay on the other hand: whereby he drew the eyes and the thoughts of the *Romans*, from their more needefull care, to businesse litle concerning them. Like vnto this was the occasion, which, not long before, had prouoked *Minutius*, to aduention vpon the *Carthaginians*. Hoping therefore to increase his honour, in like sort as he got it; he sent first his light armature, then his horse, and at length (seeing that *Hannibal* seconded his owne troupes with fresh companies) he followed in person with the Legions. He was soone caught, and so hotly charged on all sides, that he knew neither how to make resistance, nor any safe retreat. In this dangerous case, whilst the *Romans* defended themselves, losing many, and those of their best men: *Fabius* drew neere, in very good order, to relieue them. For this old Capitaine, perceiving a farre off, into what extremity his new Colleague had rashly throwne himselfe, and his followers, did the office of a good Citizen; and regarding more the benefit of his Countrey, than the disgrace which hee had wrongfully sustained, sought rather to approue himselfe: by halting to doe good, than by suffering his enemy to feele the reward of doing ill. Vpon *Fabius* his approach, *Hannibal* retyred: feare to be well wetted with a shower, from the cloud (as he termed the Dictator) that had hung so long on the Hill-tops. *Minutius* forthwith submitted himselfe to *Fabius*; by whose benefit he confessed his life to haue bene saved. So from this time forwards, the Warre proceeded coldly, as the Dictator would haue it; both whilst his Office lasted, which was not long, and likewise afterwards, when he deliuered vp his charge vnto the Consuls, that followed his instructions.

Servilius the Consul had pursued in vaine a *Carthaginian* fleet, to which he came neerer within kenning. He ran along all the coast of *Italie*; tooke hostages of the *Sardinians* and *Corficans*; passed ouer into *Africke*; and there negligently falling to spoyle the Countrey, was shamefully beaten aboard his ships, with the losse of a thousand men. Weighing anchor therefore in all haste, he returned home by *Sicily*; and (being forewarned by the Dictators letters) repaired to the campe, with his fellow-Consull, wherethey tooke charge of the Armie.

S. VII.

The Roman people, desirous to finish the warre quickly, choose a rash and unworthy Consul. Great forces leuied against Hannibal. Hannibal taketh the Romans provisions in the Castle of Cannæ. The new Consuls set forth against Hannibal.

With litle pleasure did they of the poorer sort in *Rome*, heare the great commendations, that were giuen to *Fabius* by the principall Citizens. He had indeede preferred them from receiuing a great ouerthrow: but he had neither finished the warre, nor done any thing in apparence thereto tending. Rather it might seeme, that the reputation of this his one worthy act, was likely to countenance the slow proceedings, or perhaps the cowardize (if it were no worse) of those that followed him, in protracting the worke to a great length. Else, what meant the Consuls to sit idle the whole winter, contrary to all former custome: since it was neuer heard before, that any Roman Generall had willingly suffered the time of his command to run away without any performance: as if it were honorable to doe iust nothing? Thus they suspected they knew not what; and were ready every man, to discharge the griefe and anger of his owne private losse, vpon the ill administration of the publique.

This affection of the people, was very helpfull to *C. Terentius Varro*, in his suit for the Consulship. It behoued him to strike, whilst the Iron was hot: his owne worth being litle or none, and his credit ouer-weake, to make way into that high Dignity. But the Commi-

Committallie were then in such a mood, as abundantly supplied all his defects. Whereinto helpe, he had a kinsman, *Bibius Herennius*, then Tribune of the People; who spared not to vse the liberty of his place; in saying what hee listed, without all regard of truth, or modestie. This bold Orator stucke not to affirme, that *Hannibal* was drawne into *Italie*, and suffered therein to range at his pleasure, by the Noblemen; That *Minutius* indeede with his two Legions, was likely to haue bene ouerthrowne, and was rescued by *Fabius* with the other two: but had all bene ioyned together, what they might haue done, it was apparent, by the victory of *Minutius*, when he commanded ouer all as Master of the horse; That without a *Plebeian* Consull, the warre would neuer be brought to an end; That such of the *Plebeians*, as had long since bene aduanced to honour by the people, were growne as proud as the old Nobilitie, and contained the manner sort, euer since themselves were freed from contempt of the more mighty; That therefore it was needefull to choose a Consull, who should be altogether a *Plebeian*; a meere new man, one that could boast of nothing but the Peoples loue, nor could wish more, than to keepe it, by well deseruing of them. By such perswasions, the Multitude was won, to be wholly for *Terentius*: to the great vexation of the Nobles, who could not endure, to see a man raised for none other vertue, than his detracting from their honour; and therefore opposed him with all their might. To hinder the desire of the People, it fell out, or at least was allaged, that neither of the two present Consuls could well be spared, from attending vpon *Hannibal*, to hold the Election. Wherefore a Dictator was named for that purpose: and he againe depose; either (as was pretended, for some religious impediment, or because the *Fathers* desired an *Inter-regnum*, wherein they might better hope to preuaile in choice of the new Consuls. This *Inter-regnum* tooke name and being in *Rome*, at the death of *Romulus*; and was in vse at the death of other Kings. The order of it was this. All the *Fathers*, or *Senators*, who at that time were an hundred, parted themselves into *Tens*, or *Decuries*; and gouerned successively, by the space of five daies, one *Decurie* after another in order: yet so, that the *Lictors*, or *Fingers*, carrying the *Fasces*, or bundles of rods and axes, waited onely vpon the chiefe of them with these Ensignes of power. This custome was retained, in times of the Consuls; and put in vse, when by death, or any casualty, there wanted ordinary Magistrates of the old yeare, to substitute new for the yeare following. The aduantage of the *Fathers* herein was, that if the Election were not like to goe as they would haue it, there needed no more, than to slip five daies, and then was all to begin a new: by which interruption, the heat of the Multitude was commonly well asswaged. Vpon which change of those that were Presidents of the Election; it was also lawfull vnto new Petitioners, to sue for the Magistracies that lay void: which otherwise was not allowed; but a time limited, wherein they should publiquely declare themselves to seeke those Offices. But no choice would serue, against the generall fauour borne vnto *Terentius*. One *Inter-regnum* passed ouer, and the malice of the *Fathers*, against the vertue (as it was beleued) of this meane, but worthy man, seemed fo manifest, that when the People had vrged the businesse to dispatch, onely *Terentius* was chosen Consul: in whose hand it was left, to hold the election of his Colleague. Hereupon all the former Petitioners gaue out. For wheremen of ordinary marke had stood for the place before; it was now thought meet, that, to supply the defect, and to bridle the violence of this vnexpet, and hot-headed man, one of great sufficiency, and reputation, should be ioyned with him, as both Companion and opposite. So *L. Aemilius Paulus*, he who few yeeres since had ouer-come the *Ulyrians*; and chased *Demetrius Pharius* out of his Kingdome, was vrged by the Nobility to stand for the place: which he easily obtained, hauing no Competitor. It was not the desire of this honourable man, to trouble himselfe any more in such great businesse of the Common-wealth. For, notwithstanding his late good seruice; He, and *M. Livius* that had bene his companion in Office, were afterwards iniuriously vexed by the People, and called vnto iudgement: wherein *Livius* was condemned, and *Aemilius* hardly escaped. But of this iniustice they shall put the *Romans* well in minde each of them in his second Consulship, wherein they shall honorably approue their worth; the one of them nobly dying in the most grievous losse; the other brauely winning, in the most happy victory that euer befell that Common-wealth.

These new Consuls, *Varro* and *Paulus*, omitted no part of their diligence in preparing for the warre: wherein though *Varro* made the greater noise, by telling what wonders he

he would worke, and that he would aske no more, than onco to haue a fight of *Hannibal*, whom he promised to vanquish the very first day; yet the providence and care of *Paulus*, trauielled more earnestly toward the accomplishment of that, whereof his fellow vainly boasted. He wrote vnto the two old Consuls *Seruilus* and *Attilius*; desiring them to abstaine from hazard of the maine chance; but neuerthelesse, to ply the *Carthaginians* with daily skirmish, & weaken them by degrees: that when he and his Colleague should take the field, with the great Armie which they were now leuying, they might finde the four old Legions well accustomed to the Enemy, and the Enemy well weakened to their hands. He was also very strict in his Musters; wherein the whole Senate assisted him so carefully, as if in this Action they meant to refute the slanders, with which *Terentius* and his Adherents had burdened them. What number of men they raised it is vncertaine. Fourescore thousand foot, at the least, and fixe thousand horse, they were strong in the field, when the day came, which *Varro* had so greatly desired, of looking vpon *Hannibal*.

Here, the old King of *Syracuse*, as he had relieved the *Carthaginians*, when they were distressed by their owne Mercenaries; so did he now send helpe to *Rome*, a thousand Archers, and Slingers, with great quantity of Wheat, Barlie, and other provisions: fearing nothing more, than that one of these two mighty Cities should destroy the other, whereby his owne estate would fall to ruine; that stood vpright, by hauing them somewhat euently ballanced. He gaue them also counsaile, to send forces into *Africa*; if (perhaps) by that means they might direct the warre from home. His gifts, and good aduice were louingly accepted; and instructions were giuen to *Titus Otililius* the Pretor, which was to goe into *Sicily*, that he should accordingly passe ouer into *Africa*, if he found it expedient.

The great Leuies, which the *Romans* made at this time, doe much more serue to declare their puissance, than any, though larger accompt by Poll, of such as were not easily drawne into the field, and fitted for seruice. For besides these Armies of the Consuls, and that which went into *Sicily*, twentie five thousand, with *L. Posthumus Albinus* another of the Pretors, went against the *Gauls*, to reclaim that Prouince, which the passage of *Hannibal* through it, had taken from them. The contemplation of this their present strength, might well embolden them to doe as they did. They sent Embassadors to *Philip* the sonne of *Demetrius*, King of *Macedon*, requiring him to deliuer into their hands *Demetrius Pharius*: who hauing bene their subiect, and rebell, was fled into his Kingdom. They also sent to the *Illyrians*, to demand their tribute; whereof the day of payment was already past. What answer they receiued, it is not knowne: onely this is knowne, that *Demetrius Pharius* was not sent vnto them; and that *Philip* henceforth began to haue an eye vpon them, little to their good. As for the *Illyrian* monie; by the shifts that they were driuen soone after to make, it will appeare, that the one halfe of it (how little soeuer) would haue bene welcome to *Rome*, and accepted, without any cauil about forfeiture for non payment of the whole.

Whilst the Citie was buied in these cares, the old Consuls lay as neere vnto *Hannibal*, as possibly as they could, without incurring the necessity of a battaile. Many skirmishes they had with him; wherein their successfe for the most part, was rather good than great. Yet one mischance not onely blemished the honour of their other seruices, but was it: deede the occasion, to draw on the misery following. *Hannibal*, for the most part of that time, made his abode at *Geryon*, where lay all his store for the Winter. The *Romans*, to be neere him lodged about *Cannussum*; and, that they might not be driuen to turne aside for all necessities, to the losse of good opportunities, they bestowed much of their provisions in the Castle of *Canna*: for the towne was razed the yeere before. This place *Hannibal* wan, and thereby not onely furnished himselfe, but compelled his enemies to want many needfull things, vntill they would be troubled with farre carriage. Besides this, and more to his aduantage, hee enabled himselfe to abide in that open Country, fit for the seruice of his horse: longer than the *Romans*, hauing so many mouthes to feede, could well endure to tarry, without offering battaile, which he most desired. Of this mispass when *Seruilus* had informed the Senate, letting them vnderstand, how this Peece, taken by *Hannibal*, would serue him to command no small part of the Countrey adiacent; it then seemed needfull, euen vnto the *Fathers* themselves, to aduencure a battaile with the *Carthaginian*, rather than suffer him thus to take roote in the ground of

of *Italia*. Neuerthelesse, answer was returned vnto *Seruilus*, that he should haue patience yet awhile: for that the Consuls would shortly be there, with a power sufficient to doe as needed required.

When all things were ready in the Citie, and the season of the yeere commodious to take the field, the two Consuls, with their armies, set forth against *Hannibal*. This was already done with great solemnity: especially, when soeuer they went forth to warre against any noble or redoubted Enemy, for Sacrifices, and solemn Vowes, were made vnto *Iupiter*, and the rest of their gods, for good successe and victory: which being performed, the Generals in warlike attire, with an honorable traine of the principall incursions (not onely such as were of their kindred and alliance, or followed them to the warre, as Voluntaries, for loyng, but a great number of others that meant to abide at home,) were accompanied on their way, and dismissed with friendly leave-taking, and good wishes. At this time, all the *Fathers*, and the whole Nobility, waited vpon *Amilius Paulus*, as the onely Man, whom they thought either worthy of this honor, or likely to doe his countrey remarkable seruice. *Terentius* his Attendants were the whole multitude of the poorer Citizens: a troupe no lesse in greatnesse, than the other was in dignity. At the parting, *Fabius* the late Dictator, is said to haue exhorted the Consul *Paulus*, with many graue words, to shew his magnanimity, not onely in dealing with the *Carthaginians*, but (which hee thought harder) in bridling the outrageous follie of his fellow-Consull. The answer of *Paulus* was, That hee meant not againe to runne into danger of condemnation, by offending the multitude; that he would doe his best for his Countrey: but if he saw his best were likely to be ill taken, hee would thinke it lesse himselfe to aduencure vpon the Enemies sword, than vpon the malice of his owne Citizens.

§. VIII.

Diffention betweene the two Roman Consuls. Whether it be likely, that *Hannibal* was vpon point of flying out of *Italia*, when the *Romans* pressed him to fight. The great battaile of *Canna*.

These new Generals, arriving at the Campe, dismissed *M. Atilius* one of the last yeeres Consuls, requesting it because of his age and weaknesse: *Seruilus* they retained with them, as their Assistant. The first thing that *Amilius* thought necessary, was, to hearken his Souldiers with good words: who out of their bad successfe hitherto, had gathered more cause of feare, than of courage. He willed them to consider, not onely now, their victories in times past against the *Carthaginians*, and other more warlike Nations than were the *Carthaginians*, but euen their owne great numbers: which were no lesse than all that *Rome* at the present was able to set forth. Hee told them in what danger their Countrey stood; how the state and safety thereof rested vpon their hands; vsing some such other common matter of perswasion. But the most effectfull part of his Oration was, That *Hannibal* with this his terrible Army, had not yet obtained one victory by plaine force and valour: but that onely by deceit and ambush he had stolne the honour, which he had gotten at *Trebia* and *Thrasymene*. Herewithall he taxed the inconsiderate rashnesse of *Sempronius* and *Flaminius*; of whom the one saw not his enemies, vntill hee was surrounded by them; the other scarce saw them, when they truck off his head, by reason of the thicke mist, through the darkness whereof he went groping (as it were blinde-fold) into their snars. Finally, declaring what aduantages they had against the Enemy; and how destitute the Enemy was of those helpes, by which he had hitherto preuailed against them; he exhorted them to play the men, and doe their best. They were easily perswaded: for the contemplation of their owne multitude, and confidence of the *Roman* vertue in matter of armes, gaue them cause to thinke, that vnder a Captaine so well experienced, and euery way sufficient, as *Amilius* was knowne to be, they should easily preuaile against the *Carthaginians*: that came short of them in all things else, saue craft; which would not alwayes thriue. But in one thing they mistooke the meaning of their Generall. It was his desire that they should haue heart to fight; not that they should lose the patience of awaiying a convenient season. But they, hauing preconceiued a victory, thought all delays to be impediments: and thereby sought to robbe themselves of their best helpe; which

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was,

was, good conduct. They remembered what talke they had heard at *Rome*: and were themselves affected with the Vulgar desire, of ending the warre quickly; wherein since *Emilius* had acknowledged, that the advantage was theirs, why did he make them bear to vie it? This thought the common Souldier: And thus also thought the Consul *Terentius*; who was no lesse popular in the Campe, than he had bene in the Citie. Expectation is alway tedious; and neuer more, than when the Event is of most importance. All men longed, both at *Rome*, and in the Armie, to be freed from the doubtfull passions of Hope and Feare: therefore *Terentius*, who hastned their desire to effect, was likely to win more thanks, than should his Colleague, though greater in performance.

Thus while the *Romans* thinke themselves to have the better of their Enemies, they so fall into an inconvenience, than which few are more dangerous; *Diffusion* of their chiefe Commanders. *Varro* would fight: *Emilius* would so too, but said that it was not yet time; why? because the enemy must shortly dislodge, and remove hence, into places lesse fit for his horse. But shall the *Romans* wait, till *Hannibal*, having eaten vp his last yeares provisions, returne into *Campania* to gather a second Haruest? This would (said *Varro*) favour too much of *Q. Fabius*: And your haste (said *Paulus*) doth shew no lesse of *C. Flaminius*. Their deedes were like their words: for they commanded by turns interchangeably every day. *Emilius* lodged fixe miles from *Hannibal*, where the ground was somewhat vnteven. Thither if the *Carthaginians* would take pains to come; he doubted not to send them away in such haste, as they should not leave running till they were out of *Italie*. But they came not. *Terentius* therefore the next day descended into the Plaines; his Colleague holding him, and beseeching him to stay. Neuertheless he late downe close by *Hannibal*: who as an vnbidden guest gaue him but a rude welcome and interrainment. The *Carthaginian* Horse, and light armature, fell vpon the *Roman* Vancourers; and put the whole Armie in tumult, whilst it was yet in march: but they were beaten off, not without losse, for that the *Romans* had among their *Velites*, some troups weighly armed, whereas the *Carthaginians* had none. The day following, *Emilius*, who could not handliely withdraw the Armie out of that leuell ground, incamped vpon the Riuer *Ausidus*, sending a third part of his forces over the water, to lye vpon the Easterne banke, where they encrenched themselves. He neuer was more vnwilling to fight, than at this present: because the ground serued wholly for the advantage of his enemies; with whom he meant to deale, when occasion should draw him to more equal teames. Therefore he stirred not out of his Trenches, but fortified himselfe; expecting when *Hannibal* should dislodge, and remove towards *Geryon*, *Cannus*, or some other place, where his store lay, for want of necessities: whereof an Armie forraging the Countrey, was not likely to carry about with it sufficient quantity, for any long time.

Here it would not be passed over with silence, That *Liue* differeth much in his Relation from *Polybius*: telling many strange tales, of the misery into which *Hannibal* had bene driuen; and of base counsels that he deuised to take, if the *Romans* could have retained their patience a little longer. Hee had (saith *Liue*) but tenne dayes prouision of meat. He had not monie to pay his Souldiers. They were an vnruely Rabble, gathered out of severall Nations, so that he knew not how to keepe them in order; but that from murmuring, they fell to start exclamations, first, about their Pay, and Prorant, and afterwards for very famine. Especially the *Spaniards* were ready to forsake him, and runne over to the *Roman* side. Yea *Hannibal* himselfe was once vpon the point, to haue stole away into *Gaul* with all his horse, and left his foot vnto their miserable destinies. At length for lacke of all other counsaile, he resolved to get him as farre as he could from the *Romans*, into the Southermost parts of *Apulia*; to the end, that both his vnfaithfull Souldiers might finde the more difficulty in running from him; and that his hunger might be relieved with the more early haruest. But whilst he was about to put this deuice in execution, the *Romans* pressed him so hard, that they euen forced him to that, which hee most desired; euen to fight a battaile vpon open *Champaigne* ground: wherein hee was victorious. It was not vncommendable in *Liue*, to speake the best of his owne Citizens; and, where they did ill, to say, That without their owne great folly, they had done passing well. Further also hee may be excused; as writing onely by report. For thus hee saith; *Hannibal* de fugâ in Galliam (dicitur) agitasse; *Hannibal* (d'ait) to

have brought himselfe of flying into *Gaul*: where he makes it no more then a matter of heere-say; as perhaps was all the rest of this Relation. As for the proceesse itselfe, it is very incredible. For if *Hannibal*, coming out of *Gaul*, through the Marishes and Bogs of *Hetruria*, could finde victualles enough, and all things needfull vnto his Armie, the Summer foregoing: what should hinder him to doe the like this year; especially seeing he had plaid the careful husband in making a great haruest; since he had long bene Master of the open field; and besides, had gotten, by surpris, no small part of the *Roman* provisions? Sure hee vnto is all the rest. If *Hannibal* had taken nothing but come and cartails; his Souldiers might perhaps have fallen into mutinie for pay. But he brought gold with him into *Italie*: and had so well increased his stocke, since he came into that Countrey, that he had armed his *African* Souldiers, all *Roman*-like; and laden his followers with spoyle: hauing left wherewith to redeeme as many of his owne, as were taken by the Enemy; when the *Romans* were not willing, as finding it not easie to doe the like. In this point therefore, we are to attend the generall agreement of Historians: who giue it as a principall commendation vnto *Hannibal*, That he alwayes kept his Armie free from sedition, though it were composed of sundry Nations, no lesse different in Manners, Religion, and almost in Nature, than they were in languages: and well might hee so doe, hauing not onely pronounced, That which of his men fouer fought brauely with an Enemy, was thereby a *Carthaginian*; but solemnly protested & sworn, (besides other rewards) to make as many of them, as should deserue and seeke it, free Citizens of *Carthage*. The running away into *Gaul*, was a senselesse deuice. *Hannibal*, being there with his whole Armie, took so little pleasure in the Countrey and People, that he made all haste to get him out of it. And what should he now doe there with his horse? or how could he be trusted, either there or elsewhere? yea, how could he desire to lye, hauing betrayed all his Army; and relinquished his miserable foot, to the butcherie of their enemies? This tale therefore *Plutarch* omitteth; who in writing the life of *Hannibal*, takes in a manner all his directions from *Liue*. But of this and the like it is enough to say, That all Historians loue to extoll their owne Countrymen; and where a losse cannot be dissembled, nor the honor of the victory taken from the Enemy, and giuen vnto blinde Fortune, there to lay all the blame on some strange misgouernment of their own forces: as if they might easily haue won all, but lost all through such folly, as no Enemy can hope to finde in them another time.

Now let vs returne backe to the two Armies, where they lye encamped on the Riuer *Ausidus*. *Varro* was perswaded, that it concerned him in honour, to make good his word vnto the people of *Rome*: and since he had thus long waited in vaine, to get the consent of *Paulus*, now at length to vse his owne authority; and, without any more disposing of the matter to fight when his owne day came. When therefore it was his turne to command; at the first breake of day he began to passe the Riuer, without staying to bid his Colleague good morrow. But *Paulus* came to him; and fought, as in former times, to haue dissuaded him, from putting the estate of his Countrey to a needlesse hazard. Against whose words and substantiall arguments, *Terentius* could alludge none other, than point of Honour. *Hannibal* had presented them battaile at their Trenches: should they endure this Brauado? He had sent his *Numidians* ouer the Riuer but euen the day before, who fell vpon the *Romans* that were fetching water to the lesser Campe; and draue them shamefully to runne within their defences, which also they made offer to assaile: must this also be suffered? He would not endure it: for it could not but weaken the spirit of the *Roman* Souldier; which as yet was liuely, and full of such courage, as promised assured victory. When *Emilius* perceived, that hee could not hinder the obstinate resolution of his Companion; he took all care, that what he saw must be done, might be done well. Tenne thousand *Roman* foot hee caused to be left behinde, in the greater campe, opposite vnto the *Carthaginian*; to the intent, that either *Hannibal* might be compelled to leaue behind him some answerable number, for defence of his Trenches: (which out of his paucity hee was lesse able to spare from the battaile, than were the *Romans*) or that these ten thousand, falling vpon the *Carthaginian* Campe, when the fight began, & taking it with all the wealth therein, might thereby (as commonly doe such accidents) terrifie and distract the Enemies in the heate of fight. This done, the two Consuls went ouer the water with their Armie to the lesser Campe, whence also they drew forth their men, and ranged them in order of battaile: the ground

on the East part of the River, seeming perhaps more fit for marshalling of their Armie. *Hannibal* was glad of this, as he had great cause; and without any delay, passed likewise over, somewhat higher up the streame, which ran from the South; leaving in his owne campe so many, as he thought would serve to defend it, and no more. To encourage his men; He had them looke about them, and view the ground well, upon which they were to fight. They did so. And could you (said hee) pray for any greater fortune, than to ioyne battle with the *Romans* upon such a leuell ground, where the stronger in horse are sure to prevaile? They all assented to him; and shewed by their countenances, that they were very glad of it. Well then (said hee further) ye are first of all to thank the gods, that have brought them hither; and then Vs, that have trained them along, and drawne them into necessity of playing for their lives, where they are sure to loose them. As for these *Romans*, I was faine to encourage you against them, when ye met them first: but now ye may even encourage your selves, by calling to minde that they are the men, whom ye have as often beaten as scene. Of one thing only I will put you in minde: That whereas hitherto you fought for other respects; as, to drive them before you out of *Gaul*; and to win the open Countrey, and fields of *Italy*; both of which ye have obtained: now are ye to fight for the Townes themselves, and all the riches within them, which this victory shall make yours. Therefore play the stout Souldiers: and ere many houres passe, ye shall be Lords of all that the *Romans* hold.

When he had said this, his brother *Mago* came to him, whom he had sent to view the countenance of the Enemy. *Hannibal* asked him, what newes; and what worke they were likely to have with these *Romans*? Worke enough (answered *Mago*) for they are an horrible many. As horrible a many as they are (thus *Hannibal* replied) I tell thee, brother, that among them all, search them never so diligently, thou shalt not finde one man, whose name is *Mago*. With that he fell a laughing, and so did all that stood about him: which gladdened the souldiers, who thought their Generall would not be so merry, without great assurance. Whether it were so, that *Hannibal*, in the pride of his victories already gotten, valued one *Mago* above many thousand *Romans*; or whether he intimated, that the *Romans* were no lesse troubled with thinking upon *Mago* and his Companions, than was *Mago* with beholding their huge multitude; or whether he meant onely to correct the sad moode of his brother with a jest, and shew himselfe merry unto the Souldiers: this his answer was more manly, than was the relation of his discoverer. But if *Hannibal* himselfe had bene sent forth by *Mago*, to view the *Romans*, he could not have returned with a more gallant report in his mouth, than that which Capitaine *Gam*, before the battaile of *Agincourt*, made unto our King *Henrie* the sixth: saying, that of the *Frenchmen*, there were enow to be killed; enow to be taken prisoners; and enow to run away. Even such words as these, or such pleasant jests as this of *Hannibal*, are not without their moment; but serve many times, when battaile is at hand, to worke upon such passions, as must govern more of the businesse: especially, where other needfull care is not wanting; without which they are but vaine boasts.

In this great day, the *Carthaginian* excelled himselfe; expressing no lesse perfection of his militarie skill, than was greatesse in his spirit and undertakings. For to omit the commodiousness of the place, into which he had long before conceiued the means to draw his enemies to battaile; He marshalled his Armie in such convenient order, that all hands were brought to fight, where euerly one might doe best service. His Darters, and Slingers of the *Baleares*, hee sent off before him, to encounter with the *Roman Velites*. These were loose troups, answerable in a manner to those, which we call now by a French name *Enfans perdus*; but when we use our owne termes, the former hope. The groffe of his Armie following them, he ordered thus. His *Africans*, armed after the *Roman* manner, with the spoiles which they had gotten at *Trebia*, *Turlymen*, or elsewhere; and well trained in the use of those weapons, that were of more advantage, than those wherewith they had formerly served; made the two wings, very deepe in File. Betweene these he ranged his *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, armed each after their owne Countrey manner; their shields alike; but the *Gauls* vsing long broad swords, that were forcible in a downe-right stroake; the *Spaniards*, short and well-pointed blades, either to strike or thrust; the *Gauls*, naked from their nauell vpwards, as confident in their owne fierceness: the *Spaniards*, wearing white cassocks embroidered with purple.

This

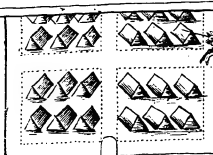
This medley of two Nations, differing as well in habit and furniture, as in qualitie, made a gallant show, and terrible, because strange. The *Gauls* were strong of body, and furious in giving charge, but soone wearied, as accustomed to spend their violence at the first brunt, which disposition all that come of them have inherited to this day. The *Spaniards* were lesse eager, but more wary; neither ashamed to giue ground, when they were over-pressed; nor afraid to returne, and renew the fight, upon any small encouragement. As the roughness of the one, and patience of the other, served mutually to reduce each of them to a good and firme temper; so the place which they held in this battaile, added confidence ioynly unto them both. For they saw themselves well and strongly flanked with *Carthaginians* and other *Africans*; whose name was growne terrible in *Spain*, by their Conquests; and in *Gaul*, by this their present warre. Since therefore it could not be feared, that any great calamitie should fall upon them, whilst the wings on either side stood fast: these Barbarians had no cause to shrink, or forbear to imploy the uttermost of their hardiness, as knowing that the Enemy could not presse farre upon them, without further engaging himselfe than discretion would allow. Hereunto may be added that great advantage, which the *Carthaginian* had in horse: by which he was able, if the worst had happened, to make a good retreat. The effect of contraries is many times alike. Desperation begetteth courage; but not greater, nor so lively, as doth assured Confidence. *Hannibal* therefore caused these *Gauls* and *Spaniards* to advance; leaving void the place wherein they had stood, and into which they might fall backe, when they should be over-hardly pressed. So, casting them into the forme of a Crescent, He made them as it were his Van-guard: the two points of this great halfe Moone, that looked toward the empty space from which he had drawne it, being narrow and thin, as serving onely to guide it orderly backe, when neede should require; the foremost part of the Ring, swelling out toward the enemies, being well strengthened and thicked against all impression. The circle hereof seemeth to have bene so great, that it shadowed the *Africans*, who stood behinde it: though such figures, cut in brass, as I have scene of this Battaille, present it more narrow: with little reason, as shall anone appeare: as also in the same figures it is omitted, That any Companies of *Africans*, or others, were assistance Reare, to second the *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, when they were driven to retreat; though it be manifest, that *Hannibal* in person stood betweene the last ranks of his long battalions, and in the head of his Reare, doubtlesse well accompanied with the choice of his owne Nation. Betweene the left battalion and the River *Auslus*, were the *Gauls* and *Spanish* horse, vnder the command of *Asdrubal*: On the right wing, toward the wide Plains, was *Amno* (*Linie* saith *Maharbal*) with the *Numidian* light-horse. *Hannibal* himselfe, with his brother *Mago*, had the leading of the Reare. The whole sum of *Hannibal*'s Armie in the field this day, was ten thousand horse, and fourie thousand foot; his enemies having two to one against him in foot; and Hee, five to three against them in horse.

The *Roman* Army was marshalled in the vsuall forme: but somewhat more narrow, and deepe, than was accustomed; perhaps, because this had bene found convenient against the *Carthaginians*, in the former war. It was indeed no bad way of resistance against Elephants, to make the Ranks thick and short, but the Files long, as also to strengthen well the Reare; that it might stand fast compacted as a wall, vnder shelter whereof the disordered troups might rally themselves. Thus much it seemes, that *Terentius* had learned of some old Souldiers; and therefore he now ordered his Battalies accordingly, as meaning to shew more skill, than was in his vnderstanding. But the *Carthaginians* had here no Elephants with them in the field: their advantage was in Horse, against which, this manner of embattailing was very vnprofitable forasmuch as their charge is better sustained in front, than upon a long flanke. As for *Emilius*, it was not his day of command: He was but an Assistant, and in such cases it happens often, that wise men yeeld for very weakness unto the more contentious. Upon the right hand, and toward the River, were the *Roman* horse-men, vnder the Consul *Paulus*: On the left wing, was *C. Terentius Varro* the other Consul, with the rest of the horse, which were of the *Latines*, and other Associates: *Cn. Servilius* the former yeeres Consul, had the leading of the battaile. The Sunne was newly risen, and offended neither part; the *Carthaginians* having their faces Northward, the *Romans* toward the South.

After some light skirmish, betweene the *Roman Velites* and *Hannibal* his Darters and slingers

slingers of the *Baleares*: *Asdrubal* brake vpon the Consul *Paulus*, and was roughly encountered; not after the manner of seruice on horse-backe, vsed in those times, wheeling about *Almas*-like; but each giuing on in a right line. Pouldron to Pouldron, as hauing the Riuer on the one hand, and the shoulder of the foot on the other hand; so that there was no way left, but to pierce and breake thorow. Wherefore they not onely vsed their Lances and Swords; but rushing violently amongst the Enemies, grasped one another: and so, their horses running from vnder them, fell many to the ground; where starting vp againe, they began to deale blowes like foot-men. In conclusion, the *Roman* horse were ouer-borne, and driuen by plaine force to a staggering recoile. This the Consul *Paulus* could not remedy. For *Asdrubal*, with his boisterous *Gaules* and *Spaniards*, was not to be resisted by these *Roman* Gentlemen, vnequall both in number, and in horsemanship. ¹⁰ When the battailes came to ioyning, the *Roman* Legionaries found worke enough, and somewhat more then enough, to breake that great Crescent, vpon which they first fell: so strongly for the while, did the *Gaules* and *Spanish* foote make resistance. Wherefore the two points of their battaile drew towards the midst; by whose aide, these Opposites were forced to disband, and flye backe to their first place. This they did in great haste and feare: and were with no lesse haste, and folly pursued. Vpon the *Africans* that stood behinde them, they needed not to fall foule; both for that there was voide roome enough; and forasmuch as the Reare, or Hornes of this Moone, pointed into the safe retrait, where *Hannibal* with his *Carthaginians* was ready to re-enforce them, when time should require. In this hasty retrait, or flight, of the *Gaules* and *Spaniards*, ²⁰ it hapned, as was necessary, that they who had stood in the limbe or vtter compass of the halfe Moone, made the innermost or concave surface thereof (disordered and broken though it were) when it was forced to turne the inside outward: the hornes or points thereof, as yet, vntouched, onely turning round, and recoyling very little. Some *Romans*, in pursuing them, were inclosed in an halfe circle; which they should not haue needed greatly to regard, (for that the sides of it were exceeding thin and broken; and the bottom of it, none other than a throng of men routed, and seeming vnable to make resistance) had all the enemies foot bin. cast into this one great body, that was in a manner dissolved. But whilst the Legions, following their supposed victory, rushed on vpon those that stood before them, and thereby vnwittingly engaged themselves deeply with ³⁰ in the principall strength of the Enemies, hedging them in on both hands; the two *African* Battalions on either side aduanced so farre, that getting beyond the Reare of them, they inclosed them, in a manner, behinde: and forward they could not passe farre, without remouing *Hannibal* and *Mago*; which made that way the least ease. Hereby it is apparent, That the great Crescent, before spoken of, was of such extent, as couered the *Africans*, who lay behinde it vndiscerned, vntill now. For it is agreed, that the *Romans* were thus empaled *vnawares*; and that they behaued themselves, as men that thought vpon no other worke, than what was found them by the *Gaules*. Neither is it credible, that they would haue bene so mad, as to run head-long, with the whole bulke of their ⁴⁰ Armie, into the throat of slaughter; had they seene those weapons bent against them at the first, which when they did see, they had little hope to escape. Much might be imputed to their heat of sight, and rashnesse of inferiour Captaines: but since the Consul *Paulus*, a man so expert in warre, being vanquished in horse, had put himselfe among the Legions; it cannot be supposed, that hee and they did wilfully thus engage themselves. *Asdrubal*, hauing broken the troupes of *Roman* horse, that were led by the Consul *Paulus*, followed vpon them along the Riuer side, beating downe and killing, as many as he could, (which were almost all of them) without regard of taking prisoners. The Consul himselfe was either driuen vpon his owne Legions, or willingly did cast himselfe among them; as hoping by them to make good the day, notwithstanding the defeat of his horse. But he failed of this his expectation. Neuertheless he cheered vp his men as well as he could, both with comfortable words, and with the example of his owne stout behauiour: beating downe, and killing many of the enemies with his owne hand. The like did *Hannibal* among his *Carthaginians*, in the same part of the battaile, and with better successe. For the Consul received a blow from a sling, that did him great hurt: and though a troupe of *Roman* Gentlemen, riding about him, did their best to saue him from further harme; yet was he so hardly laid at, that he was compelled, by wounds and weaknesse, to forsake his horse. Hereupon all his ⁵⁰ company

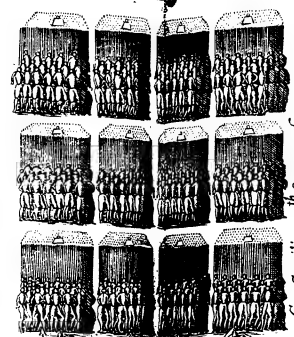
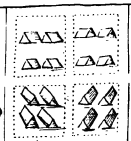
586
The greater
Camp of the
Romans



The lesser
Camp of
the Romans



The Roman Camp
beyond the river



Cn: Scipilius w 8000 foot

L. Aemilius Paulus

The Roman
Velites

C. Terentius Varro

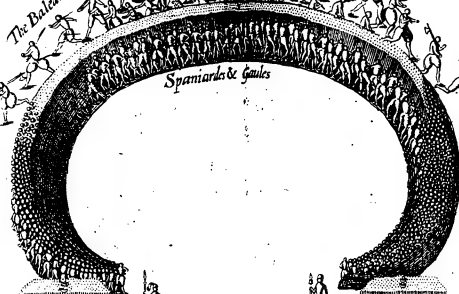


Aufidius fluvius



Ashrubal

The Balance



Spaniards & Gauls

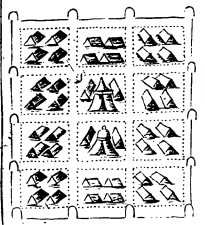
Afri:

Afri:

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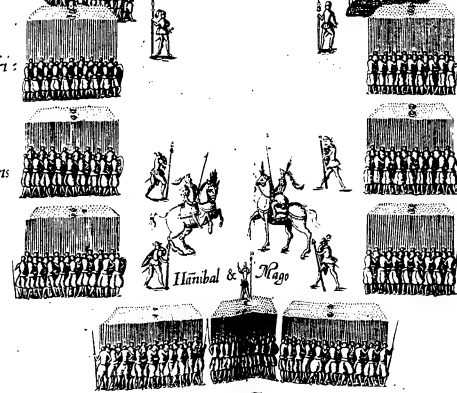
The Camp of
Hannibal



carts

carts

Hannibal & Mago

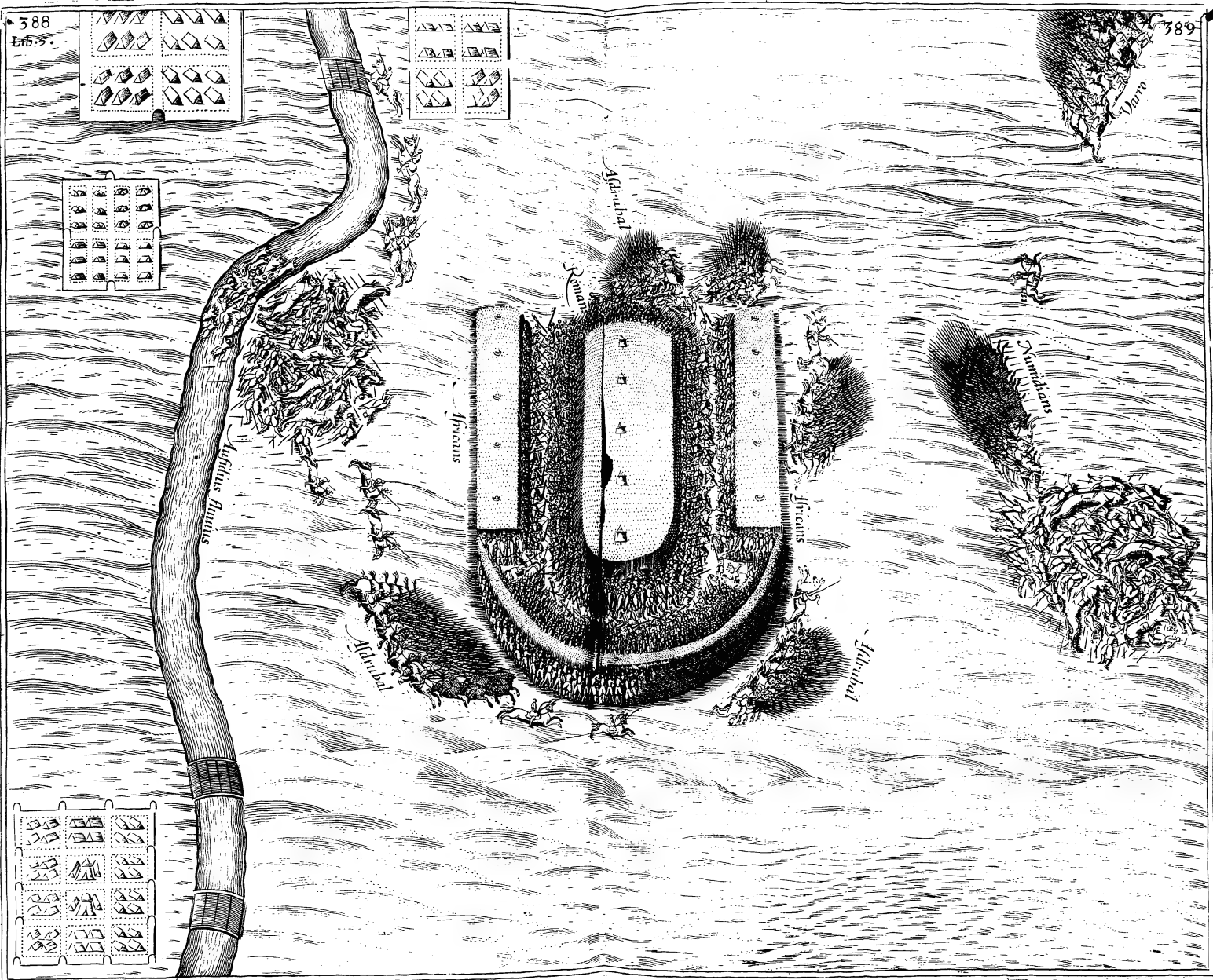


company alighted, thinking that the Consul had giuen order so to doe: as in many battailes, the *Roman* men at armes had left their horses, to helpe their foot in distress. When *Hannibal* (for he was neere at hand) perceiued this, and vnderstood that the Consul had willed his horse-men to dismount; He was very glad of it, and pleasantly said, *I had rather he would haue deliuered them vnto me bound hand and foot*: meaning, that he had them now almost as safe, as if they were so bound. All this while *C. Terentius Varro*, with the horse of his associates, in the left wing, was maruellously troubled by *Hannibal* (or *Marbels*) and the *Numidians*: who beating vp and downe about that great sandy Plaine, raised a foule dust; which a strong Southwinde, blowing there accustomarily, draue into the eyes and mouthes of the *Romanes*. These, vling their aduantage both of number and of lightnesse, wearied the Consul and his followers exceedingly: neither giuing, nor sustaining any charge, but continually making offers, and wheeling about. Yet at the first they seemed to promise him a happy day of it. For when the battailes were euen ready to ioyne, five hundred of these *Numidians* came picking away from their fellows, with their shields cast behinde their backs, (as was the manner of those which yielded) and, throwing downe their armes, rendered themselves. This was good lucke to beginne withall, if there had beene good meaning. *Varro* had not leisure to examine them; but caused them, vnweaponed as they were, to get them behinde the Armie, where hee bade them rest quietly till all was done. These crafty aduenturers did as hee bade them, for a while; till they found opportunitie to put in execution the purpose, for which they had thus yielded. Vnder their iackets they had short swords and ponyards; besides which, they found other scattered weapons about the field, of such as were slaine, and therewithall flew vpon the hindmost of the *Romanes*, whilst all eyes and thoughts were bent another way: so that they did great mischief, and raised yet a greater terrour. Thus *Hannibal*, in a plaine leuell ground, found means to lay an ambush at the backe of his enemies. The last blow, that ended all fight and resistance, was giuen by the same hand which gaue the first. *Asdrubal*, hauing in short space broken the *Roman* troups of horse, and cut in pieces all, saue the Companie of *Amilius* that rushed into the grolle of his foot, and a very few besides, that recoured some narrow passage, between the Riuer and their owne Battalions; did not stay to charge vpon the face of the Legions, but fell backe behinde the Reare of his owne, and fetching about, came vp to the *Numidians*: with whom he ioynd, and gaue vpon *Terentius*.

This fearefull cloud, as it shewed at the first appearance what weather it had left behinde it, on the other side: so did it prognosticate a dismall storme vnto those, vpon whom it was ready now to fall. Wherefore *Terentius* his followers, hauing wearied themselves much in doing little, and seeing more worke toward, than they could hope to sustaine; thought it the best way, to auoid the danger by present flight. The Consull was no lesse wise than they, in apprehending the greatnesse of his owne perill; nor more desperate, in struing to worke impossibilities: it being impossible, when so many thranke from him, to sustaine the impression alone, which he could not haue endured with their assistance. Now hee found, that it was one thing to talke of *Hannibal* at Rome; and another, to incounter him. But of this, or of ought else, expressing hastie flight, his present leisure would not serue him to consider. Close at the heeles of him and his flying troups, followed the light *Numidians*, appointed by *Asdrubal* vnto the pursuit, as fittest for that seruice. *Asdrubal* himselfe, with the *Gauls* and *Spanisb* horse, compassing about, fell vpon the backes of the *Romanes*; that were ere this hardly distressed, and in a manner surrounded on all parts else. Hee brake them easily; who before made ill resistance, being inclosed, and laid at on euery side, not knowing which way to turne. Heere began a pittifull slaughter: the vanquished multitude thronging vp and downe, as they knew not whither or which way, whilst euery one sought to auoid those enemies, whom he lay neerest. Some of the *Roman* Gentlemen that were about *Amilius*, got vp to horse, and saved themselves: which though it is hardly vnderstood how they could doe; yet I will rather beleue it, than suppose that *Linus* so reporteth, to grace thereby his Historie with this following tale. *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus*, galloping along by a place, where hee saw the Consull sitting all bloudied vpon a stone, entreated him to rise and saue himselfe; offering him his assistance and horse. But *Paulus* refused it; willing *Lentulus* to shift for himselfe, and not to lose time: saying, That it was not his purpose so to bee brought againe into indgement by the People, either as an accuser of his Colleague, or as guiltie himselfe.

himselfe of that dayes losse. Further, he willed *Lentulus* to commend him to the Senate, and in particular to *Fabius*: willing them to fortifie Rome, as fast and well as they could; and telling *Fabius*, that hee lined and died mindefull of his whole (some counsaile. These words (peraduenture) or some to like purpose, the Consul vttered to *Lentulus*, either when against his will he was drawne to that Battaille, or when he beheld the first defeat of his Horse; at what time he put himselfe in the head of his Legions. For I doubt not, but *Hannibal* knew what he said a good while before this; when he thought the Confull & his troupe, in little better case than if they had beene bound. The whole Grosse of the *Romans*, was inclosed indeede as within a sacke; whereof the *African* Battalions made the sides; the *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, and *Hannibal* with his *Carthaginian*, the bottome; and *Asdrubal* with his horse, closed vp the mouth: in which part, they first of all were shuffled together, and beganne the Rout, wherein all the rest followed. *Amilius* therefore, who could not sit his horse, whilst the battaille yet lasted, and whilst the spaces were somewhat open, by which he might haue withdrawne himselfe; was now (had he neuer so well bin mounted) unable to flie, hauing in his way so close a throng of his owne miserable followers, and so many heapes of bodies, as fell aspace in that great Carnage. It sufficeth vnto his honour, That in the Battaille he fought no lesse valiantly, than he had wonly before, both obtained himselfe, and dissuaded his fellow-Confull, from fighting at all. If, when the day was vtterly lost, it had laine in his power to saue his own life, vnto the good of his Countrey, neuer more needing it; I should thinke, that hee either too much disesteemed himselfe; or being too faintly minded, was wearie of the World, and his vnthankfull Citizens. But if such a resolution were praise-worthy in *Amilius*, as proceeding out of *Roman* valour; then was the *English* vertue of the Lord *John Talbot*, Viscount *Lisle*, sonne to that famous Earle of *Shrewsburie*, who died in the Battaille of *Chastillon*, more highly to be honoured. For *Amilius* was old, grievously, if not mortally, wounded, and acceptable for the overthrow receiued: *Talbot* was in the flowre of his youth, vnhurt, easily able to haue escaped, and not answerable for that dayes misfortune, when hee refused to forsake his Father; who foreseeing the losse of the battaille, and not meaning to staine his actions past by flying in his old age, exhorted this his noble sonne to be gone and leaue him.

In this terrible overthrow died all the *Roman* foot, saue two or three thousand, who (as *Linie* saith) escaped into the lesser campe, whence, the same night, about sixe hundred of them brake forth, and ioyning with such of those in the greater campe, as were willing to trie their fortune, conueyed themselves away ere morning, about foure thousand foot, and two hundred horse, partly in whole troupes, partly dispersed, into *Cannusum*: the next day, the *Roman* Camps, both lesse and greater, were yeeled vnto *Hannibal* by those that remained in the m. *Polybius* hath no mention of this escape: onely he reports, that the ten thousand, whom *Amilius* had left on the West side of *Aufidus* (as was shewed before) to set vpon the campe of *Hannibal*, did as they were appointed; but ere they could effect their desire, which they had well-neere done, the battaille was lost: and *Hannibal*, comming ouer the water to them, draue them into their owne campe; which they quickly yeeled, hauing lost two thousand of their number. Like enough it is, that at the first sight of *Hannibal*, comming vpon them with his victorious Armie, a greater number of these did flie; and thereby escaped, whilst their fellowes, making defence in vaine, retired into their campe, and held the enemye buified. For about two Legions they were (perhaps not halfe full, but made vp by addition of others, whose fault or fortune was like) that hauing serued at *Canna*, were afterwards extremely disgraced by the State of *Rome*, for that they had abandoned their Companions fighting. Of the *Roman* horse what numbers escaped, it is vncertaine: but very few they were that saued themselves in the first charge, by getting behinde the River; and *Terentius* the Consul recovered *Venusia*, with threescore and ten at the most in his companie. That hee was so ill attended, it is no maruell: for *Venusia* lay many miles off to the Southward; so that his neere way thither, had beene through the midst of *Hannibal*'s Armie, if the passage had beene open. Therefore it must needs be, that when once he got out of sight, he turned vp some by-way; so disappointing the *Numidians* that hunted contre. Of such as could not hold pace with the Consul, but tooke other waies, and were scattered ouer the fields; two thousand, or thereabouts, were gathered vp by the *Numidians*, and made prisoners: the rest were slaine, all saue three hundred; who dispersed themselves in flight, as chance led



led them, and got into sundry Townes. There died in this great Battaille of *Canna*, besides *L. Aemilius Paulus* the Consul, two of the *Roman* Queſtors or Treasurers, and one and twentie Colonells or Tribunes of the Souldiers, foureſcore Senators, or ſuch as had borne Office, out of which they were to be choſen into the Senate. Many of theſe were of ſpeciall marke, as hauing bene *Ædiles*, *Praetors*, or *Conſuls*: among whom was *Cn. Seruilius* the laſt yeeres Conſul, and *Minutius*, late maſter of the horſe. The number of priſoners, taken in this battaille, *Liuie* makes no greater than three thouſand foote, and three hundred horſe: too few to haue defended for the ſpace of one halfe houre, both the *Roman* Camps; which yet the ſame *Liuie* ſaith, to haue been ouer-cowardly yeelded vnto. We may therefore doe better, to giue credit vnto one of the priſoners, whom the ſame Hiſtorian ſhortly after introduceth, ſpeaking in the Senate, and ſaying, That they were no leſſe then eight thouſand. It may therefore be, that theſe three thouſand were only ſuch as the *Enemie* ſpared, when the furie of Execution was paſt: but to theſe muſt be added about ſiue thouſand more, who yeelded in the greater campe, when their companies were either ſlaine or fled. So the reckoning falls outright: which the *Romanes*, eſpecially the conſull *Varro*, had before caſt vp (as we ſay) without their Hoſt: nothing ſo chargeable, as now they finde it. On the ſide of *Hannibal* there died ſome foure thouſand *Gauls*, ſiſteene hundred *Spaniards* and *Africans*, and two hundred horſe, or thereabouts: a loſſe not ſenſible, in the ioy of ſo great a victorie; which if he had purſued, as *Mahabal* aduiſed him, and forthwith marched away towards *Rome*; it is little doubted, but that the *Warre* had preſently bene at an end. But hee beleeued not ſo farre in his owne proſperitie; and was therefold told, That hee knew how to get, not how to loſe, a victorie.

§. IX.

Of things following the battaille at *Canna*.

Not without good cauſe doth *Polybius* reprehend thoſe two Hiſtorians, *Fabius* the *Roman*, and *Philius* the *Carthaginian*: who regarding more the pleaſure of writing, vnto whoſe honour they conſecrated their trauailes, than the truth of things, and information of poſteritie, magnified indifferently, whether good or bad, all actions and proceedings, the one of his *Carthaginians*, the other of his *Roman* *Writers*, and *Fathers conſcript*. No man of ſound iudgement will condemne this libertie of cenſure, which *Polybius* hath vſed. For, to recompence his iniurie, (ſuch as it was) he produceth ſubſtantiall arguments, to iuſtifie his owne Relation; and confuteth the vanitie of thoſe former Authors, out of their owne writings, by conference of places ill co-hering: which paines it is to be ſuſpected, that he would not haue taken, had hee bene borne in either of theſe two Cities, but haue ſpared ſome part of his diligence, and bene contented, to haue all men thinke better and more honourably than it deſerued, of his owne Countrey. The like diſeaſe it is to be feared, that we ſhall heereafter finde in others; and ſhall haue ſome cauſe to wiſh, that either they were ſomewhat leſſe *Roman*, or elſe, that ſome *Workes* of their oppoſite Writers were extant, that ſo we might at leaſt heare both ſides ſpeake: being henceforth deſtitute of *Polybius* his helpe, that was a man indifferent. But ſince this cannot bee, wee muſt bee ſometimes bold, to obſerue the coherence of things; and beleue ſo much only to be true, as dependeth vpon good reaſon, or (at leaſt) ſure probability. This attentive circumſpection is needfull at the preſent: ſuch is the repugnantie, or forgetfulneſſe, which we finde in the beſt Narration, of things following the Battaille of *Canna*. For it is ſaid, that foure thouſand foot and horſe gathered together about the Conſul *Terentius* at *Venuſia*; that others to the number of ten thouſand got into *Cannuſum*, choſing for their Captaines, yong *P. Scipio*, and *Ap. Claudiuſ*; yet that the Conſull *Terentius Varro*, ioyning his company vnto thoſe of *Scipio* at *Cannuſum*; wrote vnto the Senate, that he had now well-neere tenne thouſand men about him; that theſe letters of the Conſull were brought to *Rome*, when the Senate was newly riſen, that had bene taking order for pacifying thoſe tumults in the Citie, which grew vpon the firſt bruit of the ouerthrow; and yet, that Embaſſadours from *Capua* (after ſome conſultation, whether it were meet to ſend any, or without further circumſtance, to ſide with *Hannibal*) were ſent vnto *Terentius*, and found him at *Venuſia*, a prettie while before he wrote thoſe letters, which ouer-tooke (in a maner) at *Rome* the firſt newes of the ouerthrow.

ouerthrow. Among such incoherences, I hold it the best way, to omit so much as hath not some particular connexion with matter ensuing: mutuall dependence in things of this nature, being no small argument of truth.

When *Hannibal* had sacked the *Roman* campe, and trusted vp the spoiles, forthwith he dislodged, and marched away into *Sannium*; finding a disposition in the *Hirpines*, and many other people thereabout, to forsake the *Roman* partie, and make alliance with *Carthage*. The first Towne that opened the gates vnto him, was *Cassa*, where hee laid vp his baggage: and leaving his brother *Mago* to take in other places, He halted into *Campania*. The generall affection of the Multitude, in all the Cities of *Italie*, was inclinable vnto him; not onely in regard of their grievous losses, sustained abroad in the fields, which the *Romanes* themselves, who could not hinder him from spoiling the Countrey, especially the 10 poorer sort of them, did hardly endure; but in a louing respect vnto that great courtesie (as it seemed) which he vsed, vnto such of them as became his prisoners. For as at other times, so now also after his great victorie at *Canna*, He had louingly dismissed as many of the *Italian* Confederates of *Rome*, as fell into his hands: rebuking them gently for being so oblitinate, against him that had fought to deliuer them from bondage. Neither spared he to win their loue by gifts; pretending to admire their valour; but seeking indeed, by all waies and means, to make them his, whilest all other motives were concurrent. At this time also hee began to deale kindly (though against his nature) with the *Roman* prisoners; telling them, that hee bore no mortall hatred vnto their Estate; but being provoked by iniuries, sought to right himselfe and his Countrey; and fought with them, to 20 trie which of the two Cities, *Rome* or *Carthage*, should beare soveraigne Rule, not, which of them should be destroyed. So he gaue them leaue to chooe ten of their number, that should be sent home to treat with the *Fathers* about their ransom: and together with these, hee sent *Caribalo* a Nobleman of *Carthage*, and General of his Horse, to seele the disposition of the Senate; whether it were bowed as yet by so much aduersitie, and could stoope vnto desire of peace. But with the *Romanes* these arts prevailed not, as shall be shewed in due place. The people of *Italie*, all, or most of them, sate the *Roman* Colonies, or the *Latines*, were not onely wearie of their losses past, but entertained a deceivable hope, of changing their olde Societie for a better. Wherefore not onely the *Sammies*, *Lucans*, *Brutians*, and *Apulians*, ancient enemies of *Rome*, and not vnto 30 till the former generation vtterly subdued, began to re-assume their wonted spirits; but the *Campanians*, a Nation of all other in *Italie* most bound vnto the state of *Rome*, and by many mutuall affinities therewith as strictly conioyned, as were any other the *Latines*, changed on a sudden their loue into hatred; without any other cause found, than change of fortune.

Campania, is the most goodly and fruitfull Prouince of *Italie*, if not (as somethen thought) of all the Earth: and the Citie of *Capua*, answerable vnto the Countrey, whereof it was Head, so great, faire, and wealthie, that it seemed no lesse conuenient a seat of the Empire, than was either *Rome* or *Carthage*. But of all qualities, brauerie is the least requisite vnto soveraigne command. The *Campanians* were luxurious, idle, and proud: and valuing themselves like layes by their feathers, despised the vnfortunate vertue of the *Romanes* their Patrons and Benefactors. Yet were there some of the principal among them, as in other Cities, that bore especiall regard vnto the Maiestic of *Rome*, and could not endure to heare of Inuouation. But the *Plebeian* faction had lately so prevailed within *Capua*, that all was gouerned by the pleasure of the Multitude; which wholly followed the direction of *Pacuvius Calanius* an ambitious Noble-man, whose credit grew, and was vp-held by furthering all popular desires: whereof, the coniunction with *Hannibal* was not the least. Some of the *Capuans* had offered their Citie to the *Carthaginians*, shortly after the battaile of *Thrasymene*: whereupon chiefly it was, that *Hannibal* made his iourne into *Campania*; the Dictator *Fabius* waiting vpon him. At that time, either the necessity of the *Romane* Armie, or some other feare of the *Capuans*, hindered them from breaking into actual rebellion. They had indeed no leisure to treat about any article of new Confederacie: or had leisure serued, yet were the multitude (whose inconstant loue *Hannibal* had wonne from the *Romanes*, by gentle vsage, and free dismissing, of some prisoners in good account among them) vnable to hold any such negotiation, without aduice of the Senate; which mainly impugned it. So they that had promised to yeeld vp their town to *Hannibal*, & meet him on the way, with some of their nobility that should assure him

him of all faithfull meanings were driuen to sit still in a great perplexitie: as hauing failed to let in this their new friend, yet sufficiently discovered themselves, to draw vpon them the hatred of the *Romanes*. In this case were no small number of the Citizens: who thereupon grew the more incited against their Senate; on whom they cast all the blame, easily pardoning their owne cowardize. The people holding so tender a regard of libertie, that euen the lawfull Government of *Magistrates* grieved them; with an imaginary oppression; had now good cause to feare lest the Senators would become their Lords indeed, and by helpe of the *Romanes*, bringe them vnder a more straight subiection, than euer they had endured. This feare, being ready to breake into some outrage, *Pacuvius* made use of, to sate his owne ambition. He discoursed vnto the Senate, as they sate in Council, about these motions troubling the Citie: and said, That he himselfe had both married a *Roman* Ladie, and giuen his Daughter in marriage to a *Roman*; but, that the danger of forsaking the *Roman* partie was not now the greatest: for that the People were violently bent to murder all the Senate; and after to ioyne themselves with *Hannibal*; who should countenance the fact, and saue them harmelesse. This hee spake, as a man well knowne to be beloued himselfe by the People, and priuie vnto their designs. Hauing thoroughly terrified the Senate, by laying open the danger hanging ouer them: Hee promised next the least to deliuer them all, and to set things in quiet, if they would freele put themselves into his hands; offering his oath, or any other assurance that they should demand, for his faithfull meaning. They all agreed. Then shutting vp the Court, and placing a Guard of his owne followers about it, that none might enter, nor issue forth, without his leaue; He called the people to assembly: and speaking as much ill of the Senate, as hee knew they would be glad to heare, hee told them, that these wicked Gouernours were surprised by his policie, and all fast, ready to abide what sentence they would lay vpon them. Onely thus much he aduised them, as a thing which necessity required, That they should chooe a new Senate, before they satisfied their anger vpon the olde. So rehearsing vnto them the names of one or two Senators, he asked what their iudgement was of those. All cried out, that they were worthy of death. Choofe then (said he) first of all some new ones into their places. Heereat the Multitude, vnprovided for such an election, was silent; vntill at last, some one or other aduentured to name whom hee thought fit. The men so nominated, were vtterly disliked by the whole Assembly; either for some known fault, basenesse, and insufficiency, or else euen because they were vnknown, and therefore held vnworthy. This difficultie in the new Election appearing more and more, whilest more were to be chosen; (the fittest men to be substituted, hauing bene named among the first, and not thought fit enough) *Pacuvius* entreated, and easily prevailed with the people, that the present Senate might for this time be spared, in hope of amends hereafter; which (doubtlesse) they would make, hauing thus obtained pardon of all offences past. Henceforth, not onely the people, as in former times, honoured *Pacuvius*, and esteemed him their Patron; but the Senators also were gouerned by him, to whom they acknowledged themselves indebted, for sauing all their liues. Neither did the Senate faile after this by all obsequiousnesse, to court the People; giuing the reines vnto their lawlesse Will, who else were likely to cast them down: All the City being thus of one minde; onely feare of the *Romanes* kept them from opening their gates to *Hannibal*. But after the Battaille at *Canna*, this impediment was remoued: and few there were, that would open their mouths to speake against the Rebellion. Yet forasmuch as three hundred principall Gentlemen of the *Campanians*, did then serue the *Romanes* in the Isle of *Sicily*: the Parents and Kinsmen of these prevailed so far, that Embassadors were sent vnto *Terentius* the Consul; to see his present case, and what it could minister of Hope or Feare. These, wherefoeuer they found him, found him weakely attended, and as weakely in spirit, as in followers. Yet they offered him formally the seruice of their Senate; and desired to know what he would command them. But he most basely lamented vnto them the greatnesse of the *Romane* misfortune: saying, that all was lost; and that the *Campanians* must now, not helpe the *Romanes*, who had nothing left wherewith to helpe themselves, but, make warre in their defence against the *Carthaginians*; as the *Romanes* had sometimes done for the *Campanians* against the *Sammies*. Heereunto he said to haue added a foolish Inuocatie against *Hannibal* and his *Carthaginians*: telling, How he had taught them to make bridges of slaughtered carcasses, and to feed vpon mans flesh; with such other stuffe, as onely bewtraied his owne feare. As for the *Campanians* themselves,

He put them in minde of their present strength; they having thirty thousand foot, and four thousand horse; with monie, and all provisions, in abundance. Thus he dismissed them, prouder then they came, and filled them with conceit of getting a great Lordship; whereas before, they were somewhat timorous, in adventuring to seeke their owne libertie. Having reported this at *Capua*: the same Embassadors were dispatched away to *Hannibal*, with whom they easily made alliance, vpon these conditions: That the *Campans* should be absolutely free, and ruled by their owne Laws; That no Citizens of theirs should be subiect vnto any *Carthaginian* Magistrate, in what case soeuer, whether in War or Peace; and, That *Hannibal* should deliuer vnto the *Campans* three hundred *Roman* prisoners, such as themselves would chooseth, whom they might exchange for their Gentlemen which were in *Sicily*.

Against all this Negotiation, *Decius Magius* an honourable Citizen opposed himselfe earnestly: yfing, in vaine, many persuasions, to the wilfull and head-strong Multitude; whom he put in minde of *Epyrius* and the *Tarentines*, wishing them not to change olde friends for new acquaintance. This did hee, when they were sending Embassadors vnto *Hannibal*: and this also did hee, when the new Alliance was concluded; but most earnestly, when a *Carthaginian* Garrison was entering the Towne: at which time hee gaue aduice, either to keepe it out, or to fall vpon it and to cut it in pieces, that by such a notable piece of seruice, they might make amends vnto the *Romans*, whom they had forsaken.

Aduertisement hereof was giuen to *Hannibal*: who lying about *Naples* not farre off, sent for *Magius* to come speake with him in the campe. This *Magius* refused: alleging, that he was, by the late concluded Articles, free from subiection vnto any *Carthaginian*; and therefore would not come. *Hannibal* thereupon halsted himselfe towards *Capua*: forbearing to attempt any further vpon *Naples*; which he thought to haue taken in his way by *Scalado*, but found the wals too high, & was not well provided to lay siege vnto it. At *Capua* he was entertained with great solemnitie and pompe: all the people issuing forth of the Towne, to behold that great Commander, which had wonne so many noble victories. Having taken his pleasure in the sight of that goodly Citie, and passed ouer his first Entertainments; He came into their Senate: where he commended their resolution, in shaking off the *Roman* yoke; promising, that ere long all *Italic* and *Rome* it selfe, should be deuiant to acknowledge: *Capua* as chief; and receiue Law from thence. As for *Decius Magius*, who openly tooke part with the *Romans* their enemies; He prayed them, that they would not thinke him a *Campian*, but a Traitor to the State: and vse him accordingly, giuing sentence out of hand vpon him, as he deserued. This was granted: and *Magius* deliuered vnto *Hannibal*; who vnwilling to offend the *Campans*, at his first coming, by putting so great a man to death, yet fearing that they might sue for his libertie, if he kept him alie, thought it best to send him away to *Carthage*. Thus *Hannibal* settled his friendship with the *Campans*: among whom, onely this *Decius Magius* had openly dared to speake against him; being assisted by *Perolla* the sonne of *Pacuvius*. This *Perolla* would haue murdered *Hannibal*, whilest he was at supper, the first night of his coming; had not his Fathers authority kept him from attempting any such attempt. All the Towne (besides) were so earnest in the loue of their new Societie, that they are said to haue murdered all the *Romans*, vpon whom at the present they could lay hand; or, (which is all one) to haue smothered them to death in an hot Bath.

The same course of fortune, with those of *Capua*, ranne some other Townes thereabouts, which depended on this, as their Mother-Citie. *Nola*, *Nuceria*, *Naples*, *Casilum*, and *Acerre*, were the Citie next adioyning, that stood out for the *Romans*. Against these *Hannibal* went, thinking to finde them weakly manned; as they were indeed, though stoutly defended.

The *Romans* at this time were not in case, to put Garrisons into all their walled Townes; but were faine to leaue all places, except a few of the most suspected, vnto the faith and courage of the Inhabitants. *Rome* it selfe was in extreme feare of *Hannibals* coming, at the first report of the ouerthrow at *Cannae*: and the griefe of that losse was so generall, and immoderate, that it much disturbed the prouision against apparent danger. It was hard to iudge, whether the losse already receiued, or the feare of destruction presently threatening, were the more terrible. All the Senators found worke enough, to stint the noyle and lamentable bewailings, whereof the streets were full. Couriers were sent

sent forth, to bring assured tidings how all went; whereof when Letters from the Consull *Varro* had thoroughly informed them, they were so amazed, that they ran into barbarous superstition; and taking direction (as was said) from their fatal bookes, buried daile two men and women *Gauls* and *Greekes* in their Ox-market. If the bookes of *Sibyl* gaue them such instructions; we may iustly thinke, that *Sibyl* her selfe was instructed by the Diuelli. Yet is it not improbable, that extremity of feare caused them to hearken to wicked Sooth-sayers; whose detestable counsels they afterwards, for their own honor, (as I shalld of such Authors impute to the bookes of *Sibyl*). An Embassador was sent to *Delphi*, to consult with the Oracle of *Apollo*; and enquire with what prayes & supplications they might pacifie the gods, & obtain an end of these calamities. This is enough to discouer their great feare; though not serving to giue remedy. At that time came Letters out of *Sicily*, from the Praetor *Octacilius*; whom the Senate had appointed, if hee found it meet, to passe ouer into *Africa*. In these were contained newes, of one *Carthaginian* Fleet, that wasted the Kingdome of *Hieron* their good friend and confederate; and of another fleet, riding among the *Hebrages*, which was in readines to set vpon *Lilybæum*, and the rest of the *Roman* Province, if the Praetor stirred aside to the rescue of *Hieron*.

In the middle of these extremities, it was thought needfull to call home *Terrinius* the Consull, that he might name a Dictator, to take soueraigne charge of the Weale publique, with absolute power, as necessity required. It must needs seeme strange, that all sorts of people went forth to meet the Consull, and bid him welcome home; giuing him thanks for that he had not despaired of the Weale publique. But this was done: (as may seeme) by order from the Senate: which therein (doubtles) provided wisely, for vpholding the generall reputation. If his coming into the Citie had renewed the lamentations and outcries of the people: what else would haue followed, than a contempt of their wretchednes, among those that were subiect vnto their Dominion? Now in finding this occasion (though indeed he gaue it not) of bestowing vpon him their welcome; and thanks; they noyled abroad a fame, which came perhaps vnto the eares of *Hannibal*; of their Magnanimity and Confidence: that might seeme grounde for their remaining strength. This therefore was wisely done: But whereas *Liue* would haue vs thinke, that it was done generously, and out of great spirit; let me be pardoned, if I beleeue him not: It was done fearefully, and to couer their griefe: had they dared to show their indignation, they would haue struck off his head; as in few yeres after, *Cn. Fulvius* had his life brought into question, and was banished by them, being lesse blame-worthy, for a similar offence. *M. Iunius*, by appointment of the Senate, was nominated Dictator; and *T. Sempronius*, Master of the horse. These fell presently to mustering of Souldiers, of whom they raised foure new Legions, and a 1000. horse: though with much difficulty; as being faine to take vp some, that were very Boyes. These foure Legions are elswhere forgotten, in accompt of the forces leuiet by this Dictator; and two Legions onely set downe, that had bin enrolled in the beginning of the yere for custodie of the Citie. So it may be, that these two Legions being drawn into the field, foure new ones of *Præextator* striplings,

were left in their places. In such raw Souldiers, & so few, little confidence was to be reposed; for which reason they increased their number, by adding vnto them 2000. sturdy slaues that were put in hope of libertie, if they should deserue it by manfull seruice. This notwithstanding, the Dictator proclaimed, that who soeuer ought mony and could not pay, nor had committed any capitall offence, should forthwith be discharged of his debt, or punishment, if he would serue in the war. To arme these 6000. men, they were faine to take down, out of their Temples and Porches, the spoiles of their enemies that had bin thence set vp; among which, were 6000. Armors of the *Gauls*, that had bin cartied in the Triumph of *C. Flaminius*, a little before the beginning of this War. To such mockery had God brought the pride of the *Romans*, as a due reward of their insolent oppressions, that they were faine to issue forth of their own gates, in the habit of strangers, when *Hannibal* was ready to encounter them with his *Africans*, armed *Roman*-like.

About the same time it was, that *Carthalo*, with the Agents of the prisoners taken at *Cannae*, came to *Rome*. *Carthalo* was not admitted into the City, but commanded, whilest he was on the way, to be gone ere night out of the *Roman* Territory. To the messengers of the captiues, audience was giuen by the Senate. They made earnest Petition, to be ransomed at the public charge, not onely the reares & lamentation of their poore kinfolke, but the great need, wherein the City then stood, of able Souldiers, commending

their sure; which yet they obtained not. Besides the generall custome of the *Romans* (held by long Tradition, and strengthened by a notable Precedent, when *Regulus* was overthrowne, and taken prisoner in the former Warre) not to begettend to such as had yielded to the enemy; much was alleged against these who now ^{crowd} ran loose: but the speciall point was, that they were wilfully lost, since they might have saved themselves, as others did. It sufficed not vnto these poore men, to say, that their offence was no greater than the Consuls; they were told, that this was great presumption. The truth was, the State wanted money: and therefore could not want excoles, whereby to auoid the disbursement: whether it were so, or not, that any such Plea was held about this matter of redemption, as we find recorded. Neither must we regard it, that the slaves which were armed for the warre, are said to haue cost more, than the summe did amount vnto, that would haue ransomed these prisoners. For this is but a tale, deuiled to countenance the *Roman* proceedings as if they had bene seuerer; when as indeed they were futable to the present fortune, poore, and somewhat beggerly. Hereof it is no little proofe, That *Hannibal* valud those *Roman* slaves, whom he had taken in the Campe among their Masters, at no more, than eury one the third part of a common Souldiers ranfome: and likely it is, that he offered them at the price, wherat hee thought them current. But if we should suppose, that by trading with *Hannibal*, a better bargaine for slaves might haue bene made, than was by the State at home, in dealing with priuate men; yet must we withall consider, that these priuate men did onely lendth sell us for 20 a while vnto the Common-wealth, and were afterwards contented to forsake the price of them (when by order from the Senate they were enfranchised) vntill the War should be ended. If *Hannibal* would haue giuen such long day of payment; it is likely that the *Romans* would haue bene his Chapmen: but seeing he dealt onely for ready money, they chose rather to say, We will not giue, than, We cannot. The like aueritie, vpon the same reason, but contrary pretence, was vied toward the souldiers that escaped from that great Battaille. These were charged for hauing fled: as the prisoners were, for not flying, when they might haue done so. True it is, that in such cases (if euer) that which they call *ragione del Stato* may serue for an excole: when the Common-wealth being drin to a miserable exigent, is faine to helpe it selfe, by doing iniuries to priuate men. 30 And so dealt the *Romans* now: condemning all those that had serued at *Canna*, to be transported into *Sicily*; and there to serue, not as others did, vntill they had fulfilled twenty yeeres in the Warres, or else were fifty yeeres of age; but vntill this Warre should be ended, how long sooner it lasted, and that without reuward. The same thrifty censure, was afterwards laide vpon others, for their misbehaviour: but neuer vpon any man of quality, saue only (a good while after this, at better leisure) vpon *Cacilius Metellus*, and a few other hare-brained fooles his companions; who being frighted out of their wittes, with the terror of so great a losse, were deusing, after the battaille, which way to runne out of *Italie*, when *Hannibal* as yet had scarce one Towne within it. The inequality of this rigour grew shortly distastfull to the Commonalty: and was openly blamed 40 by a Tribune of the People; neuertheless it was quietly digested, the excole being no lesse apparent then the fault.

M. Iunius the Dictator, hauing dispatched all needfull businesse within the Citie, tooke the field with foure and twenty thousand men. What he did with this Armie, I cannot find: nor more of him than this, That he spent the time about *Campania*: where (as may be presumed) he was not idle. To him therefore perhaps it may be ascribed, that *Hannibal* did no greater euill: for of any euill done to *Hannibal*, by the *Romans*: in this their weak estate, onely *Marcellus* had the honour. *Marcellus*, being then one of the Prators, lay at *Ofia* with a Fleet, ready to set saile for *Sicily*, hauing one Legion aboard his ships, and fiftene hundred other Souldiers newly taken vp: with which forces hee 50 was to defend that Island, and doe what harme he could in *Africk*. But hearing of the overthrow at *Canna*, hee sent these of his new Leuy to *Rome*, for defence of the Citie, and marched hastily with his Legion toward *Cannusium*: deliuering the Fleet, empty of Souldiers, to *P. Furius* his Colleague. Thence was he called by the Magistrats, and chiefe Citizens of *Nola*, to helpe them: who were like to be forced by the multitude (affected, as were the rest of the *Campanians*) to let in the *Carthaginian*, and knew not how to auoid this otherwise, than by seeming to deliberat about the articles of this new Confederacy. Wherefore hee made great iournies thitherward; and arrived euen time enough

enoughto prevent the Enemy. Many idle walkes *Hannibal* made, betwixt *Nola* and *Naples*: allaying by faire words, and terrible threats, the one and the other Citie. *Naples* was strong and not infected with any the least touch of disloyalty: had also a sure Haven; whereby it stood in the lesse feare, of sustaining much inconuenience, by spoile of the Lands and Villages abroad in the Countrey. But at *Nola* it was thought a valuable consideration, That *Hannibal* was Master of the field: which if he laid waste, all the poore people were viterly vndone. So thought the Multitude, and such talke vied, that had little feare of their own priuate want or pouerty, but a great desire to gratifie the *Carthaginian*. Of these, one *L. Banius* was chiefe; a stout yong Gentleman, and Souldier of 10 speciall make, well beloued in the Citie, and one that had done good seruice to the *Romans*: but was found by *Hannibal*, halfe dead at *Canna*, and after much gentle vllage, good attendance, and cure of his wounds, friendly dismissed with liberal gifts. Hee therefore thought, that it concerned him in honour, to returne the greatest thanks hee could vnto so courtesious an enemy. *Marcellus* perceiving this, wrought vpon the same este nature of the Gentleman: and taking notice of him, as if it had bene by chance; seemed to wonder, why one that had so well deserued of the *Roman* state, had not repaired vnto him the Prator, who desired nothing more than such acquaintance. So with many commendations, gifts, and louing entertainment, being himselfe also a man highly repared for his personall valour, he made this *Banius* so farre in loue with him; that no- 20 thing could be attempted within *Nola*, against the *Romans*, whercof he had not presently aduertisement. At the coming of *Marcellus*, *Hannibal* remoued from about *Nola*; and allayed, as formerly he had done, the *Neapolitans*: but they had lately taken in a *Roman* Garrison; vpon confidence whercof they gaue him a prempciose answer, to his discontent. Thence went he to *Nuceria*: which he took by composition; and so returned backe againe to *Nola*. He was not ignorant, what good affection the common people of *Nola* bore vnto him: who although they durst not stirre in his quarrell, being awed by the *Roman* Garrison; yet if they saw *Marcellus*, hardly bestead, and forced to turne his care from watching them within, to repelling the enemies assailing him without, like enough it seemed, that they would not be wanting vnto the accomplishment of their owne desires. He therefore brought his Army close to the Towne, and skirmished often with *Marcellus*: not in hope thereby to doe much good, but onely to 30 make shew of a meaning to force the Towne; which he sought in the meane while to keepe by intelligence. In the night-time there passed messages between him and the Citizens his partakers: whereby it was concluded, That if once *Marcellus*, with all his forces, could be trained into the field, the Multitude within the Towne could presently rise; and seizing vpon the gates, exclude him as an Enemy. Of this Negotiation *Marcellus* was aduertised: and fearing, lest the Conspirators would shortly aduenteure, euen to find him busied within the Citie, whilst the *Carthaginians* should scale the walles; hee thought it the surest way, to cut off the enemies hope, and send him away betimes: Wherefore ordering his men in three Companies, within three seuerall gates looking to- 40 wards the enemy: He gaue a streight command, that all the Citizens should keepe their houses. Thus hee lay close a good part of the day, to the enemies great wonder; against whom he had customarily issued forth before more early, eury day, to skirmish. But when it was further noted, that the walles were bare, and not a man appearing on them; then thought *Hannibal*, that surely all was discovered, and *Marcellus* now busied with the Citizens. Whereupon he bade his men bring ladders, and make ready for the assault: which was done in all haste. But when the *Carthaginians* were at the very wals, and thought nothing lesse, than that the *Romans* would meet them in the field: suddenly the middle gate was opened, wherat *Marcellus*, with the best and oldest of his Souldiers, brake forth vpon them, with a great noise, to make his vnexpected fallly the more 50 more terrible. Whilst the *Carthaginians*, much out of order, were some of them flying before *Marcellus*, the rest making head against him: the other two gates opened, wherat in like sort issued they of the new leued Companies, vpon the enemies backs. The sudden terror was more auailable vnto the *Romans*, than their force: yet the Execution was so great, that this was accounted as a victory, and repured one of the briskest Actes performed in all that Warre; forasmuch as hereby it was first proofed, that *Hannibal* might be overcome. After this, *Marcellus*, being freed from his enemies that were departed, tooke a strict accompt of the Citizens of *Nola*: condemning about three score

three score and ten of high Treason, whose heads he struck off; and so leaving the Town in quiet obedience unto their Senate, went & encamped hard by about *Suessula*, *Hannibal* in the meane season was gone to *Acerra*: where being excluded, he thought it not wisdom to lose time in perswasions, but laide siege vnto it, and began on all sides to close it vp. This terrified the People, who knew themselves vnable to hold out. Therefore, before his Workes were finished, and they quite surrounded; they stole out by night, and left him the Towne empty: which he lacked and burnt. Then hearing newes of the Dictator, that he was about *Casiline*, thither went *Hannibal*: as being vnwilling that an Enemy so neere should disquiet him at *Capua*; where he meant to Winter. It seemes, or rather indeed it is plaine, that the late victory of *Marcellus* had nothing abated to the spirit of the *Carthaginian*: who durst with a small part of his Army seeke out the Dictator, that had with him the heart of the *Roman* strength. Wherefore the joy of his Enemies, vpon so slight an occasion as the death of some two thousand of his men, at the most, and those not slaine in plaine battaile, but by a sudden eruption; wimeth chiefly, in what great feare they stood of *Hannibal*, and how Crest-fallen they were: that hauing three yeeres since demanded at *Carthage*, the body of *Hannibal*, to be deliuered vnto their pleasure, by his owne Citizens; could now please themselves, as with good newes to heare, That in a skirmish not farre from *Rome* he appeared to be a man, and not resistlesse. At *Caslinum* the Dictator was not: but many Companies of *Italians*, Confederates of *Rome*, were gotten into the Towne, and held it. Five hundred of the *Præstines* there were, and about foure hundred of *Persia*, with some of the *Laines*. All these had the good hap, to come too late to the Battaille at *Canne*, being sent by their severall States to the Campe: whether whilest they were marching, the tidings of that great misfortune encountered them, and sent them backe sorrowfull; for they loued well their Lords the *Romans*, vnder whose government they liued happily. So came they all, one after another to *Casiline*, where they met and stayed. Neither had they stayed there long, ere they heard newes from *Capua*, How that great Citie became the Ring-leader of all the *Campanes* into rebellion. The people of *Casiline* were affected as they of *Capua*: and therefore sought how to rid their hands of those *Præstines* and their fellows; but the Souldiers were too hard for them, and after many traines laide one for another, at last they slew all the Townefmen in a night, and fortified the Westerne part of the Towne (for it was diuided by the Riuer *Vulturius*) against the Enemy. If they had runne away with the goods, and pretended, that these of *Casiline* were as the rest of the *Campanes*, all Traitors; they themselves might haue bene reputed, as no better than the *Mamertines*. But their constancy in defence of the place withstood, vpon what honest reasons they surprised it. *Hannibal* came thither, thinking to haue encountered with greater forces: but these few found him more worke then hee expected. Diuers assaults hee gaue, but was still repelled with losse: and many sallies they made, with variable euent. The Enemy mined; and they countermined: opposing so much indurty to his force, that he was driuen to close them vp, and seeke to winne them by famine. *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, that was Master of the horse, lay with the *Roman* Army higher vp the Riuer: who saue would haue relieved *Casiline*, but that the Dictator, being gone to *Rome* about some matters of Religion, had giuen him expresse charge not to fight till his returne. *Marcellus* from *Suessula* could not come: his way being stopped by the ouerflowings of *Vulturius*; the *Nolans* also beseeching him not to leaue them, who were in danger of the *Campanes*, if he departed. Thus it is reported: but if the water stayed his journey, such entreaties were needlesse. Neither is it like, that the Dictator tarried at *Rome* so long, as till extreme famine had consumed the Garrison in *Casiline*. Wherefore it may be thought, that the Towne was lost, because the *Romans* durst not adventure to raise the siege. Barrels of corne were sent by night, floating down the Riuer; and when some of these, being carried awry by an Eddie of the water, stuck among the Willows on the banke, whereby this mannner of reliefe was discovered and prevented; *Gracchus* cast a great quantie of Nuts into the streame, which faintly sustained the poore besieged men. At length when all foode was spent, and whatsoeuer grew greene vnder the Walles was gathered for Sallers; the *Carthaginians* ploughed vp the ground: whereon the besieged presently sowed Rape-seede. *Hannibal* seeing this, admired their patience; and saide, That he meant not to stay at *Casiline*, vntill the Rapes were growne. Wherefore, though hitherto he had refused to hearken vnto any Composition,

as intending to make them an example to all others, by punishing their obstinacy; yet now he was content, to grant them their liues at an indifferent reason, which when they had paid, he quietly dismissed them according to his promise. Seven hundred *Carthaginians* he placed in *Casiline*, as a Garrison for defence of the *Campanes*; vnto whom he restored it. To the *Præstine* Souldiers great thanks were giuen, and louing rewards; among which they had offer, in regard of their vertue, to be made Citizens of *Rome*. But their present condition pleased them so well, that they chose rather to continue, as they were, in *Præstine*: which is no weak proofe, of the good estate wherin the Cities flourished, that were subiect to the *Roman* Government. This siege of *Casiline* was not a little beneficiall to the *Romans*; as hauing long detained *Hannibal*, and consumed much of his time, that might otherwise haue bene better spent. For Winter ouer-tooke him, long before hee could dispatch the businesse: which how to quit with his honour hee knew not, when he was once engaged. Therefore he wintered at *Capua*: where hee refreshed his Army, or rather corrupted it, as all Historians report, and made it effeminate, though, effeminate as it was; He therewithall did often beare the *Romans* in following times, as shall appeare hereafter.

§. X.

¹⁰ Of the great supply that was decreed at *Carthage* to be sent to *Hannibal* into *Italie*. How by the malice of *Hanno*, and sloth or parsimony of the *Carthaginians*, the supply was too long deferred. That the riches of the *Carthaginians* grew faster, than of the *Romans*. Of *Fabius* and other old *Roman* Historians, how partiall they were in their writings.

Hen *Mago*, the sonne of *Amilcar*, had spent some time about the taking in of such *Italians*, as fell from the *Romans* after the battaile at *Canne*; his brother *Hannibal* sent for him to *Capua*, and thence dispatched him away to *Carthage*, with the ioyfull message of Victory. He told the *Carthaginian* Senate, with how many *Roman* Generals his brother had fought, what Consuls hee had chased, wounded, or slaine; how the stout *Romans*, that in the former warre neuer shunned any occasion of fight, were now growne so calme, that they thought their Dictator *Fabius* the onely good Captaine, because he neuer durst adventure to come to battaile; That, not without reason, their spirits were thus abated, since *Hannibal* had slaine of them about two hundred thousand, and taken about fifty thousand prisoners. He further told them of the *Brutians*, *Apulians*, *Samnites*, *Lucans*, and other people of *Italy*, that following the fortune of those great victories, had revolted vnto the *Carthaginians*. Among therest hee magnified *Capua*, as a goodly City, and fit to be not onely (as already it was) Head of all the *Capuans*, but the chiefe seate of their Dominion in *Italie*: and there he informed them, how louingly his brother had bin entertained, where he meant to rest that winter, attending their supply. As for the warre, Hee said it was euen at an end, if they would now pursue it closely, and not giue the *Romans* any breathing time, wherein to recollect themselves, and repair their broken forces. He willed them to consider, that the war was farre from home, in the Enemies Countrey; that so many battailes had much diminished his brothers Armie: that the Souldiers, who had so well deserved, ought to be considered with liberal rewards; and that it was not good to burden their new *Italian* friends, with exactions of money, corne, and other necessaries; but that these things must be sent from *Carthage*: which the victory would require with large amends. Finally hee caused the golden rings, taken from the fingers of the *Roman* Knights that were slaine, to be powred out openly in the Court: which being measured, filled (as some say) three bushels, or (as others would rather haue it) no more then one; adding, that by this might appeare the greatness of the *Roman* calamity, for as much as none but the "principall of that Order, were accustomed to weare that ornament.

Who so considers the former *Punicke* Warre, may easily finde, that the State of *Carthage* neuer did receiue, in all the durance thereof, any such hopeful advertisements from their Capitaines abroad. Wherefore it is no maruile, if the errand of *Mago* found extraordinary welcome. In the vehemency of this joy, *Himilce*, a Senator aduerser to the faction of *Hanno*, is said to haue demanded of that great perswader vnto peace with *Rome*, *quies*.

¹⁰ Thus *Lucius* reports it: and credible it is, that while *Rome* was poore, the braverie of private men was not altogether so great, as the Law would haue permitted; though otherwise it should be. The wearing of the Ring, was the generall privilege of the *Roman* Equites.

Whether he were still of opinion, that *Hannibal* should be yeelded vnto the *Romans*; or whether he would forbid them to giue thanks vnto the gods, for this their good successe. Hereunto though it be not likely that *Hanno* made the same formall answer, which *Linie* puts into his mouth, calling the *Carthaginian* Senators *Patres conscripti*; by a terme proper to the *Romans*; and putting them in minde of his owne shamefull overthrow receiued at the hands *Agathea*: yet the summe of his speech appears to haue beene no lesse malicious, than it is set downe, forasmuch as *Hannibal* himselfe, at his departure out of *Italie*, exclaimed against the wickednesse of this *Hanno*; saying, that his hatred against the *Barchines*, had oppressed their Familie, when otherwise it could not, with the ruine of *Carthage*. Therefore it may well be, that he made such a iest of these victories, as is reported; saying, It ill becomed him, who had vanquished the *Romans*, to call for more helpe, as if he had been beaten; or him, that had taken their campe, filled forsooth with spoyle, to make request for meate and money. To these caills, if answer were needfull, it might be said, That other booty than of horses and slaues, little was to be found in the *Roman* campe: the best of the Souldiers carrying no other wealth into the field, than a few ^{a Lin. lib. 22.} siluer studs in the bridles and trappings of their horses. If *Hannibal* had taken any maine conuoy of money and prouisions, going to supply all wants of a great Army in some other Prouince, (as the two *Scipios* are afterwards said to haue done, when they wanne the campe of *Afrubal*, that carried along with him all the wealth of *Spaine*, in his journey towards *Italie*;) then might such an obiection more iustly haue beene made, vnto his demand of a supply. But the most likely part of *Hanno* his Oration, and wherein he best might hope to preuaile, contained a perswasion to vse their fortune with moderation; and now to seeke peace, whilst they had so much the better in warre.

What would haue been the issue of this counsaile, if it had been followed, it were not easie to say. For though it be likely, that the *Roman* pride would haue brooked much indignity, in freeing *Italie* from the danger of warre, yet it is not likely that the faith, so often broken to the *Carthaginians* in former times, would haue bin kept entire, when any opinion of good advantage had called for reuenge of so many shameful ouerthrowes; since after this warre ended, and a new league concluded, no submissiue behaviour could preserve *Carthage* from ruine, longer than vntill such time, as *Rome* was at leisure from ^b all other warres. This Counsaile therefore of *Hanno*, though it might seeme temperate, was indeed very pestilent; and serued onely to hinder the performance of a noble resolution. For it was concluded by a maine consent of the Senate, that forty thousand *Nu- midians*, forty Elephants, and great abundance of siluer, should be sent out to *Hannibal*; and that, besides these, twenty thousand foot, and foure thousand horse, should be leuiued in *Spaine*; not onely to supply, as need should require, the Armies in that Prouince, but to be transported into *Italie*.

This great aide, had it bene as carefully sent, as it was readily decreed, the *Roman* Historians would not haue found cause, to taxe the recklesse improvidence of *Hannibal*, in forbearing to march directly from *Canna* to *Rome*, or in refreshing his Army among ^b the delights of *Capua*: the next yeeres worke would haue finished the businesse, with lesse dangerous aduenture; and the pleasures, which his men enjoyed among the *Campes*, would haue been commended, as rewards by him well thought vpon, wherewith to animate both them and others, that were to be employed in the following Warre. But either the too much carelesnesse of those, that were loth to make haste in laying out their money, before extreame necessity required it; or the crafty malice of *Hanno*, and his fellows, working vpon the priuate humours of men, that had more feeling of their owne commodity, than sense of the publike neede; vicerly peruerued, and made vprofitable in the performance, the order that had bene so well set downe. The ^b Elephants were sent: and some money peraduenture; vncertaine it is, how long after. But those great forces of threescore thousand foot, and foure thousand horse, came not into *Italie*, till much was lost of that which already had been gotten, and a great part of the old *Carthaginian* Army, was first consumed by time, and sundry accidents of warre. Onely some small numbers, no way answering vnto the proportion decreed, were sent into *Spaine*; and the journey of *Afrubal* thence through *France* into *Italie* much talked of, but he not enabled thereunto, till many yeeres were past, and the *Romans* had recovered their strength.

Heere we may note, what great riches the *Carthaginians* drew into their Citie, both

by the Tributes received from their subiects, and by their wealthy Trade of Merchandize. For it is not long, since the Warre of the Mercenaries; and the perfidious tyranny of the *Romans*, extorting in time of greatest needfull twelue hundred talents; had exceedingly impouerished *Carthage*: which was before brought into great want, even by the expence of so much money, as was to be disbursed for redeeming of peace, after the losse at *Agathea*. Yet wee see, what great Armies of *Nu- midians*, and *Spaniards*, besides those already on foote, are appointed to the service in *Italie*, and how little the *Carthaginians* feare the want of money in these chargeable vndertakings: whereas the *Romans*, on the other side, hauing three or foure yeeres together bene forced to some extraordinary cost, are faine to goe vpon credit, euen for the price of those slaues, which they bought of their owne Citizens to arme for their defence. Such aduantage, in means to enrich their Treasury, had the wealthy Merchants of *Carthage*, trading in all parts of the *Mediterranean Sea*, euen from *Tyrus* their Mother-Citie in the bottom of the streights vnto the great Ocean; above the *Romans*: who liued on the fruites of their ground; and receiued their Tributes from people following the same course of life. When time therefore was come, that the hatred of *Rome* found leisure to shew it selfe, in the destruction of *Carthage*; the impudence of *Roman* fallshood, in seeking an honest colour wherewith to shadow the intended breach of faith; discovered plainly whence the iaculose was bred, that this mighty Citie would againe rebell. For the *Carthaginians*, hauing giuen vp hostages, euen before the *Roman* Army did set forth, to performe whatsoeuer should be enioyned them, with condition that their Citie might not bee destroyed; and hauing accordingly, when they were so required, yeelded vp all their weapons, and engines of Warre; the *Romans* told them plainly, That the Citie of *Carthage*, which was the body of the Citizens, should be friendly dealt withall, but the Towne must needs be demolished, and removed into some other place, that should be twelue miles distant from the Sea. For (saide the *Romans*) this Trade of Merchandize, by which yee now liue, is not so fit for peaceable men, such as yee promise to become hereafter, as is the Trade of Husbandry; an wholesome kind of life, and enduing men with many laudable qualities, which enable their bodies, and make them very apt for conseruation. This villainous dealing of the *Romans*, though sugred with glossing words, plainly shewes, what good obseruation the elder *Cato* had made of the halty growth of *Carthage* in riches. For when, being demanded his opinion in the Senate about any matter whatsoever it were, he added still this conclusion, *Thus I thinke; and that Carthage should be destroyed*. Hee may seeme, not onely to haue had regard vnto that present wealth, which at his being there hee had found in the Citie, but much more vnto these times, and the great height wherunto it rose, euen suddenly as wee see, out of many calamities, whilst the *Romans* thought, that it had not been in case to dare so terrible a Warre.

But as the *Carthaginians*, in gathering wealth, were more industrious and skilfull than the *Romans*; so came they farre short of them, in the honourable care of the publike good: hauing euerie one, or most of them, a more principall regard of his owne priuate benefit. This made them (besides the negligence commonly found in victors) when the first heat of their affection, wherein they concluded to pursue the warre strongly, was ouer-past, goe more leisurely to worke, than had been requisite in the execution. It was easie for *Hanno* to perswade couetous men, that they should first of all defend their owne in *Spaine*. This might be done with little charges. Afterwards, when that Prouince was secured, they might send an Army into *Italie*; so going to worke orderly by degrees. For it were no wisdom, to commit all the strength of the Common-wealth to one hazard of fortune, against the enemies; or (which perhaps were worse) to the Government of an ambitious man, and his brethren; who hauing once (if they could so do) finished the warre, might easily make ^a *Hannibal* a King, and subdue *Carthage*, with the forces that he had giuen them to the conquest of *Rome*.

By such malicious working of *Hanno*, and by their owne slacknesse, incredulity, dulnes, or niggardize, the *Carthaginians* were perswaded rather to make small disbursements in *Spaine*, than to set vp all their rest at once in *Italie*. Yet was it indeed impossible, to hold a Countrey of so large extent, and to open a coast as that of *Spaine*, free from all incursion of the Enemy: especially the affection of the Naturalls being (as in a new Conquest) ill established. A better way therefore it had bene to make a running Warre, by ^a *King Liv.* 421.

Of such ambition *Hanno* directly accused *Hannibal* saying that he made warre what so hee might liue compassed with Legions, as knowing no other way to make himselfe a King. *Liv.* 421.

which the *Romans* might have been found occupied, even with the ordinary *Carthaginian* Garrisons, or some little addition thereunto. For if it were thought meet, to defer the prosecution of their maine intendment against *Rome* it selfe, untill such time as euery little thorne were pulled out of the sides of so great a Prouince, then must *Emporie* have been besieged and forced: which by reason of alliance with the *Masilians*, gave vnto the *Romans*, at all times when they pleased, a ready and secure Harbour. But the towne of *Emporie* was too strong to be wonne in haste: it had long defended it selfe against the *Barbarians*, hauing not about foure hundred paces of wall to the main Land, and exceedingly well fortified; a great *Spanish* Towne of the same name, lying without it, that was three miles in compasse, very strong likewise, and friend vnto the *Gracians*, though notouer-much trusted. Wherefore to force this towne of *Emporie*, that was, besides the proper strength, like to be so well assisted by the *Masilians*, *Romans*, and some *Spaniards*, would have beene a worke of little lesse difficulty, than was the *Roman* warre (in appearance) after the battaile at *Canna*: yea it had beene in effect none other, than to alter the state of the warre; which *Hannibal* had already fixed, with better iudgement, neere vnto the gates of *Rome*. The difficulty of this attempt, being such as caused it altogether to bee forborne; great folly it was, to be much troubled about expelling the *Romans* vtely out of *Spain*: whom they might more easily haue diuerted thence, and drawne home to their owne doores, by making strong warre vpon their Citie. For euen for the *Romans* afterwards remooued *Hannibal* into *Africk*, by sending an Army to *Carthage*; and by taking the like course, they now endeouored to change the state of the warre, transferring it out of *Italie* into *Spain*. But the private affections of men, regarding the common good no otherwise, than as it is accessary to their owne purposes, did make them easily winke at opportunities, and hope, that somewhat would fall out well of it selfe, though they set not to their helping hands. *Hanno* was a malicious wretch: yet they that thought him so, were well enough contented to hearken vnto his discourses, as long as they were plausible, and tended to keepe the purse full. In the meane while they suffered *Hannibal*, and all the noble house of *Amilcar*, to weary themselves in trauaile for the Common-wealth: which all *Carthage* in general highly commended, but weakly assisted; as if the industry of these *Barbines* had bin somewhat more than needfull. Surely the *Carthaginians*, in general, were farre lesse honourable than the people of *Rome*: not onely in gouernment of their subiect Prouinces, but in administration of their owne Estate; few of them preferring the respect of the Weale publike about their private interest. But as they thrived little in the end, by their parsimony vsed toward their owne Mercenaries, when the former *Roman* warre was finished: so the conclusion of this warre present, will makethem complaine, with feeling sighes, of their negligence in supplying *Hannibal*, after the victory at *Canna*; when gladly they would giue all their Treasures, to redeeme the opportunity, that now they let passe, as if it were cost enough to send a few handfulls into *Spain*.

That both the *Spanish* businesse, and the state of *Africk* it selfe, depended wholly, or at least for the most part, vpon the successe of things in *Italie*; the course of actions following will make manifest. Particularly how matters were ordered in *Spain* by the *Carthaginian* Gouernours, it is very hard, and almost impossible, to set downe. For though we must not reprehend, in that worthy Historian *Linie*, the tender loue of his owne Country, which made him giue credit vnto *Fabius* and others: yet must we not, for his sake, beleue those lies, which the vnpartiall iudgement of *Polybius* hath condemned, in the Writers that gaue them originall. It were needlesse to rehearse all that may be found in *Polybius*, concerning the vntuth of that *Roman* Historian *Fabius*. One example may suffice. He saith of *Amilcar* and his men at *Eryx*, in the former warre, That hauing cleane spent their strength, and being euen broken with many miseries, they were glad to submit themselves vnto the *Romans*. Contrary hereunto we find in the life of *Amilcar*, set downe by *Amilius Probus*, That *Eryx* was in such sort held by the *Carthaginians*, that it seemed to be in as good condition, as if in those parts there had not been any warre. These words, being referred to the braue resolution of the *Carthaginian* Souldiers, and the singular vertue of their Generall infusing such spirit into them; may be taken as not ouer liberrall. For in the treaty of peace betwene *Amilcar* and *Catulus*, when the *Roman* first of all required, that this Garrison of *Eryx* should lay downe their Armes, and forsake *Sicily*, threatening, that otherwise hee would not talke of any compollition:

Amilcar

Amilcar boldly bad him chuse, whether he would talke of it, or no; for that the Armes, which his Country had put into his hands to vse against his Enemies, it was not his purpose to yeeld vp vnto them. Now since the *Romans*, contrary to their custome vpon like advantages, were content to let *Amilcar* haue his will, and not to stand with him vpon point of honour; whilst otherwise they might quietly rid their hands of him; plain enough it is, that they were farre from thinking him a man consumed with miseries, as *Fabius* would haue him seeme. Hereunto agrees the relation of *Polybius*: who sheweth, and by name, chargeth *Fabius* with vntuth: saying, that howsoeuer *Amilcar*, and his Souldiers, had endured all extremitie, yet they behaued themselves as men that had no sense thereof; and were as farre from being either vanquished, or tired, as were their Enemies. Such being the difference betwene *Fabius* (as also perhaps betwene other old Writers of the *Roman* storie) and those that had more regard of truth, than of flattering the mighty Citie of *Rome*: we must take it in good part, that howsoeuer *Linie* immoderately *Hanno* in one place, ioyning very foolishly his owne shamefull ouerbrow at the Islands, *Agates*, with the great seruices of *Amilcar* at *Eryx*, as if both of them had alike merit; yet elsewhere he forbeareth not to put a more likely tale (though with as impudent a commemoration of his owne vnhappy conduct) into the same *Hanno* his mouth, making him say, That the affaires of *Carthage* were neuer better, than a little before the losse of their Fleet in that battaile at Sea: wherein himselfe was Generall. Now, concerning the doings of the *Scipio's* in *Spain*, there is cause to wish, that this *Fabius*, with *Val. Antias*, and others of the like stampe, had either written (if they could not write more temperately) nothing at all; or that the tender affection of *Linie* to his *Rome*, had not caused him to thinke too well of their relations: which are such as follow.

6. XI.

Strange reports of the *Roman* victories in *Spain*, before *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Amilcar* followed thence his brother *Hannibal* into *Italie*.

HATH bin shewed already, how *P. Cornelius Scipio* the Consul, returning from *Gaul* into *Italie*, to encounter with *Hannibal* at his descent from the *Alpes*, sent before him his brother *Cneus*, with part of his Fleet and Army, into *Spain*. Two *Roman* Legions, with foureteene thousand foot of the Confederates, and twelue hundred horse, had been allotted vnto the Consul, therewith to make warre in *Spain* against *Hannibal*: who since he was marching into *Italie* with the strength of his Army, *P. Scipio* beleued, that a good part of these his owne forces might well be spared from the *Spanish* Expedition; and therefore made bold to carry some of the number backe with him, sending on his brother with the rest, as his Lieutenant. *Publius* himselfe remained in *Italie* all the time of his Consulship: which being expired, He was sent Proconsul into *Spain* by the Senate, with an Armie of eight thousand men, and a Fleet of thirty Gallies.

The Affairs of these two Brethren in their Prouince, were very great; and, as they are reported, somewhat marvellous. For they continually preuailed in *Spain*, against the *Carthaginians*: whom they vanquished in so many battailes, and with-drew from their Alliance so many of the *Spaniards* their Confederates, that we haue cause to wonder, how the enemy could so often find means to repaire his forces, and returne strong into the field. But as the *Romans*, by pretending to deliuer the Country from the tyranny of *Carthage*, might easily winne vnto their Confederacy, as many as were galled with the *African* yoke, and durst aduenture to breake it: so the ancient reputation of the first Conquerors might serue to arme the Naturals against these Inuaders; and to reclaime those, that had revolted vnto the *Romans*, were it onely by the memory of such ill successe, as the like rebellions in former times had found. Hereto may bee added the *Carthaginian* Treasure: which easily raised Souldiers, among those valiant, but (in that Age) poor, and gold-thirsty Nations. Neither was it of small importance, that so many of the *Spaniards* had their children, kinsmen, and friends, abroad with *Hannibal* in his *Italian* Wares; or seruing the *Carthaginians* in *Africk*. And peraduenture, if wee durst be bold to say it, the victories of the *Scipio's* were neither so many, nor so great as they are set out by *Linie*. This we may be bold to say, That the great Captaine *Fabius*, or *Linie* in his person, maketh an obiection, vnto *Scipio*, which neither *Scipio*, nor *Linie* for him, doth

Liv. lib. 21.

doth answer, That if *Ardubal* were vanquished, as *Scipio* would say, by him in *Spain*: strange it was, and as little to his honour, as it had beene extremely dangerous to Rome, that the same vanquished man should invade *Italy*. And it is indeede an incredible narration, That *Ardubal* being enclosed on all sides, and not knowing how to escape out of battaile, saue onely by the deepe descent of Rocks, ouer a great Riuer that lay at his backe, ranne away with all his money, Elephants, and broken troups, ouer *Tagus*, directly to wards the *Pyrenes*, and to forward *Italy*; vpon which he fell with more then threthou thousand armed souldiers. Neither doe I see, how it hangs well together, That he chose a piece of ground very defensible, but most incommodious for his retreat, if hee should happen to be vanquished; and yet, that he sent all his money and Elephants away before him, as nor intending to abide the Enemy: Or how it could be true, that these his Elephants, being so sent before, could hinder the *Romans* (for so haue they said to haue done in the last battaile between him and *Scipio*) from breaking into his Campe. Wherefore we can no more then be sorry, that all *Carthaginian* records of this Warre, and *Spanish*, (if there were any) being vicerly lost, we can know no more thereof, than what it hath pleased the *Romans* to tell vs: vnto whom it were no wisdome to giue too much credit. In this regard, I will summarily runne ouer the doings of the *Scipio* in *Spain*; not greatly insisting on particulars, whereof there is no great certainty.

Cn. Cornelius landed at *Emporie*, an Haven towne, not farre within the *Pyrenes*, retaining still the same name with little infection. That by the same of his clemency, hee 20 allured many Nations to become subiect vnto Rome, as the storie begins of him, I could easily beleeeue, if I vnderstood by what occasion they had need to vie his clemency, or he to giue such famous example thereof, being a meere stranger, and hauing no iurisdiction in the Country. Yet it is certaine, that he was a man very courteous, and one that could well insinuate himselfe into the loue of the *Barbarians*; among whom, his dexterity in practice had the better successe, for that he seemed to haue none other end, than setting them at liberty. This pretext auailed with some: others were to be hired with money; and some hee compelled to yeeld by force or feare; especially, when hee had wonne a battaile against *Hanno*. Into all Treaties of accord, made with these people, like ly it is that he remembered to insert this Article, which the *Romans* in their Alliances 30 neuer forgate, vntill in long times past, and when they dealt with the *Carthaginians*, or their Superiours; *Maiestatem Pop. Rom. comiter conseruet*, which is, as *Tullie* interprets it, That they should gently (or kindly) vphold the Maiesie of the people of Rome. This was in appearance nothing troublesome; yet implied it indee an oblique couenant of subiection. And in this respect it may be true, That the *Spaniards* became *dittons Romanes*; of the *Romane* iurisdiction; though hereafter they will say, they had no such meaning. That part of the Country wherein *Scipio* landed, was newly subdued by *Hannibal* in his passage toward *Italy*; and therefore the more easily shaken out of obedience. Particularly in the *Burgundians*; *Hannibal* had found, at his coming among them, such an apprehension of the *Roman* greatnesse, as made him suspect, that any light occasion 40 would make them flatter from the *Carthaginians*. Wherefore hee not onely appointed *Hanno* Gouverneur ouer them, as ouer the rest of the Prouince betweene *Iberus* and the *Pyrenes*, but made him also their Lord; that is, (as I conceiue it; for I doe not thinke hee gaue the Principality of their Country vnto *Hanno* and his Heires,) Hee made him not onely Lieutenant generall ouer them, in matters of Warre, and things concerning the holding them in obedience to *Carthage*; but tooke from them all inferior Officers of their owne, leauing them to be gouerned by *Hanno* at his discretion. These therefore had good cause to reioyce at the coming of *Scipio*: with whom, others also (no doubt) found reasons to ioyne; it being the custome of all conquered Nations, in hatred of their present Lords, to throw themselves indifferently into the protection of others, than many 50 times proue worse then the former. So were the *Neapolitans*, and *Milanais*, in the age of our Grand-fathers, weary by turnes of the *Spaniards*, and *French*; as more sensible still of the present euill which they felt, than regardfull of the greater mischiefe, when into they ranne by seeking to auoide it. This bad affliction of his Prouince, would not suffer *Hanno* to temporize. Ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse, *Hannibal* had left vnto him: besides which it is like, that some forces he was able to raise out of his Prouince. Therefore he aduentured a battaile with *Scipio*; wherein hee was ouerthrowne and taken. Following this victory, *Scipio* besieged *Stiffum*, a Towne hard by, and wonne it.

Orat. pro Corn. Balbo.

Liv. lib. 21.

Pol. lib. 3.

it. But *Ardubal* hauing passed *Iberus*, and coming too late to the reliefe of *Hanno*, with eight thousand foot, and a thousand horse, fell vpon the *Roman* Sea-forces, that lay not farre about *Tarracon*, whom he found carelesse, as after a victory, rousing abroad in the Country; and with great slaughter draue them aboard their ships. This done, hee ranne vp into the Country, where he withdrew the *Ilergetes* from the *Roman* parties, though they had giuen Hostages to *Scipio*. *Scipio* in the meane season was gone to visit and aide his Fleet: where hauing set things in order, he returned backe, and made toward *Ardubal*; who durst not abide his coming, but withdrew himselfe againe ouer *Iberus*. So the *Ilergetes* were compelled by force, hauing lost *Athanasia* their chiefe 10 Citie, to pay a fine to the *Romans*, and increase the number of their Hostages. The *Ausserani* likewise, Confederates of the *Carthaginians*, were besieged in their chiefe Towne: which they defended thirty dayes; hoping in vaine, that the sharpe Winter, and great abundance of Snow that fell, would haue made the *Romans* to dislodge. But they were faine at length to yeeld: and for this their obstinacy, they were amerced twenty talents of siluer. During the siege, the *Lacetani* came to helpe their distressed Neighbours; and were beaten home by *Scipio*, leauing twelue thousand of their Company dead behinde them. I cannot but wonder, how these *Lacetani*, that are said to be the first which embraced the friendship of *Scipio*, should without any cause remembered, become *Carthaginian* on the sudden, in the next newes that we heare of them. As also it is strange, that 20 all the Sea-coast Northward of *Iberus*, hauing lately become voluntarily *dittons Romanes*, subiect vnto Rome, should in continuance of the Story, after a few lines, hold Warre against *Scipio*, without any resistance of the *Carthaginians*. Neither can I beleeeue, that *Ardubal*, as it were by a charme, stirred vp the *Ilergetes*, making them lay aside all care of their Hostages, and take Armes in his quarrell; whilst himselfe had not the daring to stand against *Scipio*, but ranne away, and saued himselfe beyond *Iberus*. *Philinus* perhaps, or some *Carthaginian* Writer, would haue told it thus: That *Scipio* aduenturing too farre into the Country, was beaten by *Ardubal* backe to his ships, whence he durst not stirre, vntill Winter came on: at what time the *Carthaginian* returned into the heart of his Prouince, leauing some few Garrisons to defend those places, that after *Scipio* wonne, by returning vpon them, vnlooked for, through a deepe snow. As for the *Lacetani*, *Ilergetes*, and the rest, we may reasonably thinke, that they fought their owne benefite: helping themselves one while by the *Romans* against the *Carthaginians*; and con- 30 trariwise, vpon sense of injuries receiued, or apprehension of more grieuous tyranny, vnder which they feared to be brought by these new Masters, harkening againe vnto the comfortable promises of those, that had ruled them before. For that it was their intent to liue vnder their owne Country Lawes, and not vnder *Gouernours* sent from Rome or *Carthage*, their demeanour in all Ages following may testifie: euen from hencefoorth vnto the dayes of *Augustus Caesar*; till when they were neuer thoroughly conquered.

The yeere following this, *Cn. Scipio* had a victorie against the *Carthaginians* in fight 40 at Sea; or rather came vpon them vnlooked for, while they rode at Anchor, most of them being on shore. All their ships, that ranne not too farre on ground, he tooke: and thereby grew Master of the whole coast; landing at pleasure, and doing great hurt in all places that were not well defended. After this victory, aboue one hundred and twenty Nations, or petty Estates, in *Spain*, are said to haue submitted themselves vnto the *Romans*, or giuen Hostages: whereby *Ardubal* was compelled to flee into the vmoost corners of the land, and hide himselfe in *Lucitania*. Yet it follows; that the *Ilergetes* did againe rebell; that *Ardubal* hereupon came ouer *Iberus*; and that *Scipio* (though hauing easily vanquished the *Ilergetes*) went not forth to meet him, but stirred vp against him the *Celiberians*, that lately were become his subiects, and had giuen him Hostages. These 50 tooke from the *Carthaginian* three Townes, and vanquished him in two battails; wherein they slue fifteen thousand of his men, and tooke foure thousand Prisoners. Then returned *P. Scipio*, with the supply before mentioned: and henceforward the two brethren jointly administered the businesse in *Spain*.

The *Carthaginians* being occupied in the *Celiberian* Warre, the two *Scipios* did hand 60 conuenter, without both feare or doubt, p'sse ouer *Iberus* and besieged *Saguntum*. Little cause of doubt had they, if *Cn.* had already subdued many Nations beyond it, and among many others, the same *Celiberians*, that with their proper forces were able to vanquish *Ardubal*.

Asdrubal. *Bellar*, the Gouverneur of *Saguntum*, a simple man, suffered himselfe to be persuaded by one *Acedux* a *Spaniard*, that the onely way to get the fauour and hearty good will of the Countrey, was by freely restoring vnto them their Hostages; as resting, without any pledge, assured of their faith. But the crafty *Spaniard*, being trusted with this message and restitution of the Hostages, carried them all to the *Roman* Generals: persuading them, as he had done *Bellar*, to make the Liberality their owne. Hereby the *Romans* purchased much loue, if the tale were true; and if it were not rather true, as afterward, and ere this we finde, that all the *Spanish* Hostages were left in new *Carthage*. I am weary of rehearsing so many particularities, whereof I can beleue few. But since we finde no better certainties, we must content our selues with these.

The yeere following was like vnto this: *Asdrubal* must be beaten againe. The two *Scipio's* diuide their forces: *Cn.* makes warre by Land; *P.* by Sea. *Asdrubal*, with much labour and enticery, hath gotten foure thousand foot, and fise hundred horse, out of *Africk*: He repairs his Fleet, and provides euery way to make resistance. But all his chiefe Sea-men, and Masters of his ships, reuolt vnto the *Romans*: because they had been chidden the last yeere for their negligence, which had betrayed the Navy. The reuolt of these ship-masters animates to rebellion the *Carpetians*, or *Carpetani*, an In-lad people about *Toledo*, in the very Center of *Spain*. These doe much mischief, for *Asdrubal* is faine to make a journey to them. His sudden comming cuts off some of them, that were found scattered abroad in the fields. But they, making head, so valiantly assaile him, that they drue him, for very feare, to encampe himselfe strongly on an high peece of ground; whence hee darcs not come forth to giue them battaile. So they take Towne by force, wherein hee had laid vp all his provisions; and shortly make themselves Masters of the Countrey round about. This good successe breeds negligence; for which they dearly pay. *Asdrubal* comes vpon them, takes them vnprepared, beats them, kills the most of them, and disperseth the rest; so that the whole Nation yeeldeth to him the next day. Then come directions from *Carthage*, that *Asdrubal* should leade his Army forth into *Italy*: which we may wonder, why the *Carthaginians* would appoint him to doe, if they had bene informed by his letters in what hard case he was; and had to weakly supplied him, as is shewed before. But thus we finde it reported: and that vpon the very rumour of this his journey, almost all *Spain* was ready to fall to the *Romans*. *Asdrubal*, therefore sends word presently to *Carthage*, That this must not be so: or, if they will needs haue it so, that then they must send him a Succesor, and well attended with a strong Army, which to employ they should finde worke more than enough; such notable men were the *Roman* Generals. But the Senate of *Carthage* is not much moued with this excuse: *Asdrubal* must needs be gone; *Himilco*, with such forces as are thought expedient for that seruice both by Land & Sea, is sent to take the charge of *Spain*. Wherefore *Asdrubal* hath now no more to doe, than to furnish himselfe with store of money, that he might haue wherewithall to winne the friendship of the *Gauls*; through whole Countries he must passe, as *Hannibal* had done before him. The *Carthaginians* were greatly too blame, for not remembering to ease him of this care. But since it can be no better, he layes great Impositions vpon all the *Spaniards* his subiects: and hauing gotten together as much treasure as he could, onward he marcheth toward *Iberus*. The *Scipio's* hearing these newes, are careful how to arrest him on the way. They besiege *Ibera* (so called of the *Riuers* name running by it) the richest towne in all those quarters, that was confederate with *Asdrubal*: who thereupon steps aside to relieue it. The *Romans* meet him, and fight a battaile with him: which they winne the more easily, for that the *Spaniards*, his followers, had rather be vanquished at home; than get the victorie, and afterwards be haled into *Italy*. Great numbers are slaine: and few should haue escaped, but that the *Spaniards* ranne away, ere the battailes were fully ioyned. Their Campe to the *Romans* take, and spoile: whereby (Questionlesse) they are maruellously enriched; all the money that could be racked together in *Spain*, being carried along in this *Italian* expedition. This dayes current ioynes all *Spain* to the *Romans*, if any part of the Countrey stood in doubt before, and puts *Asdrubal* so far from all thought of travelling into *Italy*, that it leaves him small hope of keeping himselfe safe in *Spain*. Of these exploits advertisement is sent to *Rome*: and Letters to the Senate, from *P.* and *Cn. Scipio*, whereof the Contents are; That they haue neither money, apparell, nor bread, wherewith to sustaine their Army and Fleet; That all is wanting: so as ylesse they may be supplied from *Rome*,

Linc. lib. 23.

Rome, they can neither hold their forces together, nor tarry any longer in the Province. These Letters come to *Rome* in an euill season, the State being scarcely able, after the losse at *Canna*, to helpe it selfe at home. Yet reliefe is sent: how hardly, and how much to the commendations of that loue and care, which the priuate Citizens of *Rome* bare vnto the Common-wealth, shall be inserted else-where, into the relation of things whereof the truth is lesse questionable. At the comming of this supply, the two *Scipio's* pursue *Asdrubal*, and hunt him out of his lurking holes. What else can we see, that remember the last newes of him, and how fearefully he mistrusted his owne fatcric? They find him, and *Mago*, and *Amilcar* the sonne of *Bomilcar*, with an Army of threecore thousand men, besieging *Illiturgi*: (which the learned *Orelus*, and others, probably coniecture to haue stood, where *Carinena* is now, in the Kingdome of *Aragon*; for there was *Illiturgi*, afterward called *Forum Iulij*, quite another way) a Towne of the *Illerges* their neereft Neighbour, for hauing reuolted vnto the *Romans*. The Towne is greatly distressed; but most of all, for want of victualles. The *Romans* therefore breake through betweene the Enemies Campes, with terrible slaughter of all that resist them: and hauing victualled the place, encourage the towne-men to defend their walls as stoutly, as they should anon beholde them fighting manfully with the besiegers, in their behalfe. So they issue forth, about fixteene thousand against three core thousand: and killing more of the enemies, than themselves were in number, drue all the three *Carthaginian* Commanders, euery one out of his quarter; and tooke that day, besides prisoners and other bootie, fiftie and eight Ensignes.

The *Carthaginian* Armie, being thus beaten from *Illiturgi*, fall vpon *Iacibili*, that stood a little Southward from the mouth of *Iberus*. The *Spaniards* are blamed, as too greedy of eaming money by warre, for thus re-enforcing the broken *Carthaginians*. But it may be wondered, whence the *Carthaginians* had money to pay them: since *Asdrubal* was lately driuen to poll the Countrey, wanting money of his owne; and being beaten in this journey, had lost his wealthy carriages, when his Campe was taken after the battel by *Ibera*. Howsoeuer it happens, the *Carthaginians* (according to their custome) are beaten againe at *Iacibili*: where there were of them about threecore thousand slaine, and about three thousand taken; besides two and forty Ensignes, and nine Elephants. After this, (in a manner) all the peeple of *Spain* fell from them vnto the *Romans*. Thus tooke *Fabius*, *Valerius Antius*, or some other Historian, to whom *Livy* gaue credit, conquer all *Spain* twice in one yeere, by winning famous victories, whereof these good Captaines, *P.* and *Cn. Scipio*, perhaps were not aware.

The *Romans*, notwithstanding this large access of Dominion, winter on their owne side of *Iberus*. In the beginning of the next yeere, great Armies of the *Spaniards* rise against *Asdrubal*; and are ouerthrowne by him. *P. Scipio*, to helpe these his friends, is forced to make great haste ouer the *Riuer*. At *Castrum album*, a place in the mid-way betweene new *Carthage* and *Saguntum*, famous by the death of the great *Amilcar*, *Publius Scipio* incampeth: and stores the place with victualles, being strong and defensible, as intending to make it his seate for a while. But the Countrey round about is too full of Enemies: the *Carthaginian* horse haue charged the *Romans* in their march, and are gone offscare; falling also vpon some stragglers, or such as lagged behind their fellows in march, they haue cut off two thousand of them. Hereupon it is thought behouefull, to retire vnto some place more assured. So *Publ.* withdrawes himselfe vnto *Montis victoriae*: that rising somewhat Eastward from *Iacibili*, ouerlooketh the Southerne Out-let of *Iberus*. Thither the *Carthaginians* pursue him: His brother *Cn.* repairs vnto him; & *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Gesco*, with a full Army, arrives to helpe his Companions. As they lie thus nere incampd together, *P. Scipio*, with some light-armed, going closely to view the places thereabouts, is discovered by the enemies: who are like to take him, but that he withdrawes himselfe to an high peece of ground; where they besiege him, vntill his brother *Cn.* fetch him off. After this (but I know not why) *Casulo*, a great city of *Spain*, whence *Hannibal* had taken him a wife, ioyneth with the *Romans*; though being farre distant from them, and seated on the head of the *Riuer Betis*. Neuertheless the *Carthaginians* passe ouer *Iberus*, to besiege *Illiturgi* againe, wherein lodgeth a *Roman* garrison; hoping to win it by famine. We may iustly wonder, what should moue them to neglect the rebellion of *Casulo*, yea and the *Roman* Army lying so close by them, and to seek adventures further off, in that very place, wherein they had bene so grievously beaten

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the yeere before. But thither they goe: and thither follows them *Cn. Scipio* with one Legion: who enters the Towne by force, breaks out vpon them the next day, and in two battels kills aboute twelue thousand, and takes more than a thousand of them prisoners, with fise and thirty Ensignes. This victorie (doubtlesse) is remarkable: considering that the greatest *Roman* Legion at this time, consisted of no more than fise thousand men. The vanquished *Carthaginians* bessege *Bigarra*: but that sieg is also raised by *Cn. Scipio*. Thence the *Carthaginians* remoue to *Manda*; where the *Romans* are soone at their heeles. There is a great battaile fought, that lasteth foure houres, wherein the *Romans* get a notable victory; and a more notable would haue gotten, had not *Cn. Scipio* bene wounded. Thirty nine Elephants are killed; and twelue thousand men, three thousand prisoners taken, and seauen and fifty Ensignes. The *Carthaginians* flee to *Auringes*; and the *Romans* pursue them. *Cn. Scipio* in a Litter is carried into the field, and vanquisheth the *Carthaginians* againe: but kills not halfe so many of them, as before; good cause why, for there are fewer of them left to fight. Notwithstanding all these overthrowes, the *Spaniards*, a people framed euē by nature to set warre on foot, quickly fill vp the broken troups of *Asdrubal*: who hauing also hired some of the *Gauls*, adventures once more to trie his fortune with the *Romans*. But he is beaten againe: and loseth eight thousand of his men; besides Prisoners, Elephants, Ensignes, and other appurtenances. After so many victories, the *Romans* are euē alhamed, to leaue *Saguntum* entrall'd vnto the *Carthaginians*; since, in behalfe of that Citie, they had at first entred so into this warre. And well may we thinke it strange, that they had not recovered it long before, since we may remember, that long before this they had wonne all the Country once and againe. But it must not be forgotten, that they had ere now besieged *Saguntum*; and were faine (as appeares) to goe their way without it: so as they neede not blush, for hauing so long forborne to doe that, which ere now they had attempted, but were vnable to performe. At the present they wonne *Saguntum*: and restore the possession thereof vnto such of the poore dispersed Citizens, as they can finde out. They also waste and destroy the Country of the *Turdetani*, that had ministred vnto *Hannibal* matter of quarrell against the *Saguntines*. This last action (questionlesse) was much to their honour, and wherein we may be assured, that the *Carthaginians* would haue so disturbed them, if they had bene able.

But ouer-looking now this long continuance of great victories, which the *Romans* haue gotten in *Spaine*, other print or token of all their braue exploits, wee can perceiue none, than this recovery of *Saguntum*: excepting the stopping of *Asdrubals* iourney; which was indeede of greatest importance, but appertaining to their owne defence. For they haue landed at *Emporia*, an Hauē towne, built and peopled by a Colonie of the *Phocaans*, kinne to the *Masilians*, friends to the *Romans*; They haue easily wonne to their party, lost, recovered, and lost againe, some pettie bordering Nations of the *Spaniards*, that are carried one while by perswasion, other whiles by force, and sometimes by their owne vnsettled passions; and now finally they haue won a Towne, whereof the *Carthaginians* held entire possession, who had rooted out the old inhabitants. Wherefore we may easily beleue, that when they tooke *Saguntum* (if they tooke it not by surprise; which is to be suspected, since in this Action we finde no particulars remembered, as when the same place was taken by *Hannibal*) they had gotten the better of their Enemies in some notable fight. In like sort also must we thinke, that all those battailes lately remembered, after euery one of which *Asdrubal* late do wne before some place, that had rebelled, or seemed ready to rebell, were prosperous vnto the *Carthaginians*. For it is not the custome of Armies vanquished, to carry the warre from Towne to Towne, and beleaguer Cities of their Enemies; but to fortifie themselves within their owne places of strength, and therein to attend the leuie and arriuall of new supplies. And surely, if the *Romans* had bene absolute Masters of the field, when they wonne *Saguntum*, they would not haue consumed a whole yeere following, in practising onely with the *Celiberians* the next adioyning people. Yet made they this, little lesse than two yeeres businesse. Of these *Celiberians* we heare before, That they haue yielded vnto themselves vnto the *Romans*; for security of their faith, given Hostages to *Scipio*; and at his appointment, made warre against the *Carthaginians*, with their proper forces. Whereof it is strange, that they are now thus hardly wrought; and, not without expresse condition of a great summe, hired to serue in the *Roman* camp. How this may hold together I cannot

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perceiue; vnlesse perhaps in those daies it were the *Roman* custome, or rather the custome of some bad Author whom *Liue* followes, to call euery messenger, or straggler, that entered their campe, an Hostage of that people from whom he came.

The *Celiberians* at length, hired with great rewards, send an Army of thirty thousand to helpe the *Romans*: out of which, three hundred the strictest men are chosen, and carried into *Italy*; there to deale with their Country-men that follow *Hannibal* in his warres. But if any of these three hundred returne backe into *Spaine*, it is to be feared, that he brings with him such newes of the riches and welfare of *Hannibals* men, that all his fellowes at home are the lesse vnwilling to follow *Asdrubal*, when he shall next haue to adde to leade them into *Italy*. Hereof we finde more than probability, when these mercenary *Celiberians* meet the *Carthaginian* Army in the field. The two *Scipio's*, presuming on this accessse of strength, diuide their forces, and seeke out the Enemies, who liue not farre off with three Armies. *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Amilcar*, is nextest at hand; euen among the *Celiberians*, at *Antorgis*. With him *Cn. Scipio* doubts not to take good order: but the feare is, that this one part of the *Carthaginian* forces being destroyed; *Mago* the sonne of *Gisco*, hearing the newes, will make vse of their distance, which is fise dayes march, and, by running into the furthest parts of the Country, saue themselves from being ouer-taken. *Publius* therefore must make the more haste, and take with him the better souldiers, that is, two parts of the olde *Roman* Army; leaving the third part, and all the *Celiberians*, to his brother. He that hath the longer iourney to make, comes somewhat the sooner to his lues end. *Mago*, and *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Gisco*, are not studying how to runne away: they finde no such necessity. They ioine their forces together; meet with *publius Scipio*; and lay at him so hardly, that he is driven to keepe himselfe close within his Trenches; wherein hee thinks himselfe not well assured. Especially he is vexed by *Masaniassa*, Prince of the *Masili*, *Nimidian* bordering vpon *Mauritania*, in the Region called now *Tremizen*: to whom the chiefe honor of this seruice is ascribed, for that hee becomes afterward Confederate with the *Romans*. In this dangerous case *P. Scipio* gets intelligence, that *Indibilis* a *Spanish* Prince, is coming with seven thousand and fise hundred of the *Saguntines*, to ioine with his Enemies. Fearing therefore to be streight shut vp, and besieged, he issues forth by night, to meet with *Indibilis* vpon the way; leaving *T. Fonteius* his Lieutenant, with a small company to defend the camp. He meets with *Indibilis*; but is not able, according to his hope, to defeat him at the first encounter. The fight continues so long, that the *Nimidian* horse appeare (whom he thought to haue bene ignorant of his departure) and fall vpon the *Romans* on all sides: neyther are the *Carthaginians* farre behinde; but come so fast vpon him in Reare, that *P. Scipio* vnertaine which way to turne, yet fighting, and animating his men, where neede most requirerh, is stricke through with a lance, and slaine: very few of his Army escaping the lame destinie, through benefit of the dark night. The like end hath *Cn. Scipio* within nine and twenty daies after. At his meeting with *Asdrubal* the *Celiberian* Mercenaries all forsake him; pretending that they had warre in their owne Country. If *Antorgis*, where *Asdrubal* then lay, were, as *Ortelius* following *Plutarchus* takes it, a *Celiberian* towne; this was no vaine pretence, but an apparent truth. But we may iustly beleue, that they were wonne by *Asdrubal*, and easily perswaded to take as much money for not fighting, as they should haue had for hazarding their lues. *Cn. Scipio* therefore being vnable to stay them; and no lesse vnable, without their helpe, either to resist the Enemy, or to ioine with his Brother, maketh a very violent retreat; herein onely differing from plaine flight, that he keeps his men together. *Asdrubal* presseth hard vpon him: and *Mago*, with *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Gisco*, hauing made an end of *Publius*, hasten to dispatch his brother after him. *Scipio* steals from them all by night; but is ouertaken the next day by their horse, and arrested, in an open place of hard stonie ground, where grows not so much as a shrubbe, vnfit for defence of his Legions against such enemies. Yet a little Hill hee findes of easie ascent on euery side; which hee takes for want of a more commodious place, and fortifies with packe-saddles, and other luggage, for default of a better Palliade. These weake defences the *Carthaginians* soone reare in sunder: and, breaking in on all hands, leaue very few of the multitude that sauing themselves, I know not how, within some woods adioyning, escape vnto *T. Fonteius*, whom *Publius* had left in his camp, as is before said. It is a terrible overthrow, they say, out of which no man escapes. Yet, how they that were thus hemmed in on

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every side, in so bare a ground as afforded not a shrub to couer them, could breake out, and throwd themselves within woods adioyning, I should much wonder; did not a greater miracle following call away mine attention. *T. Fonteius* is in *P. Scipio's* campe, on the North side of *Iberus*, fearefull (as may be supposed) of his owne life; since his Generall, with two parts of the *Romane* Armie, had little hope to remaine long safe within it. Thither comes *L. Martius*, a yong *Roman* Gentleman of a notable spirit: who hauing gathered together the scattered Souldiers, and drawne some Companies out of their Garrisons, makes a pretie Armie. The Souldiers, being to choose a Generall by moitiues, preferre this *L. Martius* before *Fonteius* the Lieutenant, as well they may. For *Asdrubal*, the sonne of *Gisco*, comming vpon them; this *L. Martius* so encourageth his men, to (fondly weeping when he led them forth, vpon remembrance of their more honourable Generalls lately slaine) and admonisheth them of their present necessitie, that he beates the *Carthaginians* into their Trenches. A notable victory perhaps he might haue gotten, but that he wicly sounds the retreat: referring the fury of his Souldiers to a greater occasion. The *Carthaginians* are at first amazed, and wonder whence this new boldnesse growes, in enemies lately vanquished, and now againe little better than taken: but when they see, that the *Roman* dares not follow his aduantage, they returne to their former security; and vterly despising him, let neither *Corps du gard*, nor Sentinel, but rest secure, as if no enemy were neere. *Martius* therefore animates his souldiers with lively words; and telsthem, That there is no aduantage more safe, than that which is further theft from suspicion of being vnder-taken. They are soone periwaded to follow him, in any desperate peece of seruice. So he leades them forth by night, and steales vpon the Campe of *Asdrubal*: where finding no guard, but the enemies fast a-sleepe, or very drowzie, Hee enters without resistance, fires their Cabbins, and giues a terrible alarme; so that all affrighted, the *Carthaginians* run head-long one vpon another, they know not which way. All passages out of their Campe *Martius* hath prepossest, so that there is no way to escape, save by leaping downe the Rampart: which as many doe, as can thinke vpon it, and run away toward the Campe of *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Amilcar*, that lay sixe miles off. But *Martius* hath way-laid them. In a Valley betwene their two campes hee hath bestowd a *Roman* cohort, and I know not what number of Horse; so that into this Ambush they fall every one, and are cut in peeeces. But lest perchance any should haue escaped, and giue the alarme before his comming; *Martius* hastens to be there as soone as they. By which diligent speed, He comes early in the morning vpon this further campe: which with no great difficulty hee enters; and partly by apprehension of danger which the Enemies conceiued, when they beheld the *Roman* shields, foule, and bloudied with their former execution, Hee drives head-long into flight, all that can saue themselves from the fury of the sword. Thirtie seauen thousand of the enemies perish in this nights worke; besides a thousand eight hundred and thirty, taken prisoners. Heereunto *Valerius Antias* adds, that the campe of *Mago* was also taken, and seuen thousand slaine: and that in another battaile with *Asdrubal*, there were 40 slaine tenne thousand more; besides foure thousand three hundred and thirtie taken prisoners. Such is the power of some Historians. *Linie* therefore hath elsewhere well obserued, That there is none so intemperate, as *Valerius Antias*, in multiplying the numbers that haue fallen in battailes. That, whilst *Martius* was making an Oration to his souldiers, a flame of fire shone about his head, *Linie* reporteth as a common tale, not giuing thereto any credit: and temperately concludeth, That this Capitaine *Martius* got a great name; which he might well doe, if with so small forces, and in such distresse, Hee could cleerely get off from the Enemies, and giue them any parting blow, though it were farre lesse then that which is heere set downe.

Of these occurrences *L. Martius* sent word to *Rome*, not forgetting his owne good seruice, whatsoeuer it was, but setting it out in such wise, as the Senate might iudge him worthy to hold the place of their Vicegerent in *Spain*: which the better to intimate vnto them, He stiled himselfe Propretor. The *Fathers* were no lesse moued with the tidings than the case required: and therefore tooke such careful order, for supplying their forces in *Spain*, that although *Hannibal* came to the gates of *Rome*, ere the Companies leui'd to serue in that Prouince, could be sent away; yet would they not stay a tide for defence of the Citie it selfe, but shipped them in all haste for *Spain*. As for that title of Propretor, which *Martius* had assumed, they thought it too great for him, and were offended

offended at his presumption in vsurping it: foreseeing well, that it was a matter of ill consequence, to haue the souldiers abroad make choice, among themselves, of those that should command Armies and Prouinces. Therefore *C. Claudius Nero* was dispatched away, with all conuenient haste, into *Spain*: carrying with him about sixe thousand of the *Roman* foot, and as many of the *Latines*, with three hundred *Roman* Horse, and of the *Latines* eight hundred.

It happened well, that about these times, the affaires of *Rome* began to prosper in *Italy*, and afforded means of lending abroad such a strong supply: other wise, the victories of *Martius* would ill haue serued, either to keepe footing in *Spain*, or to stop the *Carthaginian* Armies from marching towards the *Alpes*. For when *Claudius*, landing with his new forces, tooke charge of that remainder of the Army, which was vnder *Martius* and *Fonteius*; he found surer tokens of the ouerthrowes receiued, than of those miraculous victories, whereof *Martius* had made his vaunts vnto the Senate. The *Roman* party was forsaken by most of the *Spanish* friends: who how to reclaim it, would not easily be deuised. Yet *Claudius* aduanced boldly towards *Asdrubal* the brother of *Hannibal*: whom he found among the *Austriani*, nere enough at hand, incamped in a place called *Lepides agra*; out of which there was no issue, but onely through a freight, whereon the *Roman* feared, as his first comming. What should haue tempted any man of vnderstanding to incampe in such a place, I doe not finde: and as little reason can I find in that which folowd. For it is said, That *Asdrubal*, seeing himselfe thus lockt vp, made offer to depart forth with out of all *Spain*, and quit the Prouince to the *Romans*, vpon condition, that he and his Armie might be thence dismissed; That he spent many dayes, in entretyning parlee with *Claudius* about this businesse; That night by night he conuighed his footmen (a few at a time) through very difficult passages, out of the danger; and that finally taking aduantage of a misty day, He stole away with all his Horse and Elephants, leaving his Campe empty. If we consider, that there were at the same time, besides this *Asdrubal*, two other *Carthaginian* Generalls in *Spain*, we shall finde no lesse cause to wonder at the simplicitie of *Claudius*, who hoped to conclude a bargain for so great a Countrey, with one of these three Chieftaines, than at the strange nature of those passages: through which the footmen could hardly creepe out by night; the Horse and Elephants easily following them in a darke misty day. Wherefore in giuing beliefe to such a tale, it is needfull that we suppose, both the danger wherein the *Carthaginians* were, and the conditions offered for their safe departure; so haue bene of farre lesse value. Howsoeuer it was; neither this, nor ought else that the *Romans* could doe, serued to purchase any new friends in *Spain*, or to recover the old which they had lost. Like enough it is that the old Souldiers, which had chosen *Martius* their Propretor,ooke it not well, that the Senate, regardless of their good desertes, had repealed their election, and sent a Propretor whom they fancied not so well. Some such occasion may haue moued them to desire a Proconsul, and (perhaps) young *Scipio* by name: as if a title of greater dignity, were needfull to worke regard in the *Barbarians*; and the beloued memorie of *Cn.* and *Publius*, likely to doe good, were it reuiued in one of the same Family. Whether vpon these, or vpon other reasons; *C. Claudius* was recalled out of the Prouince; and *Publius* the sonne of *P. Scipio* sent Proconsul into *Spain*.

This is that *Scipio*, who afterward transferred the waite into *Africa*: where he happily ended it, to the great honour and benefit of his Countrey. He was a man of goodly presence, and singularly well condition'd: especially he excelled in Temperance, Commodity, Bounty, and other vertues that purchase loue; of which qualities what great vse he made, shall appeare in the tenour of his Actions following. As for those things that are reported of him, laouring a little too much of the great *Alexanders* vanity; How he is vied to walke alone in the Capitoll, as one that had some secret conference with *Iupiter*; How a Dragon (which must haue bene one of the gods; and, in likelihood *Iupiter* himselfe) was thought to haue conuersed with his Mother, entering her Chamber often, & vanishing away at the comming in of any man; and how of these matters he nourished the rumour, by doubtfull answers; I hold them no better than fables, deuised by Historians, who thought thereby to adde vnto the glory of *Rome*: that this noble Citie might seeme, not onely to haue surpassed other Nations in vertue of the generality, but also in great worth of one single man. To this ende nothing is left out, that might serue to adorne this *Roman* Champion. For it is confidently written, as matter

of vnquestionable truth, That when a Proconful was to be chosen for *Spaine*, there durst not any Captaine of the principall Citizens offer himselfe as Petitioner, for that honourable, but dangerous charge; That the people of *Rome* were much astonished thereat; That when the day of Election came, all the Princes of the Citie stood looking one another in the face, nor one of them hauing the heart, to aduenture himselfe in such a desperate seruice; and finally, That this *P. Cornelius Scipio*, being then about foure and twenty yeeres of age, getting vp on an high place where he might be seene of all the multitude, requested, and obtained, that the Office might be conferred vpon him. If this were true, then were all the victories of *L. Martius* no better than dreames: & either very vnreasonable was the feare of all the *Roman* Captaines, who durst not follow *Claudius Nero*, that not long before was gone into *Spaine* Propretor; or very bad intelligence they had out of the Province, which *Asdrubal* the *Carthaginian*, as we heard euene now, was ready to abandon. But vpon these incoherences, which I finde in the too partiall *Roman* Historians, I doe not willingly insillt.

P. Scipio was sent Proconful into *Spaine*; and with him was ioyned *M. Iunius Syllanus*, as Propretor, and his Coadiutor. They carried with them tenne thousand foote, and a thousand horse, in thirty *Quinquereme Gallies*. With these they landed at *Emporia*; and marched from thence to *Tarracon* along the Sea-coast. At the fame of *Scipio*'s arrival, it is said, that Embassages came to him apace from all quarters of the Province: which he entertained with such a maistie, as bred a wonderfull opinion of him. As for the enemies, they were greatly afraid of him: and so much the greater was their feare, by how much the lesse they could giue any reason of it. If we must beleue this, then must we needs beleue, that their feare was euene as great as could be: for very little cause there was, to be terrified with the fame of so young a man, which had as yet performed nothing. All the Winter following (or, as some thinke, all the next yeere) hee did no thing: but spent the time perhaps, as his foregoers had done, in treating with the *Spaniards*. His first enterprize was against new *Carthage*: vpon which he came vnexpected, with five and twenty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse; his Sea-forces coasting him, and moderating their course in such wise, that they arrived there together with him. He assailed the Towne by Land and Sea; and wonne it by assault the first day. The *Carthaginians* lost it, by their too much confidence vpon the strength of it: which caused them to man it more slenderly, than was requisite. Yet it might have been well enough defended, if some Fisher-men of *Tarracon* had not discovered vnto *Scipio*, a secret passage vnto the walles; whereof the Townsmen themselves were either ignorant, or thought (at least) that their enemies could haue no notice. This Citie of new *Carthage*, remembred the old and great *Carthage* in situation; standing vpon a demi-land, betweene an Hauene and a great Lake. All the Westerne side of the wals, and somewhat of the North, was fenced with this Lake: which the Fisher-men of *Tarracon* had founded; and finding some part thereof a shelfe, whereon at low water men might passe knee-deep, or (at most) wading vp to the Nauill, *Scipio* thrust therinto some Companies of his men; who recovered the top of the walles without resistance: the place being left without guard, as able to defend it selfe by the naturall strength. These falling suddenly vpon the backs of the *Carthaginians* within the Citie; easily forced a gate, and gaue free entrance to the *Roman* Army. What booty was found within the Towne, *Luise* himselfe cannot certainly affirme; but is faine to say, That some *Roman* Historians told lies without measure, in way of amplification. By that small proportion of riches, which was afterward carried by *Scipio* into the *Roman* Treasury, we may easily perceiue, how great a vanity it was to say, That all the wealth of *Affrick* and *Spaine*, was heaped vp in that one Towne. But therein were bestowed all the *Spanish* Hostages: (or at least of the adioyning Provinces) whom *Scipio* entreated with singular courtie; restoring them vnto their kindred and friends, in such gracious manner, as doubled the thanks due to so great a benefite. Here vpon a Prince of the *Celtiberians*, and two petty Kings of the *Ilergetes* and *Lucetani*, neereft Neighbours to *Tarracon*, and dwelling on the North-side of *Iberus*, forooke the *Carthaginian* party, and ioyned with the *Romans*. The speech of *Indibilis*, King of the *Ilergetes*, is much commended: for that he did not want himselfe, as commonly fugitiues vse, of the pleasure which he did vnto the *Romans*, in reuoluing from their enemies; but rather excused this his changing side, as being there-to compelled by iniuries of the enemies; and inuited by the honourable dealing of *Scipio*.

Scipio. This temperate estimation of his new professed friendship, was indeed no vnfore token, that it should be long-lasting. But if the *Ilergetes* had long ere this (as we haue heard before) forsaken the *Carthaginian* party, and stoutly held themselves as friends to *Scipio*; then could nothing haue beene deuised more vaine, than this Oration of *Indibilis* their King; excusing, as new, his taking part with the same, when he should haue rather craued pardon for his breach of alliance, formerly contracted with the Father and the Vncle. Most likely therefore it is, that howsoeuer the two elder *Scipio*'s had gotten some few places among these their Neighboures, and held them by strength; yet were the *Romans* neuer masters of the Country, till this worthy Commander, by recouering their Hostages from the *Carthaginians*, and by his great munificence in sending them home, won vnto himselfe the assured loue & assistance of these Princes. The *Carthaginian* Generals, when they heard of this losse, were very sorry: yet neuertheless they set a good face on the matter; saying, That a young man, hauing stolne a Towne by surpris, was too farre transported, and ouer-joyed, but that shortly they would meet with him, and put him in minde of his Father and Vncle; which would alter his moode, and bring him to a more conuenient temper.

Now if I should here interpose mine owne coniecture; I should be bold to say, That the *Carthaginians* were at this time busie, in setting forth toward *Italie*; and that *Scipio*, to diuert them, vnder-tooke new *Carthage*, as his Father and Vncle, vpon the like occasion, had done before *Ibera*. And in this respect I would suppose, that it had not been much amiss, if the passage ouer the Lake had been vndiscovered, and the Towne helde out some longer while. For howsoeuer that particular Action was the more fortunate, in comming to such good issue vpon the first day: yet in the generality of the businesse, betweene *Rome* and *Carthage*, it was more to be wished, that *Asdrubal* should be stayed from going into *Italy*, than that halfe of *Spaine* should be taken from him. Whereas therefore he had nothing left to doe, that should hinder his journey; *Mago*, and *Asdrubal*, the sonne of *Gisco*, were thought sufficient to hold *Scipio* work, in that lingering warre of taking and retaking Towne, whilst the maine of the *Carthaginian* forces, vnder *Asdrubal*, the sonne of *Amilcar*, went to a greater enterprize: euen to fight in trall of the Empire. But the *Roman* Historians tell this after another fashion; and say, That *Asdrubal* was beaten into *Italie*: whither he ran for feare, as thinking himselfe ill-assured of the *Spaniards*, as long as they might but heare the name of *Scipio*. *Scipio*, say they, comming vpon *Asdrubal*; his Vancourtiers charged so lustily the *Carthaginian* horse, that they draue them into their Trenches: and made it apparent, euen by that small peece of seruice, how full of spirit the *Roman* Army was, and how dejected the Enemy. *Asdrubal* therefore by night retired out of that euen ground, and occupied an Hill, compassed on three sides with the Riuer, very steepe of ascent, and not easie of access on the fore-side; by which himselfe got vp, and was to be followed by the *Romans*. On the top of it there was a Plaine, whereon he strongly incamped himselfe: and in the mid-way, betweene the top and roof of the Hill, was also another Plaine; into which he descended, more vpon brauery, that he might not seeme to hide himselfe within his Trenches, than for that he durst aduenture his Army to the hazzard of a battaile, for which this was no equall ground. But such aduantage of place could not saue him from the *Romans*. They climbed vp the Hill to him; they recovered euen footing with him; droue him out of this lower Plaine, vp into his Campe on the Hill-top: whither although the ascent were very difficult, and his Elephants bestowed in the smoothest places to hinder their approach; yet compassing about, and seeking passage where it was hardest to be found; but much more strongly breaking their way, where the *Carthaginians* had got vp before them, they draue both Men and Elephants head-long. I know not whither: for it is said, that there was no way to flie. Out of such a battaile, wherein hee had lost eight thousand men, *Asdrubal* is said to haue escaped; and gathering together his dispersed troupes, to haue marched towards the *Pyrenes*, hauing sent away his Elephants ere the fight began. Neuertheless, *Mago*, and *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Gisco*, are reported after this, to haue consulted with him about this Warre; and finally to haue concluded, that goe hee needed must, were it but to carry all the *Spaniards*, as farre as might be, from the name of *Scipio*. How likely this was to haue been true, it shal appeare at his comming into *Italy*; whence these incoherent relations of the *Spanish* affaires, haue too long detained vs.

§. XII.

The great troubles that Hannibal raised in all quarters, to the Citie of Rome. Posthumius the Roman General, with his whole Army, is slain by the Gauls. Philip King of Macedon, enters into a League with Hannibal, against the Romans. The Romans trying with the Aetolians, make warre upon Philip in Greece: and afterwards conclude a peace with him: the better to intend their businesse against the Carthaginians.

WHEN Hannibal wintering at Capua: where he and his new Confederates rejoiced (as may be thought) not a little, to hear the good newes from Carthage 10 of such mighty aide, as was decreed to be sent thence vnto him. In former times he had found worke enough, to carry the Romans come into his owne barnes, and to driue away their Cattell to Geryon: his victories affording him little other profit, then sustenance for his Army; by making him Master of the open field. Hee might perhaps haue fore'd some walled townes, in like sort as he did Geryon, & the Castle of Canne: but had he spent much time, about the getting of any one place well decided, the hunger, that his Army must haue endured the Winter and Spring following, vntill come were ripe, would haue grievously punished him for such employment of the Summer. This may haue bene the reason, why he forbore to adventure vpon Rome, after his victory at Canne. For had he failed (as it was a matter of no certainty) to carry the Citie at his first 20 comming; want of victuals would haue compelled him to quit the enterprize. Yet many of the people that opened so hastily their gates vnto him, vpon the fresh bruit of his glorious successe, would haue taken time of deliberation, & waited perhaps the event of another battaile: if being, either for want of meanes to force the Citie, or of necessaries to continue a siege before it, repelled (as might seeme) from the walles of Rome, he had presented himselfe vnto them with a lessened reputation, somewhat later in the yeere; when time to force their obedience was wanting, vnlesse they would freely yeeld it. But this great part of the care and trauell was past, when so many States of Italy were become his: the yeere following, the Samnites, and other old enemies of Rome, were like to recieue a notable pleasure of their new alliance with Carthage, by helping to lay siege vnto this 30 proud Citie, which so long had held them in subiection. Thus the winter was passed over ioyfully, sauing that there came not any tidings of the preparations, to second the welcome report of those mighty forces, that were decreed and expected. The Spring drew on: and of the promised supply there arriued no more, than onely the Elephants. How late it was ere these came, I finde not: onely we finde, that after this he had about thirty of them; whereas all, though one, that he brought ouer the Alpes, had bene lost in his iourney through the Marishes of Hetruria. Very bad excuse of this exceeding negligence, they that brought the Elephants could make vnto Hannibal. If they were his friends, they told him truly, what mischiefs the perswasion of Hanno wrought among the too niggardly Carthaginians. Otherwise, they might perhaps inform him, that it was 40 thought a safer, though a farther way about, to passe along through Spaine and Gaule, as he himselfe had done; and increase the Army, by hyring the Barbarians in the iourney, than to commit the maine strength of their Citie, to the hazard of the Seas: especially wanting a commodious Haven, to recieue the Fleet that should carry such a number of Men, Horses, and Elephants, with all needfull prouisions. With these allegations Hannibal must rest content; and seeke, as well as he can, to satisfie his Italian Confederates. Therefore when time of the yeere serued, He tooke the field: and hauing finished what rested to be done at Casilinum, sought to make himselfe Master of some good haucn-towne thereabout; that might serue to entertaine the Carthaginian Fleet; or take 50 with his Enemies at home all excuse, which they might pretend by want thereof. To so the same purpose, and to doe what else was needfull, He sent Himilco vnto the Locris, and Hanno to the Lucans: not forgetting at once to assily all quarters of Italy, yea, the Isles of Sicily and Sardinia; since the siege of Rome, must needs be deferred vnto another yeere. Hanno made an ill iourney of it, being met, or ouer-taken, by T. Sempronius Longus: who slue about two thousand of his men; with the losse of few, than three hundred Romans. But Himilco sped farre better. By helpe of the Brutians, his good friends, he won Petellia or Petilia by force; after it had held out some moneths. He won likewise Consentia; and Croton, that was forsaken by the Inhabitants. Also the Citie of Locri, which 725

was of great importance, yeelded vnto him: as did all other places thereabout; except onely the Towne of Rhegium, ouer against Sicily.

The great faith of the Petilians is worthy to be recorded, as a notable testimony of the good government, vnder which the Roman subiects liued. As for the Samnites, Campanians, and others, whose earnestnesse in rebellion may seeme to proue the contrary; wee are to consider, That they had lately contended with Rome for Soueraignty, and were now transported with ambition: which reason can hardly moderate, or benefits allay. The Petilians, in the very beginning of their danger, did send to Rome for helpe: where their Messengers receiued answer from the Senate, That the publicke misfortunes had not 10 left meanes, to relieue their Associates that were so farre distant. The Petilian Messengers (Embassadours they are termed; as were all others, publicly sent from Cities of the Roman subiection, that had a private iurisdiction within themselves) fell downe to the ground, and humbly besought the Fathers, not to giue them away: promising to do and suffer whatsoeuer was possible, in defence of their Towne, against the Carthaginians. Hereupon the Senate fell to consultation againe: and hauing thoroughly considered all their forces remaining, plainly confessed, that it was not in their power to giue any relief. Wherefore these Embassadours were willed to returne home, and to bid their Citizens 20 prouide hereafter for their owne safety, as hauing already discharged their faith to the utmost. All this notwithstanding, the Petilians (as was said) held out some moneths: and hauing striven in vaine to defend themselves, when there was no apparent possibility, gave to the Carthaginians a bloudie victorie ouer them; being vanquished as much by famine, as by any violence of the Assaults.

The Romans at this time were indeed in such ill case, that Hannibal, with a little helpe from Carthage, might haue reduced them into termes of great extremity. For whereas, in a great brauerie, before their losse at Canne, they had shewed their high minds; by entertaining the care of things farre off, notwithstanding the great warre that lay vpon them so neere at hand: it now fell out miserably all at once, that their fortune abroad was no whit better then at home. L. Posthumius Albinus, their Prætor they had sent, with an Armie of five and twenty thousand, into Gaule; to the Illyrian King Pinus, they had sent for their Tribute due, whereof the pay-day was past, willing him, if he desired 30 forbearance, to deliuer hostages for his performance of what was due; and to Philip King of Macedon they had sent, to require, that hee should deliuer vp vnto them Demetrius Phariis, their Subiect and Rebelle, whom he had receiued. But now from all quarters they heare tidings, little suitable to their former glorious conceits. Posthumius with all his Armie was cut in picces by the Gauls; in such sort, that scarce ten men escaped. The manner of his ouerthrow was very strange. There was a great Wood, called by the Gauls, Litana; through which he was to passe. Against his comming, the Enemies had 40 felled the Trees so far, that a little force would serue to cast them downe. When therefore Posthumius, with his whole Armie, was entred into this dangerous passage, the Gauls, that lay about the Wood, began to cast downe the Trees: which falling one against another, bore all downe so fast, that the Romans were ouerwhelmed, Men and Horses; in such wise, that no more escaped, than is said before. How this tedious worke of sawing so many Trees, could take desired effect, and neither be perceived, nor made frustrate, either by some winde, that might haue blowne all downe before the Romans entred, or by some other of those many accidents, whereto the deuice was subiect; I do not well conceiue. Yet some such thing may haue bene done: and what failed in the stratagem, supplied with the Enemies sword. It is not perhaps worthy to be omitted, as a monument of the sauage condition, wherewith Lombardie, a Countie now so ciuill, was infected in elder times, That of Posthumius his skull, being cleansed, and trimmed 50 up with gold, a drinking cup was made, and consecrated in their principall Temple, as an holy vessel, for the vse of the Priest in their solemnities. Of this great ouerthrow, when word was brought to Rome; the amazement was no lesse then the calamitie. But sorrow could giue no remedie to the mischiefe: and anger was vaine, where there wanted force to reuenge. Tribute from the Illyrians there came none: neither do I finde, that any was a second time demanded; this we finde, That with Pleuratus, and Scerdædictus Illyrian Kings, as also with Gentius, who reigned within a few yeeres following, the Romans dealt vpon euen termes; entreating their assistance against Philip and Persus; not commanding their dutie, as Vassals. The Macedonian troubled them yet a little further. For 725

having assured his affaires in Greece, and enjoying leisure to looke into the doings abroad, He sent Embassadors to *Hannibal*: with whom he made a league, vpon these conditions; That the King in person should come into *Italy*, and with all his forces, by Land and Sea, assist the *Carthaginians* in the Roman warre, vntill it were finished; That *Rome*, and all *Italy*, together with all the spoile therein to be gotten, should be left entire vnto the State of *Carthage*; And that afterwards *Hannibal* with his Armie should passe into Greece, and there assist *Philip*, vntill hee had subdued all his Enemies: (which were the *Ætolians*, *Thracians*, King *Antiochus*, and others) leauing flemably vnto him the full possession of that country, and the Isles adioyning. But such predisposition of Kingdoms and Provinces, is lightly controlled by the diuine Providence, which therein shewes to it selfe not (as *Herodotus* falsely termes it, and like an *Archeist*) enuious or malicious, but very iust and majesticall; in vp-holding that vnspcakable greatnesse of Souerainty, by which it rules the whole World, and all that therein is.

The first Embassadors that *Philip* sent, fell into the *Romans* hands, in their journey towards *Hannibal*: & being examined what they were, aduentured vpon a bold lie, saying, That they were sent from the King of *Macedon* to *Rome*, there to make a League with the Senate and People, and offer his helpe in this time of great necessitie. These newes were so welcome, that the ioy thereof tooke away all care of making better inquiry. So they were louingly fasted, and freely dismissed with guides that should leade them the way, and shew them how to auoyde the *Carthaginians*. But they being thus instructed concerning their iourney, fell wilfully into the Campe of *Hannibal*: who entertained them after a better fashion; and concluded the businesse; about which they came, vpon the points before remembred. In their returne homeward, they happened againe vnluckily to be desired by the *Roman* fleet; which, mistrusting them to be of the *Carthaginian* party, gaue them chase. They did their best to haue escaped: but being ouer-taken, they suffered the *Romans* to come aboard; and trusting to the lie that once had serued them, said it againe, That hauing bene sent from King *Philip*, to make a league with the People of *Rome*, they were not able, by reason of the *Carthaginians* lying betwene, to get any farther than to *M. Valerius* the Pretor, vnto whom they had signified the good affection of the King their Master. The tale was now lesse credible than before: and (which mured all) *Gisco*, *Bellar*, and *Mago*, with their followers, *Carthaginians* that were sent with them from *Hannibal* to ratifie the agreement, being presently detected, made the matter apparant. Wherefore a little inquisition serued to find all out: so that at length *Hannibals* owne letters to King *Philip* were deliuered vp, and the whole businesse confessed. The Embassadors and their followers were sent close prisoners to *Rome*: where the chiefe of them were cast into prison; and the rest sold for bond-slaves. Yet one of their ships that escaped, carried word into *Macedon* of all that had happened. Whereupon a new Embassage was sent, that went and returned with better speed; concluding, as was agreed before, onely with some losse of time.

The *Romans* were exceedingly perplexed: thinking with what heauy weight this *Macedonian* warre, in an euill houre, was likely to fall vpon them, when their shoulders were ouer-burdened with the load of the *Carthaginian*. Yet they tooke a noble resolution; and futable vnto that, whereby they kept off the storme, that else would haue beate vpon them from *Spain*. They iudged it more easie, with small forces to detain *Philip* in Greece, than with all their strength to resist him in *Italy*. And herein they were in the right. For that the very reputation of a King of *Macedon*, ioyning with *Hannibal* in such a time, would haue sufficed to shake the allegiance, not onely of the *Latines*, and other their most faithfull Subjects, but euen of the *Roman* Colonies that held all priuiledges of the Citie, it will appeare by the following successe of things. *M. Valerius* the Pretor, with twenty *Quinquereme* Gallies, was appointed to attend vpon the *Macedonian*, and so to set on foot some commotion in Greece; or to nourish the troubles already therein begunne. *Philip* was busied about the Sea townes, that looked towards *Italy*, setting vpon *Apollonia*; and thence sailing vpon *Oricum*, which he wonne, and so returned to *Apollonia* againe. The *Epirots* craued helpe of *M. Valerius*: or rather accepted his kind offers, who had none other businesse to doe. The Garrison that *Philip* had left in *Oricum*, was strong enough to hold the Towne-men in good order; but not to keep out the *Romans*: of whose daring to attempt any thing against him, on that side the Sea, *Philip* as then had no suspicion. *Valerius* therefore easily regained the Towne; and sent thence a thousand

thousand men, vnder *Nauius Crispus*, an vnder-taking and expert Captaine; which got by night into *Apollonia*. These made a notable fallie, and brake into *Philips* Trenches with so great slaughter, that they forced him to forsake his campe, and raise the siege. The King purposed (as it is said) to haue departed thence by Sea: but *Valerius*, coming with his fleet from *Oricum*, stopped vp the mouth of the Riuer, so that he was faine to burne his ships, (which belike were no better than long boates) and depart ill furnished of carriages, by Land. After this *Valerius* dealt with the *Ætolians*, a Nation alwayes enemy to the Crowne of *Macedon*: and easily perswaded them (being so affected, as hath else where bene shewd) to make strong warre on *Philip*; wher in he promised them great assistance from the *Romans*. That which most moued the troublesome spirits of the *Ætolians*, was the hope of getting *Acarnania*: after which they had gaped long; and wherof the *Roman* was as liberall in making promise, as if already it had bene his owne. So a league was made betwene them: and afterward solemnly published at *Olympia*, by the *Ætolians*; and by the *Romans*, in their Capitoll. The conditions were, That from *Ætolia* to *Coreyra*, in which space *Acarnania* was contained, all the Countrey should be subdued, and left vnto the *Ætolians*, the pillage onely to be given to the *Romans*. And that if the *Ætolians* made peace with *Philip*, it should be with Prouision, to hold no longer than whilst he abstained from doing iniurie to the *Romans*, or their Associates. This was indeed the onely point, wherat *Valerius* aimed, who promised as much on the *Romans* behalfe. That they should not make peace with the *Macedonians*, unless it were with like condition of including the *Ætolians*. Into this league was place referred for the *Lacedemonians* and *Eleans*, as to those that had made or fauored the side of *Eleomenes* against the *Macedonian*, to enter at their pleasure. The like regard was had of *Attalus*, *Pleuratus*, and *Scordiletus*: the first of which reigned at *Pergamus*, in *Asia* the little, a Prince hereafter much to be spoken of; the other two held some part of *Illyria*, about which the *Romans* were so farre from contending with them, that gladly they sought to get their friendly acquaintance. But the names of these Associates, are thrust into the Treatie, rather to giue it countenance, than for any readinesse which they disclose to enter thereinto. The *Ætolians* alone, and chiefly *Scopas* their Pretor, with *Demachus* and others, are yet a while the onely men, of whom the *Roman* Generals must make much; as the late French King, *Henry* the fourth, when he had onely the title of *Quarre*, was said to court the Majors of *Rochel*. *Philip* was not idle; when he heard wherunto the *Ætolians* tended. He repaired his Armie, made a countenance of warre vpon the *Illyrians*, & other his borders, that were wont in times of danger to inuade the Kingdom of *Macedon*; wasted the Countrey about *Oricum* and *Apollonia*; and ouer-running the *Pelagians*, *Dardanians*, and others, whom he held suspected, came downe into *Thessalie*, whence he made shew as if he would inuade *Ætolia*. By the fame of this Expedition, He thought to stirre vp all the *Greeks* adioyning, against the *Ætolians*; whom they generally detested as a nest of Robbers, troublesome to all the Countrey. To which purpose, and to hinder the *Ætolians* from breaking into Greece, He left *Persicus*, his sonne, and heire, with foure thousand men, vpon their borders: with the rest of his Armie; beate greater businesse should ouer-take and entangle him. He made a long iourney into *Thrace*, against a people called the *Medes*; that were wont to fall vpon *Macedon*, wheneuer the King was absent. The *Ætolians*, hearing of his departure, armed as many as they could against the *Acarnanians*; in hope to subdue those their daily enemies; and winne their little Countrey, ere he should be able to returne. He wrote it some auailed, that the *Romans* had already taken *Oeniade* and *Naxos*, *Acarnanian* Townes, conueniently situated to let in an Armie; and consigned them vnto the *Ætolians*, according to the tenor of the contract lately made with them. But the stout resolution of the *Acarnanians*, to die (as we say) every Mothers sonne of them, in defence of their Countrey; together with the great haste of the *Macedonian* (who layd aside all other businesse) to succour those his friends; caused the *Ætolians* to forsake their enterprise. When this Expedition was giuen ouer, the *Romans* and *Ætolians* fell vpon *Ancyra*, which they tooke: the *Romans* assailing it by Sea, the *Ætolians* by Land. The *Ætolians* had the Towne, and the *Romans* the spoile.

For these good seruices *M. Valerius* was chosen Consul at *Rome*; and *P. Sulpicius* sent in his stead, to keepe the warre on foot in Greece. But besides the *Roman* helpe, *Attalus* one of *Asia* came ouer to assist the *Ætolians*. Hee was chiefly moued by his owne lealousie

house of *Philips* greames: though somewhat also tickled with the vanity, of being chosen by the *Aetolians* their principall Magistrate; which honour, though no better than titular, he tooke in very loving part. Against the forces which *Attalus* and the *Romans* had sent, being ioynd with the maine power of *Aetolia*, *Philip* tried the fortune of two battailes: and was victorious in each of them. Hereupon, these his troublesome neighbours desired peace of him, and wised their best meanes to get it. But when the day, appointed for the conclusion thereof, was come: their Embassadors, in stead of making submission, proposed vnto him such intolerable conditions, as ill becomed vanquished men to offer: and might therefore well testifie, that their mindes were altered. It was not any loue of peace, but feare: of being besieged in their owne Townes, that had made to them desirous of composition. This feare being taken away, by the encouragements of *Attalus* and the *Romans*, they were as fierce as euer: and thrust a garrison of their owne, and some *Roman* friends, into *Elis*; which threatened *Achaia*, wherein *Philip* then lay. The *Romans*, making a cut over the streight from *Narpaceus*, wasted the Country in a terrible brauerie: wherein *Philip* requited them, coming vpon them in great haste from the *Nemean* Games (which he was then celebrating) and sending them faster away, but nothing richer, than they came.

In the heate of this contention, *Prusias* King of *Bithynia*, fearing the growth of *Attalus*, no lesse than *Attalus* held suspected the power of *Philip*; sent a Naue into *Greece*, to assist the *Macedonian* partie. The like did the *Carthaginians*: and vpon greater reason, as to being more interested in the successe of his affaires. *Philip* was too weak by Sea: and though he could man some two hundred ships, yet the vessels were such, as could not hold out against the *Roman* *Quinqueremes*. Wherefore it behoued him, to vnto the help of his good friends the *Carthaginians*. But their aide came somewhat too late: which might better at first haue kept those Enemies from fastning vpon any part of *Greece*; than afterward it could serue to drine them out, when they had pierced into the bowels of that Country. Ere *Philip* could attempt any thing by Sea; it was needfull that hee should correct the *Eleans*, bad Neighbours to the *Achaians* his principall Confederates. But in assailing their Towne, He was encountered by the *Aetolian* and *Roman* garrison, which draue him backe with some losse. In such cases, especially where God intendeth a great conuersion of Empire, Fame is very powerfull in working. The King had receiued no great detrimēt, in his retreat from *Elis*: rather he had giuen testimonie of his personall valour, in fighting well on foot, when his horse was slaine vnder him. He had also sone after taken a great multitude of the *Eleans*, to the number of foure thousand; with some twentie thousand head of Cattle, which they had brought together into a place of safetie, as they thought, when their Country was invaded. But it had happened, that in his pursuit of the *Roman* foragers about *Sicyon*, his horse running hastily vnder a lowe tree, had torne off one of the hornes, which (after the fashion of those times) the King wore in his Crest. This was gathered vp by an *Aetolian*, who carried it home, and shewed it as a token of *Philips* death. The horse was well knowne, and the tale beleefed. All *Macedon* therefore was in an vpror: and not onely the Borderers, ready to fall vpon the Country, but some Captaines of *Philip*, easily corrupted, who thinking to make themselves a fortune in that change of things, ranne into such treason, as they might better hope to make good, than to excuse. Hereupon the King returned home, leaving not three thousand men, to assist his friends the *Achaens*. He also tooke order, to haue Beacons erected; that might giue him notice of the Enemies doings; vpon whom he meant shortly to returne. The affaires of *Macedon*, his presence quickly established. But in *Greece* all went ill-faouoredly: especially in the Ile of *Euboea*, where one *Plator* betrayed to *Attalus*, and the *Romans*, the Towne of *Oreum*, ere *Philip* could arriue to helpe it, where also the strong Citie of *Chalcis* was likely to haue beene lost, if he had not come the sooner. He made such hastie marches, that he had almost taken *Attalus* in the Citie of *Opus*. This Citie, lying ouer against *Euboea*, *Attalus* had worne, more through the cowardize of the people, than any great force that he had vsed. Now because the *Roman* souldiers had defrauded him in the sacke of *Oreum*, and taken all to themselves: it was agreed, that *Attalus* should make his best profit of the *Opuntians*, without admitting the *Romans* to be his sharers. But whilst he was busie, in drawing as much mony as he could out of the Citizens: the sudden tidings of *Philips* arriuall, made him leaue all behinde him, and runne away to the Sea-side, where he got aboard his ships; finding the *Romans* gone

gone before, vpon the like feare. Either the indignity of this misaduenture; or tidings of *Prusias* the *Bithynian* his inuasion vpon the kingdom of *Pergamus*; made *Attalus* returne home, without staying to take leaue of his friends. So *Philip* recovered *Opus*; worne *Tarone*, *Tritonus*, *Drymus*, and many small townes in those parts; performing likewise some actions, of more brauerie than importance, against the *Aetolians*. In the meane season, *Machanidas*, the tyrant of *Lacedemon*, had bene busie in *Peloponnesus*; but hearing of *Philips* arriuall, was retained home.

The *Lacedemonians*, hearing certaine report of *Cleomenes* his death in *Aegypt*, went about to choise two new Kings, and to conforme themselves to their old manner of government. But their Estate was so farre out of tune, that their hope of redressing things within the Citie, proued no lesse vnfortunate, than had bene their attempts of recouering a large dominion abroad. *Lycurgus* a tyrant rose vp among them: vnto whom succeeded this *Machanidas*, & shortly after came *Nabis*, that was worse than both of them. They held on the *Aetolian* and *Roman* side, for feare of the *Achaens*, that were the chief Confederates of *Philip*, and hated extremely the name both of Tyrants, and *Lacedemonians*. But of these we shall speake more hereafter.

Philip coming into *Achaia*, and seeing his presence had brought the contentment of assurance to that Country; spake braue words to the Assembly of their States, saying, That he had to doe with an Enemie, that was very nimble, and made warre by running away. He told how he had followed them to *Chalcis*, to *Oreum*, to *Opus*, and now into *Achaia*: but could no where finde them, such haste they made, for feare of being overtaken. But flight, hee said, was not alwayes prosperous: hee should one day light vpon them; as ere this he sundry times had done, and still to their losse. The *Achaians* were glad to heare these words; and much the more glad, in regard of his good deeds accompanying them. For hee restored vnto their Nation some Townes that were in his hand, belonging to them of old. Likewise to the *Megalopolitans* their Confederates, he rendered *Aliphera*. The *Dymeans*, that had bene taken by the *Romans*, and sold for slaves, he sought out, ransomed, and put in quiet possession of their owne Citie. Further, passing ouer the *Corinthian* Gulfe, hee fell vpon the *Aetolians*: whom he draue into the mountaines and woods, or other their strongest holds; and wasted their Country. This done, he tooke leaue of the *Achaens*: and returning home by Sea, visited the people that were his subiects, or dependents: and animated them so well, that they rested fearlesse of any threatening danger. Then had he leisure to make warre vpon the *Dardaniens*, his neighbours to *Macedon*: with whom neuertheless he was not so far occupied, but that he could goe in hand with preparing a fleet of an hundred gallies, whereby to make himselfe Master of the Sea; the *Romans* (since the departure of *Attalus*) hauing not dared to meet or pursue him, when he lately ranne along the coast of *Greece*, fast by them where they lay.

This good successe added much reputation to the *Macedonian*, and emboldned him to make strong warre vpon the *Aetolians*, at their owne doores. As for the *Romans*, either some displeasure, conceiued against their Confederates, or some feare of danger at home, when *Asdrubal* was ready to fall vpon *Italy*; caused them to giue over the care of things in *Greece*, and leaue their friends there to their owne fortunes. The *Aetolians* therefore, being driuen to great extremitie, were faine to sue for peace vnto *Philip*; and accept it, vpon what euer conditions it best pleased him. The agreement was no sooner made, than *P. Sempronius* with ten thousand foot, a thousand horse, and thirte fixe gallies, came ouer in great haste (though somewhat too late) to trouble it. Hearing how things went in *Aetolia*, he turned aside to *Dyrrachium*, & *Apollonia*, making a great noise, as if with these his owne forces he would worke wonders. But it was not long ere *Philip* came to visit him, and found him tame enough. The King presented him battell, but he refused it: and suffering the *Macedonians* to waste the Country round about, before his eyes, kept himselfe close within the walls of *Apollonia*, making some Querrels of peace: which caused *Philip* returne home quietly. The *Romans* had not so great cause to be displeased with the *Aetolians*, as had *Philip*, to take in euil part the demeanor of the *Carthaginians*. For notwithstanding the royall offer that he made them, to serue their turne in *Italy*, and assist them, in getting their hearts desire, before he would expect any requital: they had not sent any fleet, as in reason they ought; and as (considering his want of sufficient ability by Sea) it is likely they were bound, either to secure the transportation

of his Armie, or to free his coast from the *Roman* and *Atolian* Pyracies. Onely once they came to his help, which was, at his last journey into *Achaia*. But they were gone againe before his arrivall: having done nothing, and pretending feare of being taken by the *Romans*, euen at such time as *Philip*, with his owne Naue, durst boldly passe by Sea, and found none that durst oppose him. This rechelesse dealing of the *Carthaginians*, may therefore seeme to haue bene one of *Hanno* his trickes, wherof *Hannibal* too bitterly complained. For it could not but grieue this malicious man exceedingly, to heare that so great a King made off: to serue in person vnder *Hannibal*, and required the assistance of the same *Hannibal*, as of a man likely to make Monarchs, and alter the affaires of the world at pleasure. Therefore he had reason, such as Enue could suggest, to periwade the *Carthaginians* vnto a safe and thrifte course: which was, not to admit into the fellowship of their *Italian* warres so mightie a Prince, whom change of affection might make dangerous to their Empire; or his much affection vnto *Hannibal*, more dangerous to their libertie. Rather they should doe well to sue charges: and feede the *Macedonian* with hopes; by making many promises of sending a fleet and some other succours. This would cost nothing; yet would it fruite to terrifie the *Romans*, and compell them to send part of their forces from home; that might finde this Enemy worke abroad. So should the *Roman* Armies be lessened in *Italie*; and *Philip*, when once hee was engaged in the warre, be vrged vnto the prosecution, by his owne necessitie: putting the *Carthaginians* to little or no charges; yea scarce to the labour of giuing him thanks. Now if it might come to passe, as *Hannibal* every day did promise, that *Rome*, and all *Italy* should within a while be at the deuotion of *Carthage*: better it were that the Citie should be free, so as the trouble some *Greekes* might addresse their complaints vnto the *Carthaginians*, as competent Iudges betwene them and the *Macedonian*, than that *Hannibal*, with the power of *Affricke*, should wait vpon *Philip*, as his Executioner, to fulfill his will and pleasure, in doing such iniuries, as would both make the name of a *Carthaginian* hateful in *Greece*, and oblige *Philip* to be no lesse impudent, in fulfilling all requests of *Hannibal*. Whether the counsaile of *Hanno* and his fellows, were such as this; or whether the *Carthaginians*, of their owne disposition, without his aduice, were too sparing, and carelesse, the matter (as farre as concerned *Philip*) came to one reckoning. For they did him no manner of good: but rather dodged with him; euen in their little courtesie which they most pretended. And this perhaps was part of the reason, why he beganne the building of an hundred Gallies, as if hee would let them and others know, whereto his proper strength would haue reached, had hee not vainely giuen credit to faithlesse promises. When therefore the *Atolians* had submitted themselves already: and when the *Romans* desired his friendship, as might be thought, for very feare of him, with reputation enough, and not as a forsaken Client of the *Carthaginians*, but a Prince able to haue succoured them in their necessitie, hee might giue ouer the warre, and, without reprehension, leaue them to themselves. For he had wilfully entred into trouble for their sakes: but they despised him, as if the quarrell were merely his owne, and he vnable to manage it.

The vanitie of which their conceits would appeare vnto them: when they should see, that with his proper strength he had finished the warre, and concluded it highly to his honour. So the yeere following it was agreed, by mediation of the *Epirots*, *Acarnanians*, and others, That the *Romans* should retaine three or foure Townes of *Illyria*, which they had recovered in this warre, being part of their old *Illyrian* conquest: Places no way belonging to the *Macedonian*, and therefore perhaps inserted into the counsants, that somewhat might seeme to haue bene gotten. On the other side, the *Auntanes* were appoynted to retaine vnder the obedience of *Philip*: who, if they were (as *Ortelius* probably coniectures) the people of the Countrey about *Apolonia*, then did the *Romans* abandon part of their gettings, wherby it appears, that they did not giue peace, as they would seeme to haue done, but accepted it, vpon conditions somewhat to their losse.

The Confederates and Dependants of the *Macedonian*, comprehended in this Peace, were *Phryias* King of *Bithynia*, the *Achaens*, *Boeotians*, *Thessalians*, *Acarnanians*, and *Epirots*. On the *Roman* side were named, first, the people of *Num*, as an honourable remembrance of the *Romans* descent from *Troy*; then, *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*; *Pleuratus*, an *Illyrian* Prince; and *Nabis*, the tyrant of *Lacedaemon*; together with the *Eleans*, *Messenians*, and

and *Athenians*. The *Atolians* were omitted, belike, as having agreed for themselves before. But the *Eleans* and *Messenians*, followers of the *Atolians*, (and by them, as is most likely, comprised in their League with *Philip*) were also infected by the *Romans*; that were neuer slow in offering their friendship to small and feeble Nations. As for the *Athenians*: they stood much vpon their old honour, and loued to beare a part, though they did nothing, in all great actions. Yet the setting downe of their names in this Treatie, serued the *Romans* to good purpose: inasmuch as they were a busie people, and mislaid occasion to renew the warre, when means did better serue to follow it.

6. XIII.

How the *Romans* beganne to reconce their strength by degrees. The noble affection of the *Romans*, in relieuing the publike necessities of their Common-weale.

IT was a great fault in the *Carthaginians*, that embracing so many Enterprises at once, they followed all by the halues: and wasted more men and money to no purpose, than would haue serued (if good order had bene taken) to finish the whole warre, in farre shorter space; and make themselves Lords of all that the *Romans* held. This error had become the lesse harmful, if their care of *Italy* had bene such as it ought. But they suffered *Hannibal*, to wearie himselfe with expectation of their promised supplies: which being still deferred from yeere to yeere, cauled as great opportunities to be lost, as a Conquerour could haue desired. The death of *Posthumus*, and destruction of his whole Armie in *Gaulle*, the begunne rebellion of the *Sardinians*, the death of *Hiero* their friend in *Syracuse*, with great alterations, much to their preiudice, in the whole Isle of *Sicill*; as also that warre, of which we last spake, threatened from *Macedon*, happening all at one time; and that so neerely after their terrible overthrow at *Canna*, among so many reuolts of their *Italian* Confederates; would verily haue funke the *Roman* State, had the *Carthaginians*, if not the first yeere, yet at least the second, sent ouer to *Hannibal* the forces that were decreed. It is not to be doubted, that euen this diuersitie of great hopes, appearing from all parts, administered matter vnto *Hanno*, or such as *Hanno* was, wherupon to worke. For though it were in the power of *Carthage*, to performe all that was decreed for *Italy*: yet could not that proportion hold, when so many new occurrences brought each along with them their new care; and required their fuercall Armies. This had not bene a very bad excuse, if any one of the many occasions offered had bene thoroughly prosecuted: though it stood with best reason, that the foundation of all other hopes and comforts, which was the prosperitie of *Hannibal* in his *Italian* warre, should haue bene strengthened; whatsoeuer had become of the rest. But the slender troups, wherewith the *Carthaginians* fed the warre in *Spain*; the lingring aide which they sent, to vphold the *Sardinian* rebellion, when it was already well-neere beaten downe; their trifling with *Philip*; and (amongst all these their attempts) their halie catching at *Sicill*: little deferred to bee thought good reasons of neglecting the maine point, whereto all the rest had reference. Rather eury one of these Actions, considered apart by it selfe, was no otherwise to be allowed as discreetly vnder-taken, or substantially followed; than by making supposition, That the care of *Italy*, made the *Carthaginians* more negligent in all things else. Yet if these allegations would not serue to content *Hannibal*, then must hee patiently endure to know, that his owne Citizens were enuious of his Greatnesse, and durst not trust him with so much power, as should enable him to wrong the State at home.

Whatsoeuer he heard or thought, *Hannibal* was glad to apply himselfe to Necessity; so to feed his *Italian* friends with hopes; and to wile away the time about *Nola*, *Naples*, *Cuma*, and other places: being loth to spend his Armie in an hard siege, that was to be reserued for a worke of more importance. Many offers be made vpon *Nola*, but alwayes with bad successe. Once *Marcellus* fought a battell with him there: yet vnder the very walls of the Towne; hauing the assistance of the Citizens, that were growne better affected to the *Roman* side, since the Heads that inclined them to rebellion, were cut off. About a thousand men *Hannibal* lost in that fight: which was no great mischance; his forces being then diuided, and employed in sundry parts of *Italy* at once. *Naples* was, euen in those dayes, a strong Citie; and required a yeares worke to haue taken it by force.

Wherefore the earnest desire of *Hannibal* to get it, was alwaies frustrate. Vpon the towne of *Cuma* they of *Capua* had their plot, and were in hope to take it by cunning. They sent to the chiefe Magistrates of the *Cumans*, desiring them (as being also *Campani*) to be present at a solenne sacrifice of the Nation, where they would consult about their generall good: promising to bring thither a sufficient guard, to assure the whole Assembly from any danger that might come by the *Romans*. This motion the *Cumans* made them to entertaine; but priuily sent word of all to *T. Sempronius Gracchus* the *Roman* Consul.

Gracchus was a very good man of warre, and happily chosen Consul in so dangerous a time. His Colleague should haue bene *Posthumius Albinus*, that was lately slaine by the *Gauls*: after whose death *Marcellus* was chosen, as being iudged the fittest man to encounter with *Hannibal*. But the *Roman* *Augures* either found some religious impediment that nullified the election of *Marcellus*; or at least they faigned so to haue done, because this was the first time, that cuertwo *Plebeian* Consuls were chosen together. *Marcellus* therefore gaue ouer the place: and *Q. Fabius Maximus* the late famous Dictator, was substituted in his room. But *Fabius* was detained in the City, about matters of Religion, or Superstition: where with *Rome* was commonly, especially in times of danger, very much troubled. So *Gracchus* alone, with a Consular Armie, waited vpon *Hannibal* among the *Campani*: not able to meet the Enemy in field; yet intente to alloccasions, that should be presented. The *Volones*, or *Slaves*, that lately had bene armed, were no small part of his followers. These, and the rest of his men, he continually trained: and had nota greater care, to make his Armie skillfull in the exercises of warre, than to keepe it from quarrels, that might arise by vpbraiding one another with their base conditions.

Whilest the Consul was thus busied at *Linternum*; the Senators of *Cume* sent him word of all that had passed betwene them and the *Capuans*. It was a good occasion to flesh his men, and make them confident against the Enemy; of whom hitherto they had bad experience. *Gracchus* therefore put himselfe into *Cuma*: whence hee issued at such time, as the Magistrates of that Citie were expected by the *Campani*. The Sacrifice was to be performed by night, at a place called *Hima*; three miles from *Cuma*. There lay *Marius Albius* the chiefe Magistrate of *Capua*, with foureene thousand men; not wholly intent either to the Sacrifice, or to any danger that might interrupt it; but rather deuising how to surpise others, than fearing himselfe to be assailed. The Consul therefore suffering none to goe forth of *Cuma*, that might beare word of him to the Enemies, issued out of the towne when it grew darke: his men being well refreshed with meate and sleepe, the day before, that they might hold out the better in this nights seruice. So he came vpon the *Capuans* vnawares: and slew more than two thousand of them, together with their Commander; loosing not about an hundred of his owne men. Their campe he tooke: but carried not long to rife it, for feare of *Hannibal*, who lay not farre off. By this his providence, he escaped a greater losse, than he had brought vpon the Enemies. For when *Hannibal* was informed how things went at *Hima*, forth with he marched thither: hoping to find those young souldiers, and slaues, busied in making pile, and loading themselves with the bootie. But they were all gotten safe within *Cuma*, which partly for anger, partly for desire of gaining it, and partly at the vrgent entreatie of the *Capuans*, *Hannibal* assailed the next day. Much labour, and with ill success, the *Carthaginians* and their fellows spent, about this towne. They raised a wooden Tower against it; which they brought close vnto the walls; thinking thereby to force an Entrie. But the Defendants, on the inside of the wall, raised against this an high Tower: whence they made resistance; and found means at length, to consume with fire the worke of their Enemies. While the *Carthaginians* were busied in quenching the fire; the *Romans*, sallying out of the towne at two gates, charged them valiantly, and drave 50 them to their trenches, with the slaughter of about foureene hundred. The Consul wisely sounded the Retreat; ere his men were too farre engaged, and *Hannibal* in a readinesse to require their seruice. Neither would he, in the pride of this good success, adventure forth against the Enemy; who presented him battell the day following, neere vnto the walls. *Hannibal* therefore, seeing no likelihood to preuaile in that which he had taken in hand, brake vp the siege; and returned to his old campe at *Tifata*. About these times, and shortly after; when *Fabius* the other Consul had taken the field; some small townes were recovered by the *Romans*, & the people severely punished for their revolt.

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The *Carthaginian* Armie was too small, to fill with garrisons all places that had yielded; and withall to abide (as it must doe) strong in the field. Wherefore *Hannibal*, attending the supply from home, that should enable him to strike at *Rome* it selfe, was driven in the meane time to alter his course of warre: and, in stead of making (as formerly he had done) a generall inuasion vpon the whole Countrey, to passe from place to place, and wait vpon occasions, that grew daily more commodious to the enemy, than to him. The Countrey of the *Hirpines* and *Samnites* was grievously wasted by *Marcellus*, in the absence of *Hannibal*: as also was *Campania*, by *Fabius* the Consul; when *Hannibal* hauing followed *Marcellus* to *Nola*, and receiued there the losse before mentioned, was gone to winter in *Apulia*. These people shewed not the like spirit in defending their lands, and fighting for the *Carthaginian* Empire, as in former times they had done; when they contended with the *Romans*, in their owne behalte, to get the Soueraigntie. They held it reason, that they should be protected, by such as thought to haue dominion ouer them: whereby at once they ouer-burdened their new Lords, and gaue vnto their old, the more easie means, to take reuenge of their defection.

The people of *Rome* were very intente, as necessity constrained them, to the worke that they had in hand. They continued *Fabius* in his Consulship: and ioyned with him *Marcus Claudius Marcellus*; whom they had appoynted vnto that honour the yeere before. Of these two, *Fabius* was called the Shield: and *Marcellus*, the Roman Sword. In *Fabius* it was highly, and vpon iust reason, commended, That being himselfe Consul, and holding the Election, he did not stand vpon nice points of formality: or regard what men might thinke of his ambition, but caused himselfe to be chosen with *Marcellus*, knowing in what need the Citie stood of able Commanders. The great name of these Consuls, and the great preparations which the *Romans* made, serued to put the *Campani* in feare, that *Capua* it selfe should be besieged. To prevent this, *Hannibal*, at their earnest entreatie came from *Arpi*: (where he lay, hearkening after newes from *Tarentum*) and, hauing with his presence comforted these his friends, fell on the sudden vpon *Puteoli*, a Sea-towne of *Campania*; about which he spent three dayes in vaine, hoping to haue wonne it. The garrison in *Puteoli* was sixe thousand strong: and did their dutie so well, that the *Carthaginian*, finding no hope of good success, could onely shew his angervpon the fields there, and about *Naples*; which hauing done, and once more (with as ill success as before) assayed *Nola*, he bent his course to *Tarentum*: wherein he had very great intelligence. Whilest hee was in his progresse thither; *Hanno* made a journey against *Beneuentum*: and *T. Gracchus* the last yeeres Consul, halting from *Nuceria*, met him there; and fought with him a battell, *Hanno* had with him about seuentene thousand foot, *Brutians* and *Lucans* for the most part: besides twelue hundred horse; very few of which were *Italians*, all the rest, *Numidians* and *Moorers*. Hee held the *Roman* worke foure houres, ere it could be perceiued, to which side the victory would incline. But *Gracchus* his souldiers, which were all (in a manner) the late armed slaues, had receiued from their Generall a peremptory denunciation; That this day, or neuer, they must purchase their liberty, bringing euery man, for price thereof, an Enemies head. The *Lucans* reward of liberty was so greatly desired, that none of them feared any danger in earning it: howbeit that vaine labour, imposed by their Generall, of cutting off the slaue enemies heads, troubled them exceedingly; and hindered the seruice, by imployment of so many hands, in a worke so litle concerning the victorie. *Gracchus* therefore finding his owne error, wisely corrected it: proclaiming aloud, That they should cast away the heads, and spare the trouble of cutting off any more; for that all should haue libertie immediately after the battell, if they wonne the day. This encouragement made them turne headlong vpon the Enemy; whom their desperate furie had soone ouerthrowne; if the *Roman* Horse could haue made their part good against the *Numidian*. But though *Hanno* did what he could, and pressed so hard vpon the *Romans* battell, that foure thousand of the slaues, (for feare either of him, or of the punishment which *Gracchus* had threatened before the battell, vnto those that should not valiantly beate themselves retired vnto a ground of strength; yet was he glad at length to saue himselfe by flight, when the Grosse of his Army was broken; being vnable to remedy the losse. Leaving the field, he was accompanied by no more than two thousand: most of which were Horse; all the rest were either slaue or taken. The *Roman* Generall gaue vnto all his souldiers that reward of libertie which he had promised: but vnto those foure thousand, which had recoiled

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vnto

vnto the Hill, he added this light punishment; That as long as they scrud in the wars, they should neither eate nor drink otherwise than standing. vnlesse sicknesse forced them to breake his order. So the victorious Armie returned to *Beuenturum*; where the newly enfranchised souldiers were feasted in publique by the townsmen; some sitting, some standing, and all of them hauing their heads couered (as was the custome of slaues manumitted) with Caps of white wooll. The picture of this Feast (as a thing worthy of remembrance) was afterward hung vp in a Table by *Gracchus*, in the Temple of *Libertie*, which his father had built and dedicated. This was indeede the first Battell, worthy of great note, which the *Carthaginians* had lost since the coming of *Hannibal* into *Italie*: the victories of *Marcellus* at *Nola*, and of this *Gracchus* before at *Hama*, being things of so small importance.

Thus the *Romans* through industry, by little and little, repaired that great Breach in their Estate, which *Hannibal* had made at *Canna*. But all this while, and long after this, their Treasurie was so poore, that no industrie nor art could serue to help it. The Fruits of their grounds did onely (and perhaps hardly) serue, to feede their Townes and Armies; without any surplusage, that might be exchanged for other needfull commodities. Few they were in *Italie*, that continued to pay them tribute: which all they could worke doe than before, as liuing vpon the same trade, and subiect to the same inconveniences, which enfeebled *Rome* it selfe. *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, that were wont to yeeld great profit, hardly now maintained the *Roman* Armies, that lay in those Prouinces, to holde them safe, and in good order. As for the Citizens of *Rome*, euery one of them suffered his part of the detriment; which the Common-wealth sustained, and could now doe least for his Countrey, when most need was: as also the number of them was much decreased; so as if money should be raised vpon them by the *poll*, yet must it be farre lesse, than in former times. The Senate therefore, diligently considering the greatnesse of the warre within the bowels of *Italie*, that could not be thence expelled, without the exceeding charge of many good Armies; the perill, wherein *Sicily* and *Sardinia* stood, both of the *Carthaginians*; and of many among the Naturalls declining from the friendship or subiection of *Rome*; the threats of the *Macedonian*, ready to land in the Easterne parts of *Italie*; if they were not at the cost to finde him worke at home, the greater threats of *Asdrubal*, to follow his brother ouer the *Alpes*, as soone as he could rid himselfe of the *Scipio's* in *Spain*; and the pouertie of the Common-wealth, which had not money for any one of these mortall dangers; were driuen almost euen to extreme want of counsell. But being vrged by the violence of swift necessitie, signified in the letters of the two *Scipio's* from *Spain*; they resolu'd vpon the onely course, without the which the Citie could not haue subsisted.

They called the people to Assembly: wherein *Quintus Fuluius* the Pretor laide open the publique warres; and plainly sayd, That in this Exigent, there must be no taking of money for victuall, weapons, apparrell, or the like things needfull to the Souldiers; but that such as had stiffe, or were artificers, must trust the Common-wealth with the Loans of their commodities, and labours vntill the warre were ended. Hereunto he so effectually exhorted all men, especially the *Publicans* or *Customers*, and those which in former times had liued vpon their dealing in the common Reuenues, that the charge was vnder-taken by priuate men; and the Armie in *Spain* as well supplied, as the Treasurie had bene full. Shortly after this, *Marcus Atilius Regulus*, and *Publius Enrius Philus* the *Roman* Censors, taking in hand the redresse of disorders within the Citie, were chiefly intenued to the correction of those, that had mis-behaued themselves in this present warre. They beganne with *L. Caelius Metellus*; who, after the battell at *Canna*, had held discourse with some of his Companions, about flying beyond the Seas; as if *Rome*, and all *Italie*, had bene no better than lost. After him they tooke in so hand those, that hauing brought to *Rome* the message of their fellowes made prisoners at *Canna*; returned not backe to *Hannibal*, as they were bound by oath; but thought themselves thereof sufficiently discharged, in that they had stepped once backe into his Campes; with pretence of taking better notice of the Captiues names. All these were now pronounced infamous by the Censors: as also were a great many more; euen whosoever had not scrued in the warres, after the terme which the Lawes appointed. Neither was the note of the Censors at this time (as otherwise it had vied to be) hurtfull onely in reputation: but greater weight was added therunto, by this Decree of the Senate

Senate, following; That all such as were noted with infamie by these Censors, should be transported into *Sicily*; there to serue vntill the end of the warre, vnder the same hard conditions, that were imposed vpon the Remainder of the Armie beaten at *Canna*. The office of the Censors was; to take the List and accompt of the Citizens; to chooſe or displace the Senators; and to set notes of disgrace (without further punishment) vpon those, whose vnhoonest or vnseemly behaviour fell not within the compasse of the Law. They tooke also an accompt of the *Roman* Gentlemen: amongst whom they distributed the publique Horties of seruice, vnto such as they thought meete; or tooke them away for their misbehaviour. Generally, they had the ouer-sight of mens liues and manners: and their censure was much reuerenced and feared, though it extended no further, than to putting men out of rancke; or making them change their Tribe; or (which was the most that they could doe) causing them to pay some Duties to the Treasurie, from which others were exempted. But besides the care of this generall Taxe, and matters of Morallitie, they had the charge of all publique Workes; as mending of High-ways, Bridges, and Water-courses, the reparations of Temples, Porches, and such other buildings. If any man encroched vpon the streetes, High-ways, or other places thought to be common; the Censors compelled him to make amends. They had also the letting out of Lands, Customes, and other publique Reuenues, to farme: so that most of the Citizens of *Rome* were beholding vnto this Office, as maintaining themselves by some of the Trades thereto belonging. And this was no small helpe to conserve the dignitie of the Senate: the commonaltie being obnoxious vnto the Censors, which were alwayes of that Order, and careful to vp-hold the reputation thereof. But the Common-wealth being now impouerished by warre, and hauing small store of lands to let, or of customes that were worth the farming; *Regulus* and *Philus* troubled not themselves much with perusing the Temples, or other decayed places, that needed reparations: or if they tooke a view of what was requisite to be done in this kinde; yet forbore they to set any thing in hand, because they had not wherewith to pay. Herein againe appeared a notable generosities of the *Romans*. They that had bene accustomed, in more happy times, to vnder-take such peeces of worke, offered now themselves as willingly to the Censors, as if there had bene no such want: promising liberally their cost and trauell, with out expectation of any payment, before the end of the warre. In like sort, the Masters of those slaues, that lately had bene enfranchised by *Gracchus*, were very well contented to forebeare the price of them, vntill the Citie were in better cieto pay. In this generall inclination of the Multitude, to relieue, as farre forth as euen one was able, the common necessitie; all the goods of Orphans, and of Widdowes liuing vnder Patronage, were brought into the Treasurie; and there the Questor kept a Booke of all that was layed out for the sustentance of these Widdowes and Orphans: whilst the whole stocke was vsed by the Citie. This good example of the which remained in the Towne, preuailed with the Souldiers abroad: so that (the poorer sort excepted) they refused to take pay; and called those *Mercenaries*, that did accept it, when their Countrey was in so great want.

The twelue hundred Talents, wrongfully extorted from the *Carthaginians*; nor any injuries following, done by the *Romans* in the height of their pride; yielded halfe so much commoditie, as might be layed in ballance against these miseries, wherein their Estate was now reduced. Neuerthelesse, if wee consider things aright; the calamities of this Warre did rather enable *Rome* to deale with those Enemies, whom shee forthwith vnder-tooke, than abate or slacken the growth of that large Dominion, whereto shee attained, ere the youngest of those men was dead, whose names wee haue already mentioned. For by this hammering, the *Roman* vertall grew more hard and solide: and by paring the branches of priuate fortunes, the Root and Heart of the Common-wealth was corroborated. So grew the Citie of *Athens*; when *Xerxes* had burnt the Towne to ashes; and taken from euery particular Citizen, all hope of other richitie, than that which rested in the common happinesse of the vniuersallitie. Certaine it is, (as Sir *Francis Bacon* hath iudiciously obserued) That a State, whose dimension or steme is small, may aptly serue to be foundation of a great Monarchie: which chiefly comes to passe, where all regard of domesticall prosperitie is laid aside, and euery mans care addressed to the benefit of his Countrey. Hereof I might say, that our Age hath seen a great example, in the vniued Prouinces in the *Netherlands*; whose present riches

and strength grew chiefly from that ill assurance, which each of their Townes, or almost of their Families, perceiued it selfe to hold, whilst the generality was oppressed by the Duke of *Alus*; were it so, that the people had thereby growne as warlike, as by extreme industrie, and straining themselves to fill their publike Treasurie, they are all growne wealthy, strong at Sea, and able to wage great Armies for their seruices by Land. Wherefore if we valew at such a rate as wee ought, the patient resolution, conformitie to good Order, obedience to Magistrates, with many other Vertues, and aboue all other, the great loue of the Common-weale, which was found in *Rome* in these dangerous times: wee may truly say, That the Cittie was neuer in greater likelihood to prosper. Neither can it be deemed otherwise, than that if the same affections of the people had lasted, when their Empire, being growne more large and beautifull, should in all reason haue bene more deare vnto them, if the riches and delicacies of *Asia* had not infected them with sensuality, and caried their appetites mainly to those pleasures, wherein they thought their well-being to consist; if all the Citizens, and Subiects of *Rome* could haue beleeued their owne interest to be as great, in those warres which these latter Emperours made for their defence, as in these which were managed by the Consuls: the Empire, founded vpon so great vertue, could not haue bene throwne downe by the hands of rude Barbarians, were they neuer so many. But vnto all Dominions God hath set their periods: Who, though he hath giuen vnto Man the knowledge of those waies, by which Kingdomes rise and fall; yet hath left him subiect vnto the affections, which draw on these fatall changes, in their times appointed.

§. XIII.

The Romans winne some Townes backe from Hannibal. Hannibal winnes Tarentum. The siege of Capua. Two victories of Hannibal. The journey of Hannibal to the gates of Rome. Capua taken by the Romans.

AS the People of *Rome* strained themselves to the utmost, for maintaining the warre: so their Generalls abroad omitted no part of industrie, in seeking to recouer what had bene lost. The towne of *Casiline* *Fabius* besieged. It was well defended by the *Carthaginian* garrison; and likely to haue bene relieved by those of *Capua*, if *Marcellus* from *Nola* had not come to the assistance of his Colleague. Neuertheless the place held out so obstinately, that *Fabius* was purposed to giue it ouer: saying, that the enterprise was not great, yet as difficult, as a thing of more importance. But *Marcellus* was of a contrary opinion. Hee said, That many such things, as were not at first to haue bene vnder-taken by great Commanders, ought yet, when once they were taken in hand, to be prosecuted vnto the best effect. So the siege held on: and the towne was pressed so hard, that the *Campans* dwelling therein grew fearefull, and craued parlee; offering to giue it vp, so as all might haue leaue to depart in safety, whither they pleased. Whilst they werethus treating of conditions: or whilst they were issuing forth, according to the composition already made; (for it is duerly reported) *Marcellus* seizing vpon a Gate, entred with his Armie, and put all to sword that came in their way. Fiftie of those that were first gotten out, ran to *Fabius* the Consul: who saved them, and sent them to *Capua* in safety; all the rest were either slaine, or made prisoners. If *Fabius* deferred commendations, by holding his word good vnto these fiftie; I know not how the slaughter of the rest, or imprisonment afterward of such, as escaped the heare of execution, could be excused by *Marcellus*. It may be that he helped himselfe, after the *Roman* fashion, with some equiuocation, but he shall pay for it hereafter. In like fort was *Mount Marsian* in *Gafoigne* taken by the *Marshall Menius*, when I was a young man in *France*. For whilst he entertained parlee about composition; the besieged ranne all from their feuerall guards, vpon hastie desire of being acquainted with the conditions proposed. The *Marshall* therefore discovering a part of the walls vnguarded, entred by *Scalado*, and put all saue the Governour vnto the sword. Herein that Governour of *Mount Marsian* committed two grosse errors; the one, in that hee gaue no order for the Captaines and Companies, to hold themselves in their places; the other, in that he was content to parlee, without pledges for assurance giuen and receiued. Some such ouer-sight, the Governour of *Casiline* seemeth to haue committed; yet neither the aduantage taken by *Marcellus*, or by *Menius*, was very honourable.

table. When this Worke was ended, many small townes of the *Samnites*, and some of the *Lucans* and *Apulians*, were recouered: wherein were taken, or slaine, about fise and twenty thousand of the Enemies; and the Countrey grievously wasted by *Fabius*, *Marcellus* lying sick at *Nola*.

Hannibal in the meane while was about *Tarentum*; waiting to heare from those, that had promised to giue vp the towne. But *M. Valerius* the *Roman* Propretor had thrust so many men into it, that the traitours durst not flie. Wherefore the *Carthaginian* was faine to depart, having wearied himselfe in vaine with expectation. Yet he wasted not the Countrey, but contented himselfe with hope, that they would please him better in time following. So hee departed thence toward *Salapia*: which he chose for his wintering place; and beganne to victuall it, when Summer was but halfe past. It is said, that he was in loue with a yong Wench in that towne, in which regard if he beganne his winter more timely, than otherwise he required, He did not like the *Romans*; whom necessity enforced, to make their Summer last as long, as they were able to trauell vp and downe the Countrey.

About this time beganne great troubles in *Sicill*, whither *Marcellus* the Consul was sent, to take such order for the Province, as need should require. Of the doings there, which wore out more time than his Consulship, we will speake hereafter.

The new Consuls, chosen at *Rome*, were *Q. Fabius* the sonne of the present Consul, and *T. Sempronius Gracchus* the second time. The *Romans* found it needfull for the publike seruice, to imploy often-times their best able men: and therefore made it lawfull, during the warre, to recontinue their Officers, and choose such, as had lately held their places before; without regarding any distance of time, which was otherwise required. The old *Fabius* became Lieutenant vnto his sonne: which was perhaps the respect, that most commended his sonne vnto the place. It is noted, That when the old man came into the campe, and his sonne rode forth to meete him: eleven of the twelue *Lictors*, which carried an axe with a bundle of rods before the Consul, suffered him, in regard of duerence, to passe by them on horse-backe, which was against the custome. But the sonne perceiving this, commanded the last of his *Lictors* to note in who they should bade the old *Fabius* alight, and come to the Consul on his feet. The father cheerefully did so; saying, It was my minde, sonne, to make triall, whether thou diddest understand thy selfe to be Consul. *Cassius Albinus* a wealthy Citizen of *Arpi*, who, after the battell at *Cannae*, had holpen the *Carthaginian* into that towne, seeing now the fortune of the *Romans* to amend; came priuily to this Consul *Fabius*, and offered to render it backe vnto him, if he might be therefore well rewarded. The Consul purposed to follow old examples: and to make this *Albinus* a pattern to all traitors; vsing him, as *Camillus* and *Fabriceius* had done those, that offered their vnfaithfull seruice against the *Falisci*, and King *Pyrrius*. But *Q. Fabius* the father, was of another opinion: and sayd, it was a matter of dangerous consequence, That it should be thought more safe to reuolt from the *Romans*, than to turne vnto them. Wherefore it was concluded, that hee should be sent to the towne of *Cales*, and there kept as prisoner; until they could better resolve what to doe with him, or whatyle to make of him. *Hannibal*, vnderstanding that *Albinus* was gone, and among the *Romans*, took it not for sorrowfully; but thought this a good occasion, to seize vpon all the mans riches, which were great: Yet, that hee might seeme rather seuerer, than couetous, he sent for the wife and children of *Albinus* into his camp: where hauing examined them by torment, partly concerning the departure and intentions of this fugitive, partly, and more strictly, about his riches, what they were, and where they lay, He condemned them, as partakers of the treason, to be burnt alive; and tooke all their goods vnto himselfe. *Fabius* the Consul shortly after came to *Arpi*: which hee tooke by *Scalado*, in a stormy and rainy night. Fise thousand of *Hannibals* Souldiers lay in the towne; and of the *Arpines* themselves, there were about three thousand. They were thrust most by the *Carthaginian* Garrison; when it was vnderstood, that the *Romans* had gotten ouer the wall, and broken open a Gate. For the Souldiers held the towne-men suspected; and therefore thought it no wisdome, to trust them at their backs. But after some little resistance, the *Arpines* gaue ouer fight, and entertained parlee with the *Romans*: protesting, that they had bene betrayed by their Princes; and were become subiect to the *Carthaginians*, against their wills. In proceffe of this discourse, the *Arpine* Pretor went vnto the *Roman* Consul: and receiving his faith for security of the Towne, presently

presently made head against the garrison. This notwithstanding, like it is, that *Hannibal* men continued to make good resistance. For when almost a thousand of them, that were *Spaniards*, offered to leave their companions, and serue on the *Roman* side, it was yet couenanted, that the *Carthaginians* should be suffered to passe forth quietly, and returne to *Hannibal*. This was performed: and so *Arpi* became *Roman* againe, with little other losse, than of him that had betrayed it. About the same time, *Cliternius* was taken by *Sempronius Tuditanus*, one of the Pretors: and vnto *Cneus Fuluius*; another of the Pretors, an hundred & twelue Gentlemen of *Capua* offered their seruice, vpon no other condition, than to haue their goods restored vnto them, when their citie should be recovered by the *Romans*. This was a thing of small importance: but considering the generall hatred of the *Campanians* toward *Rome*, it serued to discouer the inclination of the *Italians* in those times; and how their affections recoiled from *Hannibal*, when there was no appearance of those mighty succours, that had bene promised from *Carthage*. The *Consentines* also, and the *Thurines*, people of the *Brutians*, which had yielded themselves to *Hannibal*, returned againe to their olde allegiance. Others would haue followed their example, but that one *L. Pomponius*, who of a *Publican* had made himselfe a Capitaine, and gotten reputation by some petty exploits in forraging the Countrey, was slaine by *Hanno*, with a great multitude of those that followed him. *Hannibal* in the meane while had all his care bent vpon *Tarentum*; which if he could take, it seemed that it would stand him in good stead, for drawing ouer that helpe out of *Macedon*, to which his *Carthaginians* failed to send. Long he waited, ere hee could bring his desire to passe: and being loth to hazard his forces, where he hoped to preuaile by intelligences, He contented himselfe, with taking in some poore townes of the *Salentines*. At length, his Agents within *Tarentum*, found meanes to accomplish their purpose, and his wish. One *Phileas*, that was of their conspiracie, who lay at *Rome* as Embassadour, praesiding with the Hostages of the *Tarentines*, and such as had the keeping of them, conueighed them by night out of the Citie. But hee and his company were the next day so closely pursued, that all of them were taken, and brought backe to *Rome*, where they suffered death as traitors. By reason of this cruelty, or leuitie, the people of *Tarentum* grew to hate the *Romans*, more generally and earnestly than before. As for the Conspirators, they followed their businesse the more diligently, as knowing what reward they were to expect, if their intention should happen to be discouered. Wherefore they sent againe to *Hannibal*: and acquainting him with the manner of their plot, made the same composition with him for the *Tarentines*, which they of *Capua* had made before. *Nico* and *Philomenes*, two the chiefe among them, vied much to goe forth of the towne on hunting by night, as if they durst not take their pleasure by day, for feare of the *Carthaginians*. Seldome or neuer they missed of their game: for the *Carthaginians* prepared it ready for their hands, that they might not seeme to haue bene abroad vpon other occasion. From the campe of *Hannibal*, it was about three dayes iourney to *Tarentum*, if he should haue marched thither with his whole Armie. This caused his long abode in one place, to the lesse to be suspected: as also to make his Enemies the more secure. Hee caused it to be giuen out, that he was sicke. But when the *Romans* within *Tarentum*, were growne carelesse of such his neighbourhood, and the Conspirators had set their businesse in order, He tooke with him ten thousand the most expedite of his horse and foot, and long before breake of day, made all speed thitherward. Foure score light horse of the *Numidians* ranne a great way before him, beating all the wayes, and killing any that they met, for feare lest he, and his troupe following him, should be discouered. It had bene often the manner of some few *Numidian* horse, to doe the like in former times. Wherefore the *Roman* Governour, when he heard tell in the evening, that some *Numidians* were abroad in the fields, tooke it for a signe, that *Hannibal* was not as yet dislodged, and gaue order, that some companies should be sent out the next morning, to strip them of their bootie, and send them gone. But when it grew darke night, *Hannibal* guided by *Philomenes*, came close to the towne: where, according to the tokens agreed vpon, making a light to shew his arriuall, *Nico*, that was within the towne, answered him with another light, in signe that he was ready. Presently *Nico* beganne to set vpon one of the Gates, and to kill the watchmen. *Philomenes* went toward another gate: and whistling (as was his manner) called vp the Porter, bidding him make haste, for that he had killed a great Bore, so heauy, that scarce two men could stand vnder it. So the Porter opened the wicket, and forthwith

forthwith entered two young men, laden with the Boare, which *Hannibal* had prepared large enough, to be worthy the looking on. While the Porter stood forth wondering at the largenesse of the beast, *Philomenes* ran him through with his Boare-speare: and letting in some thirtie armed men, fell vpon all the watch; whom when hee had slaine, he entered the great gate. So the Armie of *Hannibal*, entering *Tarentum* at two gates, went directly toward the Market-place, where both parts met. Thence they were distributed by their Generall, and sent into all quarters of the citie, with *Tarentines* to be their guides. They were commanded to kill all the *Romans*, and not to hurt the Citizens. For better performance hereof *Hannibal* willed the Conspirators, that when any of their friends appeared in fight, they should bid him be quiet, and of good cheare. All the towne was in an uproare: but few could tell what the matter meant. A *Roman* trumpet was vnskillfully sounded by a Greeke in the Theater: which helped the suspicion, both of the *Tarentines*, that the *Romans* were about to spoyle the Towne; and of the *Romans*, that the Citizens were in commotion. The Governour fled into the Port: and taking boate, got into the Citadell, that stood in the mouth of the Hauen; whence hee might easily perceive the next morning, how all had passed. *Hannibal*, assembling the *Tarentines*, gaue them to vnderstand, what good affection hee bore them; inueighed bitterly against the *Romans*, as tyrannous oppressors; and spake what else hee thought fit for the present. This done: and hauing gotten such spoile as was to be had of the Souldiers goods in the Towne, hee addressed himselfe against the Citadell, hoping that if the Garrison would fall out, hee might giue them such a blow, as should make them vnable to defend the Pecee. According to his expectation it partly fell out. For when hee beganne to make his approaches, the *Romans* in a brauene falling forth, gaue charge vpon his men: who fell backe of purpose according to direction, till they had drawne on as many as they could, and so fare from their strength, as they durst adventure. Then gaue *Hannibal* a signe to his *Carthaginians*, who lay prepared ready for the purpose: and fiercely setting vpon the Enemy, draue him backe with great laughter, as if as hee could runne; so that afterwards hee durst not issue forth. The Citadell stood vpon a Demi-land, that was plaine ground; and fortified onely with a ditch and wall against the Towne, whereunto it was ioyned by a cawsey. This cawsey *Hannibal* intended to fortifie in like sort against the Citadell; to the end that the *Tarentines* might be able, without his helpe, to keepe themselves from all danger thence. His worke in few dayes went so well forward, without impediment from the besieged, that hee conceived hope of winning the Pecee it selfe, by taking a litle more paines. Wherefore hee made ready all sorts of engines, to force the place. But whilest he was busied in his workes, there came by Sea a strong supply from *Metapontum*: which took away all hope of preuailling, & made him returne to his former counsaile. Now so much as the *Tarentine* fleet lay within the hauen, and could not passe forth, whilest the *Romans* held the Citadell: it seemed likely, that the towne would suffer want, being debarred of accustomed trade and provisions by Sea: whilest the *Roman* garrison, by help of their shipping, might easily be relieved, and enabled to hold out. Against this inconuenience, it was rather wished by the *Tarentines*, than any way hoped, that their fleet could get out of the hauens; to guard the mouth of it, and cut off all supply from the Enemy. *Hannibal* told them, that this might well be done: for that their Towne standing in plaine ground, and their streetes being faire and broad, it would be no hard matter to draw the Gallies ouer Land, and lanch them into the Sea without. This hee vnderooke, and effected: whereby the *Roman* garrison was reduced into great necessity; though with much patience it held out, and found *Hannibal* often-times otherwise busied, than his affaires required.

Thus with mutuall losse on both sides, the time passed: and the *Roman* forces, growing daily stronger, *Q. Fuluius Flaccus*, with *Appius Claudius*, lately chosen Consuls, prepared to besiege the great Citie of *Capua*. Three and twentie Legions the *Romans* had now armed. This was a great and hastic growth from that want of men, and of all necessities, whereinto the losse at *Caune* had reduced them. But to fill vp these Legions, they refraine to take vp young Boyes, that were vnder seuentene yeeres of age: and to send Commissioners about fifty miles round, for the seeking out of such Lads as might appeare seruicable, and pressing them to the wars; making yet a Law, that their yeeres of seruice, whereinto they were bound by order of the Citie, should be reckoned, for their benefit, from this their beginning so young, as if they had bene of lawfull age.

Before

Before the *Roman* Armie drew neere, the *Campani* felt great want of victuall, as if they had already beene besieged. This happened partly by sloth of the Nation, partly by the great waste and spoyle, which the *Romans* had in fore-going yeeres made vpon their grounds. They felt therefore Embassadors to *Hannibal*, desiring him to succour them ere they were closed vp, as they feared to be shortly. Hee gaue them comfortable words: and sent *Hanno* with an Armie to supply their wants. *Hanno* appointed them a day; against which they should be ready with all maner of carriages, to store themselves with victualls, that hee would provide. Neither did he promise more than hee performed. For he caused great quantitie of graine, that had beene layd vp in Cities round about, to be brought into his campe, three miles from *Benecuntum*. Thither at the time to appoynted came no more than fortie Carters or Wagons, with a few packe-horses, as if this had beene enough to victuall *Capua*. Such was the retchlesnesse of the *Campani*. *Hanno* was exceeding angrie herat: and told them they were worse than very beasts; since hunger could not teach them to haue greater care. Wherefore he gaue them a longer day; against which he made promise to store them thoroughly. Of all these doings word was sent to the *Roman* Consuls, from the Citizens of *Benecuntum*. Therefore *Q. Fuluius* the Consul, taking with him such strength as he thought needfull for the seruise, came into *Benecuntum* by night; where with diligence hee made inquirie into the behaviour of the Enemy. Hee learned, that *Hanno* with part of his Armie was gone abroad to make prouisions; that some two thousand Wagons, with a great rabble of Carters and other Varlets, lay among the *Carthaginians* in their campe; so that little good order was kept: all thought being set vpon a great haruest. Hereupon the Consul bade his men prepare themselves to assaile the Enemies campe: and leauing all his impediments within *Benecuntum*, hee marched thitherward so early in the morning, that hee was there with the first breake of day. By comming so vnexpected, hee had well-nere forced the Campe on the sudden. But it was very strong and very well defended: so that the longer the fight continued; the lesse desire had *Fuluius* to lose more of his men in the attempts; seeing many of them cast away, and yet little hope of doing good. Therefore hee layd, that it were better to goe more leisuely and substantially to worke; to send for his fellow-Consul with the rest of their Armie; and to lie betwene *Hanno* and home; that neither the *Campani* should depart thence, nor the *Carthaginians* be able to relieue them. Being thus discouraging, and about to sound the retreat; hee saw, that some of his men had gotten ouer the Enemies Rampart. There was great boiste, or (which was all one to the souldier) an opinion of much that might be gotten in that Campe. Wherefore some Ensigne-bearers threw their Ensignes ouer the Rampart, willing their men to fetch them out, vntill they would endure the shame and dishonour following such a losse. Fear of such ignominy, than which nothing could be greater, made the Souldiers aduenture so desperately; that *Fuluius*, perceiving the heat of his men; changed his purpose, and encouraged those that were somewhat backward, to follow the example of them, that had already gotten ouer the Trenches. This the 40 Campe was wonne: in which were slaine aboue fixe thousand; and taken, aboue ten thousand, besides all the store of victualls, and carriages, with abundance of boorie, that *Hanno* had lately gotten from the *Roman* Confederates. This misadventure, and the neerer approach of both the Consuls, made them of *Capua* send a pitifull Embassage to *Hannibal*: putting him in minde of all the loue, that hee was wont to profess vnto their Citie; and how hee had made shew, to affect it no lesse than *Carthage*. But now, they said, it would be lost, as *Arpi* was lately, if hee gaue not strong and speedie succour. *Hannibal* answered with comfortable words: and sent away two thousand horse, to keep their grounds from spoile, whilst he himselfe was detained about *Tarentum*, partly by hope of winning the Citadell, partly by the disposition, which hee saw in so many townes adioyning, to yeeld vnto him. Among the hostages of the *Tarentines*, that lately had fled out of *Rome*, and being ouer-taken, suffered death for their attempt; were some of the *Metapontines*, and other cities of the *Greeks*, inhabiting that Eastern part of *Italy*, which was called old *Magna Gracia*. These people took to hart the death of their hostages, and thought the punishment greater than the offence. Wherefore the *Metapontines*, as soone as the *Roman* garrison was taken from them, to defend the citadell of *Tarentum*, made no more ado, but opened their gates to *Hannibal*. The *Thurinus* would haue done the like, vpon the like reason, had not some companies laine in their

Towne;

Towne; which they feared that they should not be able to master. Neuerthelesse, they helped themselves by cunning: inuiting to their gates *Hanno* and *Mago*, that were neare at hand: against whom whilst they proffered their seruice to *Atinius*, the *Roman* Capitaine, they drew him forth to fight, and recoyling from him, closed vp their gates. A little formality they vsed in pretending feare, lest the Enemy should breake in together with the *Romans*, in sauing *Atinius* himselfe, and sending him away by Sea; as also in consulting a small while (because perhaps many of their chiefe men were vnacquainted with the practise) whether they should yeeld to the *Carthaginians*, or no. But this disposition lasted not long: for they that had remoued the chiefe impediment, easily prevailed in the rest; and deliuered vp the towne to *Hanno* and *Mago*. This good successe, and hope of the like, detained *Hannibal* in those quarters, whilst the Consuls fortifying *Benecuntum* to secure their backs, addrest themselves vnto the siege of *Capua*.

Many disasters befell the *Romans*, in the beginning of this great enterprize. *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, a very good man of warre, that had of late bene twice Consul, was slaine; either by treachery of some *Lucans*, that drew him into ambush, or by some *Carthaginian* stragglers, among whom he fell vnawares. His body, or his head, was very honourably interred, either by *Hannibal* himselfe, or (for the reports agree not) by the *Romans*; to whom *Hannibal* sent it. He was appointed to lie in *Benecuntum*, there to secure the backs of the Army that should besiege *Capua*. But his death hapned in an ill time, to the great hindrance of that busines. The *Volones* or *Slaves* lately manumitted, forsooke their Ensignes, and went every one whither he thought good; as if they had bene discharged by the decaise of their Leader; so that it asked some labour to seek them out, and bring them backe into their camp. Neuerthelesse, the Consuls went forward with their worke; and drawing neare to *Capua*, did all acts of hostility which they could. *Mago* the *Carthaginian*, and the Citizens of *Capua*, gaue them an hard welcome, wherein aboue fiftene hundred *Romans* were lost. Neither was it long ere *Hannibal* came thither, who fought with the Consuls, and had the better; inso much that he caused them to dislodge. They remoued by night, and went severall wayes: *Fuluius* towards *Cannæ*, *Claudius* into *Lucania*. *Hannibal* followed after *Claudius*, who hauing led him a great walke, fetcht a compasse about, and returned to *Capua*. It so fell out, that one *Marcus Centenius Penula* a stout man, and one that with good commendations had discharged the place of a Centurion, lay with an Army not farre from thence, where *Hannibal* rested, when he was weary of hunting after *Claudius*. This *Penula* had made great vants to the *Roman* Senate, of wonders which he would worke, if he might be trusted with the leading of fixe thousand men. The *Fathers* were vnwilling in such a time, to reiect the vertue of any good Souldier, how meane soener his condition were. Wherefore they gaue him the charge of eight thousand: and he himselfe being a proper man, and talking brauely, gathered vp so many voluntaries, as almost doubled his number. But meeting thus with *Hannibal*, he gaue proofe of the difference, betwene a stout Centurion, and one able to command in chiefe. He and his fellowes were all (in a manner) slaine, scarce a thousand of them escaping. Soone after this *Hannibal* had word, that *Cneus Fuluius*, a *Roman* Pretor with eigheteen thousand men, was in *Apulia*, very carelesse, and a man insufficient for the charge which he held. Thither therefore he hasted, to visit him: hoping to deale the better with the maine strength of *Rome*, which pointed at *Capua*, when hee should haue cut off those forces, that lay in the Prouinces about, vnder men of small ability. Coming vpon *Fuluius*, he found him and his men so iolly, that needs they would haue fought the first night. Wherefore it was not to be doubted, what would happen the day following. So he bestowed *Mago* with three thousand of his lightest armed, in places thereabout most fit for ambush. Then offering battell to *Fuluius*, hee soone had him in the trap: whence he made him glad to escape aine; leauing all, but two thousand of his followers, dead behind him.

These two great blowes, received the one presently after the other, much astonished the *Romans*. Neuerthelesse, all care was taken, to gather vp the small reliques of the broken Armies: and that the Consuls should goe substantially forwards with the siege of *Capua*; which was of great consequence, both in matter of reputation, and in many other respects. The two Consuls late downe before the towne and *C. Claudius Nero*, one of the Pretors, came with his Army from *Suessula* to their assistance. They made Proclamation, That whosoever would issue out of *Capua* before a certaine day prefixed, should

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haue his pardon, and be suffered to enioy all that vnto him belonged: which day being past, there should be no grace expected. This offer was contumeliously reiecte; the *Capuans* relying on their owne strength, and the succours attended from *Hannibal*. Before the City was closed vp, they sent Messengers to the *Carthaginian*, which found him at *Brundisium*. He had made a long iourney, in hope of gaining the *Tarentine* Citadell: of which expectation failing, he returned to *Brundisium*, vpon aduertisement that he should be let in. There the *Capuans* met him, told him of their danger with earnest words; and were with words as brauely re-comforted. Hee bade them consider, how a few dayes since he had chased the Consuls out of their fields; and told them, that he would presently come thither againe, and send the *Romans* going, as fast as before. With this good answer the Messengers returned, and hardly could get backe into the City, which the *Romans* had almost entrenched round. As for *Hannibal* himselfe, hee was of opinion, that *Capua*, being very wel manned, and heartily deuoted vnto his friendship, would hold out a long time; and thereby giue him leisure, to doe what he thought requisite among the *Tarentines*, and in those Easterne parts of *Italy*; whilst the *Roman* Army spent it selfe in a tedious siege. Thus he lingered, and thereby gaue the Consuls time, both to fortifie themselves at *Capua*, and to dispatch the election of new Magistrates in *Rome*; which he himselfe persued hopes, that neuer found successe.

Claudius and *Fulsius*, when their terme of office was expired, were appointed to continue the siege at *Capua*; retaining the same Armies as Proconsuls. The towne of men of 20 ren sallied out; rather in a brauerie, than likelihood to worke any matter of effect: the Enemy lying close within his Trenches, as intending, without other violence, to subdue them by famine. Yet against the *Roman* horse (for their foote was easily beaten) the *Romans* vsed to thrust out some troupes, that should hold them skirnish. In these exercises the *Capuans* vially had the better, to the great griefe of their proud Enemy, who scorned to take foile at the hands of such Rebels. It was therefore deuised, that some active and courageous young men, should learne to ride behinde the *Roman* men at armes, leaping vp, and againe dismounting lightly, as occasion serued. These were furnished like the *Velites*, hauing each of them three or foure small darts: which, alighting in time of conflict, they discharged thicke vpon the Enemies horse; whom vanquishing in this kinde of seruice, they much disheartned in the maine. The time thus passing, and famine daily increasing within the City, *Hannibal* came at length, not expected by the *Romans*: and taking a Fort of theirs, called *Galatia*, fell vpon their Campe. At the same time the *Capuans* issued with their whol power, in a terrible manner as they could devise: setting all their multitude of vnseruicable people on the walls, which with a loud noyse of Pans and Basons, troubled those that were occupied in fight. *Appius Claudius* opposing himselfe to the *Capuans*, easily defended his Trenches against them; and so well repressed them, that he draue them at length backe into their City. Neuertheless, in pursuing them to their gates. He receiued a wound, that accompanied him in short space after to his graue. *Q. Fulsius* was held harder to his taske, by *Hannibal* and the *Carthaginian* army. The *Roman* camp was euen at poynt to haue bin lost: and *Hannibal* his Elephants, of which he brought three and thirty, were either gotten within the rampart, or else (for the report varies) being some of them slaine vpon it, fell into the ditch and filled it vp in such sort, that their bodies serued as a bridge vnto the Assailants. It is sayd, that *Hannibal* in this tumult caused some fugitiues, that could speake *Latine* wel, to proclaim aloud, as it were in the Consuls name, That every one of the Souldiers should shift for himselfe, and flie betimes vnto the next hills, forasmuch as the Camp was already lost. But all would not serue. The fraud was detected: and the Army, hauing sitten there so long, had at good leisure strongly intrenched it selfe, so as little hope there was to raise the siege by force.

This did extremely perplex the *Carthaginian*. The purchase of *Capua* had (as was thought) withheld him from taking *Rome* it selfe: and now his desire of winning the *Tarentine* citadell, had well-neere lost *Capua*; in respect of which, neither the Citadell, nor the City of *Tarentum*, were to haue been much regarded. Falling therefore into a desperate anger with himselfe and his hard fortune, that of so many great victories he had made no greater vse: on the sudden he entertained an haughty resolution, to set vpon *Rome*; and carry to the walls of that proud City, the danger of warre that threatened *Capua*. This he thought would be a meane, to draw the *Roman* Generals, or one

one of them at least, vnto the defence of their owne home. If they rose from the siege with their whole Army, then had he his desire: If they diuided their forces, then was it likely, that either he, or the *Capuans*, should wel enough deale with them apart. Neither did he despair, that the terrour of his coming might be sufficient to affright the multitude within *Rome*, as he might enter some part or other of the City. His only feare was, lest the *Capuans*, being ignorant of his purpose, should thinke he had forsaken them; and thereupon forthwith yeeld themselves to the Enemy. To prevent this danger, he sent letters to *Capua* by a subtle *Numidian*: who running as a fugitiue into the *Roman* Campe, conueighed himselfe thence ouer the innermost Trenches into the Citie. The iourney to *Rome*, was to be performed with great celerity: no small hope of good successe, resting in the suddenesse of his arrivall there. Wherefore he caused his men, to haue in a readinesse ten dayes victuals; and prepared as many boates, as might in one night transport his Armie ouer the Riuer of *Volturnus*. This could not be done so closely, but that the *Roman* Generalls by some fugitiues had notice of his purpose. With this danger therefore they acquainted the Senate which was therewith affected, according to the diuersitie of mens opinions, in a case of such importance. Some gaue counsell to let alone *Capua*, yea and all places else, rather than to put the towne of *Rome* into perill of being taken by the enemy. Others were so farre from allowing of this, as they wondered how any man could thinke, that *Hannibal*, being vnable to relieue *Capua*, should iudge himselfe strong enough to winne *Rome*; and therefore stoutly sayd, That those Legions, which were kept at home for defence of the City, would serue the turne well enough, to keepe him out, and send him thence, if he were so vnwise, as to come thither. But it was finally concluded, that Letters should be sent to *Fulsius* and *Claudius*, acquainting them perfectly with the forces, that at the present were in *Rome*: who, since they knew best, what the strength was which *Hannibal* could bring along with him, were best able to iudge, what was needfull to oppose him. So it was referred vnto the discretion of these Generals at *Capua*, to do as they thought behouefull: & if it might conveniently be, neither to raise their siege, nor yet to put the City of *Rome* into much aduantage. According to this Decree of the Senate, *Q. Fulsius* took fiftene thousand foot, and a thousand horse, the choise of his whole Army: with which he hastned toward *Rome*; leaving *App. Claudius*, who could not trauele by reason of his wound, to continue the siege at *Capua*. *Hannibal*, hauing passed ouer *Volturnus*, burnt vp all his boates; and left nothing that might transport the Enemy, in case he should offer to pursue or cost him. Then hastned he away toward *Rome*, staying no longer in any one place, than hee needed must. Yet found he the Bridges ouer *Liris* broken downe, by the people of *Fregelle*: which as it stopped him a little on his way; so it made him the more grievously to spoyle their lands, whilst the Bridges were in mending. The nearer that hee drew to *Rome*, the greater waste hee made: his *Numidians* running before him; driving the Countrey, and killing or taking multitudes of all sorts and ages, that fled out of all parts round about. The messengers of these newes came apace, one after another into the Citie; some few bringing true aduertisements; but the most of them reporting the conceits of their owne feare. All the streets, and Temples in *Rome*, were pestered with women, crying and praying, and rubbing the Altars with their haire, because they could do none other good. The Senators were all in the great market, or place of Assembly; ready to giue their aduice, if it were asked, or to take directions giuen by the Magistrates. All places of most importance were stuffed with souldiers: it being vncertaine, vpon which part *Hannibal* would fall. In the middle of this trepidation, there came newes that *Quintus Fulsius*, with part of the Army from *Capua*, was hastning to the defence of the city. The Office of a Proconsul did expire, at his return: home, and entry into the Gates of *Rome*. Wherefore, that *Fulsius* might lose nothing by comming into the City in time of such neede, an Acte was passed, That hee should haue equall power with the Consuls during his abode there. He and *Hannibal* arrived at *Rome*, one foone after another: *Fulsius* hauing bene long held occupied in passing ouer *Volturnus*; and *Hannibal* receiuing impediment in his iourney, as much as the Countrey was able to giue. The Consuls and *Fulsius*, incamped without the Gates of *Rome*, attending the *Carthaginian*. Thither they called the Senate: and as the danger grew neerer and greater, so tooke they more careful and especiall order against all occurrences. *Hannibal* came to the Riuer *Anio* or *Anien*, three miles from the Towne; whence he aduanced with two thousand horse,

and rode along a great way vnder the walls, viewing the fire thereof, and considering how he might best approach it. But he either went, or (as the *Roman* Story saith) was driuen away, without doing, or receiving any hurt. Many tumults rose in this while among the people; but were suppressed by care and diligence of the Senators. About the rest one accident was both troublesome, and not without perill. Of *Numidians* that had shifted side, and fallen (vpon some displeasures) from *Hannibal* to the *Romans*, there were some ewe hundred then in *Rome*: which were appointed by the Consuls, to passe through the Towne, from the Mount *Auentine* to the Gate *Colina*, wherewith was thought that their seruice might be usefull, among broken wayes, and Garden walkes, lying in the suburbs. The faces of these men, and their furniture, wherein they differed not from the followers of *Hannibal*, bred such mistaking, as caused a great uproare, among the people: all crying out, that *Auentine* was taken, and the enemy gotten within the walls. The noyse was such, that men could not be informed of the truth: and the streets were so full of catails, and husbandmen, which were fled thither out of the Villages adjoining, that the passage was stopp'd vp: and the poore *Numidians* pitifully beaten from the house toppes, with stones and other weapons that came next to hand, by the desperate multitude, that would haue run out at the gates, had it not bene certaine who lay vnder the walls. To remedy the like inconueniences, it was ordained, That all which had bene Dictators, Consuls, or Censors, should haue authoritie as Magistrates, till the Enemy departed. The day following *Hannibal* passed ouer *Anien*, and presented battle to the *Romans*, who did not wilyly if they undertooke it. It is sayd, that a terrible shewre of raine, caused both *Romans* and *Carthaginians* to returne into their severall Campes: and that this happened two dayes together, the weather breaking vp and clearing as soone as they were departed asunder: certaine it is, that *Hannibal*, who had brought along with him no more than ten dayes provision, could not endure to stay there, vntill his victuals were all spent. In which regard, the *Romans*, if they suffered him to waste his time and provisions, knowing that he could not abide there long, did as became well aduised men: if they offered to fight with him, and either had the better, or were parred (as is sayd) by some accident of weather, the commendations must be giuen to their fortune. The terror of *Hannibals* coming to the City, how great soeuer it was at the first, yet after some leisure, and better notice taken of their forces, which appeared lesse than the first apprehension had formed them, was much and soone abated. Hereunto it helped wel, that at the same time, the supply appointed for *Spain*, after the death of the two *Scipio's*, was sent out of the towne, & went forth at the gate, whilst one *Carthaginian* lay before another. In all *Panick terrors*, as they are called, where of there is either no cause knowne, or no cause vnferable to the greatnes of the sudden consternation; it is a good remedy to do somewhat quite contrary to that which the danger would require, were it such, as men haue fashioned it in their amazed conceits. Thus did *Alexander* cause his soldiers to disarme themselves, when they were all on a sudden in a great feare of they wist not what. And thus did *Clearchus* pacifie a foolish uproare in his army, by proclaiming a reward vnto him, that could tell who had sent the Ass into the campe. But in this present example of the *Romans*, appeares withall a great magnanimity: whereby they sustained their reputation, & augmented it no lesse, than by this bold attempt of *Hannibal* it might seeme to haue bene diminished. Neither could they more finely haue checked the glorious conceits of their enemies, and taken away the disgrace of that feare, which clouded their valour at his first coming; than by making such demonstrations, when once they had recovered spirit, how little they esteemed him. To this purpose therefore that very peece of ground, on which the *Carthaginian* lay incamped, was sold in *Rome*: and sold it was nothing vnder the value, but at as good a rate, as if it had bene in time of peace. This indignity comming to his care, incensed *Hannibal* so much, that he made sport-sale of the Silver-lineths shoppes, which were neere about the Market or Common place in *Rome*; as if his owne title to the houses within the Towne, were no worse, than any *Roman* Citizens could be vnto that peece of ground, whereon he raised his Tent. But this counter-practise was nothing worth. The *Romans* did seeke to manifest that assurance, which they iustly had conceiued, *Hannibal*, to make shew of continuing in an hope, which was already past. His victuals were almost spent: and of those ends, that he had propoed vnto himselfe, this iourney had brought forth none other, than the fame of his much daring. Wherefore hee brake vp his Campe: and doing what

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poile he could in the *Roman* Territorie, without sparing religious places, wherein wealth was to be gotten, he passed like a tempest ouer the Countrey, and ranne toward the Easterne Sea so fast, that he had almost taken the Cittie of *Rhegium* before his arriual was feared or suspected. As for *Capua*, he gaue it lost: and is likely to haue cursed the whole faction of *Hanno*, which thus disabled him to relieue that faire Citie, since hee had no other way to vent his griefe.

Fulsius returning backe to *Capua*, made Proclamation anew, that whoso would yield, before a certaine day, might safely doe it. This, and the very returne of *Fulsius*, without any more appearance of *Hannibal*, gaue the *Capuans* to vnderstand, that they were abandoned, and their case desperate. To trust the *Roman* pardon proclaimed, euery mans conscience of his owne euill defaults, told him, that it was a vanitie: and some souldiers hope was giuen, by *Hanno* and *Bostar*. Captaines of the *Carthaginian* Garrison within the Towne, that *Hannibal* should come againe, if meanes could onely be found, how to conuey such Letters vnto him, as they would write. The carriage of the Letters was undertaken, by some *Numidians*: who running, as fugitiues out of the Towne, into the *Roman* Camp, waited fit opportunitie to make an escape thence with their packes. But it hapned ere they could conueigh themselves away, that one of them was detected by an harlot following him out of the Towne; and the Letters of *Bostar* and *Hanno* were taken and opened, containing a vehement entreatie vnto *Hannibal*, that hee would not thus forsake the *Capuans* and them. For (sayd they) wee came not hither to make warre against *Rhegium* and *Tarentum*, but against the *Romans*: whose Legions wheresoeuer they lie, there also should the *Carthaginian* Armie be ready to attend them; and by taking of such course, haue wee gotten those victories at *Trabia*, *Thrasymene*, and *Canna*. In fine, they besought him, that hee would not dishonour himselfe, and betray them to their enemies, by turning another way; as if it were his onely care, that the Cittie should not be taken in his full view: promising to make a desperate fallie, if he would once more aduenture to set vpon the *Roman* Campe. Such were the hopes of *Bostar* and his fellowes.

But *Hannibal* had already done his best: and now beganne to faint vnder the burden of that warre, wherein (as afterward he protested) hee was vanquished by *Hanno* and his Partisans in the *Carthaginian* Senate, rather than by any force of *Rome*. It may well be, as a thing incident in like cases, that some of those which were besieged in *Capua*, had bene sent out by the *Hannibals*, to obsecure the doings of *Hannibal*, and to checke his proceedings. If this were so, iustly might they curse their owne malice, which had cast them into this remediless necessitie. Howloer it were, the Letters directed vnto *Hannibal*, fell (as is shewed) into the *Roman* Proconsuls hands; who cutting off the hands of all such counterfeit fugitiues, as carried such messages, whipt them backe into the Towne. This miserable spectacle brake the hearts of the *Capuans*; so that the multitude crying out vpon the Senate, with menacing termes, caused them to assemble, and consult, about the yeelding vp of *Capua* vnto the *Romans*. The brauet of the Senators, and such as a few yeeres since had bene most forward in ioyning with *Hannibal*, vnderstood well enough wherunto the matter tended. Wherefore one of them invited the rest home to supper: telling them, that when they had made good chere, he would drinke to them such an health, as should set them free from that cruel reuenge, which the Enemies sought vpon their bodies. About leuen and twentie of the Senators there were, that liking well of this motion, ended their liues together, by drinking poison. All the rest hoping for more mercie than they had deserved, yeelded simply to discretion. So one of the Towne-gates was set open; wherat a *Roman* Legion with some other companies, entring, disarmed the Citizens; apprehended the *Carthaginian* garrison; and commanded all the Senators of *Capua* to goe forth into the *Roman* campe: at their coming thither, the Proconsuls laid yrons vpon them all, and commanding them to tell what store of gold and silver they had at home, sent them into safe custody; some to *Cales*, others to *Theanum*. Touching the generall multitude, they were referred vnto the discretion of the Senate: yet so hardly vied by *Fulsius* in the meane while, that they had little cause of hope or comfort in this aduersity. *Ap. Claudius* was brought euen to the point of death, by the wound which he had lately received: yet was he not inexorable to the *Capuans*; as hauing loued them well in former times, and hauing giuen his daughter in marriage to that *Pacuius*, of whom we spake before. But this faculty

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his Colleague, made *Fulvius* the more hasty in taking vengeance: for feare, left vpon the like respects, the *Roman* Senate might proue more gentle, than he thought behoufull to the common safetie, and honour of their State. Wherefore he tooke the paines, to ride by night vnto *Theanum*, and from thence to *Cales*: where he caused all the *Campan* prisoners to suffer death; binding them to stakes, and scourging them first a good while with rods; after which he stricke off their heads.

This terrible example of vengeance, which the *Carthaginians* could not hinder, made all townes of *Italy* the lesse apt to follow the vaine hope of the *Campan*: and bred a generall inclination, to returne vpon good conditions to the *Roman* side. The *Atellans*, *Calatines*, & *Sabatinus*, people of the *Campan*, that in the former change had followed the fortune of *Capua*, made also now the like submission, for very feare, & want of ability to resist. They were therefore vied with the like rigour, by *Fulvius*: who dealt so extremely with them all, that he brought them into desperation. Wherefore some of their young Gentlemen, burning with fire of Reuenge, got into *Rome*: where they found means by night-time, to set on fire to many houses, that a great part of the city was like to haue bin consumed. The beginning of the fire in diuers places at once, argued that it was no calultie. Wherefore libertie was proclaimed vnto any slave, and other sufficient reward to any free man, that should discouer who those Incendiaries were. This all came out, and the *Campan* being detected by a slave of their owne (to whom, about his liberty promised, was giuen about the summe of an hundred marks) had the punishment answerable to 20 their deserts. *Fulvius* hereby being more and more incensed against this wretched people, held them in a manner as prisoners within their walls: and this extreme severity caused them at length to become Suppliants vnto the *Roman* Senate; that some period might be set vnto their miseries. That which vpon the Senators resolved in the end, was worse than all that which they had suffered before. Onely two poore women in *Capua* (of which one had bene an harlot) were found not guiltie of the late rebellion. The rest were, some of them, with their wives and children sold for slaves, and their goods confiscated; others laid in prison, and referred to further deliberation: but the generallitie of them, commanded to depart out of *Campania* by a certayne day, and confined vnto severall places as best liked the angry victors. As for the towne of *Capua*, it was suffered to 30 stand, in regard of the beauty and commodious site: but no corporation or forme of polities, was allowed to be therein; onely a *Roman* Proquest was yearly sent to gouerne ouer those that should inhabit it, and to doe iustice. This was the greatest act, and most important, hitherto done by the people of *Rome*, after many great loss in the present warre. After this, the glory of *Hannibal* began to shine with a more dimme light, than before: his oile being farre spent; and that which should haue reuiued his flame, being vnfortunatly shed; as shall be told in place conuenient.

§. XV.

How the *Carthaginians*, making a partie in *Sardinia* and *Sicily*, held warre against the
Romans in those Islands, and were overcome.

W Hilest things passed thus in *Italy*, the commotions raised in *Sardinia* and *Sicily* by the *Carthaginians* and their friends, were brought to a quiet and happy end, by the indolent valour of the *Romans*. The *Sardinian* rebellion was great and sudden: about thirty thousand being vp in armes, ere the *Roman* forces could arriue thereto suppress it. One *Harlicor* as with his sonne *Hystus*, mightie men in that land, were the King-leaders; being incited by *Hanno* a *Carthaginian*, that promised the assistance of his Countrey. Neither were the *Carthaginians* in this enterprife careless, as in the rest of their maine vndertakings, about the same time. Yet it had bene better, if so their care had bin directed vnto the prosecution of that maine businesse in *Italy*, whereon this: and all other hopes depended. For it would haue sufficed, if they could haue hindered the *Romans* from sending an Armie into *Sardinia*. *Harlicor* as with his followers might well enough haue serued to drue out *Quintus Mutius* the Prator, wholy sicke in the Prouince; and not more weak in his owne body, than in his traine. But whilest they sought reuenge of that particular iniurie, whereof the senle was more grievous; they neglected the opportunitie of requiting those that had done them wrong, and of securing themselves from all iniuries in the future. Their fortune also in this enterprife

enterprife was such; as may seeme to haue encouraged them from being at the like change, in cases of more importance. For whereas they sent ouer *Asdrubal*, surnamed, the Bald, with a competent fleet and armie, assisted in this Expedition by *Hanno* the Author of the rebellion, and by *Mago* a Gentleman of the *Barchine* house, and neere kinsman to *Hannibal*: it so fell out, that the whole fleet by extremity of foule weather, was cast vpon the *Baleares*: so beaten and in such euill plight, that the *Sardinians* had euen spent their hearts, and were in a manner quite vanquished, ere theif friends could arriue to succour them.

Titus Manlius was sent from *Rome* with two and twenty thousand foot, and twelue 10 hundred horse, to settle the estate of that Island, which he had taken in, and annexed vnto the *Roman* dominion, long before this, in his Consulship. It was a laudable custome of the *Romans*, to preserve and vp-hold in their severall Prouinces, the greatnesse and reputation of those men, and their families, by whom each Prouince had bene first subdued vnto their Empire. If any iniurie were done vnto the Prouincials; if any grace were to be obtrayned from the Senate; or whatsoever accident required the assistance of a Patron: the first Conquerour, and his race after him, were the most readie and best approved means, to procure the benefit of the people subdued. Hereby the *Romans* held very fine intelligence, in euery Prouince, and had alwayes in readinesse fit men to reclaime their Subiects, if they fell into any such disorder, as would otherwise haue required a greater charge and trouble. The coming of *Manlius*, retayned in obedience 20 all that were not already broken too farre out. Yet was *Harlicor* as so strong in field, that *Manlius* was compelled to arme his Mariners: without whom he could not haue made vp that number of two and twenty thousand, whereof we haue spoken before: hee landed at *Calari* or *Caralis*, where mooring his ships, he passed vp into the Countrey, and sought out the Enemy: *Hystus*, the sonne of *Harlicor* as, had then the command of the 30 *Sardinian* Armie left vnto him by his father, who was gone abroad into the Countrey, to draw in more friends to their side. This young Gentleman would needes adventure to get honour, by giuing battell to the *Romans* at his owne discretion. So heerashly ventured to fight with an old Souldier: by whom hee receiued a terrible overthrow, 30 and lost in one day about thirtie thousand of his followers. *Hystus* himselfe, with the rest of his broken troupes, got into *Cornus*, the chiefe Towne of the Island: whither *Manlius* pursued them. Very soone after this defeat came *Asdrubal* with his *Carthaginians*: too late to winne all *Sardinia* in such hie as hee might haue done, if the tempest had not hindered his voyage; yet soone enough, and strong enough to sue the Towne of *Cornus*, and to put a new spirit into the Rebels. *Manlius* hereupon withdrew himselfe backe to *Calari*: where he had not stayed long, ere the *Sardinians* (such of them as adhered to the *Roman* party) craued his assistance, their Countrey being 40 wasted by the *Carthaginians*, and the Rebels, with whom they had refused to ioyne. This drew *Manlius* forth of *Calari*: where if hee had stayed a litle longer, *Asdrubal* would haue sought him out with some blemish to his reputation. But the fame of *Asdrubal* and his company, appeares to haue bin greater than was their strength. For after some time made of them in a few skirmishes, *Manlius* aduentured all to the hazard of a battell; wherein he slew twelue thousand of the enemies, and tooke of the *Sardinians* and *Carthaginians*, three thousand. Foure hours the battell lasted; and victory at length fell to the *Romans*, by the flight of the Islanders, whose courages had bene broken in their vnprosperous fight, not many dayes before. The death of young *Hystus*, and of his father 50 *Harlicor* as, that slew himselfe for griefe, together with the captivity of *Asdrubal* himselfe, with *Mago* and *Hanno* the *Carthaginians*, made the victory the more famous. The vanquished Armie fled into *Cornus*; whither *Manlius* followed them, and in short space wonne the Towne: All other Cities of the Isle that had rebelled, followed the example of *Cornus*, and yielded vnto the *Roman*; who imposing vpon them such increase of tribute, or other punishment, as best suited with the nature of their severall offences, or their ability to pay, returned backe to *Calari* with a great boote, and from thence to *Rome*, leaving *Sardinia* in quiet.

The warre in *Sicily* was of greater length; and euery way more burdenfome to *Rome*: as also the victory brought more honour and profit. For that the *Romans* betune there-by, not onely salers of their owne, as in *Sardinia*, but Lords of the whole Countrey, by annexing the cite and dominion of *Syracuse*, so that which they enioyed before. Soone after

after the battell of *Canna*, the old King of *Syracuse* died; who had continued long a steadfast friend vnto the *Romans*, and greatly relieved them in this present warre. He left his Kingdome to *Hieronymus* his grand-child, that was about fiftene yeares of age; *Gelo* his sonne, that should haue bin his heire, being dead before. To this young King his successors, *Hiero* appoynted fiftene tutors: of which the principall were *Andronodorus*, *Zoilus*, and *Themistius*, who had married his daughters, or the daughters of *Gelo*. The rest were such, as he iudged most likely to preserve the Kingdome, by the same arte, whereby himselfe had gotten and so long kept it. But within a litle while, *Andronodorus* waxing weary of so many coadiutors, began to commend the sufficiency of the young Prince, as extraordinary in one of his yeares; and sayd, that he was able to rule the Kingdome without help of any Protector. Thus by giuing ouer his owne charge, he caused others to do the like: hoping thereby to get the king wholly into his hands; which came to passe, in a sort, as he desired. For *Hieronymus*, laying aside all care of gouernement, gaue himselfe wholly ouer to his pleasures: or if he had any regard of his Royall dignitie, it was onely in matter of exterior shew, as wearing a Diademe with ornaments of purple, and being attended by an armed guard. Hereby hee offended the eyes of his people, that had neuer seene the like in *Hiero*, or in *Gelo* his sonne. But much more he offended them, when by his insolent behauiour, furable to his outward pompe, he gaue proofe, that in course of life, he would reuiue the memory of Tyrants dead long since, from whom he tooke the patterne of his habit. He grew proud, lustfull, cruell, and dangerous to all that were about him: so that such of his late tutors as could scape him by flight, were glad to liue in banishment: the rest, being most of them put to death by the Tyrant; many of them dying by their owne hands, to auoyde the danger of his displeasure, that seemed worse than death it selfe. Onely *Andronodorus*, *Zoilus*, and one *Thraso* continued in grace with him, and were his Counsaillers, but not of his Cabinet. These, howsoeuer they agreed in other points, were at some dissension about that maine point of adhering, either to the *Romans*, or to the *Carthaginians*. The two former of them, were wholly for the Kings pleasures, which was set on change: but *Thraso*, hauing more regard of his honour and profit, was very earnest to continue the amitie with *Rome*. Whilst as yet it remained somewhat doubtful, which way the King would incline: a conspiracie against his person, was detected by a groom of his, to whom one *Theodorus* had broken the matter. *Theodorus* hereupon was apprehended, and tormented; thereby to wring out of him the whole practice, and the names of the undertakers. Long it was ere he would speake any thing: but yeelding (as it seemed) in the end, vnto the extremities of the torture, he confessed, that he had bene set on by *Thraso*; whom he appeached of the treason, together with many more, that were neare in loue or place vnto *Hieronymus*. All these therefore were put to death, being innocent of the crime wherewith they were charged. But they that were in dedde the Conspirators, walked boldly in the streetes, and neuer shrank for the matter: assuring themselves, that the resolution of *Theodorus* would yield to no extremity. Thus they all escaped, and soone after found means to execute their purpose. The King himselfe, when *Thraso* was taken out of the way, quickly resolved vpon siding with the *Carthaginians*, whereto he was very inclinable before. Young men, when first they grow Masters of themselves, loueto seeme wiser than their fathers, by taking different courses. And the liberality of *Hiero* to the *Romans*, in their great needfullie, had of late been such, as might haue bene termed exceeidie, were it not in regard of his prouidence, wherein he tooke order for his owne Estate, that depended vpon theirs. But the young Nephew, taking little heede of dangers farre off, regarded onely the things present, the weakenesse of *Rome*; the preualent fortunes of *Carthage*; and the much money that his grand-father had layed out in vaine, to shoulder vp a falling house. Wherefore he dealt with *Hannibal*: who readily entered into good correspondence with him; that was maintained by *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, *Carthaginians* borne; but grand-children of a banished *Syracusan*. These grew into such fauour with *Hieronymus*, that they drew him whither they listed. So that when *App. Claudius* the Roman Pretor, hearing that he was towards, made a motion of renewing the Confederacie, betweene the people of *Rome*, and the King of *Syracuse*; his Messengers were dismissed with an open scoffe. For *Hieronymus* would needs haue them tell him the order of the fight at *Canna*, that he might thereby learne how to accommodate himselfe, saying, That he could hardly beleue the *Carthaginians* to

so wonderful was the victory as they reported it. Having thus dismissed the *Romans*, he sent Embassadors to *Carthage*, where he concluded a league: with condition, at first, that a great part of the Island should be annexed to his Dominion; but afterward, that he should reigne ouer all *Sicily*; and the *Carthaginians* rest satisfied, with what they could get in *Italic*. At these doings *Appius Claudius* did not greatly sturie: partly for the indignities that were offered; partly for that it behoued not the *Romans*, to entertaine more quarrells, than were enforced vpon them by necessity; and partly (as may seeme) for that the reputation, both of himselfe, and of his Citie, had receiued such blemish, by that which hapned vnto him in his iourney, as much discontented him when he came into *Sicily*, and forbade him to looke bigger. The money that *Hiero* had bestowed formerly vpon the *Romans*, wherewith to relieue them in their needfullie, this *Appius* was to carry backe vnto him: it being refused by the Roman Senate, with greater brauerie than their present fortune would allow. But in stead of returning the money with thanks, as he had bin directed, and as it had bin noised abroad that he should doe: the were against *Philip* King of *Macedon* (wherof we haue spoken before) compelled the *Romans* to lay aside their vaine-glorie, and send word after him, that he should consign that money ouer to *Marcus Valerius*, of whose voyage into *Greece*, the Citie had not otherwise wherewith to beare the charge. This was done accordingly, and hereby *Claudius* (which name in the whole continuance of that Familie, is reixed with pride) his error was changed, from a glorious ostentation of the Roman magnanimity, into such a pittifull tune of thanksgiving, as must needs haue bred sorrow and commiseration, in so true a friend as *Hiero*; or if it were deliuered after his death, matter of pastime & scorrie, in *Hieronymus* the new King.

But whilst *Hieronymus* was more desirous of warre, than well resolved how to begin it: his owne death changed the forme of things, and bred a great inuocation in the state of *Syracuse*; which thereby might haue prospered more than euer, had it bene wisely gouerned. *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, of whom wee spake before, were sent about the Country with two thousand men, to sollicite the Townes, and perswade them to shake off their obedience to the *Romans*. The King himselfe with an Armie of fiftene thousand horse and foot, went to *Leontium*, a city of his owne Dominion: hoping that the fame of his preparation, would make the whole Island fall to him in all haste, and accept him for Soueraigne. There the Conspirators took him on the fudden as he was passing through a narrow street: and rushing betweene him and his guard, strooke him dead. Forthwith liberty was proclaimed: and the sound of that word so ioyfully answered by the *Leontines*, that the guard of *Hieronymus*, had little courage to reuenge their Masters death. Yet for feare of the worst, a great largesse was promised vnto the Souldiers, with rewards vnto their Captaines; which wrought so effectually, that when many wicked acts of the murdered King were reckoned vp, the Army, as in detestation of his bad life, suffered his carcasle to lie vnburied. These newes ranne quickly to *Syracuse*: whither some of the Conspirators, taking allo of the Kings horses, posted away; to signifye all that had passed, to stirre vp the people to liberie, and to prevent *Andronodorus*, if he or his fellowes would make offer to usurpe a Tyranny. The *Syracusians* hereupon presently tooke Armes, and made themselves masters of their owne City. *Andronodorus* on the other side fortified the Place, and the Island: being yet vncertaine what to doe, betweene desire of making himselfe a Soueraigne Lord, and feare of suffering punishment, as a Tyrant, if his enterprise mis-carried. His wife *Demarata*, that was the daughter of *Hiero*, cherished him in his hopes: putting him in minde of that well knowne Proverbe, which *Dionysius* had vsed; That a Tyrant should keepe his place, till he were halld out of it by the beeles, and not ride away from it on horse backe. But feare, and better counsaile so prevailed to farr, that *Andronodorus*, having slip vpon the matter, dissembled his affections, and deferred his hope vnto better opportunity. The next day he came forth, and made a speech vnto the people: telling them, that he was glad to see, how prudently they behaued themselves in so great a change; that hee had stood in feare, lest they would not haue conuyned themselves within the bounds of discretion; but rather haue sought to murder all without difference, that any way belonged to the Tyrant; and that since he beheld their orderly proceeding, and their care, not to ramish their liberty force, but to wed it vnto them for euery, he was willingly come to them forth of his strength, and surrendered vp the charge committed vnto him, by one that had been an euill

euill master both to him and them. Hereupon great ioy was made, and Pretors chosen (as in former times) to gouerne the Citie; of which *Andronodorus* was one, and the chiefe. But such was his desire of Soueraignty, and so vehement were the insigations of his wife, that shortly hee beganne to practise with *Hippocrates*, *Epicides*, and other Captaines of the Mercenaries; hoping to make himselfe strong by their help, that were least pleased with the change. *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* had bene with the *Syracusian* Pretors, and told them, that being sent from *Hannibal* to *Hieronymus*, they according to instructions of their Capaine, had done him, whilst he liued, what seruice they could; and that now they were desirous to returne home. They requested therefore that they might be friendly dismissed, and with a conuoy, that might keepe them from falling into the hands of the *Romans*, and set them safe at *Locri*. This was easily granted; both for that the *Syracusian* Magistrates were well contented to earne thanks of *Hannibal*, with such a little courtesie; and for that they thought it expedient, to rid their Towne quickly of this troublesome couple, which were good souldiers, and gracious with the Army, but otherwise lewd men. It was not the desire of these two *Sicilians*, to be gone so hastily as they made shew; they were more mindfull of the businesse, for which *Hannibal* had sent them. Wherefore they insinuated themselves into the bosoms of such as were most likely to fill the Army with tumult, especially of the *Roman* fugitives, and those that had cause to mistrust what should become of themselves, when the *Romans* and *Syracusians* were come to agreement. Such instruments as these, *Andronodorus* had great need of: as also of many other, to helpe him in his dangerous attempt. Hee found *Themistius*, that had married *Harmonia* the sister of *Hieronymus*, ready to take his part; as being carried with the like passions of his owne, and of his wife. But in seeking to increase the number of his adherents, he revealed the matter to one, that revealed all to the rest of the Pretors. Hereupon it followed, that he, and *Themistius*, entering into the Senate, were slayne out of hand: and afterward accused to the People, of all the euill which they had done, whilst *Hieronymus* liued, as by his authority; and now since attempted, in seeking to vsurp the tyranny themselves. It was also declared, that the daughters of *Hiero* and *Gelo* were accessory to this dangerous treason: and that the vnquiet spirits of these women would neuer cease to worke, vntill they had recovered those royall ornaments and Soueraigne power, whereof their family was now dispossest. These daughters therefore of *Hiero* & *Gelo* were also condemned to die; and executioners presently sent by the enraged people, to take away their liues. *Demarata*, and *Harmonia* had perhaps deferred this heauy sentence: but *Heracles*, the daughter of *Hiero*, and wife of *Sosippus*, being altogether innocent, was murdered together with her two young daughters, in the hasty execution of this rash iudgment. Her husband *Sosippus* was a lover of the Common-wealth; and in that respect hated by *Hieronymus*, that being sent Embassador to king *Ptolomie*, &c. he durst not returne home, but stayed in *Egypt* as a banished man. This consideration, when it was too late, together with some pitifull accidents accompanying the slaughter, so affected the multitude; that (pardonning themselves) all cryed out vpon the authors of so foule a butchery. Being thus incensed against the Senate, and knowing not otherwise how to satisfy their anger, they called for an election of new Pretors, in the roome of *Andronodorus* and *Themistius*, that were lately slaine: meaning to substitute such in their places, as the Senators should haue liue cause to like. At the election were present a great rowt, not onely of the poorer Citizens, but of souldiers that pressed into the throng. One of these, named *Epicides* Pretor; another named *Hippocrates*: and the lesse that the ekle Pretors and Senators approved this nomination, the more eager was the multitude; and by a generall cry forced them to be accepted. These being made Pretors, did what they could to hinder the agreement that was in hand, betwene the *Syracusians* and the *Romans*. But hauing striven in vain; and seeing that the People stood in feare of *Ap. Claudius*, and of *Marcellus*, that was lately come into *Sicily*, they gaue way vnto the time, and suffered the old league of *Hiero* to be reconfirmed, which afterward they purposed to dissolve by practise. The *Leontines* had some need of a garison; and to them was sent *Hippocrates* the Pretor, attended by such fugitiues and mercenary souldiers, as were most burdensome to *Syracuse*. Thither when he came, he began to doe many acts of hostility against the *Romans*: first in secret, afterward more openly and boldly. *Marcellus*, rightly vnderstanding the purpose of these two brethren, sent word vnto the *Syracusians*, that they had already broken

the league; and that the peace would neuer be kept sincerely, vntill this turbulent paire of brethren were expelled the Island. *Epicides* fearing to sustaine the blame of his brothers proceedings, and more desirous to set forward the warre, than to excuse any breach of peace; went himselfe vnto the *Leontines*, whom he perswaded to rebell against the *Syracusians*. For he said, that since they had all of late serued one Master, there was little reason why the *Leontines* should not be enfranchised by his death, as well as the *Syracusians*; yea or much rather, all things considered; since in their Treeres the Tyrant was slayne, and liberty first proclaimed. Wherefore, since they of *Syracuse* were not contented to enioy the freedome purchased among the *Leontines*; but thought it good reason, that they should beare Dominion ouer those that had broken the Chaine, wherewith both the one and the other were bound: his aduice was, that such their arrogance should be checked betimes, ere it could get any colour of right by prescription. Hereunto occasion was giuen by one article of the League, made of late by the *Romans* & *Syracusians*. For it was agreed, That all which had bene subiect to *Hiero* and *Hieronymus*, should henceforth be Vassals vnto the State of *Syracuse*. Against this article, if the *Leontines* would take exception, and thereby challenge their owne due, *Epicides* told them, that in this notable change, they had fit opportunity to recouer the freedome, which their fathers had lost not many ages before. Neither was it vnreasonable, which this crafty *Carthaginian* propounded; if the *Leontines* had bene subdued by the same hand, which tooke liberty from the *Syracusians*. But seeing they had long since yielded vnto *Syracuse*, and bene subiect vnto that Citie, by what forme soeuer it was gouerned; this claime of libertie was rather seasonable, than iust. Neuertheless, the motion of *Epicides* was highly approved: in so much that when messengers came soone after from *Syracuse*, to rebuke the *Leontines*, for that which they had done against the *Romans*, and to denounce vnto *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, that they should get them gone, either to *Locri*, or whither else they listed, so that they stayed not in *Sicily*: word was returned, That they of *Leontium* had not requested the *Syracusians*, to make any bargaines for them with the *Romans*, nor thought themselves bound to obserue the covenants, which others without warrant had made in their names. This peremptory answer was forth-with reported vnto *Marcellus* by the *Syracusians*; who offered him their assistance in doing iustice vpon the *Leontines* their Rebels; with condition, That when the Towne was taken, it might be theirs againe. *Marcellus* required no better satisfaction: but forth-with tooke the businesse in hand, which he dispatched in one day. At the first assault, *Leontium* was taken: all saue the Castle, wherinto *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* fled; and stealing thence away by night, conueyed themselves into the towne of *Herbesus*. The first thing that *Marcellus* did, when he had wonne the Towne, was the same, which other *Roman* Captains vsed after victory, to seeke out the fugitive *Roman* slaues and renegados, whom he caused all to die: the rest both of the Towne-men and Souldiers, he tooke to mercy; forbearing also to strip or spoyle them. But the fame of his doings was bruited after a contrary fort. It was sayd, that he had slaine, Man, Woman, and Child, and put the Towne to sacke. These newes met the *Syracusian* Army vpon the way, as it was going to ioyne with *Marcellus*, who had ended his businesse before. About eight thousand Mercenaries there were, that had bene sent forth of *Syracuse*, vnder *Sosis* and *Dionomenes*, two of the Pretors, to serue against the *Leontines* and other rebels. These Captains were honest men, and well affected to their Country: but the Souldiers that followed them, had those diseases, with which all mercenaries are commonly infected. They took the matter deeply to heart, that their fellow-souldiers (as now they termed those against whom they went) had bene so cruelly butchered: and hereupon they fell to mutiny; though what to demand, or with whom to be angry, they could not tell. The Pretors therefore thought it best, to turne their vnquiet thoughts another way, and set them a worke in some place else: for as much as at *Leontium* there was no need of their seruice. So towards *Herbesus* they marched; where lay *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, the architects of all this mischief, deuising what further harme they might doe; but now so weakly accompanied, that they seemed vnable to escape the punishments belonging to their offences past. Hereof the two brethren were no lesse well aware: and therefore aduerted vpon a remedy little lesse desperate than their present case. They issued forth of *Herbesus* unarmed, with Oliue branches in their hands, in manner of Suppliants; and so presented themselves to the Army. Six hundred men of *Creet* were in the van-guard; that

that had been well used by *Hieronymus*, and some of them greatly bound unto *Hannibal*, who had taken them prisoners in the Italian warre, and lowly dismissed them. These *Cretians* therefore welcomed the two brethren, and bade them be of good cheare, saying, That no man should doe them harme, as long as they could vse their weapons. Herewithall the Army was at a stand; and the rumour of this accident, ranne swiftly from man to man, with general approbation. The Pretors thought to helpe the matter by severity, which would not serue. For when they commanded these two traitors to be layd in yrons; the exclamation was so violent against them, that faime they were to let all alone, and returne, vncertaine what course to take, vnto *Megara*, where they were lodged the night before. Thither when they came, *Hippocrates* deuised a trick, whereby to help himselfe, and better the vncertaine case wherein he stood. He cauled Letters of his owne penning, to be intercepted by some of his most trusty *Cretans*, directed as they made shew from the *Syracusian* Pretors, to *Marcellus*. The contents hereof were, That *Marcellus* had well done, in committing all to the sword among the *Leontines*; but that it farther behoued him, to make the like dispatch of all the mercenaries belonging to *Syracuse*; which were offensive, all of them in general, to the liberty of the City, and the peace with *Rome*. When this counterfeit Epistle was openly rehearsed, the vproare was such, that *Sesto* and his fellow Pretor, were glad to forsake the Campe; and flicke their liues. All the *Syracusians* remaying behinde, had bene cut in peeces by the enraged souldiers, if the two Artificers of the sedition had not saued their liues; rather to keepe them as pledges, and by them, to winne their friends within the Towne, than for any good will. They perswaded also a mischieuous knaue that had srued amongst the *Leontines*, to iustifie the bruit of *Marcellus* cruelty, and to carry home the newes to *Syracuse*, as an eye-witnes. This incensed not onely the multitude, but some of the Senate; and filled the whole towne with causelesse indignation. In good time (sayd some) was the auarice and cruelty of the *Romans* detected: who, had they in like sort gotten into *Syracuse*, would haue dealt much worse, where their greedy appetites might haue bene tempted with a farre greater booty. Whilst they were thus discoursing, and deuising how to keepe out the wicked *Romans*, *Hippocrates* with his Army came to the gates, exhorting the Citizens to let him in, vnto for want of helpe, they would be trayed to their enemies. The Pretors with the best and wisest of the Senate, would faime haue kept him out: but the violence of the souldiers to force a gate, was no whit greater, than the head-strong fury of those within the towne, that laboured to breake it open. So he entered and immediately fell vpon the Pretors, whom (being forsaken by all men) he put to the sword, and made slaughter of them and their followers vntill night. The next day hee went openly to worke: and after the common example of Tyrants, gaue liberty vnto all slaues and prisoners, and being fortified with adherents of the worst and basest sort, made himselfe and his brother Pretors, in Title, but in effect, Lords of *Syracuse*.

When *Marcellus* was aduertised of this great alteration, he thought it no time for him to sit still, and attend the further issue. He sent Embassadors to *Syracuse*, that were not admitted into the Hauen, but chased out as enemies. Then drew he neare with his Army: and lodging within a mile and a halfe of the towne, sent before him, some to require a parlee. These were entertained without the walls by the two new Pretors: to whom they declared, That the *Romans* were come thither, not with purpose to do hurt, but in fauour of the *Syracusians*, which were oppressed by Tyrants, and to punish those, that had murdered and banished so many of the principall Citizens. Wherefore they required, that those worthy men, their Confederates, which were chased out of the Towne, might be suffered to returne and enioy their owne; as also that the Authors of the great slaughter lately committed, might be deliuered vp. Hereto *Epicides* briefly so answered, That if their errand had bene to him, he could haue told what to say to them: but since it was directed vnto others, they should doe well to returne, when those to whom they were sent, had the gouernement in their hands. As for the warre which they threatened; he told them; they should finde by experience, That to besiege *Syracuse*, was another manner of worke, than to take *Leontium*. Thus he sent them gone, and returned backe into the City. Immediately beganne the siege, which endured longer than the *Romans* had expected. The quick and easie winning of *Leontium* did put *Marcellus* in hope, that so long a circuit of wals as compassed *Syracuse*, being manned

with

with no better kinde of Souldiers, than those with whom he had lately dealt, would in some part or other, be taken at the first assault. Wherefore he omitted no violence or terror in the very beginning; but did his best both by Land and Sea. Neuertheless all his labour was disappointed; and his hope of preuailling by open force, taken from him by the ill successe of two or three of the first assaults. Yet was it not the vertue of the *Defendants*, or any strength of the Citie, that bred such despaire of hasty victorie. But there liued at that time in *Syracuse*, *Archimedes* the noble Mathematician: who at the request of *Hiero* the late King, that was his kinsman, had framed such engines of Warre, as being in this extremitie put in vse, did more mischiefe to the *Romans* than could haue bene wrought by the Canon, or any instruments of Gunne-powder; had they in that age bene knowne. This *Archimedes* discoursing once with *Hiero*, maintained that it were possible to remooue the whole earth out of the place wherein it is, if there were some other earth, or place of sure footing, whereon a man might stand. For proofe of this bold assertion, he performed some strange workes; which made the King entreat him to conuert his studie vnto things of vse; that might preserue the Citie from danger of enemies. To such Mechanicall workes, *Archimedes*, and the Philosophers of those times, had little affection. They held it an injury done vnto the liberal sciences, to subvert learned Propositions, vnto the workmanship, and gain, of base handicrafts men. And of this opinion *Plato* was an author: who greatly blamed some Geometricians; that seemed vnto him to prophane their science, by making it vulgar. Neither must we easily taske a man so wise as *Plato*, with the imputation of supercilious austerity, or affected singularity in his reprehension. For it hath bene the vnhappy fate of great inventions, to be villified, as idle fancies, or dreames, before they were published: and being once made knowne, to be vnder-valued; as filling within compass of the meane & wile things, that euery one could well haue performed. Hereof (to omit that memorable example of *Columbus* his discoverie, with the much different sorts of neglect, which he underwent before and after it) in a familiar and most homely example, we may see most apparent proofe. He that looks vpon our *English Brewers*, and their Seruants, that are daily exercised in the Trade; will thinke it ridiculous to heare one say, that the making of Ale, was an invention, proceeding from some of an extraordinary knowledge in naturall Philosophie. Yet is not the skill of the inventors any whit the lesse, for that the labor of workmanship growes to be the trade of ignorant men. The like may be said of many handicrafts: and particularly in the Printing of Bookes, which being deuised, and bettered, by great Scholars and wifemen, grew afterward corrupted by those, to whom the practice fell; that is, by such, as could slubber things easily ouer, and feede their workmen at the cheapest rate. In this respect therefore, the Alchymists, and all others, that haue, or would seeme to haue any secret skill, whereof the publication might doe good vnto mankind; are not without excuse of their close concealing. For it is a kinde of iniustice, that the long trauells of an vnderstanding braine, beside the losse of time, and other expence, should be cast away vpon men of no worth; yeeld lesse benefit vnto the Author of a great worke, than to meere strangers; and perhaps his enemies. And surely, if the passion of Enuie, haue in it any thing allowable and naturall, as hauing Anger, Feare, and other like Affections: it is in some such case as this; and reacheth against those, which would vsurpe the knowledge, whereunto God hath denied to indue them. Neuertheless, if we haue regard vnto common charitie, and the great affection that euery one ought to beare vnto the generality of mankind, after the example of him that suffereth his Sunne to shine vpon the iust, and vniust: it will appeare more commendable in wise men, to enlarge themselves, and to publish vnto the world, those good things that lye buried in their owne bosomes. This ought specially to be done, when a profitable knowledge hath not annexed to it some dangerous cunning; that may be peruerced by euill men to a mischieuous vse. For if the secret of any rare Antidote, contained in it the skill of giuing some deadly and irreuerable poyson: much better it were, that such a iewel remaine close in the hands of a wife and honest man; than being made common, binde all men to vse the remedie, by teaching the worst men how to doe mischiefe. But the workes which *Archimedes* published, were such as tended vnto very commendable ends. They were Engines, seruing vnto the defence of *Syracuse*, not fit for the *Syracusians* to carry abroad, to the hurt & oppression of others. Neither did he altogether publish the knowledge, how to vse them, but referred so much to his owne

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direction; that after his death more of the same kinde were not made, nor those of his owne making were employed by the *Romans*. It sufficed vnto this worthy man, that he had approued vnto the vulgar, the dignitie of his Science; and done especiall benefit to his Countrey. For to enrich a Mechanicall trade, or teach the Art of murdering men, it was besides his purpose.

Marcellus had caused certaine of his *Quinquereme* Gallies to be fastned together, and Towers erected on them to beat the defendants from the wall. Against these, *Archimedes* had sundrie devices, of which any one fort might haue repelled the assaillants: but all of them together shewed the multiplicitie of his great wit. He shot heavy stones & long pieces of timber, like vnto the yards of ships; which brake some of the Gallies by their force and weight. These afflicted such as lay fare off. They that were come neerer the walls, lay open to a continuall volly of shot, which they could not endure. Some with an yron grapple were taken by the prow and hoisted vp, shaking out all the men, and afterward falling downe into the water. Some by strange Engines were lifted vp into the ayre; where turning round a while, they were broken against the walls, or cast vpon the rocks: and all of them were so beaten that they durst neuer come to any second assault. In the like sort was the Land-armie handled. Stones & timber, falling vpon it like hails; did not onely ouerwhelme the men, but brake downe the *Roman* engines of battery; and forced *Marcellus* to giue ouer the assault. For remedie hereof it was conceiued, that if the *Romans* could early before day get neere vnto the walls: they should be (as it were) vnder the point *blanche*, and receive no hurt by these terrible Instruments; which were wound vp hard to shoot a great compasse. But this vaine hope cost many of the assaillants liues. For the shot came downe right vpon them: and beating them from all parts of the wall, made a great slaughter of them, all the way as they fled, (for they were unable to tarry by it) euen till they were gotten very fare off. This did so terrifie the *Romans*, that if they perceived any peece of timber, or a ropes end, vpon the walls, they ranne away, crying out, that *Archimedes* his engines were readie to discharge. Neither knew *Marcellus* how to overcome these difficulties, or to take away from his men, that feare; against the cause whereof he knew no remedie. If the engines had stood vpon the walls, subiect to firing, or any such annoyance from without; hee might haue holpen by some device, to make them vnuerneiceable. But all, or the most of them were out of fight, being erected in the streetes behinde the walls; where *Archimedes* gaue directions how to vie them. Wherefore the *Roman* had no other way left, than to cut off from the Towne all prouision of victuals, both by Land and by Sea.

This was a very desperate peece of worke. For the enemies hauing so goodly an Haven; the Sea in a manner free; and the *Carthaginians* that were strong by Sea, willing to supply them: were not likelie so soone to bee consumed with famine, as the besiegers to bee wearied out, by lying in Leaguer before so strong a City, hauing no probability to carrie it. Yet, for want of better counsell to follow, this was thought the best, and most honorable course.

In the meane while, *Himilco*, Admirall of a *Carthaginian* Fleet, that had waited long about *Sicily*, being by *Hippocrates* aduertised of these passages, went home to *Carthage*, and there to deale with the Senate, that sue and twentie thousand Foote, three thousand Horse, and twelue Elephants, were committed vnto his charge, wherewith to make warre vpon the *Romans* in *Sicily* by Land. Hee tooke many Townes; and many that had anciently belonged vnto the *Carthaginians*, did yeeld vnto him. To remedie this mischief, and to stay the inclination of men, which following the current of Fortune, beganne to turne vnto the *Carthaginians*; *Marcellus* with a great part of his Armie, rose from *Syracuse*, and went from place to place about the Island. He tooke *Pelorus* and *Herbesus*, which yeelded vnto him. He tooke also *Megara* by force and sacke: either to terrifie others that were obstinate, especially the *Syracusians*, or else because *Rome* was at this time poore, and his Armie must haue somewhat to keepe it in heart. His especiall desire was to haue saued *Agrirentum*: whither he came too late, for *Himilco* had gotten it before. Therefore he returned backetoward *Syracuse*; carefully, and in as good order as he could, for feare of the *Carthaginian* that was too strong for him. The circumspection that he vsed, in regard of *Himilco*, stood him in good stead, against a danger that he had not mistrusted. For *Hippocrates*, leaving the charge of *Syracuse* vnto his brother, had lately issued out of the Citie, with ten thousand foote, and five hundred horse,

intending to ioyne his forces with *Himilco*. *Marcellus* fell vpon him, ere either was aware of the other: and the *Romans*, being in good order, got an easie victorie, against the disperfed and halfe vnarmed *Syracusians*. The reputation heereof helped a little to keepe the *Sicilians* from rebellion. Yet it was not long, ere *Himilco*, ioyning with *Hippocrates*, ranne ouer all the Island at his pleasure, and presented battaile to *Marcellus*, euen at his Trenches; but the *Roman* wisely refused it. *Bomilcar* also a *Carthaginian*, entered with a great fleet into the Haven of *Syracuse*, and victualled the Citie. After this, the disposition of the Islanders changed so againe, that although another Legion was come from *Rome*, which escaped from *Himilco*, and safely arrived at *Marcellus* his Campe: yet many places revolted vnto the *Carthaginians*, and slew or betrayed the *Roman* Garrisons.

In the midst of these troubles, Winter enforced both parts to take breath a while: and *Marcellus* leaving some of his Armie before *Syracuse*, that hee might not seeme to haue giuen ouer the siege, went vnto *Leontium*, where he lay intenuie to all occasions. In the beginning of the Spring he stood in doubt, whether it were better to continue the laborious work of besieging *Syracuse*, or to turne all his forces to *Agrirentum*, against *Himilco* and *Hippocrates*. But it would greatly haue impaired his reputation, if he had gone from *Syracuse*, as unable to preuaile: & he himself was of an eager disposition, euer vnwilling to giue ground, or to quit, as not faine, an enterprise that he had once taken in hand. He came therefore to *Syracuse*: where though he found all the difficulties remaining as before; and no likelihood to take the Citie by force or famine; yet was hee not without hope, that continuance of time would bring forth somewhat, which might fulfill his desire. Especially he assaied to preuaile by treason, against which no place can hold out. And to this end he deale with the *Syracusian* Gentlemen that were in his Campe; exhorting them to practise with their friends that remained in the Citie. This was not easie for them to doe, because the Towne would harken to no parlee. At length a slave vnto one of these banished men, making shew to runne away from his Master, got into *Syracuse*; where hee talked inpruate with some few, as hee had bene instructed. Thus began *Marcellus* to haue intelligence within the Citie: whence the Conspirators vied to send him aduertisement of their proceedings, by a slier boat that passed forth in the night: but when they were growne to the number of fourescore, and thought themselves able to effect somewhat of importance, all was discovered; and they, like Traitors, put to death. In the meane while, one *Damasippus* a *Lacedemonian*, that had bene sent out of the Towne as an Embassador to *Philip* King of *Macedon*; was fallen into the hands of *Marcellus*. *Epicides* was very desirous to ransom him: and many meetings were appointed for that purpose, not farre from the walls. There, one of the *Romans* looking vpon the wall, and wanting the more compendious Art of Geometrie, fell to numbring the stones: and, making an estimate of the height, iudged it lesse than it had bene formerly deemed. Herewith he acquainted *Marcellus*: who causing better notice to be taken of the place, and finding, that ladders of no extraordinary length would reach it, made all things ready, and waited a conuenient time. It was the weakest part of the Towne, and therefore the most strongly garded: neither was there hope to preuaile by force against *Archimedes*, if they failed to take it by surpris. But a fugitive out of the Towne brought word, that a great fast was to be held vnto *Diana*, which was to last three daies: and that, because other good cheare was not so plentifull within the Citie, as in former times, *Epicides*, to gratifie the People, had made the more large distribution of Wine. A better opportunitie could not bee wished. Wherefore *Marcellus*, in the dead of the Festiuall night, came vnto the walls, which he took by *Scala*. *Syracuse* was diuided into foure parts (or fives, if *Epipole* were reckoned as one) each of which were fortified as distinct Cities. When therefore *Marcellus* had gotten some peeces, he had the commoditie of a better and safe lodging, with good store of bootie; and better opportunitie then before, to deale with the rest. For there were now a great many, as well of those in *Acradina* & the Island, inner parts of the Towne, as of those that were already in the hands of *Marcellus*, that began to harken vnto composition, as being much terrified by the losse of those parts, which the *Romans* had taken and sackt. As for the weapons of *Archimedes*, little harme, or none they did, vnto those that were sheltered from strong houles: although it may seeme, that the inner walls were not altogether vnurnished of his helpe; since they held out a good while and were not taken

by force. The *Roman* fugitives and Renegados, were more carefull than euer to defend the rest of the Citie: being sure to be rewarded with cruell death, if *Marcellus* could preuaile. *Hippocrates* and *Himilco*, were daily expected; and *Bomilcar* was sent away to *Carthage*, to bring helpe from thence. It was not long ere *Hippocrates* and *Himilco* came: who fell vpon the olde Camp of the *Romans*, whilst *Epicides* sallied out of *Acraadin* vpon *Marcellus*. But the *Romans* made such defence in each part, that the *Affiliants* were repell'd. Neuerthelesse, they continued to beset *Marcellus*: whom they held in a manner as freightly besieged, as hee himselfe did besiege the Towne. But the pestilence at length consumed, together with the two Captaines, a great part of the Armie, and caused the rest to dislodge. The *Romans* were (though somewhat lesse) afflicted with the same pestilence, in so much that *Bomilcar* did put the Citie of *Carthage* in hope, that he might be taken where he lay, if any great forces were sent thither. This *Bomilcar* wanted no desire to doe his Countreys seruice: but his courage was not answerable to his good will. Hee arriv'd at *Pachynus* with a strong fleet: where he staid, being loth to double the Cape, for that the windes did better serue the enimie than him. Thither sail'd *Epicides* out of *Syracuse*: to acquaint him with the necessities of the Citie; and to draw him on. With much inuention, at length he came forward: but meeting with the *Roman* fleet, that was readie for him, hee stood off into the deepe; and sail'd away to *Tarentum*, bidding *Sicily* farewell. Then durst not *Epicides* returne into *Syracuse*, but went to *Agriuentum*: where he expected the issue; with a very faint hope of hearing any good newes.

The *Sicilian* Souldiers that remained alive of *Hippocrates* his Army, lay as neere as they could safely, vnto *Marcellus*; and some of them, in a strong Towne three miles off. These had done what good they could to *Syracuse*, by doing what hurt they could vnto the *Romans*. But when they were informed, that the state of *Sicily* was giuen as desperate by the *Carthaginians*: they sent Embassadors to treat of peace; and made offer to compound, both for themselves, and for the Towne. Heereunto *Marcellus* willingly gaue ear: for hee had staid there long enough; and had cause to feare, that after a little while, the *Carthaginians* might come thither strong againe. Hee therefore agreed, both with the Citizens, and with the Souldiers that lay abroad; That they should be Masters of their owne, enjoying their libertie and proper lawes; yet suffering the *Romans* to possess whatsoever had belonged vnto the Kings. Heereupon they, to whom *Epicides* had left his charge, were put to death; new Pretors chosen; and the gates euen ready to be opened vnto *Marcellus*: when suddenly the *Roman* fugitives disturbed all. These perceiving their owne condition to be desperate, perswaded the other Mercinarie souldiers, that the Citizens had bargained onely for themselves, and betrayed the Armie to the *Romans*. Wherefore they presently tooke Armes, and fell vpon the new chosen Pretors; whom they slue, and made election of fixe Captaines that should command ouer all. But shortly it was found out, that there was no danger at all to the Souldiers; excepting onely the fugitives. The Treatie was therefore againe set on foot, and wanted little of conclusion: which yet was delay'd; eyther by some feare of the Citizens, that had seene (as they thought) proofe of the *Roman* auarice in the sack of *Epizola*, *Tyche*, and *Neapolis*, the parts already taken; or by some desire of *Marcellus* to get the Towne by force, that he might vse the libertie of a Conqueror, and make it wholly subiect to *Rome*. *Mericus* a *Spaniard* was one of the fixe Captaines, that had been chosen in the last commotion: a man of such faith, as usually is found in Mercinaries; holding his owne particular benefit aboue all other respects. With this Captaine, *Marcellus* dealt secretly: hauing a fit instrument, of the same Nation, one *Belligenes*; that went in company with the *Roman* Embassadors, daily passing to and fro. This craftie Agent perswaded *Mericus*, That the *Romans* had already gotten all *Spaine*; and that if euer he purposed to make his owne fortune good, either at home in *Spaine*, or any where else; it was now the onely time to do it; by conforming himselfe to the will of the *Roman* Generall. By such hopes the *Spanish* Captaine was easily wonne, and sent forth his owne brother among the *Syracusan* Embassadors to ratifie the couenant with *Marcellus*.

This vnder-hand dealing of *Marcellus* against the *Syracusians*, cannot well be commended as honest: neither was it afterwards thoroughly approved at his coming to *Rome*. For the benefits of *Hero* to the *Romans* had bene such, as deserved not to be requited with the ruine of his Countreie: much lesse, that the miseries of his people, oppressed (though partly through their owne follie) by an Army of Mercinaries, should minister

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vnto the people of *Rome*, aduantage against them. The poore Citizens could not make good their parts against the hired souldiers; and therefore were faine to yeeld vnto the time, and obey those Ministers of *Hannibal*, that ruled the *Armic*. But as long as they were free after the death of *Hieronymus*; and now of late, when they had gathered courage by the flight of *Epicides*: it had bene their thiefe care to maintaine amitie with the people of *Rome*. They had lately slaine many the principall of *Epicides* his followers; and many of themselves had also bene slaine, both lately and in former times, because of this their desire vnto the peace. What though it were true, that the *Rafcalitie*, and some ill aduic'd Persons ioynd with the souldiers in hatred of the *Romans*, by occasion of the slaughter which they heard to be done at *Lemium*; and afterward beeb'd in those parts of their owne Citie which was taken: Ought therefore the *Roman* Generall, in a treatie of peace held with the *Syracusians*, to make a bargaine vnder-hand against them, with a Captaine of the Mercinaries? These things were objected against *Marcellus*, at his returne home. But the Senators thought it a great deale better, to comfort the *Syracusians* with gentle words, & promise of good visage in time to come; than to restore the bootie, and giue ouer the Dominion of a Citie, so great, wealthy, strong, and many waies important. Neuerthelesse if we consider the many inconueniences and great mischiefs whereunto *Syracuse* was obnoxious; both by euill neighbours; and by that very forme of politie, after which it was gouerned: wee may truly affirme, That it receiued no small benefit, by becoming subiect vnto *Rome*. For thereby it was not onely assured against all forraigne enimies, domestick conspiracies, and such Tyrans as of olde had reign'd therein: but freed from the necessitie of banishing, or murdering, the most worthe Citizens; as also from all factions, intestine seditions, and a thousand thelike miseries, that were wont to grow out of the *iealousie*, wherein they held their libertie in vaine. Neither enioyed that Citie, from her first foundation, any such long time of happinesse, as there wherein it flourish'd, when it rested secure vnder the protection of *Rome*; and was no more molested, by the disease of ambition; whereof by *Marcellus* his victorie it was thoroughly cured. But such benefit, arising from wrongs done, serues not to make iniustice the more excusable: vnlesse we should approue the answer of that Thiefe, who being found to haue stolen a siluer cup from a sicke man, said, *Hee neuer loses drinking*.

By the treachon of *Mericus*, the *Roman* Armie was let into possession of all *Syracuse*: wherein the booty that it found, was said to haue bin no lesse, than could be hoped for, if they had taken *Carthage* it selfe; that maintained warre by Land and Sea against them. All the goodly workes and Imageries, wherewith *Syracuse* was maruellously adorned, were carried away to *Rome*; and nothing left vntouched; saue onely the houses of those banished men, that had escap'd from *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, into the *Roman* Campe. Among other pittifull accidents; the death of *Archimedes* was greatly lamented, euen by *Marcellus* himselfe. He was so busie about his Geometric, in drawing figures, that hee harkened not to the noyse, and vpror in the Citie; no, nor greatly attended the rude Souldier that was about to kill him. *Marcellus* tooke heauily the death of him; and caus'd his body to be honourably buried. Vpon his Tombe (as he had ordain'd in his lifetime) was plac'd a Cylinder & a Sphere, with an inscription of the proportion between them; which hee first found out. An Invention of so little vse, as this may seeme, pleas'd that great Artift better, than the deuising of all those engines, that made him so famous. Such difference is in the iudgement of learned men, and of the vulgar sort. For many an one would thinke the monie lost, that had bin spent vpon a forme, whose studies in the Vniuersitie had brought forth such fruit, as the proportion between a Sphere and a Cylinder.

After the taking of *Syracuse*, all the Townes in *Sicily* yeek'd vnto the *Romans*, except *Agriuentum* and a few places thereabout. At *Agriuentum* lay *Epicides* with one *Hanno* a *Carthaginian*, and *Mutines* an *African*, that was lately sent from *Hannibal*. This *Mutines* by many good peeces of seruice, had added some credit to the beaten *Carthaginian* side; and withall made his owne name great. By his perswasions, *Hanno* and *Epicides* aduanc'd to meet *Marcellus* without the Towne, and nor behaue themselves as men expecting to be besieg'd. Neither was hee more valiant in counsell, than in execution. Once and againe he set vpon the *Romans*, where they lay encamped, and droue them headlong into their Trenches. This bred enie in *Epicides* and *Hanno*: especially in *Hanno*, that

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that hauing beene lately sent from *Carthage*, with commission and authoritie from the State, thought himselfe wronged greatly by *Hannibal*; In that hee had sent vnto him *Mutines*, to be his Companion, & to take vpon him, like as good a man as himselfe. The indignitie seemed the greater, when *Mutines* being to step aside vnto *Heracles*, for the pacifying of some troubles there among the *Numidians*; aduised (as directing *Hanno* and *Epides*) not to meddle with the enemie, vntill his returne. So much therefore the rather would *Hanno* fight; and offered battell vnto *Marcellus*, before he fought it. It is like, that a great part of the *Roman* Army was left behind in *Syracuse*, as need required: which made the *Carthaginians* the better able to deale with those that came against them. But whatsoeuer disproportion was betweene the two Armies; farre greater were the odds betweene the Captaines. For howsoeuer the people of *Carthage* would giue authoritie by fauour; yet could they not giue worth and abilitie, in matter of warre. The *Numidians*, hauing before conceiued some displeasure against their Captains: and being therefore some of them gone away to *Heracles*; were much more offended, when they saw that the vaine-glorious enuy of *Hanno* carried him vnto the fight, vpon a foolish desire to get victorie, without the helpe of *Mutines* their Countreman. Wherefore they sent vnto the *Roman* Generall, and bade him be confident; for that it was not their purpose to shew themselves his enemies that day, but onely looke on, and see the proud *Carthaginians* well beaten, by whom they had beene misused. They made good their promise, and had their desire. For *Marcellus*, finding likelihood of truth in their message, did fully & stily set vpon the enemies, that hee brake them at the first charge; and with the slaughter of many thousand, droue them backe into *Agigentum*.

If *Hanno* could haue beene contented, to follow the directions of one, that was a better man of Warre than himselfe, and not haue hazarded a battell without need; the *Romans* would shortly haue beene reduced into termes of great difficultie in their *Sicilian* warre. For *Marcellus* was shortly after to leaue the Prouince; and soone vpon his departure, there landed in the Iland a supply of eight thousand foote, and three thousand *Numidian* horse, that were sent from *Carthage*. The same of this new Armie drew manie of the *Sicilians* into rebellion. The *Roman* Armie consisting (for the most part) of the Legions of *Cama*, tooke it very hainously, that no good seruice done, could bring so them into the fauour of the Senate; but that, as banished men, they were sent farre from home, & not suffered to return backe to *Rome* with their General. *Mutines* had pacified his Countreman the *Numidians*; & like an honest man, did what hee could for those whom he serued, without contending against the foolish pride of *Hanno*; finding that there was a great alteration; and a greater might haue bene, if the Armie lately ouerthrowne had beene entire. *McCornelius* the *Roman* Pretor, vsed all diligence, both to pacifie his own men, and to hinder the *Carthaginians*. Hee recovered those In-land Townes that had rebelled: and though he could not hinder *Mutines* from ouer-running all the Country; yet hee hindered the Country from reuoluing vnto *Mutines*. About threecore Townes, great and small, the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicil*: of which *Agigentum* was the principall, and farre bigger than any of the rest. Thence issued *Mutines* as often as hee pleased, in despite of the *Romans*: not onely to the succour of his owne adherents, but to the great waste of those that followed the contrarie part. But *Hanno*, in stead of being pleased with all these good seruices, was filled more and more with enuie, against the man that performed them. Hee had (belike) receiued instruction from old *Hanno* at *Carthage*, not to suffer *Hannibal*, or any *Hannibalian*, to haue share in the honour of these *Sicilian* Warres: which were therefore perhaps the more diligently supplied, whilest *Italie* was neglected, that should haue beene regarded more then all the rest. Wherefore to shew his authoritie, and that it was not in the power of *Hannibal*, to appoint vnto him an Assistant, or Director: Hee tooke away from *Mutines* his charge, and gave it to his owne sonne; thinking thereby to discountenance the man, and make him little esteemed, as one out of Office, among the *Numidians*. But it fell out quite contrarie: and this spitefull dealing, occasioned the losse of whatsoeuer the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicil*. For the *Numidians* were so incensed by the indignitie offered vnto their Countreman, being such a braue Commander, that they offered him their seruice to requite the wrong; and were thenceforth absolutely at his owne disposition. *M. Valerius* *Lauius*, the *Roman* Consull, was newly come into the Prouince, when this fell out: and with him did *Mutines* enter into intelligence. For he could no longer brooke these

these indignities; but being, neither a *Carthaginian*, nor fauored by those that bore all the sway in *Carthage*: He thought it the wisest way, to play the best of his owne game, and forsake that *Citie*, which was likely to perish by the euill counsell that gouerned it. He did not therefore, as his Countreman had lately done, content himselfe to see his Adversaries reape the bitter fruits of their owne malicious ouer-weening: and to suffer that harme, in doing whereof he would not beare a part; but conspired against them to deliuer vp *Agigentum*, and to helpe to expell them utterly out of *Sicil*. The Consull was glad of his friendship; and carefully followed his aduertisements. Neither was there much cunning needfull, to the performance of that which *Mutines* had vnder-taken. For he with his *Numidians* did forcibly seize vpon a gate; whereat they let in some *Roman* Companies, that lay neere in a readinesse for the purpose. *Hanno*, when first he heard the noyse, thought it had beene no worse matter, than some such tumult of the *Numidians*, as he had beene well acquainted with of late. But when, making haste to pacifie the trouble, he saw and heard, the *Romans* intermixed among those discontented followers of *Mutines*, forthwith he betooke himselfe to flight: and sauing himselfe, with *Epides*, in a small Barke, set saile for *Africke*; leaving all his Armie and Adherents in *Sicil*, to the mercie of the *Romans*, that henceforward continued masters of the whole Iland.

Lauius the Consull hauing taken *Agigentum*, did sharpe execution of iustice vpon all the Citizens. The principall of them he scourged with rods, and afterwards beheaded, as was the manner of the *Romans*: all the rest of them he sold for slaues, and confiscated their goods; sending home to *Rome* the monie that was raised of the bootie. This was indeede a time, wherein *Rome* stood in no lesse necessity of gold, than of Steele: which may haue beene the reason, why *Lauius* dealt so cruelly with the *Agigentines*. Neuertheless the same of such seueritie bred a terrour among all the Dependants of the *Carthaginians*; so that in great haste they sought to make their peace. About fortie Townes yielded themselves quickly vnto the *Romans*; twentie were deliuered vp by Treason, and sixe onely staid to be wonne by force. These things done, *Lauius* returned home to *Rome*; carrying with him about foure thousand men from *Agitina*; that were a Prouince of out-laws, bankrupts, and banished men, accustomed to liue by spoyle of others, in these trouble some times. He bestowed them about *Rhegium* in *Italie*, where they might exercise their owne occupation against the *Brutians*; a theeuish kinde of people, that were enemies vnto those of *Rhegium*, and to the *Romans*. As for *Mutines*, he was well rewarded, and made Citizen of *Rome*: where he liued in good accompt; accompanying the two *Scipios* in their iourne against *Antiochus*, and therein doing (as it is said) very especiall seruice. So by this enterprize of *Sicil*, the *Carthaginians* wasted much of their forces, that with greater profit might haue beene employed in *Italie*: leauing yet vnto the *Romans*, in the end of this warre, the entire possession of this Iland; which they wanted when it began.

§. XVI.

How the warre passed betweene the *Romans* and *Hannibal* in *Italie*, from the taking of *Capua* to the great victorie at *Metanrus*.

Shortly after the winning of *Capua*, *Marcellus* came to *Rome*: where for his good seruices done in the Iland of *Sicil*, he had granted vnto him the honour of the lesser Triumph, which was called *Oration*. The greater Triumph was denied him: because he had not finished the warre, but was faine to leaue his Armie behinde him in the Prouince. He staid not long in *Rome*, before he was againe chosen Consull together with *M. Valerius* *Lauius*, who succeeded him in the gouernment of *Sicil*, and was, at the time of his election, making warre against King *Philip* in *Greece*. Great complaint was made against the Consull *Marcellus*, by the *Syracusians*, for that which he had done vnto them: they alledging their great friendship to the people of *Rome*, in the time of their late King *Hiero*; and affirming, that their *Citie* did neuer willingly breake the alliance, excepting when it was oppressed by such Tyrants, as were not greater enemies to *Rome*, than to all good men that liued in *Syracuse*. The Consull, on the other side, reckoned the labours and dangers whereunto they had put him: willing them to become themselves to the *Carthaginians* that had holpen them in their necessitie; and not vnto the

the *Romans* whom they had kept out. Thus each part having some good matter to acknowledge, the Senate made such an end of the controuersie, as best agreed with the benefit of their owne Common-wealth: blaming the too much rigour of *Marcellus*; yet not restoring the bootie that he had taken, nor making the *Syracusians* free from their subiection, but comforting them, with gentle words, and hopefull promises, as hath bene shewed before. The two new Consuls, *Marcellus* and *Leuinus*, were appointed to make warre, as their lots should fall out; the one in *Italie*, the other in *Sicill*. The life of *Sicill* fell vnto *Marcellus*; which Province he willingly changed with his Colleague; to the end that the *Syracusians* (whose cause had not as yet bene heard in the Senate) might not seeme hindered by feare, from vttering their grieuances freely. Afterwards, when his businesse with them was dispatcht, he gently vnderooke the patronage of them: which remained long in his Familie, to the great benefit of their Countie in times following. So *Valerius*, the other Consul, was sent into *Sicill*, whose doings there haue bene already rehearsed: but *Marcellus* was employed against *Hannibal*.

Before the Consuls departed out of *Rome*, they were much troubled with pressing of Souldiers to the warre, and most of all, with getting Mariners for their Naue. They were all of the poorer sort, that vsed to be employed in Sea-seruices; especially in rowing. These could not liue with our present wages: neither was there monie enough in the Treasury to giue them pay. Wherefore it was ordained, that they should be let out at the expence of priuate men; who, in this necessitie of the State, were driuen to sustaine all publike charges. Hereat the people murmured, and were ready to fall into sedition; had not the Consuls deferred the matter vnto further consideration. The Senate could ill tell, what to determine: or doe, in a case of such excommunitie. For manifest it was, that the multitude had already endured so much, as well it could ynde goe; and somewhat more, then could with honesty haue bene imposed vpon it. Neuertheless it was impossible to maintaine the warre against the *Carthaginians*, or to keepe the *Macedonian* out of *Italie*, without a strong fleet. Wherefore, some were of opinion; That, since the common Treasury was so empty, the people must be forced, by right or wrong, to take the burden vpon them. At last the Consuls began to say, That no persiuasions would be so effectiuall with the people, as good examples: and that if the Senators would follow the Consuls, like it was, that the People also would follow the Senate. Wherefore they propounded, and it was immediately concluded, That euery one of them should bring forth, and put into the Treasury, all the mony that he had; and that no Senator should keepe any vessell of gold, or plate whatsoeuer; excepting one Salt-seller, and a Bowle wherewith to make their offerings vnto the gods; as also a Ring for himselfe, with such other tokens of ingenuitie for his wife and children, as euery one did vse, and those of as small value as might be. This aduice of the Consuls was not more thankfully accepted by the Senate, than the ready performance thereof by the Senate was highly applauded; and hastily followed by the Gentlemen of *Rome*. Neither did the Commonalty refuse to doe that, which their betters had openly done before them. For since the publike necessitie could no otherwise be holpen; euery one was contented, that his priuate estate should run the same fortune with the Common-wealth; which if it suffered wracke, in vaine could any particular man hope to enioy the benefit of his proper substance. This magnanimitie deferred well that greatness of Empire, whereof it was the foundation.

Conuenient order being thus taken for an Armie and Fleet: *Marcellus* went forth of the Citie against *Hannibal*, and *Leuinus* toward *Sicill*. The armie of *Hannibal* was greatly diminished, by long and hard seruice: neither did his *Carthaginians* seeme to remember him, and thinke vpon sending the promised supply, or any such proportion as he needed. His credit also among his *Italian* friends, was much weakened, by the losse of *Capua*: which gaue them cause to looke vnto themselves, as if in his helpe there were little trust to be reposed, when they should stand in need. This he well perceiued; yet could notrell how to remedy. Either he must thrust Garriisons into all Townes that he suspected, and thereby so diminish his armie, that he should not be able to keepe the field: or else he must leaue them to their owne fidelity, which now began to wauer. At length his iealetie grew to outrageous, that he sacked, and wasted, those places that he was vnable to defend: thinking that the best way to enrich himselfe, and make vnprofitable, to his enemies, the purchase from which he could not hinder them. But by this example, many were quite alienated from him; and some of those, whom before hee had least cause

to doubt. The Towne of *Salapia* yeelded vnto *Marcellus*; and betrayed vnto him a gallant Regiment of *Numidian* horse, the best of all that serued vnder *Hannibal*; which was a greater losse, then the Towne it selfe. *Blasius* the author of this rebellion, could not bring his desire to effect; without getting the consent of one *Dafius*, that was his bitter enemy. Wherefore he brake the matter to this *Dafius* in priuate; and was by him accused vnto *Hannibal*. But when he was conuicted and charged of Treason, hee so stoutly denied it, and by way of recrimination, so vehemently pressed his accuser with the same fault: that *Hannibal* thought it a matter deuiled out of meere malice, knowing well what enemies they were; and seeing, that neither of them could bring any proofe of what he affirmed. This notwithstanding, *Blasius* did not cease to presse his aduerfariie anew, and urge him from time to time, with such liuely reasons; that he who could not be beleued by *Hannibal*, was contented at length to win the fauour of *Marcellus*. Presently after this, the Consul tooke by force, *Maronea* and *Meles*, Townes of the *Samnit*; wherein he slew about three thousand of *Hannibal* his men.

Hannibal could not looke to all at once: but was faine to catch aduantages, where hee might get them; the *Romans* now being growne stronger in the field than he. The best was, that his *Carthaginians*, haue wearied themselves with ill speede in many pettie enterprises, and laid aside all this while the care of *Italie*, to follow businesse of far lesse importance; had now at length resolved, to send presently the great supply, that had bene so long promised and expected. This if they had done in better season, *Rome* it selfe might haue bene stricken downe, the next yere after that great blow receiued at *Canna*. But since that which is past cannot be amended, *Hannibal* must force himselfe to make a good countenance; and tell his followers, that this mightie succour would come time enough. For *Masinissa* was at *Carthage* with fiftie thousand *Numidians*, ready to set faile for *Spain*: whether when he came, it was appointed, that *Asdrubal* should forthwith take his iourne into *Italie*, of which there had bene so long talke. These newes did not more comfort *Hannibal* and his followers, than terrifie the *Romans*. Wherefore each did their best, the *Romans* to prevent the threatening mischiefe, and winne as much as they could vpon *Hannibal*, before the coming of his brother; *Hannibal*, on the contrarie, to hold his ground, and weaken the *Romans* as much as he was able. He had intelligence, that *Cn. Fuluius*, a *Roman* Pretor, lay nere vnto *Herdonia* to get the Towne by practice. It was not long, since, nere vnto the same place, another *Cn. Fuluius* had lost his Armie. Therefore *Hannibal* made great marches thitherward, and came to *Herdonia*: where *Fuluius* heard newes of his approach. As soone as he came, he offered battaile to the *Roman* Pretor; who accepted it with more haste than good speede. The *Roman* Legions made good resistance awhile, till they were compassed round with the *Carthaginian* horse. Then fell they to rowt; and great slaughter was made of them. *Fuluius* himselfe, with twelue Tribunes or Cornets, were lost: of the common Souldiers, that were slaine, the number is vncertaine; some reporting seuen, others thirteene thousand. The Towne of *Herdonia*, because it was at point to haue yeelded vnto *Fuluius*, *Hannibal* did set on fire: and putting those to death that had practised with the Enemy, carried away the multitude whom he bestowed among the *Thurians* and *Metapontines*. The Consul *Marcellus* hearing of this, wrote vnto the Senate: and exhorted them to be of a good cheere; for that hee would shortly abate the enemies pride. Hee followed the *Carthaginian* apaces; and overtaking him at *Numistro* in the Countie of the *Lucans*, fought with him a battell: which beginning at nine of the clocke in the morning, lasted vntill night; and ended, by reason of the darkenesse, with vncertaine victorie. Afterward *Hannibal* departed thence into *Apulia*, whither *Marcellus* followed him. At *Venusia* they met, and had many skirmishes; but none of importance. *Hannibal* remoued often; and sought to bring the enemy within danger of some ambush. But *Marcellus*, though he was very eager of battaile, would yet aduenture nothing, but by open day-light, and vpon faire ground.

This passed the time away, vntill *Q. Fabius Maximus*, and *Q. Fuluius*, hee that laste he had taken *Capua*, were chosen Consuls. *Fabius*, considering how much the *Romans* affaires were bettered by the taking of *Capua*, purposed that yere to besiege *Tarentum*; which if he could winne; like it was, that scarce one good Citie would afterwards remaine true to *Hannibal*. Wherefore he vehemently exhorted his Colleague, and *Marcellus*, (to whom was continued the command of those Legions that serued vnder him the yere before) to presse the *Carthaginian* too hard, as he might haue no leisure to helpe

Tarentum.

Tarentum. *Marcellus* was very glad of this charge: for he thought no *Roman* fitter than himselfe, to deale with *Hannibal* in open field. He followed him therefore to *Cannasi-um*, and thence from place to place: desiring euer to come to battaile, but vpon equall teammes. The *Carthaginian* had not minde to hazzard much in fight: but thought it enough to entertaine his enemy with skirmish; as being desirous to keepe his Armie strong vntill the coming of *Asdrubal*. Yet could he not auoide the importunity of *Marcellus*, nor brooke the indignity of being daily braued. He therefore bade his men be lustie, and to beat soundly this hot-spirited *Roman* Captaine, that would neuer suffer them to be at quiet, vntill they once had cooled well his courage, by letting him bloud. Hereupon followed a battaile; wherein *Hannibal* had the victory; tooke sixe Ensignes; and slew of the *Romans* almost three thousand, among which were some of mark. *Marcellus* was so impatient of this dishonour, that he rated his men, as Pefantes, and base cowards: telling them, that they were the first of the *Roman* Legions, which had beene beaten by *Hannibal*, by plaine force and manhood; without being circumvented by any stratageime. With these, and many other the like words, which they were ashamed to heare, he did to vex them; that thinking themselves better able to endure any violence of the enemy, than such displeasure of their Generall; they besought him to pardon them, and leade them forth once againe to fight. He did so: and placing those Companies foremost, that had lost their Ensignes the day before, bade them be carefull to winne a victory; whereof the newes might be at *Rome*, before the report of their so shamefull ouerthrow. *Hannibal* was angry, to see that nothing could make this Enemy quiet; and therefore was ready to fight againe; since all other mortuities continued the same, and his men had beene hartned by the late victory. But the *Romans* were stirred vp with desire of reuenge, and of repairing their honor lost, which affections gaue a sharpe edge vnto their valour: whereas the *Carthaginians* were growne dull, and wearie by seeing themselves disappointed of their hope; and the enemy, notwithstanding their late victory, as ready to molest them as before. In this second battaile *Marcellus* got the victory: which he purchased at so deere a rate; that neither he, nor *Hannibal*, had great cause to vaunt, the second night. For if eight thousand of the *Carthaginians* were slaine, and three thousand of the *Roman* side, in this next battaile, the difference was no greater, than euen to recompence the late receiued ouerthrow: especially since the number of the *Romans* that were wounded, was so great, as disabled *Marcellus* from pursuing *Hannibal*; who dislodged by night. Neuertheless it sufficed, that *Fabius* the Consul hereby got leisure, to follow his businesse at *Tarentum* without any disturbance. *Q. Fulvius* the other Consul, about the same time, tooke in many of the *Hirpines*, *Lucans*, and *Volscenies*; that willingly yeelded themselves, and betrayed the Garrisons of *Hannibal* that lay in their Townes: whom *Fulvius* entertained in louing sort; gently rebuking them for their errors past, without punishing those that had beene authours, or busied others in the rebellion. That rabble of *Sicilian* theues, which *Leuinus* had lately brought from *Agaturna*, was then also set on worke to besiege *Caulonia*, a Towne of the *Bruttians*: and nothing was omitted, that might serue to diuert *Hannibal*, from the succour of *Tarentum*.

Q. Fabius the Consul, hauing taken *Manduria* a Towne of the *Salentines*, sat downe before *Tarentum*: making all preparation that seemed needfull to carry it, either by assault or long siege. Of the Garrisons in the Towne, a good part were *Bruttians*, placed there by *Hannibal*, vnder a Captaine of their owne Nation. This Captaine fell in love with a *Tarentine* wench; whose brother serued vnder *Fabius*. Hereof, she gaue notice by letters to her brother, as thinking belike to draw him from the *Roman* side; by telling him how rich, and of what great accompt her lover was. But her brother made the Consul acquainted with these newes: and said, that if the *Bruttian* were farr in loue, he might perhaps be wonne, by intreaty of his Mistis, to doe what she would haue him. The Consul hearing this; and finding likelihood in the matter, willed his souldier to conuey himselfe into the Towne as a fugitiue; and try what good might be done. It fell out according to his desire. The Souldier grew acquainted with this *Bruttian* Captaine: and partly by his owne perswasions, partly by the flattering entreatie of his sister, wanne him to betray the Towne to the *Romans*. When they had agreed vpon the businesse, and resolved how to order it; the same Souldier got out of the Towne by night, and acquainted the Consul with his proceedings: telling him in which part that

that *Bruttian* kept watch, and what might conueniently be done. So in the night time, *Fabius* gaue an alarme to the Citie; especially about those parts of the wall, which were farthest from the place where he meant to enter. The Capitaines in the Towne, prepared to make resistance in those places, where the noise did threaten them with greatest likelihood of danger. But *Fabius* himselfe with the choice of his men, came in great silence to the quarter of the *Bruttians*: who being wrought by their Captaine, helped the *Romans* to get vp, and breake open the next gate; whereat the Armie was let in. The *Tarentines* and *Carthaginian* souldiers, made head against *Fabius* in the Market place: but (as happeneth in like cases, where the maine confidence is already taken away) not very obstinately. *Nico*, *Democrates*, and *Philomenes*, with those that before had let in *Hannibal*, vied now the last of their courage in dying against the *Romans*. *Carthalo*, who commanded the Garrison within the Towne, offered himselfe prisoner: hoping to be well vsed, because of hospitalitie that had passed betwene his Father and the Consul. But he was slaine by the way, ere he could come at *Fabius*. The *Romans* did put all indifferently to the sword: in such sort, that they spared few of the *Bruttians*. This slaughter of the *Bruttians*, was thought to haue beene made by appointment of the Consul, to the end that he might seeme to haue wonne the Towne by force and not by treason: though he thereby failed of his purpose; and neither had the glory which he expected, nor preferred his reputation of faithfull dealing, and keeping his word. The bootie found in *Tarentum* was very great: whereof the *Roman* Treasure, whither it was carried, had great neede. As for the Imageries, and other curiosities, that were in the Citie, *Fabius* was contented to let them alone: and being told of some Idols, that seemed worthy to be carried away, taking very goodly pieces, in such habit and posture as if they were fighting: he said, Let vs leaue vnto the *Tarentines* their angrie gods.

Hannibal being gotten cleare from *Marcellus*, fell vpon those that besieged *Caulonia*. They fled at his coming: but he was so neere, that they were faine to betake them to a Hill, which serued to no other purpose, than to beare off the first brunt. There they defended themselves a little while, and then they yeelded. When this businesse was done, he hastied away to relieue *Tarentum*. But when he came within fiew miles of the Citie, he had newes that it was lost. This grieved him: yet he said no more than this, *The Romans haue also their Hannibal*; we haue lost *Tarentum* in such sort as we got it. That he might not seeme to turne backe amazed, or in any feare of the victorious Consul, he incamped a few dayes together, so neere as he was vnto *Tarentum*: and thence departing to *Metapontum*, bethought himselfe how to take *Fabius* in a trap. He caused the chiefe of the *Metapontines* to write vnto *Fabius*, and offer to betray into his hands, the *Carthaginian* Garrison; with condition, that he should in that respect, forgieue them all offences past. These letters were sent by two yong men of the same Citie; who did their errand so well, that the Consul wrote backe by them vnto the *Metapontines*, and appointed the day, when they should expect him. Hereof *Hannibal* was exceeding glad: and at good leisure, made ready his ambushes for the warie *Fabius*. But whether some secret notice of the plot were giuen, or whether indeede (as it is related) some tokens in sacrificing, terrified the superstitious *Romans*; the iourney to *Metapontum* was deferred. Hereupon the same two Messengers were employed againe: but being apprehended, and threatened with torture, they discouered all.

This yeere was happy to the *Romans*, in all their warres: for they got euery where, save onely at *Caulonia*; where they lost a company of such lewd fellows, that it may seeme good fortune, to haue so beene rid of them. But their common pouerty, & disability to maintain their charge, continued, and grew greater than it was before. Thirty *Roman* Colonies were then in *Italie*: of which, twelve refused to contribute any longer to the warres. For it was considered, that the Legions of *Cannae*, and those unhappy Companies, that had beene beaten vnder the one and the other *Cn. Fulvius*, were transported into *Sicily*; where they liued, in a sort, as banished men. This grieved their friends at home, and made them reckon vp the more diligently those other miseries which they daily felt. Ten yeeres together they had beene exhausted with leues of men, and impositions of mony: in euery of which yeeres they had receiued some notable ouerthrow. In this case the least that they could feare, or rather the best that they could hope; was, to fall into the hands of the enemy to be made prisoners. For *Hannibal* did gently send home their people that was taken by him: whereas the *Romans* did banish from their homes,

homes, those that had escaped. It was therefore likely to come to passe with in a while, that they should be all consumed: since new Souldiers were daily pressed forth of their Townes; and the old ones neuer returned. Such talke was frequent amongst those of the Colonies: especially where they that were transported into *Sicily*, had most compassionate friends. Wherefore it was concluded by the people of *Ardea*, *Sutrium*, *Alba*, and other good Townes, to the number of twelue, That they should boldly deny vnto the *Romans* their farther helpe. This was thought the likeliest way to obtaine peace: where of otherwife they saw little hope, as long as *Hannibal* liued. When the Consuls heard the Embassadors of these Townes make such declaration, and protest their dilabillity of giuing any farther helpe; they were much amazed. They willed the Embassadors to returne home, and bring a better answer, forasmuch as this was none other then treason: they bade them to consider, that the people were not *Campani* or *Tarentines*, but the off-spring of the *Romans*; and no lesse partakers of the Empire, than they that inhabited the Mother-Citie. But all would not serue: the Embassadors continuing to protest, that they had already done what they could; and that they had remaining, neither men, nor money. It was well for the *Romans*, that the other eighteen Colonies did not imitate these twelue; but shewed themselves willing to vndergoe whatsoever should be layd vpon them, without thinking vnder the burden. This their offer was so highly pleasing to the Consuls; that the Embassadors of those faithfull Colonies, were brought vnto the Senate, and produced into the Assembly of the people: where, with commendation of all their former good seruices, this their present loue vnto the State was magnified, and thanks accordingly bestowed vpon them; with promise, that it should not be forgotten. As for the Embassadors of those twelue Colonies, that refused to contribute, it was thought best, neither to retaine them in the Citie, nor yet to dismisse them, nor take any notice of them at all; but leaue them to their owne consideration of their ill-deuising.

It may greatly be doubted, what the example of these twelue people would haue wrought in those that were so willing to helpe the State, if *Asdrubal* had been then coming into *Italy*. For then must the *Romans* haue betaken themselves wholly to their owne defence; whereas now, to the great comfort of their subiects, they employed their forces in the conquest of *Italy*, with hopefull and fortunate iucess. Neuertheless, they were faine to open their most priuie treasure; and thence take out the gold that had beene layd vp to serue them in cases of greatest extremitie. Of the money thus extracted, one quarter was deliuered to *Fabius* the Consul, to set him well out against the *Tarentines*; all the rest was sent into *Spain* to *Scipio*, for the maintenance of his Armie, and to prouide, that *Asdrubal* might not passe from thence into *Italy*. It is likely that *Fabius* did not spend all his money; finding such easie successe at *Tarentum*, as was shewed before. But to stop the journey of *Asdrubal*; neither the money sent into *Spain*, nor any victories won by *Scipio* could suffice. Neuertheless it fell out happily for the people of *Rome*, that this yeere, & the next were spent, before his coming; and they better prepared, then at lesse warning they could haue beene, to entertaine him. Here it were not amiss to note, That since the *Romans*, being in so great necessitie of money, were driuen to furnish the Armie in *Spain*, with the greatest part of all their stocke that was left: it must needs be, that either the bootie taken in new *Carthage*, was far lesse then fame had reported it; or else that *Scipio* had not as yet wonne it: howsoever *Lucius* rather inclines to those, who say, that he got it loone after his arrivall.

M. Claudius Marcellus, and *T. Quintius Crispinus*, were chosen Consuls after *Fabius* and *Fulvius*. In their yeere it was, that *Asdrubal* tooke his iourney out of *Spain*, though he came not into *Italy* vntill the yeere following. After the great battaile at *Cannæ*, *Hannibal* had lost much time about *Cume* and *Naples*, in seeking to make himselfe Master of a good hauein, for the landing of those succours that were promised from *Carthage*. The hope that he reposed in *Philip*, caused him to turne his principall care to the Eastern parts of *Italy*; where he made ready a faire entrance for the *Macedonian*, if he had beene ready to come. But since his hope was vanisht, and the long promised succour of *Asdrubal* was (though farre later then had beene expedient) ready to arrive: he began to deale with the people of *Hetruria*, through whose Countries his brother was to passe, that therein he might make a partie against the *Romans*. The loss of *Capua*, *Tarentum*, and many other Townes, might haue terrified all other of the *Italian* Towns, from harkening

any sollicitation of the *Carthaginians*. Yet the pouerty of the *Roman*, and the wearinesse of their adherents, together with the fame of a greater Armie coming, then that which *Hannibal* brought into *Italy*; did embolden many of the *Hetrurians*, especially the *Aruntines*, to take such counsel as they thought most expedient for themselves, without regard to their fidelitie to *Rome*. The *Roman* Senate, hearing the rumour of their conspiracy, sent *Marcellus* the new chosen Consul into *Hetruria*: whose coming did so terrifie them, that they rested quiet for a while. All the yeere following they were deuising how to breake out: as contrariwise the *Roman* Propretors; partly by terror of seuerer iudgements and inquisitions; and partly by the force of two or three Legions, with which they visited all suspected places, kept them honest against their wils; and tooke many hostages for better assurance. The two Consuls had an earnest desire, to make strong warre vpon *Hannibal* without more temporising: perswading themselves, that in battaile they should be too strong for him. *Crispinus* had further his particular desire, to make his Consulship notable by the winning of some good Towne: as *Fabius* and *Fabius* had gotten honour by *Capua* and *Tarentum*. Therefore he went about the siege of *Locri*, one of the best Cities which the *Carthaginian* then held in *Italy*: and brought thither all sorts of engines, sending for a fleet out of *Sicily* to helpe him. But *Hannibal* was not slow to relieue the Citie: the fame of whose approach, made *Crispinus* desist from his enterprise and retire vnto his Colleague, that lay at *Venusia*. Thither followed *Hannibal*, whom the Consuls daily offered battaile. This great man of warre had no need to stand vpon his reputation: which was already so confirmed, that his refusing to fight, was not likely to be ascribed vnto feare; but rather deemed as part of his wisdom. He entertained the Consuls with many light skirmishes, and sought to take them at some advantage, referring his owne numbers as full as he could, vnto a time of greater employment. In this lingering manner of War, *Marcellus* tooke no pleasure: but sought to compel the Enemy to battaile, whether he would or no. The Admiral of the *Roman* fleet about *Sicily*, *L. Cincius*, was commanded againe to assaile the Towne of *Locri*: which might well enough be forced, if *Hannibal* continued as he began to trifle away the time at *Venusia*. To the same purpose a part of the Garrison that lay in *Tarentum*, was appointed to goe by Land to the assistance of *Cincius*. But *Hannibal* had an eye behinde him. He laid an ambush in the way, betwene *Tarentum* and *Locri*, whereinto the *Romans* fell: and hauing lost about three thousand of their company, were well glad, the rest of them, to quit their enterprise, and saue their owne liues within *Tarentum*. As for the Consuls, it was the desire of *Hannibal*, to waste their Armie by little and little: which to do, he neglected no advantage. There lay betwene him and them an Hillocke, ouer-grown with wood, that seemed fit to couer a number of men: who lying there vndiscerned, might fall vpon such, as should straggle from the *Roman* campe, and cut them off. Therefore he sent thither by night some companies of *Numidians*: whom hee willed to keepe themselves close, and attend their best advantage. To this piece of ground, the Consuls thought it fit to remove their Campe: *Marcellus* thinking that he neuer lay neerer enough vnto *Hannibal*. Thither therefore both of them rodero view the place, accompanied with the son of *Marcellus*, a few Colonels, and other principall men: and not many more than two hundred horse, most of them *Hetrurians*. The *Numidian* Centinell gaue warning of their approach to his fellowes; who discouered not themselves, vntill they had surrounded the Consuls and their traine. The Consuls, as necessity compelled them, defended themselves: hoping to be quickly relieved from their campe that was neere at hand. But the *Hetrurians* ran away from them, at the first: and left them in that great danger, to the weak assistance of no more than fortie horse-men, that were of the Colonie of *Fregella*. These *Fregellans* abode by the Consuls; and did what they could to haue brought them safe off. But when *Marcellus* was stricken thorow with a Lance, and fell downe dead; then began euery one to shift for himselfe, and escape as they might. *Crispinus* the other Consul, had his death wound, being stricken with two Darts; and yong *Marcellus* was likewise wounded; yet these two recovered their campe. The rest of the Colonels and Officers; together with the Licitors that carried the bundles of Rods and Axes before the Consuls, were all flaine or taken. To the dead body of the Consul *Marcellus*, *Hannibal* gaue honourable Funerall, according to the custome of those times: and bestowing his ashes in a siluer pot, couered it with a crowne of gold; and so sent them to yong *Marcellus* to be by him interred, where he thought good.

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Presently

Presently after this, *Crispinus* bethought himselfe, how that the signet Ring of *Marcellus* was fallen into the custody of *Hannibal*; who might vse it, to his owne purposes, ere that which had hapned were well knowne abroad. Wherefore he sent word vnto all the Townes about; that his Colleague was slaine, and that *Hannibal* had gotten his Ring; wishing them in that regard, to giue no credit vnto any letters therewithall signed. This prouidence of *Crispinus* was not more than requisite. For his Messenger was but a little before come to *Salapia*, when another Messenger arriued there sent from *Hannibal*, bringing letters in the name of *Marcellus*, and sealed with the captiue Ring; whereof the contents were: That it was his purpose to come the same night vnto *Salapia*; where hee willed, that the Souldiers of the Garrison should be in a readinesse, for such employment as he should thinke needefull. The deuise was plaine: and no lesse plaine wasthe reuengfull minde, which he bare against that Citie; because of his braue *Numidian* companies, that had therein beene betrayed. The *Salapians* hereupon bethought themselves, how to take their Enemy in his owne snare. They sent backe the Messenger, which was a *Roman* fugitiue; without letting him perceiue any signe of distrust in them. This done, they prepared all things in a readinesse, for the entertainment of such a fiend. Late in the night he came thither; with a troupe of *Roman* fugitiues armed *Roman*-like, leading the way. These all talking Latine together, called vnto the Watch, & bade open the gates; for the Consul was there. The gate was opened, faire and leisuely, and the Port-cullis drawne vp no higher than needes it must be, to let them enter. But when sixe hundred of them were gotten in, downe fell the Port-cullis againe: and they that thought to haue taken others, were taken themselves; being laied aron all hands by the *Salapians*, that quickly made an end with them.

Hannibal being thus ouer-reached with this stratageme, hasted away to *Laetri*; where vnto *Cincius* the Admirall of the *Roman* fleet about *Sicily*, did lay hard siege. The first appearance of the *Numidians*, *Hannibal* his Vantcurrours, made the *Romans* in all confusd haste, run to their ships: leauing all their engines, and whatsoever was in their campe, to the enemies disposition.

The *Roman* Senate hearing of these accidents, sent vnto *Crispinus* the ruiniuing Consul, & requested him to name a Dictator, that might take charge of the Common wealth, and dispatch the election of new Magistrates, with other businesse; whereunto himselfe was disabled by his hurts. He did so: and soone after died. Then was it thought needefull, that new Consuls should be chosen out of hand: forasmuch as two *Roman* Armies lay to nere vnto the Enemy, without any Generall. Especially it was desired, that Election should be made of such men, as were not onely valiant, but well aduised: since the best, and most fortunate of their great Darers, *M. Marcellus*, by losing himselfe so strangely, had giuen them a faire warning, not to commit their Armie vnto rash heads. Among those that stood for the Consulship, *C. Claudius Nero*, was the most eminent. He was of great Nobilitie, a good Souldier, and one, whose many seruices in this present warre, did forcibly commend vnto the place. Yet he seemed a little too violent, and one, whose temper needed the allay of a more staied wit. The fathers therefore endeauored to ioine vnto him in the Consulship *M. Linius*: one that had borne the same Office, long before. This *M. Linius* had beene Consul with *L. Aemilius Paulus*, in the yere foregoing the beginning of this warre. After their Consulship, wherein they did good seruice, they had both of them beene called into iudgement by the People: and this *Linius* condemned; *Aemilius* hardly elapsing. Though it hath beene once already noted; yet I cannot forbear to remember it againe: how it pleased God, to vpbraid the vnthankfull *Romans*, with the malicious iudgement, giuen by their multitude vpon honourable men. For in the battaile of *Canna*, it was apparant, what lamentable effects, the memorie of their iniustice wrought: when *L. Aemilius* rather chose to yeeld to the froward ignorance of his Colleague; and afterward to die in the greatest ouerthrow that euer fell vpon the State of *Rome*, than by resisting the pernicious courses of *Tarentius Varro*, to cast himselfe anew vpon the danger of the popular furie. As for *M. Linius*, hee is euen now readie, and will so continue, to tell the People of their faults in a diuers manner. Eight yeeres together after his condemnation had hee beene absent out of the Citie, and liued in his Countrie Grange; still vexing himselfe with the indigntie of his condemnation. *Marcellus* and *Linius*, being Consuls two or three yeres agoe, had brought him into *Rome*: where he liued private in discontented sort, as might appeare, both

both by his carelesse in apparell, and by the wearing of his long haire and beard; which in that time were the badges of men afflicted. Very lately he was compelled by the Censors, to pull his haire, and come into the Senate: where he vied to sit silent, and signifie his assent or dislike to what was proposed, either in short formall words, or in passing from side to side, when the house was diuided. At length it hapned, that in some businesse weightily concerning one that was his kinsman; he stood vp, and made a set speech: whereby he drew all the *Fathers* to attention; and bade them enquire of him, and take better notice, what he was, and what he had beene. The Senate was much altered since he had left it; many braue men were lost; new ones were chosen; such as rather serued to fill vp the number, than to answere to the dignitie of the place: and they that were left of ancient standing, had euen spent their Vertues to no great effect. Wherefore, all began to say; that it was great pittie, so worthy and able a man, as this *Linius*, had beene all this while forgotten; one, of whom the Common wealth stood in great neede, yet had not vied in this dangerous warre. Now seeing that the Consils ought, one of them, to be chosen a *Patrician*, the other, of necessitie a *Plebeian*: and since, neither *Fabius*, nor *Valerius Maximus*, being both of them *Patricians*, could be ioyned with *Claudius Nero*: euery one was of opinion, that there could not be chosen and coupled together, two better men than *C. Claudius*, and this *Marcus Linius*. But *Linius* would not endure to heare of this. He said it was vnreasonable, that one condemned as a dishonest man, should afterwards be chosen Ruler of the Citie. If they had done ill to trust him with one Consulship, what meant they then to offer him another? With these, and the like phrases he resisted their desires: till by perswasions, and examples rehearsed, of such as had patiently digested injuries done by the People, and repaid good for euill; hee was contented to accept the honour.

Here we may behold a true figure of that Embleme, with which *Themistocles* checked the ingratitude of the *Athenians*: resembling himselfe to a Plane-tree, the branches and boughes whereof men breake in faire weather; but run vnder it for shelter in a storme. Such vnthankfulnesse, to well-deseruing men, is not rarely found in the outrageous multitude. Neither was the late example hereto much unlike, of *Philip* the second King of *Macedonia* his dealing with the Duke of *Alua*. For although he had committed the Duke to prison, vpon some small offence conceiued, without all regard of his former deserts: yet when his intended conquest of *Portugal*, required the seruice of a man, more then ordinarily sufficient; he stood no longer vpon the scanning of late displeasures; but employed the same Duke, whom he had newly disgraced. Thus is wisdom often taught by necessity.

It was a dangerous yeere toward, when *C. Claudius Nero*, and *M. Linius* were chosen Consuls. *Asdrubal* was already come into *France*, and waited onely, to haue the wayes of the *Alpes* thawed by warme weather, for his passage into *Italy*. The *Romans* vied at this time the seruice of three and twentie Legions: and wanted not employment, for many more, if they had knowne how to leue and maintaine them. Of these which they had, foure serued in *Spain*, two in *Sicily*, and two in *Sardinia*: the rest were so disposed, in several parts of *Italy*, where neede seemed to require, that onely two Legions were left to each of the Consuls. But the Consuls were men of execution: and would not be tied to the punctuall obseruance of what the Senate thought fit. *M. Linius* would not stirre out of *Rome* against so mightie a power as followed *Asdrubal*, vntill he had first obtained, that he might carry with him as many as could well be spared from other employments; and those, or the most of them, chosen Companies. It was true, that two Legions, appointed to serue vnder *Lucius Porcius* a Pretor of that yeere, among the *Cisalpine Gaules*, might be reckoned as an additament to the forces of *Linius*; to whom the warre against *Asdrubal* was allotted. So might also two other Legions, that were among the *Salentine*, were vnto *Tarentum*, vnder another of the Pretors, be accounted a part of *Claudius* his Armie, that was sent against *Hannibal*. Nevertheless the Consuls, by the especiall instance of *Lius*, did obtaine, that all might be left to their owne discretion. For newes came, that *Asdrubal* was already passing the *Alpes*; the *Ligurians*, who dwell in the Countrie about *Genoa*, with their Neighbour people, were in readinesse to ioine with him; and *L. Porcius* sent word, that he would adventure no further, than hee safely might. When all was ordered, as themselves thought best, the two Consuls went forth to the Citie, each, his seuerall way. The People of *Rome* were now quite otherwise affected,

aff. fied, than they had beene, when *Le Amylius Paulus* and *C. Terentius Varro*, were sent against *Hannibal*. They did no longer take vpon them, to direct their Generals; or bid them dispatch, and winne the victorie beimes: but rather they stood in feare, lest all diligence, wisdom and valour should proue too little. For since few yeeres had passed, wherein some one of their Generals had not bene flaine; and since it was manifest, that if either of these present Consuls were defeated, or put to the worst; there two *Carthaginians* would forthwith ioyne, and make short worke with the other: it seemed a greater happinesse than could be expected, that each of them should retorne home Victors; and come off with honour, from such mightie opposition, as he was like to finde. With extreme difficultie had *Rome* held vp her head, euer since the battaile of *Canna*: though it were so, that *Hannibal* alone, with little helpe from *Carthage*, had continued the warre in *Italie*. But there was now arrived another sonne of *Amilcar*; and one, that in his present Expedition, had seemed, a man of more sufficiencie than *Hannibal* himselfe. For, whereas in that long and dangerous march, through barbarous Nations, ouer great Riues and Mountaines, that were thought vnpassable, *Hannibal* had lost a great part of his Armie: this *Asdrubal*, in the same places, had multiplied his numbers; and, gathering the people that he found in the way, descended from the *Alpes* like a rowling Snow-ball, farre greater than he came ouer the *Pyrenes* at his first setting out of *Spaine*. These considerations and the like, of which feare presented many vnto them; caused the people of *Rome*, to wait vpon their Consuls out of the Towne; like a penfue traine of Mourners: thinking vpon *Marcellus* and *Crispinus*, vpon whom in the like sort they had giuen attendance the last yeere; but saw neither of them retorne aliae, from a lesse dangerous warre. Particularly, old *Q. Fabius* gaue his accustomed aduice to *M. Livius*, that he should abstaine from fighting, or taking battaile, vntill he well vnderstood the Enemies condition. But the Consul made him a froward answere, and said, That he would fight the very first day: for that he thought it long, till he should either recouer his honour by victory; or by seeing the overthrow of his owne vniust Citizens, satisfie himselfe with the ioy of a great, though not an honest, reuenge. But his meaning was better than his words.

Of the overthrow that *Asdrubal* receiued in *Spaine* by *Scipio*, a little before he tooke his iourne into *Italie*, such mention hath already beene made, as agreed with the report of that noble Historian *Linie*. Yet I thinke it not amisse to adde in this place, what may be gathered out of the remaining fragments of *Polybius*: his historie concerning this accident. *Asdrubal* had wrestled with many difficulties in *Spaine*; by reason of those Capitaines that were sent from the Citie of *Carthage*, to ioyne with him in the administration of that Province: they being, as it may seeme, of the *Hannonian* faction; which is to say, thus farre forth Traitors, that they preferred the aduantage of their owne side, before the good of their Common-wealth. In what particulars they wronged this worthy sonne of *Amilcar*, and how they hindered his courtes vndertaken, it cannot be knowne: since of those bookes, wherein *Polybius* hath exactly handled these matters, there are vs remaining onely a few broken pieces. But by the spitefull dealing of *Hanno* in *Sicily* with *Mutines*, a better man of warre than himselfe, whom *Hannibal* had sent into the Iland: we may conceiue, that against the brother of *Hannibal* it was thought needfull, by these mischieuous Partisans of *Hanno*, to vse the violent opposition of more earnest malice. Neuerthelesse *Asdrubal* was a good Patriot: and therefore endured patiently such indignities, as *Mutines* could not long digest. His iourne into *Italie* being resolved vpon: he lay with part of the Armie at *Betula*, not farre from the mines of siluer; whence hee was to furnish his expedition. Thither came *Scipio*: and drave him out of his Campe, though hee were strongly lodged, before the other *Carthaginian* Capitaines could, or would, come to his assistance. The overthrow seemes not to haue bene so great, as it must haue bene supposed, if no way lay open to those that fled. Rather it appeares, that *Asdrubal* dealt like a prouident man, and seeing that his Campe was likely to be forced, sent away all his mony, with his Elephants before him: but staid he himselfe to sustaine the *Romans* awhile, vntill his carriages might be cut off: after which he retired in such sort, that *Scipio* thought it not good to pursue him, and so passed on euergate. Then taking vnto him the forces assigned for his Expedition, he marched away toward the *Pirenees*: leaving the care of *Spaine* vnto his brother *Mago*, and to *Asdrubal*.

the sonne of *Gesco*; than himselfe the fittest man for the administration thereof. Hee would *Scipio* haue stopped him on his iourne; by sending to defend against him the ordinary way of the Mountaines. But whether *Asdrubal* took another way for which they forced the guards that *Scipio* had set to keepe the *Pyrenes* (as the defence of this passage commonly fons to no good effect) he was not letted in his voyage by any such impediment. Coming into *Gaul*, and following the steps of his brother *Hannibal*: he found the Nations that lay in his way, so well affected, either to him or to his monie, that no passages were defended against him, nor any sort of resistance made: but he and his Armie, well entertained, and their number much increased, by access of such as were desirous to take his pay. Of these he had the better choyce: for that hee was driuen to Winter in their Countre; whilst that the passages of the *Alpes* were closed up with Ice and Snow. The Mountainers likewise, that had so greatly molested *Hannibal* in his iourne ouer the *Alpes*; were easily won to take part with *Asdrubal*, when he trauielled through their Countre. For these poore men, at the first coming of *Hannibal*, were verily persuaded, that it was his purpose to rob them of their cattails, and to make spoyle of that little wealth, which they had painefully scraped together out of the desolate rocks. But now in proesse of time, they were better informed. Therefore vnderstanding, that there were two mightie Cities, farre disioyned asunder, which made warre vpon each other, by Land and Sea; and that the *Alpes* did onely lye in the way: they gladly consented, to take their part in the fortune of the Inuaders. The like affection, vpon greater cause, was afterward found in the *Cisalpine Gaules*. The *Lyguriens* also ioynd with *Asdrubal*: and so would the *Hetrurians* haue done; if he had arrived in their Countre. There was no other *Roman* Armie neere, then *L. Porcius* with his two Legions; of whom there was no great feare. Therefore did *Asdrubal* set vpon *Placentia* a *Roman* Colonie: in hope to make his coming the more terrible, by the destruction of that Towne. But there he lost a great deale of time, and finally was driuen to quit the enterprise: by vndertaking which, he gaue the *Roman* Consuls leisure to make ready for him; and caused his brother *Hannibal* (who vpon the first bruit of *Asdrubal*'s his iourne, and easily passing the *Alpes*, was about to leaue his wintering camps, and goe forth to meet with him) to sit still awhile, as well aware, that *Placentia* would not be taken in haste.

Claudius Nero the *Roman* Consul, made what speede he could, to meet with *Hannibal*, and stop him from ioyning with his brother. He had about fortie thousand foot, and five hundred horse: with which he daily offered battaile to the *Carthaginians*; and had of him the better in many skirmishes. *Hannibal* was once driuen to make a tedious march from the borders of the *Salentines* and *Apulians*, into the Countre of the *Brutians*, there to encrease his forces; which were other wise too weake for the iourne intended. Afterward coming to *Grumentum*, a Towne of the *Lucans*; he there fought vnprosperously with *Nero* the Consul. Neuerthelesse he got off, and marched away to *Venusia*. But *Nero* followed him; and had there againe the better of him. Wherefore he was driuen to retorne to *Metapontum*: where ioyning with *Hanno*, that had made ready a good Armie; he assailed againe to make way by force to his brother. So he passed onward, and came againe to *Venusia*, hauing *Nero* still at his heeles. Thence went he ouer the Riuer *Ausonia* to *Canusium*, where he fate downe, not farre from the place, in which he had obtained his most memorablen victory. There also did *Nero* sit downe by him: and both of them rested, without making offer to fight. It seemed perhaps vnto *Hannibal*, who knew the Countre very well; that his brother might, with little impediment, ouer-come the way to *Canusium*: where if he could once againe deale with both the Consuls, and all the *Roman* forces together, he had reason to hope for such another victory, as once hee had gotten in the same open Countre. If this had so fallen out; *Rome* would haue bene vn-donen for euer. But the *Carthaginians* should not haue needed to wish any second victory, in the naked Champans about *Canna*; if such an armie, as this which *Asdrubal* now brings, had come to second *Hannibal*, when he was in his full strength; and the *Romans* not able to keepe the field. Wherefore this worthy Generall had good reason afterward to say, that *Hanno* was the man, who by delaying the supply, did beat him out of *Italie*; which else no power of the *Romans* could haue done.

Whilst *Nero* waited vpon the *Carthaginians*, and thought it enough to hinder them from meeting with the Armie that was coming to their succour: he was aduertised of

Asdrubal his approach; by Letters and Messengers intercepted, as they were going to *Hannibal*. These gaue notice, that *Asdrubal* had left the siege of *Placentia*, and drew on wards apace: being already come within two hundred miles of his brother; and notwithstanding all opposition that could be made by *Linus* the Consul. Of these newes *Claudius Nero* was nothing ioyfull. For if *Hannibal* could once be ioynd as head, vnto that great body of an Armie, which *Asdrubal* brought with him: it was most apparant, that howe soeuer the fortune of *Rome* should auoid, for the present, any great calamitie; yet the very continuance of so long a warre at home, would enforce the *Latines*, and other faithfull Associates, to faint vnder the burden; as twelue of the thirte *Roman* Colonies had already done. Wherefore he resolved, that it were better to make any desperate adventure, than to suffer the coniunction of two such malevolent Planets: whose pestilent influence, if not on the suddaine, yet within few yeeres, was like to worke most lamentable effects. It seemed apparant, that his Colleague was vnable to stay the progresse of *Asdrubal*: neither were there any good Legions in a readinesse, that could doe seruice in such a needfull case; excepting those, that were already employed vnder the two Consuls. Hereupon he concluded, that it was not expedient for him to tie himselfe to his owne charge, which was the warre against *Hannibal*: but rather that it behoued him, to helpe where more necessity required; and to carry part of his forces vnto his Colleague. This could not be without much danger. Yet since the meeting of the two *Carthaginian* brethren, was farre more dangerous to the *Roman* Common-wealth; it seemed the best way to put Fortune in trust, with that which was of the lesse importance. Sixe thousand foote, and a thousand horse he therefore tooke, that were the very choyce of his Armie: and making shew, as if he would onely step aside, to doe some small piece of seruice neere at hand; away he posted as fast as he could, to assist his fellow Consul. His Messengers ranne before him, to giue warning to all Townes by which hee was to passe, that they should be ready to meet him, with victuals, and all other necessities for his Armie. *Linus* the other Consul, at that time, lay incamped, neere vnto *Sena Gallica*; and *Asdrubal* within halfe a mile of him. In sixe dayes *Nero* had finished his iourneither; and when he drew neere, sent Messengers before him, to giue notice of his comming. *Linus* thought it fittest that he should stay in some place of covert vntill darke night, and then enter secretly into the campe: lest the Enemy, perceiving this absence of strength, should accordingly frame his counsailes. This was done; and a token giuen, that the Colonels, Captaines, and all Souldiers, as well horse as foote, that *Nero* had brought with him; should be lodged and entertained by men of their owne sort. Their Companie was somewhat increased by Voluntaries that ioynd with them on the way. Neuerthelesse, it was not needfull, that the Quarter which receiued them, should be enlarged; since they had brought with them nothing but their armes. The next day they held a Counsaile of warre: wherein some were of opinion, that it was best for these new-arrived Companies, to refresh themselves a few dayes after their wearisome iourne, before they should be drawne forth to battaile. But against this, *Nero* was very earnest: and besought his Colleague, to make vse of him out of hand, that he might betimes returne to his owne Campe, ere *Hannibal* should haue notice of his absence. The Souldiers also of *Nero*, were full of spirit; perceiving that the honour of the victory was like to be theirs: forasmuch as the battaile would not haue beene vndertaken, without this their comming to helpe. Finally, it was agreed when the Counsaile brake vp, that the signe of battaile should be hung out; which was commonly a purple coate ouer the Generals pailion.

Asdrubal was no lesse willing than the *Romans* to come to battaile, hauing long desired it, and hitherto not found occasion before. But when he had put his men in order, and was riding before the head of his Armie, to behold the Enemies countenance: it seemed to him, that they were more than they had bene; and some of their armes and horses looked as though they had wanted dressing, after a long iourne. Hereupon he beganne to with-draw his Armie backe into the Campe: and gaue order, that if no prisoners could be taken, by whom he might be certified of the truth; yet should there good obseruation be made, whether the enemies campe were enlarged, or no; or what other alteration could be noted, that might shew their forces to be increased. The campe, as hath bene said, was not extended: but the trumpet, that sounded onely once in the quarter of *L. Porcius* the Pretor, did now, contrary to former custome, sound twice in the

the quarter of *Linus* the Consul. Hereat *Asdrubal* greatly mused: and being well acquainted with the *Roman* orders; held this for a sure token, that the other Consul was there arrived. How this might be, if *Hannibal* were alive, and in good case, hee was not able to coniecture: but thought it the best way, to goe leisurely to worke, till hee might be better informed. Vpon confidence in his owne forces, hee had not cared hitherto; how neere he lay to the *Romans*; nor troubled himselfe perhaps with over-strictly fortifying his owne Campe. Yet when hee now perceived, that somewhat was fallen out beside his expectation, he changed his resolution; and held it no dishonour to remove a little further off. So hee dislodged secretly by night, intending to get ouer the Riner *Metaurus*; whereby to keepe himselfe as long as he could, from necessity of battaile. But whether it were so, that his guides did steale away from him in the dark, so that he could not finde the way to the Foords; or whether his carriages were too heauie, and hindered his speede: farre he had not gone, ere the Consul *Nero* was at his heeles with all the *Roman* horse, and staid him from passing any further. Soone after came *L. Porcius* with the light armature: whom the other Consul followed anon with all the Legions; in good order, and ready for battaile. *Asdrubal*, seeing himselfe ouer-taken with necessity to fight; omitted no care and circumspection. His *Gaules*, in whom he reposed least confidence, he placed in his left wing vpon a Hill, which the Enemy should not, without much difficultie, be able to climbe: in the right wing he flood himselfe with his *Africans* & *Spaniards*; his *Ligurians* he placed in the midst; and his Elephants, he bestowed in the front of his battailes. On the *Roman* side, *Nero* had the leading of the right wing; *Linus* of the left; and *Porcius* of the battaile. Both *Romans* and *Carthaginians* well vnderstood, how much depended vpon the fortune of this day; and how little hope of safety there was vnto the vanquished. Onely the *Romans* hercin seemed to haue had the better in conceipt, and opinion; That they were to fight with men desirous to haue fled from them. And, according to this presumption, came *Linus* the Consul with a proud brauery, to giue charge on the *Africans*: by whom hee was so sharply entertained, that the victory seemed very doubtfull. The *Africans* and *Spaniards* were stout Souldiers, and well acquainted with the manner of the *Roman* fight. The *Ligurians* also were a hardy Nation, and not accustomed to giue ground; which they needed the lesse, or were able now to doe, being placed in the midst. *Linus* therefore, and *Porcius*, found strong opposition: and with great laughter on both sides, preuailed little or nothing. Besides other difficulties, they were exceedingly troubled by the Elephants, that brake their first ranks; and put them in such disorder, as the *Roman* Ensignes were driuen to fall backe. All this while *Claudius Nero*, labouring much in vaine against a steepe Hill, was vnable to come to blowes with the *Gaules*; that stood opposite vnto him, but out of danger. This made *Asdrubal* the more confident; who seeing his owne left wing safe, did the more boldly and fiercely make impression on the other side, vpon the left wing of the *Romans*. But *Nero*, perceiving that the place wherein he stood, was such as would compell him to remaine idle till the fight were ended; tooke a part of his forces, and led them round behinde the forces of *Porcius* and *Linus*: which hauing compassed, he fell vpon *Asdrubal*, and charged him in the flanke. Here beganne the victory to be manifest on the *Roman* side. For *Nero*, finding none to resist him in front, ranne all along the depth of *Asdrubal* his battaile: and falling vpon the skirts thereof, disordered the Enemies, and put all to rowt. Of the *Spaniards* therefore and *Africans*, that were laid at on every side, the greatest part was slaine. The *Ligurians* and *Gaules* escaped as they could; and saved themselves by timely flight. Of the Elephants, foure were taken alive: the rest were slaine; some by the Enemies weapons; others by their owne guides that rode iotem. For when any of them, being fore wounded, beganne to waxe unruly, and rush backe vpon their own battaile following them: the guide had in readinesse a Maller, and a Chizzell, wherewith he gaue them a stroke betwene the eares, in the ioynt of the neck, next vnto the head; wherewith he killed the beast vpon the suddaine. This speedy way of preventing such harme as the Elephants, being hurt, were wont to doe to the squadrons following them; is said to haue bene the deuice of *Asdrubal* himselfe; who died in this battaile.

Great commendations are giuen to *Asdrubal*, both by *Polibi*us, and by *Linus*. He is said at all times to haue shewed himselfe worthy of *Amilcar* his father, and *Hannibal* his brother; to haue striven with great patience, against many difficulties; wherinto he fell

fell by the meanes of those Capaines that were sent from *Carthage* into *Spain*; to haue performed in this last battaile all duties of a worthy Generall; and finally when hee saw the losse irreparable, to haue ridden manfully into the thickest of his Enemies; where fighting bravelly he was slaine. Of the number that died with him in this battaile, the report of *Linie*, and of *Polybius* doe very much disagree. For *Linie* saith; that the *Carthaginians* had no lesse an overthrow, than was that, which they gaue to the *Romans* at *Cannae*; that fiftie fise thousand of them were slaine, fise thousand and foure hundred taken prisoners; and about foure thousand *Roman* Citizens, whom they had captiues with them, deliuered, and set at liberty. He saith also, that of the *Romans* and their Associates there were slaine eight thousand; and of the bootie, that it was exceeding great; not onely in other kindes, but in gold and siluer. Concerning the bootie; *Polybius* hath no mention of it. Likely it is to haue bene as rich as *Linie* reporteth it; for *Asdrubal* came well stored with monie. But *Polybius* (who had no desire to make this battaile of *Metawru*, a parallel vnto that of *Cannae*) reports no more than about ten thousand of the *Carthaginian* side, and two thousand of the *Roman*; to haue bene slaine. The number of the prisoners hee doeth not mention: but only saith, That some of the *Carthaginian* Princes were taken alive; and that all he rest died in the battaile. Whereby it may seeme that they were all *Barchines*: forasmuch as they preferred the honour of themselves, and of their Countrey, about their liues.

The joy of this victorie was no lesse in *Rome*, then had bene the feare of the event. For euer since it was knowne in what sort *Nero* had left his Armie; the whole City was troubled, as much as lately at *Hannibal* his coming thither. Men thought it strange, that the Consull should make such a great adventure, as thus to put the one halfe of all the *Roman* forces, vnto hazard of the Dice. For what if *Hannibal* should chance to haue notice of his departure; and either pursue him, or let vpon the Armie that staid behinde; much weakened, and without a Generall? Thus did they talke; yet reseruing their censure vnto the success; with libertie to approve or condemn, according to the issue. In the meane time the people filled the Market-place; the Women ranne to the Temples, with Vowes and Prayers; and the Senators were daily in counsaile, waiting still ready hand vpon the Magistrates; if some great matter were likely to fall out, that would aske euery ones helpe. In briefe they were all full of melancholy, that when first newes of the victorie came, there were not many that would beleue it. Afterwards when Messengers arriued from the Consuls, with Letters contrayning all that had passed: there was not onely great and ioyfull concourse of all sorts of men vnto the Temples, but the very face of the Citie was altered; and men from thenceforth began to follow their priuate businesse; making contracts one with another (which they had long forborne to doe); and attending their owne affaires in such wise, as if *Hannibal* were already driuen out of *Italie*.

Nero returning to his campe, threw forth openly the head of *Asdrubal* before the *Carthaginians*; and producing his *African* prisoners bound; sent two of them loose to giue *Hannibal* notice of what had hapned. These two prisoners might haue serued well enough to certifie *Hannibal* of the misadventure, without doing wrong to the dead body of *Asdrubal*: especially since *Hannibal*, in honourable, and faire different manner, had giuen buriall to *Gracchus* and *Marcellus*; yea to all the *Roman* Generals, whose carcases fell into his hands. But it may seeme, that howsoeuer the People of *Carthage* wanted much of the generous disposition, which was found among the *Romans*, in their loue vnto the Commonweale; yet in dealing with Enemies, they were farre more ciuill, and lesse prone to the insolencie of reuenge. The best excuse of this outrage done by *Nero*, is, that he hoped much more by the sudden terrour of such a spectacle, than by the simple relation of that which had passed, to make a deepe impression of feare into the *Carthaginians*. It may also be said, That hee forgot himselfe, being our-joyed with the greatnesse of his prosperitie. For it was the battaile of *Metawru* that weighed downe the ballance, and turned the Tide of the *Roman* fortune: which being then at the lowest Ebbe, ceased not afterwards to flow, till it could not be contained within any banks. *Hannibal* hauing lost in this vnhappy fight (besides that worthy Gentleman his Brother) all the hope that so long sustained him in *Italie*; with-drew himselfe into the Countrey of the *Brutians*: and thither hee caused all the *Lucans* that were of his partie to remooue; as likewise all that dwelt in *Metapontum*. For hee wanted men to defend

defend so many places as hee held at the present, because they lay too farre asunder. Wherefore he drew them all into a lesser compasse in the vmoost corner of *Italie*; being a Countrey of much fastnesse, and the people exceedingly deuoted to his seruice. In this businesse *Nero* gaue him no memorable impediment: either because *Hannibal* was too strong for him, hauing all his forces vnited; or because it is likely that this remooue of the *Lucans* and *Metapontines*, was not before the end of Summer, when their harvest was gathered in; at what time the Senate called him home to *Rome*. *M. Linius* the other Consull tarried among the *Cisalpine* *Gauls* vntill the end of Summer, therto let things in such order as he thought requisite: which done, he wrote vnto the Senate, that there was no more need of him and his Armie in that Province; but that *L. Porcius*, with the two Legions that were there before, might very well discharge the place. For this cause, he desired leaue to returne home; and that hee might bring his Armie with him. The Senate well vnderstood his meaning: which was, to haue the honour of triumph, as hee well deserved. But forasmuch as it was well knowne, what interest *Nero* had in the late victorie: order was giuen, that not onely *Linie* with his Armie should come home; but likewise *Nero*, though leaving his Armie behinde him, to confront *Hannibal*. So the honour of triumph was granted to them both: in the pompe whereof *Linie* made the greater shew, as riding in a Chariot, and followed by his Souldiers, because in his Prouince, and vpon his day of command, the victorie was gotten; his Armie also being present at the triumph. But *Nero* hat rode on horse-backe, and without such attendance, was the more extolled by the People and Souldiers; by whom, the victorie was in a manner wholly ascribed vnto his great worth. Neither wanted *L. Peturcius* *Philo* and *L. Caelius* *Metellus*, Lieutenants to the Generalls, the due acknowledgement of their good seruice. For they were commend'd vnto the People, as men worthy to be chosen Consuls: and Consuls they were chosen for the yeere following. But nothing was done by them, worthe of memorie, in their Consulship. Neither indeed for this yeere; which was the thirtieth of the present warre, vntill the eighteenth yeere wherein it ended, was there any matter of importance wrought in *Italie*; save only the taking of *Locri* from the *Carthaginians* by surprise. For *Hannibal* wanted strength, wherewith to make any great offer: and the *Romans* had little minde to provoke him; but thought it well that he was quiet. Such opinion had they conceiued of him; that though all about him went to ruine, yet in him alone they thought there was force enough to hold himselfe vpright. And surely very notable are the commendations giuen vnto him by *Polybius*; whom *Linie* therein followes: That making warre vpon a People, of all other the most warlike, he obtained so many victories by his owne good conduct: and that leading an Armie, compounded of so many sundrie Nations, *Africans*, *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, *Carthaginians*, *Italians*, and *Greekes*; which were, neither in Language, Lawes, Conditions, or any other thing, one like to another; he held them all in such good order, that they neuer fell to sedition among themselves, or against their Generall. But that which *Linie* addes hereto, is yet perhaps of greater admiration: That he sustained his Army, without help from other places, from this time forward, vpon the hungry soile of the *Brutians*: which, when it was best manured in time of peace, could hardly suffice to nourish the inhabitants. It is therefore apparant, that by his proper worth and vertue, hee kept his Armie in such order and obedience, rather than by any greatnesse of reward and bootie: since, after the death of *Asdrubal*, he made no inuasion vpon the wealthier parts of *Italie*; but held himselfe still among the poore *Brutians*. Where we must leaue him, vntill hee be drawne into *Affric* by *Scipio*; whose doings will henceforth entertaine, and leade vs, vnto the end of this Warre.

6. XVII.

How P. Cornelius Scipio the Roman, made entire conquest of Spaine.

I.

How the Carthaginians were driuen by Scipio from the Continent into the Isle of Gades.

Mago and *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Gisco*, took vpon them the charge of *Spain*; when *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Amilcar* departed thence into *Italie*. These agreed together, that *Mago* should make a voyage to the *Balears*; there to leaue a supply of men:

men: and *Asdrubal* with-draw himselfe into *Lusitania* (which is now *Portugal*) whither the *Romans* had ill meane to follow; being altogether vnacquainted in those parts. *Mago* had soone ended his businesse, and returned into *Spaine*: where hee met with one *Hanno* (the same perhaps that had lately beene employed in *Sicill*) who brought new forces out of *Africke*, and came to succeed in place of *Asdrubal* the *Barchine*. It is not vnlke-
lie that *Spaine* was now the better, and more readily furnished with men, and all things needfull from *Carthage*, when that soone of *Amilcar*, whose authoritie had beene great-
est, was thence deported. For hereby might the factious diligence of old *Hanno* approue
it selfe, against that noble race of *Warriors*; when it should appeare, that things did
prosper much the better by being left vnto the handling of other men. Whether it were
vpon desire to make good some such opinion raised of him at home; or whether vpon
confidence in the forces that he brought over: *Hanno* tooke the field, and led *Mago* with
him; as purposing afresh to set vpon the *Romans*. So he entred into the Country of the
Celiberians, not very farre from new *Carthage*: where, by monie, and other persuasions,
he leuied about nine thousand men.

P. Scipio in the meane while contained himselfe in the Easterne parts of *Spaine*: atten-
tine, as it may seeme, to the proceedings of *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Amilcar*; against
whom, he is reported by some Writers to haue sent part of his forces into *Italie*, to the
assistance of *C. Claudius Nero*, and *M. Livius* the Consuls. But hearing of the leuie made
by *Hanno* and *Mago*, among the *Celiberians*: he sent *M. Syllanus* the Propretor, with ten
thousand foot and five hundred horse. *Syllanus* got intelligence by some fugitive *Celi-
berians*, who became his guides, that their Countreimen encamped apart from the *Car-
thaginians* in great disorder: as men fearing no danger, because they were at home.
Wherefore as closely as he was able, he drew neere to these *Celiberians*: and falling vpon
them on the suddaine, gaue them such an ouerthrow, that *Hanno* and *Mago* comming to
their succour, in stead of heartning and reinforcing them, became partakers of the losse.
Mago saued himselfe with all the horse, and old Companies of foot, which were about
two thousand: and in ten daies iourney brought them safe to *Asdrubal*. The rest of the
Africans were either slaine or taken: among whom, *Hanno* had the ill lucke to be taken
prisoner; though he kept himselfe out of the fight vntill all was lost. As for the *Celibe-
rians*, they knew better how to make shift; and saued most of themselves by running into
the woods.

It could no otherwise be, but that *Scipio* was much troubled with the danger wherein
Italie stood, by the comming thither of *Asdrubal*. Ten thousand foot and eighteen hun-
dred horse he did therefore send out of *Spaine* (as it is reported by some Authors) to the
defence of his owne Countreie: or was perhaps about to send them; and thereupon re-
mained at new *Carthage*, intirentie to the necessitie and successe of his Countreimen at
home. But when he had word of the great victory at *Metaurus*, which fell out long be-
fore the end of this Summer, then might hee well aduenture, to take in hand the entie
conquest of *Spaine*; which must needs be much alienated from the *Carthaginians*, by the
report of such an ouerthrow. The *Spanish* Souldiers that serued vnder *Hannibal*, and
those that had beene sent over into *Africke*; were as pledges heretofore, by whom their
Countreie was held obnoxious to the *Carthaginians*. But when it was noyed abroad,
That all which had followed *Asdrubal* into *Italie*, were fallen into the hands of the *Ro-
mans*; and that *Hannibal* with his Armie was closed vp in a streight, whence he could not
get out: then did it greatly behoue the *Spaniards* to conforme themselves vnto the will
of the Victors. That it was the successe of things in *Italie*, which gaue such confidence
vnto *Scipio*; it is the more probable, because hee tooke not this great enterprise in hand,
vntill the Summer was almost spent. *Asdrubal* therefore vied the benefit of the season;
and by disposing his Armie into many Garisons; hindered the enemy from doing any
great exploit before Winter. So the very length of way, and the time of the yeere, cau-
sed *Scipio* to returne backe: without any other matter performed, than that his Brother
L. Scipio tooke by assault the Towne of *Oringis*.

Against the next yeeres danger, *Asdrubal* prepared a great Armie: and spared not cost,
nor trouble, in strengthening himselfe, for the triall of his last fortune in *Spaine*. With
seuenie thousand foot, foure thousand horse, and two and thirtie Elephants, he tooke the
field: which number I beleeeue, that he could hardly haue raised, without boldly deny-
ing the truth of those reports that came from *Italie*. *Scipio* thought his *Roman* Legions

too weak to encounter with such a multitude. Wherefore hee iudged it needfull to vie
the helpe of his *Spanish* friends. But the death of his Father and Vncle, that were cast a-
way by the treason of such false *Auxiliaries*, made him on the other side very doubtfull;
of relying vpon those, that might perhaps betray him in his greatest neede. Yet since one
Celiber, that was Lord of eight and twenty Townes, had promised him the last Winter;
to raise three thousand foot, and five hundred horse for his seruice: he refused to make
vse of those, and some few others, that might helpe to make a shew; and yet not bee
able to doe any great harme; if they would reuolt. So with five and forty thousand
foot, and three thousand horse, hee sought out the Enemy; neere vnto whom hee
was encamped. At his first comming, *Mago* and *Masanißa* fell vpon him; with hope to
take him vnprepared, whilest he was making his lodgings. But he layed certaine troupes
of horse in couert: which breaking vpon them vnexpected; caused them to fall off.
They made at first an orderly retreat: but being more hardly pressed, they shortly be-
rooke themselves to plaine flight. After this encounter, which added some courage to
the *Romans*; and abated the presumption of the *Carthaginians*, there were daily skirmi-
shes betwene the horse and light armature, on both sides; wherein was nothing done
of importance. *Asdrubal* drew forth his Armie, and arranged it before his Trenches:
the like did *Scipio*; each of them to shew that he durst fight, yet not proceeding any far-
ther. Thus they continued many daies: *Asdrubal* being still the first that issued forth in
the morning; and the first that, in the euening, withdrew himselfe into his Trenches.
The *Spanish* *Auxiliaries* were placed on both sides in the wings; the *Carthaginians* were
in the midst, with their Elephants before them; and opposit to these on the other side
were the *Roman* Legions. When they had in this order confronted one another, though
at farre distance, many daies together: it grew to bee the common opinion, that they
should shortly meet in the same forme; and be matched on each part, with the Enemies
long before designed. But *Scipio* when he purposed indeed to fight, altered the forme of
his Armie; and withall, came forth earlier then he had beene wont. He caused his men
and horses, to be well fedde betimes in the morning before day: and then sent forth his
horse and light armature, to traine out the *Carthaginians* with their bellies emptic: yfing
herein the same trick, whereby he might remember that *Hannibal* had beaten his father
in the battaile of *Trebia*. His *Roman* Legions he bestowed in the wings; his *Spaniards* in
the battaile. *Asdrubal* sent forth his horse in all haste, to entertaine the *Romans*; whilest
he himselfe arranged his men, in their wonted order, at the Hill foot, vpon which hee
was encamped. In the skirmishes of the horse it could not bee discerned which part had the
better: since being ouer-pressed on either side, they had a safe retreat vnto their foote;
and one troope seconding another by course, returned to charge. This fight was protra-
cted by *Scipio* to a great length: because his men, hauing well fed themselves, were like
to hold out better then the Enemy. But about noone hee caused his wings to aduance a
good pace; leaving their battaile of *Spaniards* farre behind them, that came on leisurely;
according to direction. The *Spanish* Mercenaries that stood in *Asdrubal* his wings, were
noway comparable, saue only in number, to the *Latine* and *Romane* Souldiers, that came
against them; for they were fresh Souldiers, leuied in haste, and fighting onely in respect
of their pay. Being therefore charged in front by the Legions, and in flanke, at the same
time, by the *Roman* *Velites*, and by some cohorts, that were appointed to wheele about
for the same purpose, they were sorely pressed; and with much difficultie made resi-
stance. The *Carthaginians* would faine haue succoured them; but that they durst not
stirre out of their places, because of the *Spanish* battell which was comming against them;
though it were as yet farre off. Thus the best part of *Asdrubal* his Armie stood idle,
whilest the wings were broken. For, had he aduentured to meet with the *Spaniards*, hee
must haue cast himselfe into the open space that lay before him betwene the *Romane*
wings: to the depth whereof when hee had arrived, hee should haue found himselfe en-
closed in such sort, as was the Consul *Paulus* at the battaile of *Cannæ*. Wherefore hee
did onely employ his Elephants; which did, according to their manner, no greater harm
to his Enemies, than to his Friends. When they were chafed with wounds, they could
no longer be ruled by their guides: but ranne, as chance ledde them, and troubled both
parties; or those perhaps the more, that were the more vnwilling to kill them. In pro-
cess of the fight, the *Romans*, who had well refreshed their bodies in the morning,
endured lustie; when the others beganne to faint with trauell and heate of the day.
Where-

Wherefore perceiving their advantage, they followed it the more hotly : and gave no over, till they had forst the enemy to change his pace and run from him. *Asdrubal* did his best to have made an orderly retreat; and afterward againe, to have caused his men turne head, at the Hill foot. But the *Romans* would not suffer the victorie to be so extorted from them : neither was it easie to put fresh courage into the vanquished ; ledde by the obstinate passion of feare which harkens to no perswasion. The Campe of *Asdrubal* had that day beene taken ; if a storme of raine, which fell violently on the sodaine, and bred some superstition in the *Romans*, had not caused them to give over.

The same night *Asdrubal* gave no rest to his men : but caused them, hungry, and overlaboured as they were, to take paines in fortifying the Campe ; wherein he feared to be assaulted. But little assurance could he have in the strength of his Trenches ; when he had lost the hearts of his *Spanish* Souldiers. One *Atanes*, that was Lord of the *Turdians*, fled from him to the *Romans*, with a great Band of his subiects : many followed this example ; and soone after, two strong Townes were yeelded up to *Scipio*, and the Garrisons betrayed. It seemes that the perverse fortune of this late battaile, whereupon *Asdrubal* had set his rest, bred in the *Spaniards* a disposition, to beleue the more easilily those reports which they heard from *Italie*. For henceforward, they neuer did good office to the *Carthaginians*. *Asdrubal*, perceiving this, withdrew himselfe, and marched away faster then an ordinary pace, toward the Ocean Sea. *Scipio* followed the next morning, and overtaking the *Carthaginians* with his horse, caused them so often to make stand, that they were at length attached by the *Roman* Legions. Here began a cruell slaughter : for there was no resistance made, but all fell to rout, save onely seven thousand that with *Asdrubal* himselfe recovered a very strong piece of ground, which they fortified in hast. The place he made shift a while to defend : but wanting there necessities to sustain himselfe long, he was forsaken by some of those few, that continued hitherto partakers of his fortune. Wherefore hee resolved to make shift for one ; and stealing from his Company by night away to the Sea-side, that was not farre thence ; hee tooke shipping, and set saile for *Gades*. When *Scipio* understood that *Asdrubal* was thus gone, he left *Syllanus* with ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse to besiege their Campe (which was not taken in haste, for *Mago* and *Masanija* staid in it) whilst hee with the rest of the Army did what was needfull in the Countrey abroad. It was not long, ere *Mago* and *Masanija* followed *Asdrubal* to *Gades* : and their Army dispersed it selfe ; some flying over to the *Romans* ; other taking what way they liked. So vpon all the Continent of *Spaine*, there were onely three Townes left, *Illiturgi*, *Castulo*, and *Astapa*, that made continuance of warre against the *Romans* : of which onely *Castulo* had a *Carthaginian* Garrison ; consisting of such as had saved themselves by flight in the late overthrowes. Hereby it seemes, that the report of these Historians was ill grounded, who said, that *Castulo* yeelded long since vnto the *Romans* ; though *Hannibal* tooke a wife in that Citie. For this was one of the last three Townes that held out on the *Carthaginian* side. *Illiturgi* had sometimes beene inclinable to the *Romans* ; if not altogether at their devotion. Yet after the death of the two elder *Scipios*, following too earnestly the *Carthaginian* fortune ; it not onely rebelled ; but with great cruelty betrayed, and flue, the poore men that escaped thither from the overthrowes. *Astapa* was a Towne that still adhered to the *Carthaginians* ; and which was worse, had thriven by the spoyle of the *Romans* and their Confederates. Wherefore (though not vntill the next yeere) *Scipio* went against these, and tooke himselfe *Illiturgi* and *Castulo* : *Illiturgi* by assault, and with a generall slaughter of the Inhabitants ; *Castulo*, by treason of one *Cerdabellus*. *Astapa* was taken by *Lucius Marcius* ; or rather destroyed by the Inhabitants. For a great pile of wood was raised in the Market-place : whereinto was throwne all the gold, & silver, with whatsoever else was precious, the women and children standing by it vnder a sure guard ; that should kill and burne them if the *Romans* got into the Towne. This provision being made : all the Inhabitants that could beare Armes, rushed forth desperately, and fell vpon the *Roman* campe, where striving beyond their power, they were euerie one slaine. Then was the Towne forth with set on fire, by those that had taken charge to doe it : and many of the *Romans* consumed with the flame ; whilst they rushed over-hastily to catch the gold, and silver, which they saw lying on the pile ready to melt.

Asdrubal, being beaten into the Iland of *Gades*, found no cause of long stay there : but returned home to *Carthage*, with seven Gallies, leaving *Mago* behinde him, to wait vpon occasion,

occasion, if any should be offered. He visited in his way home, *Syphax* King of the *Masiffis*, a people of the *Numidians* ; hoping to win him to the friendship of the *Carthaginians*. But he met with *Scipio*, as it were with his cuill Angel, in the Kings Port : who, landing at the same time, carried *Syphax* quite another way. For *Scipio*, having driven the *Carthaginians* out of *Spaine*, did forth-with bethink himselfe, how to finish the war ; by putting them to the like distresse in *Africke*. Hereunto it seemed that the helpe of *Syphax* would be much available : a King that had many times fallen out with the *Carthaginians*, and sustained much hurt by their procurement ; of which in all likelihood he might easilily be moved to seeke reuenge. He had also bin beholding to *P.* and *Cn. Scipio*, that sent him over a Captaine into *Africke* ; who instructed him so well in marshalling his forces, as hee thereby often became victorious. Vpon these reasons the *Numidian* King sent Embassadors to *Rome*, and made league with the Citie in time of great extremitie. So that hereby *P. Scipio* conceived hope of laying a good foundation to the warre, which he intended in *Africke* ; vpon the friendship of this ill Neighbour to the *Carthaginians*. For which cause he sent over *C. Lelius* his Embassador, to deale with *Syphax* : who declaring that the *Carthaginians* did very ill in *Italie*, and had nothing now at all to doe in *Spaine*, easilily perswaded the King to take part with those that had the better, and were without question his better friends. Onely *Syphax* requested that the *Roman* Generall should visite him in person, to conclude the League ; by which hee was to enter into conditions of more importance than in any former Treatie. Hereto *Scipio* condescended ; thinking the friendship of so great a King, that was neighbour to *Carthage*, and not farre distant from *Spaine*, worthy of the adventure. So with two *Quinquere* Gallies he tooke Sea ; and arrived in the Kings Port, at the same time, with *Asdrubal*. This would have been very dangerous to him, had he beene defied by his Enemies further at Sea : but in the Haven they forbore to make offer one vpon the other. *Syphax* might well be proud ; seeing at one time, two such Captaines of two most powerful Cities, came to desire his friendship. He would have brought them to treat of peace ; but the *Romans* excused himselfe, by want of such Commission from the Senate. Hee feasted them together : and shortly dismissed *Scipio*, with whom he readily entered into Couenant ; which in time of performance, hee as readily brake.

†. II.

Funerall games held by *Scipio*. A Duell betwene two *Spanish* Princes. A digression, concerning Duells.

Scipio returning into *Spaine*, and resting that winter, tooke vengeance the next yeere, vpon those of *Illiturgi*, *Castulo*, and *Astapa*, as hath beene said before. The Conquest of the Countrey being then in a manner at an end ; hee performed at new *Carthage*, with great solemnity, some Vowes that he had made, and honoured the memorie of his Father and Uncle, with funerall games, especially of those that fought at sharpe, according to the manner of the times. Neither was it needfull, that hee should trouble himselfe with preparing slaues for that spectacle, to hazard their liues, as was vied in the Citie of *Rome* : for there were enow, that either offered themselves as voluntaries, or were sent from their Princes, to give prooffe in single combat, of the valour that was in their severall Countries. Some also there were, that being in contention, which they could not, or would not otherwise end, agreed to referre the decision of their Controversies, to trial of the sword, in single fight. Among these, the most eminent, were *Corbis* and *Orfus*, *Celtic* Germans : that contended for the principality of a Towne called *Iber*. *Corbis* was the elder, and the elder brothers sonne : wherefore he claimed the Lordship, as eldest of the house, after the manner of our *Irish* *Tamils*. But the father of *Orfus* stood lately seized of the Principality : which though himselfe received by the death of his elder brother, yet this his sonne would not let it goe backe ; but claimed to hold it as heire vnto his father, & old enough to rule. Fine would *Scipio* have compounded the matter. But they answered peremptorily, That all their friends, and kindred, had already laboured in vain, to take up this quarrell ; and that neither God, nor Men, but onely *Mars*, their God of battaile, should be Vmpire betwene them. So they had their wills : and the elder, who was also the stronger, and more skillfull at his weapon, easilily vanquished the more hardinesse of the younger.

Such combats haue beene very ancient; and perhaps more ancient, than any other kinde of fight. We reade of many performed before the Warre of *Troy*; by *Theseus*, *Hercules*, *Pollux*, and others; as also of two more at the Warre of *Troy*, the one betwene *Paris* and *Menelaus*, the other, betwene *Hector* and *Ajax*. Neither want there examples of them among the *Hebrewes*; whereof that betwene *Dauid* and *Goliath*, and others performed by some of *Dauid's* worthies, against those that challenged them, are greatly celebrated. Vnto the same kinde appertaines the fight, betwene twelue of the Tribe of *Juda*, and as many of the *Beniamites*. The *Romans* had many of them: whereof that was principal, in which they ventured their Dominion vpon the heads of three brethren the *Horatii*, against the three brethren *Curatii* that were *Albans*. The combat of *Mamilius Torquatus*, and shortly after, of *Valerius Corvinus* with two Champions of the *Gauls*, which challenged any *Roman*; were of lesse importance, as hauing only reference to brauerie. In *England* there was a great Combat fought betwene *Edmond Ironside* and *Canutus the Dane*, for no lesse matter than the Kingdome. The vie of them was very frequent in the Saxon-times; almost vpon every occasion, great or small. In the reigne of *Edward* the third, who sustained the party of *Mounfort* against the *Earle of Blois* contending for the Duchie of *Brittaine*; there was a fight, for honor of the Nations, betwene thirtie of the *Britons*, and thirtie *English*: two of which *English*, were *Calueria* braue Captaine; and that Sir *Robert Knolles*, who afterwards became a renowned Commander in the *French* wars, and did highly honour his blood, whereof the Lord *Knolles* is descended. It were infinite to reckon the examples of the like, found in *English*, *French*, and *Italian* Histories. Most of them haue bin combats of brauerie, and of gayete de cœur, as the *French* terme it; for honour of feuerall Nations; for loue of Mistresses; or whatsoever else gaue occasion vnto men, desirous to set out themselves. But besides those of this sort, there are two other natures of combats; which are, either vpon accusation for life, or vpon triall of Title and Inheritance, as in *Writ of right*. And of this latter kinde, was that, of which we spake euen now, betwene *Corbus* and *Orsua*. Vnto these (me thinks) may be added, as of different condition from the rest, the combat vpon Wager; such as were that betwene *Dauid* and *Goliath*, or that betwene the *Horatii* and *Curatii*: in which, without regard of Title, the Dominion of Nations, one ouer the other, is ad-
ventured vpon the head of Champions. Vpon an accusation for life, there was a com-
bat appointed betwene the Lord *Henrie of Boulbroke* Duke of *Hertford*, and *Moubray*
An. 21. Ric. 2. Duke of *Norfolk*. There was a combat performed by Sir *John Anley* and one *Cattington*: whom *Anley* charged with treason: and proued it vpon him by being victorious.
An. 3. Ric. 2. The like was fought betwene *Robert of Mountfort*, and *Henrie of Essex*. The like also,
An. 9. Henr. 2. betwene a *Nauarrois*, & one *Welch of Grimby*, whom the *Nauarrois* accused of treason: but, being beaten in fight, confessed that he had belied him, and was therefore drawne and hanged. Whether our triall by battell doe determine, that the false accuser, if he be vanquished, shall suffer the punishment which had beene due to the offender, if the accusation had beene proued; I cannot asseme. But wee euery where finde, That if he which is accused of treason, or, according to the customes of *Normandie*, of Murder, Rape, or burning of Places (offences punished by death) be overcome, Hee shall suffer the paines appointed for those crimes. In combats for triall of right, it is not so: neither is the Appellant or Defendant bound to fight in person, but he may try it by his Champion, as did *Paramor* and *Loy*, or offered to do, in the reigne of Queene *Elizabeth*. And in this case, hee that is beaten, or yeeldeth, loseth onely his cause, not his life. Neither are the combats, vpon accusation, or triall of right, fought in open field, as are those of brauerie; but in *Campe close*, that is, within railes. Now this triall by combat was ordinary in *France*, before the time of S. *Lewis* and *Philip the faire* his grand-child, as euery Lord of Fee, Ecclesiasticall or Temporall, had power to grant it within his owne Iurisdiction. And it seemeth, that the *French* Kings, and other Lord, made their profit here-
by. For in the * *Memorialls of the Chamber of Accounts*, is found an Article to this effect: That if a Combat were once accepted, and after, by consent of the Lord, were taken vpon, each of the parties should pay two shillings six pence; but if it were performed, then should the partie vanquished forfeit an hundred and twelue shillings. And vpon this custome grew the *French* Prouerbe, which they vse when as any man hath had an hard or vnjust iudgement; saying, That hee was tried by the Law of *Loy*, or *Berne*, ou le battu paye l'amende, where he that is beaten giues the recompence. Of these frequent
trials

* Les hommes de
Loratoe l'adua
Duelles tenors
deiderint, &c.

by battaille, that great learned man *Tuo*, Bishop of *Chartres*, did often complain, and specially against the *French* Church-men: as appears by * his letters to the Bishop of *Orleans*, to the Arch-deacon of *Paris*, to *Rembert* Archbishop of *Sens*, and to others; wherein he rebukes the iudgement of their Churches, that had ratified such challenges of combat. But this libertie and kinde of triall, was retrencht by S. *Lewis*, and *Philip* the faire, so that no man could decree, or grant it, saue the King himselfe. It hath since beene granted, though more sparingly, by the *French* Kings; as to the Lord of *Carages* against *Jacques le Gros*; and to *Julian Romero* the *Spaniard*, against *Moro*, his Countimian: wherein Sir *Henrie Kneuer*, Father of the Lord *Kneuet* now liuing, was Patron to *Romero* that had the victorie; and lastly to the Lord of *Chast*. Now in those Challenges, vpon accusation of Treason, Murder, or other offence deseruing death, (and in thoe only) the rule held, That le defendeur estoit tenu de proposer ces defences per une demerit; The defendant was bound to plead not guilty; by giuing the accuser the Lie: otherwise it was concluded, that the Defendant did faiblement confesser le crime; silently confesse the crime. But after such time as *Francis* the French King, vpon some dispute about breach of Faith, had sent the *Levanto* the Emperour *Charles* the first, thereby to draw him to a personall combat: euen the victorie Companion in *France*, in imitation of their Master, made giuing of the Lie mortallitie it selfe; holding it a matter of no small glorie, to haue it said, That the meanest Gentleman in *France*, would not put vp, what the great Emperour *Charles* the first had patiently endure.

From this beginning is driued a challenge of combat, grounded vpon none of those occasions that were knowne to the Ancient. For the Honour of Nations, the Triall of Right, the Wager vpon Champions, or the Obedience and Refutation of capital offences, are none of them, nor all of them together, the argument of halfe so many Duells, as are founded vpon mere priuate Anger, yea or vpon matter seeming worthy of anger in the opinion of the Duellists. So that in these daies, wherein euery man takes vnto himselfe a Kingly libertie, to offer, accept, and appoint personall combats; the giuing of the Lie, which ought to be the Negation only in accusations for life, is become the most fruitfull roote of deadly quarrells. This is held a word so terrible, and a wrong so vnparadonable, as will admit no other recompence, than the blood of him that giues it. Thus the fashion, taken vp in haste by the *French* Gentlemen, after the pattern of their King, is growne to be a custome: whence we haue deriued a kinde of Art and Philosophie of quarrell; with certain grounds and rules, from whence the points of honour, and the dependencies thereof, are deduced. Yea there are (among many no lesse ridiculous) some so mynsticall curiosities herein, as that it is held a farre greater dishonour, to receive from an enemy a slight touch with a Cane, than a sound blow with a Sword: the one, hauing relation to a slave; the other to a souldier. I confesse that the difference is pretty: though for my own part, if I had had any such Italianated enemie in former times, I should willingly haue made with him such an exchange; and haue giuen him the point of honour to boot.

But lets examine indifferently the offence of this terrible word, the Lie; with their conditions who are commonly of all other the most tender in receiuing it. I say, that the most of these, who present death on the points of their swords to all that giue it them, vse nothing so much in their conuersation and course of life, as to speake and sweare filly. Yea it is thereby, that they thrust and shuffle in the World, and abuse it. For how few are there among them, which, hauing assumed & sworne to pay the monies & other things they borrow, doe not breake their word and promise, as often as they ingage it? Nay, how few are there among them that are not *Lyers* by Record, by being sued in some Court or other of Iustice, vpon breach of word, or bond? For he which hath promised that he will pay money by a day; or promised any thing else, wherein hee faileth; hath directly lied to him, to whom the promise hath beene made. Nay, what is the profession of loue that men make now-a-daies? What is the vowing of their seruice, and of all they haue, vsed in their ordinarie complements, and (in effect) to euery man whom they bid but good-morrow, or salute, other than a courteous and court-like kinde of lying? It is (saith a wise *French-man*, deriding therein the Apish custome of his Countie) une marche & complot fait ensemble se mocquer, mentir, & piper les uns les autres; A kinde of merchandise, and complot made among them, to mock, belie, and deride each other: and so farre now-a-daies in fashion, and in vse, as he that vseth it not, is accounted either
Ggggs 2

dull, or Cynicall. True it is notwithstanding (omitting the old distinction) that there is great difference betwene these mannerly and complementall lies, with those which are sometime periwaded by necessity vpon breach of promise; and those which meane out of cowardise and feare: the latter confilling themselves to be in greater awe of men, than of God; a vice of all other stiled the most will-nous. But now for the *Lie* it selfe, as it is made the subiect of all our deadly quarrells in effect: to it I say, That whosoever giueth another man the *Lie*, when it is manifest that he hath lied, doth him no wrong at all, neither ought it to be more haينously taken, than to tell him, hee hath broken any promise which he hath otherwise made. For he that promisseth any thing, tells him, to whom he hath promised, that hee will performe it; and, in not performing it, he hath made himselfe a Lier. On the other side, He that giues any man the *Lie*, when he himselfe knows that he, to whom it is giuen, hath not lied; doth therein giue the *Lie* directly to himselfe. And what cause haue I, if I say that the Sunne shines when it doth shine, and that another fellow tells me I lie, for it's midnight; to prosecute such an one to death, for making himselfe a foolish Ruffian, and a Lier in his owne knowledge? For he that giues the *Lie* in any other dispute, than in defence of his Loyaltie, or Life; giues it impertinently, and Ruffian-like. I will not denie but it is an extreme rudenesse to taxe any man in publike with an vtruth: (if it be not pernicious, and to his prejudice against whom the vtruth is vttered:) but all that is rude, ought not to bee ciuillized with death. That were, more to admire and imitate a French custome, and a wicked one, than to admire and to follow the counsaile of God. But you will say, that these discourtes fauour of cowardize. It is true; if you call it cowardize to feare God or Hell: whereas he that is truly wise, and truly valiant, knows that there is nothing else to be feared. For against an Enemies sword, we shall finde ten thousand seuen-penie-men (waged at that price in the wars) that feare it as little, or perchance lesse, than any profest Sword-man in the world. *Diligentissima in tutela sui Fortitudo; Fortitude is a diligent preseruer of it selfe.* It is (saith Aristotle) a mediocritie betwene doubting and daring. *Sicut non Martyr empena: sic nec fortis empena; sed causa; As it is not the punishment that makes the Martyr: so it is not fighting that declares a valiant man; but fighting in a good cause.* In which, whosoever shall resolutely end his life, resolutely in respect of the cause, to wit, in defence of his Prince, Religion, or Countrey: as hee may iustly bee numbered among the Martyrs of God; so may those that die with malicious hearts, in priuate combats, be called the Martyrs of the Deuill. Neither doe wee indeed take our owne reuenge, or punish the injuries offered vs, by the death of the inurious. For the true conquest of reuenge is, to giue him, of whom we would be reuenged, cause to repent him: and not to lay the repentance of another mans death vpon our owne consciences; *Animas q; in vulnere ponere; And to drowne our soules in the wounds and bloud of our enemies.* Hereupon you will againe aske me, if I condonne in generous and noble spirits the defence of their honors, being prest with injuries: I say that I doe not, if the injuries be violent. For the Law of Nature, which is a branch of the eternall Law: and the Lawes of all Christian Kings and States; do fauour him that is assailed, in the slaughter of the Assailant. You will second⁴⁰ lie aske me, Whether a Noble-man, or a Gentleman, being challenged by *Cartel* by one of like quality, be not bound in point of honor to satisfie the challenger in priuate combat? I answer that he is not: because (omitting the greatest, which is the point of Religion) the point of the Law is directly contrarie and opposite to that, which they call the point of honour; the Law which hath dominion ouer it, which can iudge it, which can destroy it; except you will stile those Acts honourable, where the Hang-manguiues the Garland. For, seeing the Lawes of this Land haue appointed the Hang-man to second the Conqueror; and the Lawes of God appointed the *Deuill* to second the conquered dying in malice: I say that he is both base, and a foole, that accepts of any *Cartel* so accompanied. To this perchance it will be answered, That the Kings of England & other Christian Kings, haue seldome taken any such aduantage ouer men of quality; who vpon such termes haue slaine their priuate enemies. It is true, that as in times of trouble and combustion they haue not often done it; so did our Noble-men & Gentlemen in former ages, in all important injuries, sue vnto the King, to approue themselves by battaile and publike combat. For as they dared not to braue the Law; so did they decline to submit themselves vnto the shamefull reuenge thereof; the same reuenge (because it decreth murder) that it hath declared against a common Cut-purse or other Theues: Nay

Nay let it be granted that a pardon be procured for such offenders; Yet is not the Manslayer freed by his pardon. For these two remedies hath the partie grieved notwithstanding, that is, to require iustice by Grand Affize, or by battaile, vpon his appeale, which (saith Sir Thomas Smith) is not denied; and he further saith (for I vse his owne words) That if the Defendant (to wit, the Manslayer) be conuicted either by Great Affize or by battaile, vpon that appeale; the Manslayer shall die, notwithstanding the Princes pardon. So fauourable (saith the same learned Gentleman) are our Princes, and the law of our Realme, to iustice, and to the punishment of blood violently shed. It may further be demanded, how our Noble-men and Gentle-men shall be repaired in honor, where an enemy taking the start either in words or blowes, shall lay on them an infamie vnsofferable? I say that a Marshalls Court will easily giue satisfaction in both. And if wee hold it no disgrace to submit our selues for the recouery of our Debts, Goods, & Lands, and for all things else, by which the liues of our selues, our wiues, and children, are sustained, to the Iudges of the Law; because it may be felonnie, to take by violence euen that which is our owne: why should wee not submit our selues vnto the Iudges of honour in cases of honour; because to recouer our reputation by strong hand, may be murder? But yet againe it may be objected, That the losse of honour ought to bee much more fearful vnto vs, than either the losse of our goods, or of our lands, or of our liues; and I say so too. But what is this honour, I meane honour indeed, and that which ought to be so deare vnto vs, other than a kinde of historie, or fame following actions of vertue, actions accompanied with difficultie or danger, and vnder-taken for the publike good? In these he that is employed and trusted, if hee faile in the performance, either through cowardize, or any other base affection; it is true that he leseth his honor. But the acting of a priuate combat, for a priuate respect, and most commonly a fruitlesse one, is not an action of vertue; because it is contrarie to the law of God, and of all Christian Kings: neither is difficult; because euen and equall in persons and armes: Neither for a publike good, but tending to the contrarie; because the losse or mutilation of an able man, is also a losse to the Commonweale.

Now that a Marshall of England hath power to saue euery mans fame and reputation, as farre as reputation may sustaine iniurie by words, I thinke no man doubteth. For to repent vs of any euill words that wee haue giuen, and to confesse that wee haue done him wrong vnto whom wee haue giuen them, is a sufficient satisfaction; and as it may fall out, more than sufficient. For he that giues ill words in choller, and suddenly denies them, or repents himselfe of them vpon aduisement; hath the disadvantage in point of reputation. Concerning blowes, which are indeed not to be giuen but to those that are feruile, whether sufficient recompence will be made for them, it shall appeare by a notable example of a most worthy Gentleman *Monsieur de Plessis*, that was stricken in France not long since by a Baron of the same Nation. The satisfaction which was giuen him by a iudgement of the Constable and Marshalls of France, was this. In the open Court, wherein the Constable gaue iudgement, *M. de Plessis* was set in a chaire vnder the degrees where the Constable and Marshalls sat: the Baron, who had giuen him the blow, did kneele before him on both his knees, holding in his right hand a sword with the point towards himselfe, and in his left hand the like cudgel or bastinado, where-with he had stricken *M. de Plessis*; both which weapons he deliuered into *Plessis* hands, submitting himselfe to such reuenge, as it should please him to take with either of those weapons; the Constable and Marshalls (hauing formerly left it to the will of *Plessis*, to vse his owne discretion in the reuenge of his own wrongs. Now whether the Baron had reason to please himselfe, as one beforehand in point of honor, who struck *M. de Plessis*, like a Ruffian coming behinde him, and hauing the aduantage of companie, and his horses readie) shifted himselfe away on the sodaine, but being afterwards taken, was taught to repent himselfe in this shamefull manner: or whether *Monsieur de Plessis* (of whose valour no man doubted) had not farre iust cause to rest satisfied, since he might at his pleasure haue beaten or wounded his enemy, but forgave him: let any wise man iudge. To this if it be said, That the Baron was constrained to make his submission, that his repentance was enforced, and not voluntarie; and therefore no disgrace vnto him: I answer, that one may say as well, that it is no disgrace to a Theefe, when he is brought to the Gallows, to repent him of the Robberies by him committed, because his repentance also is constrained. And it is true, that enforced repentance is

no disgrace in respect of a force, but in respect of the fact: which (but for our finnes to God) makes allrepentance shamefull; because all forced repentance is inflicted vpon vs for somewhat vnworthy of a Gentlman and of an honest man. Nay, voluntarie repentance it selfe, as it hath relation to men, ariseth either out of the feare of the ill that may befall vs, or out of the acknowledgement of our owne weaknesse. Certainlie, as wise men, and valiant men, doe rather deride pettie injuries or soudaine injuries, that are not offered from malice forthought, than reuenge them: so men, apt to quarrell, doe commonly suspect their owne valor; and rather desire, that thereby the world should beleue them to be of great daring, than know any such resolution in themselves. Forhee that knowes himselfe indeed to be an honest man, comes to hunt after opinion.

Now the same power which the Constable and Marshalls of France haue, hath also a Marshall of England, or his Deputies; by whose iudgement, in all disputes of honour, euery mans reputation may be preferred; we may therefore as well submit our selues to the Iudge of honour in all disputes of honour, as we doe submit our selues in all controversies of liuelihood and life, to the Iudges of the Law. And, out of doubt, the institution of this Court of Cheualrie: in England, in France, and elsewhere, was no lesse charitable than politike. For the blood of man, violently spilt, doth not bring forth home-bees, as that of Bulls do, which sting but the fingers or the face: but it produceth that monstrous beast, *Reuenge*, which hath stung to death, and eaten vp of feuerall Nations, so many noble personages; as there is nothing more lamentable, nor more threatening the wraoth of God vpon supreme Governours, than the permission.

His Maiestie therefore (which *Hemrie* the fourth of France also endeoured) hath done a most Kingly and Christian-like deede in Scotland, which the most renowned of all his Predecessors could neuer doe: in beating down, and extinguishing, that hereditarie prosecution of malice, called the *deadly feud*; a conquest, which shall giue him the honour of Prudence and Kingly power, for euer more. And we haue cause to hope, that history all care shall bee no lesse happy in preuenting the like mischiefe, which threatens England, by the audacious, common, and braue, yet outrageous vanitie of Duellists.

Vnto this that I haue spoken of lying, and of man-slaughter, it must be added, That each of these are of great Latitude, and worthy of reproofe and vengeance proportionably, more or lesse, in their feuerall degrees. There is much difference betwene Lies of necessitie vpon breach of promise, or complementall lies; and such pernicious lies, as proceed from feare and cowardize, or are vttered by false witnesses: the former fort being excusable by weaknesse or leuitie; the latter, being altogether detestable. Nolesse, if not more, difference there is, betwene killing of a man in open field, with euen weapons; and that killing, which the Scriptures call *killing by guile, dolo or per insidias*; though our Lawes doe not much distinguish them in punishment. For in the latter, God, forsaking his owne priuiledge, commandeth, that the *guilefull murderer* be drawne by force, from the protection of his Altar. Neither is euery guilefull murder performed by the sword, nor by ouer violence: but there is a guilefull murder also, by poysoning, and by the pen, or by practice. For such distinction is found, betwene committing presumptuously vpon a man, to *slay him with guile*; and *lying in wait for blood*, *prauily*, for the innocent, without a cause, vpon hope of spoile, after such manner as the net is spread before the eyes of the birds. Francis the first, *Queene Marie* of England, and the Kings Maiesty now reigning, haue giuen notable testimony of their iustice, vpon three Noble men, who committed guilefull murder. Of the first kinde, King Francis vpon the Lord of Talar: who being (saith the French Historian) *de haute & ancienne lignee, & supporte de plusieurs grandes alliances; who being of high and ancient linage, and supported by diuers great alliances*, of which the Cardinal of Bellay (in especiall fauor with the King) was one, was notwithstanding deliuered ouer into the hands of the Hangman. *Queen Marie*, vpon a noble man of her own Religion, and in many other respects very deare vnto her. His Maiesty, vpon a Baron of Scotland; whose house was no lesse ancient and faithfull, than himselfe valiant, and greatly friended both at home and abroad. Of killing guilefully by poyson, and of punishment following such wicked Artificians, euery Age hath had too many examples. Of killing guilefully by the pen (that I may not speake of any English Iudge) the Author of the French *Recherches* giues vnto vs two notable instances: the one of des Elbars, who (saith Pasquiere) *fit mourir Montaigne grand Maistre de France, pour contenter l'opinion de celay dont il estoit lors idolastre; & Dieu permit que depuis* il fut

il fut pendu & estrangle; Who caused Montaigne great Master of France to die, to content his minde (to wit, the Duke of Burgoyne) whom at that time Elbars worshipped as his Idol: but God permitted, that he himselfe was soone after hanged and strangled. The other was of the Great Francis the first, vpon his Chancellor Poyet: who to satisfie the Kings passion, practised the destruction of the Admirall Chabot, a man most nobly defended, and of great seruice. For as in other men, so in Kings, the passion of loue growes old, and weares out by time. So the Kings affection being changed towards the Admirall, he charged him with some offences which he had formerly committed. The Admirall, presuming vpon the great good seruice which he had done the King in Piemont, and in the defence of Mayssilles against the Emperour; gaue the King other language than became him; and desired nothing so much, as a publique triall. Hereupon the King (it being easie to prouoke an ill disposition) gaue commission to the Chancellor, as President, and other Iudges, vpon an information of the Kings Aduocate, to question the Admirall life. The Chancellor, an ambitious man, & of a large conscience, (which is not rare in men towards the Law) hoping highly to content the King, wrought with some of the Iudges with so great cunning; with others, with so sharpe threats; and with the rest, with so faire promises; as albeit nothing could be proved against the Admirall, worthy of the Kings displeasure; yet the Chancellor subscribed, and got others to subscribe, to the forfeiture of his Estate, Offices, and Libertie; though not able to preuaile against his life. But what was the Chancellors reward (the King hating falshood in so great a Magistrate) other than his owne degradation, arraignment, and condemnation? *Belle lecon certes (saith Pasquiere) tout Iudge pour demourer tousiours en soy, & ne laisser fléchir sa conscience dedans les vagues d'une imagination fauue, qui pour fin de ieux se jette en mer; A faire lesson to all Iudges, to dwell alwaies in themselves, and not to suffer their consciences to float vpon the waves of imagination fauue, which in the end ouerwhelmes them.* And as for the Admirall: though it might haue beene answered vnto his friends, if any bewailed his calamitie as vnderfered, That hee was tryed, according to his owne desire, by the Lawes of his Country, and by the Iudges of Parliament; yet the Kings iustice, surmounting all other his passions, gaue backe vnto him his Honour, his Offices, his Libertie, and his Estate.

†. III.

The last Act of Scipio in Spaine. His returne to Rome where he is chosen Consul.

THE last businesse that troubled Scipio in Spaine, grew by the rebellion of the People, and mutinie of his Souldiers. He fell dangerously sicke, in such sort, that the rumor of his death ranne currant throughout Spaine. This encouraged Mandonius and Indibilis, pettie Kings, that had forsaken the Carthaginians, and followed Scipio awhile before, to take armes against the Romans. They were vainly perswaded, that after the Carthaginians were driuen out, they themselves should become the mightiest in all Spaine. But seeing now, that things were no way answerable to the greatnesse of their hopes; they thought it best to take the present advantage, and hammer out their owne fortunes. So they rashly fell vpon the *Suessetani* and *Sedetani*, Confederates of the Romans; and wasted their Countrey. Part of the Roman Armie lying at *Suero*, in stead of making head against these Rebels, grew to be affected with the like distemper. They had not reaped such profit of their Roman conquests, as might satisfie their desires; or as they thought easie to be gotten, if they might be their owne Caruers. Wherefore, when the death of Scipio was reported, they thought, that the time serued very well, to enrich themselves with the spoile of the Countrey. Many outrages they committed: and, which was greatest of all, driving away their Colonels, that should haue bridled their furie; they chose out of their owne number two base fellows, *Albius Calenus*, and *Atrius Pmbes*; to their Commanders. These tooke vpon them all the Ensignes of Proconsuls, or Propretors; as if this their election had bene liketo that, wherein *Lucius Marcius* was chosen by the Souldiers, after the death of the two Scipios. But whilst they were deusing; what exploits they might doe, for the enriching of themselves, in a time of such combustion as was expected; there arriued more certaine newes, that Scipio was both aliue, and in good health. There came also new Colonels, sent vnto them from their General: who mildly rebuking their want of consideration, and seeming to be glad that they had no further

ouer-shot themselves; led them to *Carthage*, there to receive their pay. Before their coming, *Scipio* had resolved to doe exemplarie iustice on the principall offenders; and to put the whole multitude of them in feare, of what they had deserved. Therefore hee caused *Syllanus* to make ready the Companies which lay before in the Towne, as it were to make an Expedition against *Mandonius*, and *Indibilis*; Hee caused *Albius* and *Atrius* with some thirtie other of their Complices, to be secretly apprehended in their lodgings; Hee called the Mutiners to assembly; and hauing them vnarmed as they were, encircled round by *Syllanus* and his Companies, prepared for the purpose; he bitterly inueighed against them all as Traitors. This done, *Albius*, and *Atrius*, with the other prisoners, were halcd to the stake; where they were whipt, and beheaded, as was the *Roman* custome toward such offenders. The rest of the Souldiers, to the number of eight thousand, were caused to take their oath of obedience anew; and receiued euery man his pay when hee was sworn.

Mandonius and *Indibilis* continued in armes; notwithstanding that they had certaine word of *Scipio* his life and health. Well they could haue bene contented to bee quiet: but by the leuitie vsed to the *Roman* Souldiers, they stood in feare, as being *Spaniards*, and greater offenders, of harder measure. *Scipio* went against them; and found them in a Valley, that was scarce large enough to hold all their Armie. In the entrance thereof hee fought with them: and sending *Lelius* with all his horse to fetch a compassse about the Hills, & charge them in rear; he ouerthrew them. *Indibilis* and *Mandonius* had after this, no hope remaining to persecue themselves and their estates, otherwise then by making submission. *Mandonius* therefore came to *Scipio*: and humbly crauing pardon, both for himselfe, and for his brother *Indibilis*, obtained his request; yetso, that they were taught to acknowledge themselves lesse free Princes then formerly they had beene.

Afterward *Scipio* went toward *Gades*: and was met on the way by *Masaniissa*; who secretly promised to do him all seruice, if the People of *Rome* would send him to make War in *Africk*. Vnto *Mago* that lay in *Gades*, came directions from *Carthage*; that letting all care of *Spain* alone, he should thence depart with his fleet into *Italie*; and there wage an Armie of *Gauls*, and *Ligurians*, to ioyne with *Hannibal*. For this purpose, was money sent vnto him from *Carthage*; and he himselfe laid hold vpon all that he could finde in the Towne of *Gades*; without sparing either priuate men, the common treasury, or the Temples. In his voyage thence, he landed at *Carthage*; hoping to haue taken it by surpris. But he failed in the attempt; and was so beaten to his ships, that he returned backe to repose himselfe a while at *Gades*. The *Gaditanes*, offended with the robberies and spoyle that hee had made at his taking leaue of them, would not suffer him againe to enter into their Citie. By this he foresaw, that it would not be long ere they became *Roman*. Wherefore sending Messengers into the Towne, to complaine of this vn courteous dealing, he assured their Magistrates forth vnto him; whom, notwithstanding all the excuse that they could make, he whipt, and crucified. This done, hee followed his former intended voyage; bidding *Spain* farewell for euer.

The Isle and Citie of *Gades*, was yeelded to the *Romans*, presently after the departure of *Mago*. Then did *Scipio* deliuer vp the Prouince, to those that were sent from *Rome* to succcede him therein: and himselfe with ten ships returned home. At his coming to *Rome* he made suite for the honour of a triumph. But it was denied him: for that it had as yet bene granted vnto no Proconsul; excepting to such, as receiued that dignitie after a Consulship, as it were by prorogation. But to make amends for this repulse: the election of new Consuls being then in hand, by generall voice of the Citie *P. Cornelius Scipio* was chosen Consul; and *P. Licinius Crassus* joyned with him. This *Crassus*, being high Priest, or Bishop of the *Romans*; might not, by the custome of those times, go farre fro the Citie; as being to intend the matters of their superstition: though *Cesar*, and others, who in ages following held the same Office; were stayed by no such religious impediment, from being farre, and long absent. Hereby it came to passe, that *Scipio* desiring to haue the warre transferred into *Africk*, was in no danger to lose that honourable charge, by any mischance of los in the diuision of Prouinces; for that his Colleague was not capable of employment so farre off.

§. XVIII.

Scipio obtains leaue to make warre in Africk. His preparations. Of Masaniissa who was ioynd with Scipio. The victories against Asdrubal and Syphax.

P. Cornelius Scipio, and *P. Licinius Crassus*, entering into their Consulship, held a meeting of the Senate in the Capitol: wherein it was decreed, that *Scipio* should bee allowed, to bestow part of the money which hee had brought out of *Spain* into the treasury; vpon the setting forth of solemne plaies, that he had vowed to make, whilst hee was busied in his *Spanish* warres. This helped well to reuiue the memorie of his victories already gotten; and to giue hope vnto the People of greater victories in the warre, which hee intended to make in *Africk*. To the same purpose, did the *Spanish* Embassadors auail much in the Senate, especially that of the *Saguntines*: who magnified his actions, highly and deservingly, saying, That they were the most happy of all their Countreins, since they being present, had seene him chosen Consul, and should carry home such joyfull newes. The *Saguntine* Embassadors were louingly entertained by the Senate; as their faith to *Rome*, though costly it were both to them, and to the *Romans*, had well deserved. Neuertheless, when *Scipio* propoed, that *Africk* might be decreed vnto him for his Prouince: there wanted not many, euen of the principall men, that vehemently gaine said him. Of these was *Q. Fabius Maximus* the chiefe: who seemes to haue bene troubled with that disease; which too often causeth men renowned for long approoued vertue, to looke asquint vpon the actions of those, that follow them in the same kinde. Hee alleged many reasons against the purpose of the Consul: whereof the chiefe were, That the treasury was vnable to sustaine the charges of a warre in *Africk*; and that it was extremely perillous to hazard so great forces, where they could not at pleasure bee recalled vnto the defence of *Rome* it selfe, if need required. Hereunto hee added many words concerning the danger wherein *Italy* stood, not only of *Hannibal*, but of *Mago* his brother, that was arming the *Ligurians*: as also concerning the honour of the Consul; which would (he said) be greater in setting *Italy* free from enemies, then it could be in doing any harme to *Africk*. Neither did he forget, both to eleuate the *Spanish* warres, as of lesse moment than the intended voyage against *Carthage*; nor withall to lay great blame vpon *Scipio*, for hauing suffered *Asdrubal* to passe into *Italy*: shewing, that it was greatly to be feared, lest the like might happen againe; and that a new Armie, notwithstanding the good successe of *Scipio* (if it hapned to be good) might be sent from *Carthage*, to the vtter endangering of *Rome*, whilst the *Roman* forces were employed abroad. But the maine point which hee viued, was, That neither the Senate had ordained, nor the People commanded, *Africk* to be thar yere a Prouince: which the Consul neuertheless propounded in such wise, as if it were a matter already concluded, and no longer to be argued. *Scipio* on the other side, insisted vpon this one point; That it was better to make an offensive, than a defensive warre: especially against such as the *Carthaginians*, who being ill provided of able men at home, did furnish themselves by helpe of money, with leues made abroad. As for the care of *Italie*, he doubted not, but *P. Licinius* his Colleague would be as well able to discharge it now, as others had done in times of greater danger. So promising to draw *Hannibal* into *Africk*, for defence of his owne home: and taxing as ciuilly as he could, the enuy of *Fabius*, which withstood such a gallant enterprise; he propoed the matter againe vnto the Senate. Much alteration there was about the manner of his proceeding: for asmuch as it was noyled abroad, that if he could not bring the Senate to his minde, he would carry it by the People. This offended many of the Ancients: who reuened in this honourable man a little spice of that arrogance, which in following ages, grew to bee much hotter in those that had commanded long abroad. But in conclusion, *Scipio* referred himselfe wholly vnto the Senates good will and pleasure; whereby he obtained thus much, That the Isle of *Sicill* might be appointed vnto him for his Prouince; with leaue to passe ouer into *Africk*, if he found it expedient.

Want of money, and no great liking to his voyage, made the *Roman* Senate haue little care to furnish out *Scipio* to the warre, by him intended vpon *Africke*. Herewithall it fell out, that *Mago*, coming on the suddaine from the *Baleares* to *Genoa*, and winning the Towne, bred a feare of no lesse terrible inuasion vpon *Italy*, than that which *Asdrubal* had lately made. Hee could not indeed raise any great Armie of the *Ligurians*; for that hee found them distracted with ciuill warres. Therefore hee was driuen to make choise of

his partie; and to helpe those whom he thought fittest for his turne, against the others. This troublefome businesse, though it occupied more of his time than he could willingly haue passed; yet it got him reputation by his victories; and made the vnto the *Gauls*, redie to enter into his pay. Hereupon the dispersed Legions of the *Romans*, that vnder Proconsuls, and Pretors, lay ready to be employed where need should require; were directed vnto the borders of *Lombardie* and *Liguria*, there to make head against *Magno*. But all his menaces passed away in vapour. For a fleet either coming to his ayde from *Carthage*, or by him sent thither (the report is vncertaine) laden with the booty that he had taken; fell into the hands of the *Roman* Pretor, that governed in *Sardinia*. This did much dislike him: and though after a while, there came letters from *Carthage*, together with store of money, hartning him in his proceedings; yet some impediments which he found, and that fatall voice of *Scipio* into *Africke*, disturbed all; and made him bee recalled home.

Against *Hannibal*, was nothing done this yeere. Neither was any thing done by him, of which the *Roman* Historians haue bene pleased to take notice. Onely it is said, that he spent the Summer by the Temple of *Iuno Lacina*, where he raised an Altar, with a huge Title of all that he had performed, grauen in *Punike* and *Grecke* letters. Such account of winnings past, is commonly in Gamblers that are at the height of their fortune, a cause of remission, and carelesse; in those that are vpon the losing hand, a cause both of the fame for the present, and shortly after of dejection, when they finde a notable change. A 20 great pestilence, infecting both the *Carthaginian* and the *Roman* Campe, is said to haue bene the occasion of this yeeres idleness, which fell out not much amisse for the Citie of *Rome*, that was maruailously empowred by this warre; and had already tried the vnmolt way to defray the charges, which grew insupportable. To relieue the present necessitie it was well thought vpon, that a great part of *Campania* (not many yeeres since confiscated) should be sold, or let out: in which bargain, that the Citie might receiue no losse; the tenth part of the fine was ordained as a reward, vnto the detectors of lands concealed.

Of this, or other money, none was giuen to *Scipio*. Neither was hee allowed to make preffe of Souldiers for his *African* voyage; neither did he ouer-much labour to obtaine it. That which the Senate refused, the People did for him: or rather they did it for themselves; that were therein wiser than the Senate. It is vually found in Councils of estate, that the busie, or obstinate heads of a few, doe carrie all the rest. And many times men make a surrender of their owne iudgements, to the wisdom that hath gotten it selfe a name, by giuing happie direction in troubles forepast. Therefore, he that repoth himselfe vpon the aduice of many, shall often finde himselfe deceived: the counsaile of those many being wholly directed by the empire of a few, that ouer-sway the rest. *Q. Fabius* was accounted the Oracle of his time: for his warie nature sorted well with the busines, that fell out in the chiefe of his employment. Vnto him therefore *Q. Fulvius* adhered, with other of the Senators, that were growne olde in following one course; from which they could not shift, as the change of times required. But the People (who though they could not well aduise, and deliberate, yet could well apprehend) embraced the needfull resolution of *Scipio*: in such sort, that besides his *Roman* forces, he had from diuers parts of *Italie* about seuen thousand Voluntaries. Hee had also prouision from the leuerall Townes; Corne, Iron, Canas for sailes, Axes, Beede-hookes, Hand-milles, and thelike implements, Firre for building of ships, many thousands of Targets, Helmetts, & Spears of all kindes: euery place furnishing him with that commoditie, which it best could afford.

Vnto this willingness of the People, the diligence of *Scipio* was correspondent. In the compass of fiftie and fortie dayes, he had both sold his Timber, built, and lanced twentie *Triremes*, and ten *Quinqueremes* Gallies; wherewith he transported his Armie into *Sicill*. In *Sicill* hee found, besides other forces, two Legions, that had serued at *Cannae*: which were olde Souldiers, and (as he himselfe well knew) not guilty of the overthrow; for which they had long vnder-gone a heauy censure. They had serued vnder *Marcellus* and *Laelius*, at the taking of many Cities, and strong places: in which regard, they were like to be of good vnto him in *Africke*, where would be store of such employment. For increasing the number of his horse, he pressed three hundred *Sicilians*, all wealthie young men, and such as loued well their ease. These he afterward discharged from the Warre,

highly

highly to their contentment: but with condition that they should deliuer their Horse and Armes, to as many *Roman* Gentlemen, which he brought ouer with him for the purpose. Whilst he was prouiding, to haue things in a readines for *Africke*, the banished *Locrians* that followed the *Roman* side, made him acquainted with an intelligence, whereby they hoped to recover their Citie. Some handicrafts men, that wrought for the *Carthaginians* in one of the Citadels of *Locri* (for there were two in the Towne) being take prisoners by the *Romans*, promised to betray the place, if they might be ransom'd, & rewarded. *Scipio* being aduertised of this, gaue order to haue the attempt made by night: which happily succeeded; and that Citadell was surpris'd. The other Citadell was strongly defended by the *Carthaginian* Garriso, which sent to *Hannibal* for aide. The *Romans* in like sort, fearing lest their owne paucitie should make them too weak for *Hannibal*, craued helpe of the Consull *Scipio*. The Townesmen were doubtfully affected: but the best, and most of them inclinining to the *Romans*, kept *Hannibal* out; whom the coming of *Scipio* caused thence to depart; and caused likewise the *Carthaginian* Garrison to abandon the other Citadell. Many outrages were committed by the *Roman* Souldiers, that were left by *Scipio* in custodie of the Towne. Wherefore a vehement complaint was made by the *Locrians* vnto the *Roman* Senate; not onely against those of the Garrison: but much more against *Plinius* the Captaine, who giue bad example, and was worse than all the rest. Besides many Murders, Robberies, Rapes, and other villanies: in the Temple of *Proserpina*, that had a great fame of sanctitie, was spoyled by these barbarous Thecues. The *Locrians* therefore aduised the Senate to make present amends to the goddesse for this sacriledge: saying, that the like had neuer bene committed, without notorious reuenge by her taken vpon the Authors. The Senate gaue good care to this complaint, comforted the *Locrians*, and redressed the iniuries done vnto them; sent for *Plinius*, with other principal offenders, whom they cast into prison, and vsed according to their deserts: as also they restored vnto *Proserpina* her money twice told. But olde *Q. Fabius* was not herewithall contented. Hee laid much of the blame vpon *Scipio*, that had placed such a man in *Locri*; and had not carefully hearkened to the complaints made against him, but suffered him to runne on in these his wicked courses. By the sharpe inuention that *Fabius* made, others tooke courage to speake what they pleased, as well against the demeanour of *Scipio*, as against the dissolutenesse of his Armie; which lay, as they said, idle in *Sicill*, neither mindfull of any seruice toward, nor fit for it if neede should require. Finally, things were to farre vrged, that tenne Legates were sent ouer into *Sicill*, together with the Pretor appointed for that Iland; two of the *Tribunes*, and one of the *Aediles*; who should examine these matters; and either cause the Generall to returne into *Italie*, or continue him in his charge, as they thought fit. The end of all was: they found him so well prepared against *Carthage*, as that they hastned him on his iourney, and gaue him high commendations at their returne.

Scipio had already employ'd *Laelius* in *Africke*; rather to make discouerie, than to worke any other great effect of warre. Hee tooke a great bootie: and strucke no litle terror into the *Carthaginians*; who saw their affaires to be vpon termes of change. But the greatest fruit of his iourney was. That speaking with *Masaniissa*, he well informed himselfe of the state of *Africke*, and knew what was to be expected of those two Kings, that had promised to ioyne with the *Romans* at their landing.

Concerning *Masaniissa*'s revolt from the *Carthaginians*, and his compact made vnder-hand with the *Romans*: *Liue* doth professe, That there was no such euident cause thereof at the present; but that the long continuance of his faith and constancie, in following times, must helpe to proue, that this his change, was not without some good cause. But *Appianus* (an Historian farre inferior to *Liue*, both in Worth and Time) giues one reason to probable of this, and many accidents thereto belonging, as that it carries with it a great appearance of necessary truth. Onely the doubt is, How it could any way come to passe; that the knowledge of such a matter should haue escaped the diligence of *Liue*, if it had bene true: vntill we should beleuee, that he wilfully forbore to rehearse a Tragedie; the sorrow whereof would cause men to thinke amisse of *Scipio*. Howsoever it was, thus *Appian* tells it: and many circumstances of things done, confirme it. *Asdrubal*, the sonne of *Gisco*, had a faire daughter, whom both King *Syphax* and *Masaniissa* loved. *Masaniissa*, being brought vp at *Carthage*, and being withall a goodly gentleman of person, and excellent in qualities, was chosen by *Asdrubal* to be his sonne-in-law.

When

When the virgin was betrothed vnto him, hee went into *Spaine*, and there did greater fauour. But afterwards, the *Carthaginian* Senate thought the marriage of *Asdrubal* daughter to be a matter of State : and bestowed her vpon *Sphax*; without flanding to acquaint her father or *Masaniſſa* therewithall. This they did, for that *Sphax* was the more mightie Prince; and for that the indignitie of the repulse, had made him become their enemy. Hereof *Masaniſſa* was aduertised : and forthwith entred into intelligence with *Scipio*, secretly as hee thought ; yet not so secretly, but some notice was taken of it : which would haue cost him his life, had he not with great circumspection conueighed himselfe home into his fathers Kingdome. Thus farre forth we may belecue *Appianus*: all the narration well cohering with things past, and following. Onely it seemes, that howsoeuer *Sophonisba* the daughter of *Asdrubal*, was promised by the *Carthaginians* vnto *Sphax*; yet since this their courtesie proceeded from feare, Hee thought it wike doome to continue and increase the same their feare, by making faire promises to the *Romans*; vntill *Asdrubal* had sent for his daughter from *Carthage*, and the marriage was consummated. In other matters concerning the warre it selfe, wherein *Appian* differs much from *Luiue*, and from *Polybius*, whom (as appeares by the broken peeces of his works remaining) *Liuius* did follow; it will be no offence, to take little heed vnto his reports.

Masaniſſa was the ſonne of *Gala*, a King of the *Namidians*: whoſe father dying, the Crown deſcended by order of the Country, vnto *Deſales* the brother, not vnto *Masaniſſa* the ſonne. But this Vncle of *Masaniſſa* thorowly dyed and his elder ſonne, who tooke poſſeſſion of the Kingdome, was vanquiſhed, and ſlaine in battaile by a Rebel, that made himſelfe Protector ouer the younger which was a child. The Traitor fortified himſelfe againſt *Masaniſſa*, whoſe returne hee feared, by Alliances with the *Carthaginians* and *Syphax*. But all would not ſerue: Hee, and his Pupill, were diſpoſſeſſed of their Eſtates by *Masaniſſa*, that was a ſkilfull Warriour, and well beloued for the memorie of his father *Gala*. The *Carthaginians* in reaſon ſhould haue bene glad, that *Masaniſſa*, who had done them notable ſeruiſe, was thus confirmed in his Eſtate: had they not bene gilty of the iniurie by them done vnto him; whilſt his Vncle or Couſin reigned, and he ſeemed unlikely to ſtand them in any ſtead. But *Syphax*, by their procurement, and perhaps by his owne falſe towards his Couſinall, warred vpon him; and ouer-charging him with numbers, draue him out of his Kingdome. Neuertheleſſe *Masaniſſa* ſtill retained the hearts of his people: and thereby remained ſtrong enough, to infeſt both *Syphax* and the *Carthaginians*: though hee was often put in diſtreſſe, by great forces that were ſent againſt him. He therefore keeping much about the leſſer *Syria*, between the borders of the *Carthaginians* and the Nation of the *Garamants*, expected the coming of the *Romans*: yet ſo, as he made long roades ouer all the Country, euen as farre as to *Hippo*, and when *Laſius* arriued thereabouts, exhorted and encouraged him to haſten on *Scipio* to the inuallion of *Africk*.

But *Syphax*, in whose great aide and succour was reposed more hope of good success, than could be expected from the good will of poore *Mafaniffa* : sent an Embassage into *Scitola* about the same time, which was little pleasing unto *Scipio*. He excused himselfe of his promise lately made : and signified his alliance with the *Carthaginians* ; adding, That he could not chooseth but fight for the defence of *Africk*, wherein hee was borne and reigned ; and for the defence of his beloved wiues Countrey, if it were invaded. Netherlesse he promised to remaine a Neutro so long as the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* held warre abroad, farre enough from *Africk*, as hitherto they had done. This message hastened *Scipio* in his Expedition, much more than any perswasion could haue done. For the promised assistance of *Syphax* had not a little advanced his enterprize ; in procuring both the assent of the Senate, and the forwardnesse of many Adventurers. Left therefore the saying of this hope, should worke too great a change in common opinion, He thought it the best way to prevent all discourse, and set the warre vnder take immediately on foot. The Embassadors he dismissed in all haste, with letters to their King : wherein he willed him to consider, that what hee had promised, hee had also sworn ; and therefore should doe well to make it good. Having sent them away, He called his Souldiers together, and bade them make readie for the voyage ; which hee intended no longer to deferre. For, saide hee, *Mafaniffa* hath bene with *Leluts* : and *Syphax* hath newly sent to me ; greatly wondering upon what I should thus flay ; and saying, That they will provide for themselves, if I faile their expectation by tarrying any longer. This fine tale

tale prevented all further inquisition, that might else haue bene made concerning the
 message of these Embassadors; whose followers had bene seene walking vp and downe
Syracuse. And left any thing should afterwards breake out, that might hinder the busi-
 nesse, *Scipio* immediately sent about his fleet vnto *Lilybeum*: and requesting by letters
M. Pomponius, that was Pretor in *Sicily*, to meete him there; halted thither with his Ar-
 mie. As *Lilybeum* he agreed with the Pretor, about the diuision of the Legions between
 them; which to leaue behinde for defence of the Iland; and which to carry with him in-
 to *Africke*. What numbers he transported, it is not certaine: some Historians reckoning
 onely ten thousand foot, and two and twentie hundred horse; others increasing them to
 foure and thirtie thousand, horse and foot. Concerning his directions for embalming, and
 other matters belonging to their course, I hold it needlesse to set them down: since they
 were points of ordinat care, and which it is like that neither hee, when hee tooke
 his voyage into *Spain*, nor others vpon like occasions, haue omitted; they being also
 word for word set downe by an Historian, who borrowed them from *Liuius*, and fitted
 them to a Prince of later age.

them to a Prince of later age.
This *Roman* Armie landed in *Africke*, neere to a Fore-land then called the faire *Promontorie*; which how faire it was from *Carthage*, or toward what point of the *Compass*, I cannot precisely affirme; because it is vncertaine, whether it were that Cape or Head-land which bore the name of *Mercurie*, and lay to the North-east of *Carthage*; or whether that of *Apollo*, which lay Northerly from *Carthage*, and by West. The coming of *Masaniussa* vnto *Scipio* at his first arrivall, helpes to confirme the opinion of *Xylander* who thinks the faire *Promontorie* to haue bene the same, that was also called *Mercuries Cape*, since with little difficultie *Masaniussa* might come thither fro the lesser *Syrta*, whereabout was his common abiding. But forasmuch as without any memorable impediment soone after his arrivall, *Scipio* encamped beyond *Vtica*, that stood Westward from *Carthage* beyond the River *Bagradas*: it may rather seeme, that hee landed within the *Promontorie* of *Apollo*; whence the way to *Vtica* was not long. This is also strongly proved; for that out of *Carthage* were sent, the next day, six hundred horse to trouble him in his disembarking. Neither was it so hard for *Masaniussa*, that routed about the Countrey with a troupe of horse, to finde out the *Romans*, though they landed farr from the place to the which hee vially retired, like as before hee had met with *Lellius* at *Hippo* that was farther off; as it would haue bene for *Scipio*, with his Armie and Carriages, to ouer-come the trouble of a long iourney, and fetch a great compass to *Vtica*, by Land; when hee might haue disembarked neerer vnto it. Neuerthelesse it may passe as a con-
30 clusion, That *Scipio* came chiefe of all to *Emporia*, a plentifull Region about the lesser *Syrta*, since he gaue charge to the Masters of his ships, at the setting forth from *Lilibeum*, to shipe their course for that coast. The Countrey thereabout was very rich, and fit for
40 sustenance of an Armie: neither were the Inhabitants warlike, or well provided to make resistance. Thus much perhaps *Masaniussa* had signified vnto *Lellius*, when he spake with him at *Hippo*: thinking that the *Romans*, howeouer they made braue promises, would
50 not come strong enough to fight at head. But when hee saw their fleet and Army to bee such, as not onely suited to invade the Lands of *Carthage*, but thrained a conquest of the Citie, and whole Situate: then might hee better aduise them to set sayle for *Vtica*, and
make warre vpon the Enemies at their owne doores.

make warre upon the Enemies at their owne doores. The *Carthaginians* had at that time neither any Captaine of great worth at home, nor better Armie than of raw Souldiers; that were lewied, or to be lewied in *Sicily*. Afterward the sonne of *Gisco*, the same that had lately bene chased out of *Spain* by *Hanno*, and his selfe man of warre. And good enough perhaps hee was thought by *Hanno* and his fellows, of whose faction he was: or if ought were wanting in him, yet his Riches and Nobilitie, together with the affinity of King *Syphax*, made him passeable. He was then with the King his son in law, working him (no doubt) against the *Romans*: when letters were brought from *Carthage*, both to *Syphax* & to him, informing them of the Inuasion: the one of them to giue assistance, and commanding the other to make his remeate into the Citie, where he was chosen General. But ere these could be ready, *Scipio* had beaten the troupe of *Carthaginian* horse, that were sent out of the Citie to disturbe his landing; and slaine *Hanno* a yong Gentleman, that was their Leader. He had also taken and sacked a Towne of the *Carthaginians*: wherein, besides other bootie, hee tooke eight thousand prisoners; all which hee consigned aboard his Hulks of ships of

burden, and sent them backe laden into *Sicil*. He rooke likewise a Towne called *Sale*, which he held and fortified. In *Salera* lay another *Hanno*, with foure thousand *Numidian* horse: whose seruice being fitter for the field, than for defence of walled places, made *Scipio* to perceiue the vnskillfulness of their Leader, that had thus housed them. Wherefore he sent *Masaniissa* before him: who rode vp to the gates; and, by making a brauado, trained out the improuident *Hanno* so farre, that hee drew him vnto a place, where the *Romans* lay in wait for him. The victory was easily gotten, and *Hanno* either taken, or slaine. With those that fled, the *Romans* entred pell-mell into the towne, which presently they made their owne. Thence went *Scipio* to *Vtica*, a City of great importance, * of which mention had bene formerly made, and late done before it. Forty dayes he spent about it, assaying it both by Land and Sea, and vying all his engines of battery whereof he had plenty, yet was in no likelihood of preuayling. And now the Summer was quite spent: so that it was time for him to chosse a place, and fortifie his Winter-Campe, which must be well stored against the yeare following. Whilest thus necessity vrged him to leaue *Vtica*: and shame of taking the repulse in his first great enterprise, rather than any hope of better successe, caused him to stay there: *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* gae him the honour of a faire pretence to leaue the siege. *Asdrubal* had made a Levie of thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse: yet aduentured not with this ill-trained Army to draw neare vnto the *Romans*, before the coming of *Syphax*. *Syphax* brought with him vnto *Carthage* fifty thousand foot, and tenne thousand horse: which ioyning vnto the forces of *Asdrubal*, they marched brauely toward *Scipio*, who thereby tooke occasion to dis-lodge. He chole for his Winter-campe the banks of an Inlet, that had good harbour for his Nauie. His foot men hee lodged on a Promontorie, ioyning to the Continent by an arme of Land: his horse-men hee bestowed vpon lower ground, on the other shoare: in the bottome of the Creeke he moored his ships, and there he quartered the mariners, with all that belonged vnto the Fleet. The whole campe he strongly fortified, and so attended the season of the yeare, when it should serue him againe to fight. Of cattails and other bootie *Masaniissa* had brought in great store, by driving the Country, before the coming of *Asdrubal* and *Syphax*. Come also hee had gotten some: and great store was sent him from *Sicil* and *Sardinia*. Likewise a parrell for his Souldiers, was sent from home, or from *Sardinia*: though scarce enough to serue turne, for that it was a matter of more cost. The shippes that brought these things, he freighted homewards with such part of his bootie, as he could best spare, especially with captiues to be sold for slaues. *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* encamped neare vnto *Scipio*: not so strongly fortifying themselves, as did the *Romans*, either for that they wanted the seure institution, which the *Romans* vsed in the discipline of warre, or for that they presumed vpon their multitude, against which they found in *Scipio* no disposition to issue forth of his strength, and fight. So the Winter passed without action.

When Spring drew neare, *Scipio* thought it good to assay his old friend the *Numidian* King, if perhaps hee might be wonne by perswasions to forsake the *Carthaginians*. It was considered, that those *Barbarians* were naturally vnconstant; and particularly, that *Syphax* had giuen proofe before this of his much leuitie. It might therefore be hoped, That hauing worried himselfe, by lodging a whole Winter in the Camp: and being peraduenture no lesse weary with satiety of his wife, who had caused him to enter into this warre: he might be moued with a little entreatie to with-draw himselfe home into his Kingdome, and rest a *Neuter*. But it is not vnlikely, that such a friend as this King, had bene highly entertained and honoured in the City of *Carthage*, which was neare at hand, as often as during this Winter it had pleased him, or as he had bene invited, to make a step thither and repose himselfe a while: his wife *Queene Sophoniba* lying also there at the same time, to cherish him in his resolution. Howsoever it were, *Syphax* did onely make an oerture of peace: propounding it as reasonable, That *Hannibal* should be recalled out of *Italy* by the *Carthaginians*: and that the *Romans* in like sort should quietly depart out of *Affricke*, and so make an end of the warre: wherewith now both *Affricke* and *Europe* were disquieted. Vnto this would not *Scipio* at the first giue care: yet being pressed earnestly by many messages from *Syphax*, and desiring to continue the inter-course of Embassadors; he began to make shew, as if he would consider of the motion. He was giuen to vnderstand by those whom he had sent vnto the King, That the Enemies had their camps without any great defence of earth, full of wooden Cab-

bins,

bins, and couered with boughes: and that the *Numidians*, such of them as came first with *Syphax*, vsed coverings of Mattes and Reedes; others, that came later, had thatched their lodgings with drie boughes and leaues: vnder which they lay carelessly without their Trenches. Vpon this aduertisement hee bothought himselfe, That it would be no hard for him to fetter their camps on fire, and thereby giue them a notable ouerthrow. Without helpe of some such stratageme, he fore-saw that it would be a worke of great difficulty for him, to proceede in his warres when time should serue. It was a plaine open Country wherein he lay: and the Enemies had great aduantage of him in number, especially in horse; which, vpon such ground, could not be resisted by the *Roman* Legions. The longer therefore that he thought vpon the matter; the more needfull hee found it for himselfe, to make some sudden attempt vpon their Campe. To this end hee sent many Embassadors, vnder pretence of treating about the Peace; but indeede of purpose to discouer all that might concerne the intended surprize. With these Embassadors he sent, as Attendants, many olde Souldiers disguised like slaues; that wandering (as it were) idly vp and downe the Campe, might obscure the wayes and entrances, with whatsoeuer else was needefull. When he had learned as much as he desired: vpon the sudden hee sent word to *Syphax*, that it was vaine to hold any longer Treatie, forasmuch as he could not get the consent of his Councell of warre, without whose approbation, all that himselfe could doe, was no more, than the good will of one man. This hee did, to the end that, without any breach of faith, hee might put his designe in execution. The Truce being thus cut off, *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* were very peniue; as hauing lately perswaded themselves, that their trouble was almost at an end. But since it could be no better, they beganne to deuise, by what arte they might draw *Scipio* out of his Campe, and prouoke him to battaile in those Plaines. This if they could doe, they hoped to make his Councell of warre repent as greatly the refusal of peace, as did *Marcus Attilius* after the like presumption. But if he should refuse to come forth of his Trenches, what else remained than to besiege him; which they themselves were well able to doe by land; and the *Carthaginian* fleet should doe by Sea, that was making ready for the purpose. By such discourses these two comforted themselves, recompencing (in concept) the losse of their hopes past, with that of victory to come. But herein they were extremely and worthily disappointed: for that consulting about the future, they provided not against present danger, but continued in the same negligence, which was growne vpon them by the long discourse of peace. As for *Scipio*, he was no idle; but made preparation out of hand, as it were to doe somewhat against *Vtica*. Two thousand Souldiers he had made ready, and appoynted to take the same peece of ground, whereon he lay against *Vtica* before. This hee did, partly to keep secret that which he had in hand, lest being suspected by his owne Souldiers, the Enemy might happen to haue notice of it; partly to hinder those of *Vtica* from setting vpon the few, that he purposed to leaue behinde him in his Campe. He caused his men that night to suppe well, and beimes; that they might be ready for the journey. After supper, hee appoynted such Companies as hee thought fit, to the defence of his Campe; all the rest of the army he led forth, about nine of the clocke at night. The *Carthaginians* lay from him seauen miles and an halfe: whom he purposed to vndertake himselfe with the one halfe of his army, the other halfe he committed to *Lelius* and *Masaniissa*, whom hee sent before him to set vpon the campe of *Syphax*, that was farther off. It was his meaning, that the campe of *Syphax* should be on a light fire, ere he would meddle with the *Carthaginians*. For the fire might seeme to haue taken hold by casualty vpon the *Numidians*, that lay farther off: whereas if it first appeared in the camp of *Asdrubal*, it would be suspected as the doing of enemies, and giue *Syphax* warning to look to himselfe. To this end therefore *Scipio* marched faire and softly; that *Lelius* and *Masaniissa*, who had a longer iourney, and were to fetch a compass about for feare of being discouered, might haue time to get before him, & do their feat. It was about two or three of the clocke in the morning, when the campe of *Syphax* began to blaze: which not onely the *Numidians*, but their King himselfe, imputed vnto casualty; as thinking themselves safe enough from enemies, for that the *Carthaginians* lay interposed betwene them and the danger. Wherefore as if there were no more to doe, some, starting halfe asleepe, and others, that had fallen vp late at drinking, ranne out of their Cabbins to quench the fire. But so great was the tumult, that they neither could rightly vnderstand in what case they were, nor giue any remedie to the mischance, as it

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burden, and sent them backe loaden into *Sicil*. He tooke likewise a Towne called *Salera*, which he held and fortified. In *Salera* lay another *Hanno*, with foure thousand *Numidian* horse: whose service being fitter for the field, than for defence of walled places, made *Scipio* to perceiue the vnskillfulness of their Leader, that had thus housed them. Wherefore he sent *Masanissa* before him: who rode vp to the gates; and, by making a brauado, trained out the improuident *Hanno* so farre, that hee drew him vnto a place, where the *Romans* lay in wait for him. The victory was easily gotten, and *Hanno* either taken, or slaine. With those that fled, the *Romans* entred pell-mell into the towne, which presently they made their owne. Thence went *Scipio* to *Vtica*, a City of great importance, * of which mention hath beene formerly made, and fare downe before it. Forty dayes he spent about it, assaying it both by Land and Sea, and vsing all his engines of battery whereof he had plenty, yet was in no likelihood of preuayling. And now the Summer was quite spent: so that it was time for him to chosse a place, and forsake his Winter Campe, which must be well stored against the yeare following. Whilest this necessity vrged him to leaue *Vtica*: and shame of taking the repulse in his first great enterprise, rather than any hope of better successe, caused him to stay there: *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* gaue him the honour of a faire pretence to leaue the siege. *Asdrubal* had made a Leuiue of thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse: yet aduentured not with this ill-trained Army to draw neare vnto the *Romans*, before the coming of *Syphax*. *Syphax* brought with him vnto *Carthage* fifty thousand foot, and tenne thousand horse: which ioyning vnto the forces of *Asdrubal*, they marched brauely toward *Scipio*, who thereby tooke occasion to dis-lodge. He chose for his Winter-campe the banks of an Inlet, that had good harbour for his Nauie. His foot men hee lodged on a Promontorie, ioyning to the Continent by an arme of Land: his horse-men hee bestowed vpon lower ground, on the other shore: in the bottome of the Creeke he moted his ships; and there he quartered the mariners, with all that belonged vnto the Fleet. The whole campe he strongly fortified, and so attended the season of the yeare, when it should serue him againe to fight. Of cattail and other bootie *Masanissa* had brought in great store, by driving the Countrey, before the coming of *Asdrubal* and *Syphax*. Come also hee had gotten some: and great store was sent him from *Sicil* and *Sardinia*. Likewise a partell for his Souldiers, was sent from home, or from *Sardinia*: though scarce enough to serue turne, for that it was a matter of more cost. The shippes that brought these things, he freighted homewards with such part of his booty, as he could best spare, especially with captiues to be sold for slaues. *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* encamped neare vnto *Scipio*: not so strongly fortifying themselves, as did the *Romans*, either for that they wanted the sure institution, which the *Romans* vsed in the discipline of warre, or for that they presumed vpon their multitude, against which they found in *Scipio* no disposition to issue forth of his strength, and fight. So the Winter passed without action.

When Spring drew neare, *Scipio* thought it good to assay his old friend the *Numidian* King, if perhaps hee might be wonne by perswasions to forsake the *Carthaginians*. It was considered, that those *Barbarians* were naturally vnconstant; and particularly, that *Syphax* had giuen proofe before this of his much leuiue. It might therefore be hoped, That hauing wearied himselfe, by lodging a whole Winter in the Camp: and being peraduente no lesse weary with satiety of his wife, who had caused him to enter into this warre: he might be moued with a little entreatie to with draw himselfe home into his Kingdome, and rest a *Neuter*. But it is not vnlikely, that such a friend as this King, had beene highly entertained and honoured in the City of *Carthage*, which was neare at hand, as often as during this Winter it had pleased him, or as he had beene invited, to make a step thither and repose himselfe a while: his wife *Queene Sophoniba* lying also there at the same time, to cherish him in his resolution. Howsoever it were, *Syphax* did onely make an outture of peace: propounding it as reasonable, That *Hannibal* should be recalled out of *Italy* by the *Carthaginians*: and that the *Romans* in like sort should quietly depart out of *Africke*, and so make an end of the warre: wherewith now both *Africke* and *Europe* were disquieted. Vnto this would not *Scipio* at the first giue care: yet being pressed earnestly by many messages from *Syphax*, and desiring to continue the inter-course of Embassadors; he began to make shew, as if he would consider of the motion. He was giuen to vnderstand by those whom he had sent vnto the King, that the Enemies had their camps without any great defence of earth, full of wooden Cab-

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bins, and couered with boughes: and that the *Numidians*, such of them as came first with *Syphax*, vsed coverings of Mattes and Reedes; others, that came later, had tharched their lodgings with drie boughes and leaues: vnder which they lay carelessly without their Trenches. Vpon this aduertisement hee bethought himselfe, That it would not be hard for him to set their camps on fire, and thereby giue them a notable overthrow. With-out helpe of some such stratageme, he sore-saw that it would be a worke of great difficulty for him, to proceede in his warres when time should serue. It was a plaine open Countrey wherein he lay: and the Enemies had great aduantage of him in number, especially in horse; which, vpon such ground, could not be resisted by the *Roman* Legions. The longer therefore that he thought vpon the matter; the more needfull he found it for himselfe, to make some sudden attempt vpon their Campe. To this end he sent many Embassadors, vnder pretence of treating about the Peace; but indeede of purpose to discover all that might concerne the intended surprize. With these Embassadors he sent, as Attendants, many olde Souldiers disguised like slaues; that wandering (as it were) idly vp and downe the Campe, might obserue the wayes and entrances, with whatouer else was needfull. When he had learned as much as he desired: vpon the sudden he sent word to *Syphax*, that it was vaine to hold any longer Treatie, forasmuch as he could not get the consent of his Councell of warre, without whose approbation, all that himselfe could doe, was no more, than the good will of one man. This he did, to the end that, without any breach of faith, hee might put his designe in execution. The Trenches thus cut off, *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* were very peniue; as hauing lately perceived themselves, that their trouble was almost at an end. But since it could be no better, they beganne to deuise, by what arte they might draw *Scipio* out of his Campe, and prouoke him to battaile in those Plaines. This if they could doe, they hoped to make his Councell of warre repent as greatly the refusal of peace, as did *Marcus Attilius* after the like presumption. But if he should refuse to come forth of his Trenches, what else remained than to besiege him? which they themselves were well able to do by land; and the *Carthaginian* fleet should doe by Sea, that was making ready for the purpose. By such discourtesies these two comforted themselves; recompencing (in conceipt) the losse of their hopes past, with that of victory to come. But herein they were extremely and worthily disappointed: for that consulting about the future, they provided not against present danger, but continued in the same negligence, which was growne vpon them by the long discourse of peace. 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It was about two or three of the clocke in the morning, when the campe of *Syphax* began to blaze: which not onely the *Numidians*, but their King himselfe, imputed vnto casualty; as thinking themselves safe enough from enemies, for that the *Carthaginians* lay interposed betwene them and the danger. Wherefore as if there were no more to doe, some, starting halfe asleepe; and others, that had sitten vp late at drinking, ranne out of their Cabbins to quench the fire. But so great was the tumult, that they neither could rightly vnderstand in what case they were, nor giue any remedie to the mischance, as it

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was supposed. Many were smothered and burnt in the flame, which grew greater and greater: many, leaping into the Trenches for feare of the sudden mischiefe, were trampled to death by the multitude that followed them. They that escaped the fire, fell upon the enemies sword, which was ready to receive them. Especially *Masaniſſa*, that best knew the Country, did great execution upon them; having layd all the wayes, by which hee foresaw that they would seeke to escape. The *Carthaginians* perceiving this fire, thought none other than that it was a pittifull mischance: so that some ranne out to helpe the poore *Numidians*; carrying onely what would serve to quench the fire. Others ranne up to the Rampart: where, fearelesse of any danger towards themselves, they stood beholding the greatnesse of the flame, and lamenting the misfortune. This fell out as *Scipio* would have it. He therefore lost no time: but setting upon those that were running towards the *Numidians*, he killed some, and pursued the rest backe into their campe, which in a little while he made to burne as bright, as did that of *Syphax*. *Asdrubal* seeing this, and knowing that the *Romans* were there, did not stand to make resistance, but shifted onely for himselfe, and escaped with a few of his horse about him. If *Hannibal*, or any of the *Barchine* faction, had bene taken in such a manner: it is more than probable, that old *Hanno* would have judged him worthy to be crucified. It would then have bene sayd, that with lesse than one halfe of thirty thousand men, hee might at least have given some bad recompence, to them that were taking paines in kindling these fires, had he not bene onely careful how to save his owne fearefull head. Nevertheless,

Excerpt. c. Pol.
lib. 14.

Polybius acknowledgeth, and it is most likely to have bene true, That if *Asdrubal*, or any of those about him, would have striven to shew valour, when the Campe was once on fire: He should not thereby have done any manner of good, because of the tumult and confutation. I shall not need to tell what a fearefull thing it was, to heare the cries of so many thousands that perished by fire and sword, or to behold the cruell flame that consumed them; which (as *Polybius* affirmes) none that hath being is able to describe. It is enough to say, That of those many thousands very few did escape, which accompanied *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* in their severall wayes of flight. Besides these also there were some scatterers, especially of the *Numidians*, that saved themselves in the darke: but they were not many, as after shall appeare. Surely it must needs have bene very hard to tell, how many were burnt or otherwise made away, and what numbers escaped in the darke of night. Wherefore *Luie*, who in the rest of this Relation, as often elsewhere, doth follow *Polybius*, may seeme to have followed some lesse worthy Author, and him no good Arithmetician, in casting up the summe. For hee reckons onely two thousand foot, and five hundred horse, to have escaped; forty thousand to have perished by sword or fire, and above sixe thousand to have bene taken prisoners: the whole number of all which together, is farre short of foure score and thirtene thousand, which were in these two Campes.

Asdrubal, putting himselfe into the next towne that was very strongly fortified, thought thereto finde the *Romans* wicke, untill the *Carthaginians* at good leisure might repaire their Army. He had with him no more than two thousand foot, & five hundred horse: which hee thought sufficient to defend the Towne; if the Towne-men would not be wanting to themselves. But he found the Inhabitants of the place very earnest in contention, whether it were better to fight, or to yeelde. Unto this disputation, he well foresaw, that the arrivall of *Scipio* would soone give an end. Wherefore, lest they should lay hold upon him, and seeke the Victors favour by delivring him up, he shrunke away betimes, and made all haste to *Carthage*. As for the towne, which he left; it opened the gates to *Scipio*, at his first coming: and thereby preserved it selfe from all manner of losse. The two next Townes adjoining would needs be valiant, and make countenance of warre: but their strength not being answerable, they were soone taken by *Scipio*, who abandoned them to the pleasure of his Souldiers. This being done, hee returned to the siege of *Vtica*.

The *Carthaginians* were sore troubled, as they had good reason; when, instead of either Peace or Victorie, which they lately hoped for, they heard newes of such a lamentable overthrow. Necessitie enforced them to make hastie provision for the future: but how to doe it, few of them saw any means. Some gave aduice to craue peace of *Scipio*: others, to send for *Hannibal* out of *Italie*; but the most, and they which finally prevailed, were of opinion, That notwithstanding the losse of this Army, they might yet defend

defend themselves against the *Romans*, by raising new forces: especially, if *Syphax* would not leave them. It was therefore concluded, That they should bend all their care this way, leavyn in all haste an other Army; and sending Embassadors to deale with *Syphax*, who lay then at a Towne called *Alba*, not passing eight miles from *Carthage*. Immediately the same their infortunate Commander, *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Gisco*, was employed to make new levies of men: and Queene *Sophoniba* went forth with Embassadors to her husband *Syphax*; who having gathered together as many as he could of his subiects that had escaped from the late slaughter, was thinking to returne into his owne kingdom. *Sophoniba* laboured so with her husband, that at length the wonne him to her owne desire. And it fell out at the same time, that foure thousand *Spaniards*, who to the *Carthaginians*, were brought over to serve in *Africke*. Of these were made such braue reports, as if their courage, and the armes which they used, were not to be resisted. Even the multitude within *Carthage* beleaved these tales, and were more glad than they had cause to be; which is great wonder, since in one Age, the whole country of *Spain* had bene twice conquered; first, by the *Carthaginians* themselves, and after by the *Romans*. But with *Syphax* these tales pleased much: which the *Carthaginian* Embassadors helped with a lie, saying, That there were come ten thousand of these terrible *Spaniards*. Upon this confidence, the people of *Carthage* and their friends gathered such spirit, that in thirty dayes they made up an Army, consisting well-near of thirty thousand men, reckoning the *Spaniards*, and *Syphax* with his *Numidians* in the number. So they incamped in a Region called *The Great Fields*, about five dayes journey from *Vtica*. *Scipio* hearing of this, came from *Vtica* thither, to visit them: leaving behinde him his impediments, with some part of his Army, to make a shew of continuing the siege. Two or three dayes after the meeting of both armies, passed away in skirmish, without any great thing done. It had now bene time for *Asdrubal* to follow the example of the *Roman*, *Fabius*, and seeke to weary out the Enemy by delays. But either (which is likely) he was a farre worse Commander, or else, it was not in his power to give such directions as best pleased himselfe. The fourth day the Armies met in battle: wherein the *Romans* were marshalled by *Scipio* after their wonted manner, having their *Italian* horse in the right wing; and *Masaniſſa* with his *Numidians* in the left. On the contrary side, *Asdrubal* and his *Carthaginians* had the right wing; *Syphax*, the left; and the *Spaniards*, the battaile. The victory was gotten without many blowes: for the vntaynd followers of *Syphax* and *Asdrubal*, could not flye the first charge of the *Italians*, or of *Masaniſſa*. Onely the *Spaniards* fought along time, even untill they were all in a manner slaine: rather as men desperate, and not hoping for mercy, since they were thus come over to fight against *Scipio*, who had otherwise deserved of them, than upon any likelihood or conceit of victory. This their obstinacy was beneficiall to those that fled; for that it hindered the *Romans* from making any great pursuit. Hereby *Asdrubal*, and *Syphax* escaped: *Asdrubal*, to *Carthage*; and *Syphax* home to his owne kingdom: whether his wife was either gone before, or immediately followed him.

Scipio, having thus gotten the mastery of the field, took counsaile about the prosecution of the warre. It was resolved upon as the best course, That he himselfe, with part of the Army, should attempt the Cities round about him: and that *Masaniſſa*, with his *Numidians*, and *Lelius*, with some of the *Roman* Legions, should follow after *Syphax*; not permitting him to take rest within his owne Kingdom, where easily else he might repaire his forces, and put them to new trouble. This aduice, it seemed that *Masaniſſa* gave: who knew best the quality of the *Numidians*; and what good might be done among them, by the reputation of a victory. The least that could be expected, was his restitution into his owne kingdom, vntoed by *Syphax*: which to accomplish it, it no lesse concerned the *Romans* at the present, than it did himselfe. According to this order concluded, *Lelius* was sent away with *Masaniſſa*: and *Scipio* stayed behinde, carrying the warre from towne to towne. Many places yeelded for feare; many were taken by force; and all the subiects of *Carthage* waunted in their fidelity; as if the time were now come, wherein they might take notice of those unreasonable burdens, which their proud Masters had layd upon them for maintenance of the warre in *Spain* and *Italy*. What to do in this case the *Carthaginians* could hardly resolve. Fortune was their Enemy; they had lost their Armies, and many of their Townes: neither durst they make bold to trouble their owne subiects with any violent exaction of men or money; who nevertheless of

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their owne free will were likely to give little help. Very much it grieved them to send for *Hannibal* out of *Italy*: yet since there was no other hope remaining, than in him and his good Army; it was decreed, That Embassadors should be forthwith sent to call him home. Some there were that gave aduice, to set out a fleet against that of *Scipio*; that rode before *Vtica*, weakly manned, and easie to be taken, whilst *Scipio* himselfe was busied in the Inland Countries. Some were of opinion, That it should be their principall care, to fortifie by all means the City of *Carthage*: vpon the safety whereof they laid all depended: adding, that whilst they were true, and at vniue among themselves, they might well enough subsist, and expect those opportunities, with which Fortune (doubtlesse) would present them. These counsels were not reiected; but order was forthwith taken, both for all things concerning the defence of the City, and for the attempt vpon the *Roman* fleet at *Vtica*. Neuerthelesse, it was considered, that hereby they should only protract the warre, without any aduancing their owne affaires towards likelihood of victory, no, though it should fall out, that all the shippes at *Vtica* might be taken or destroyed. Wherefore the determination held concerning *Hannibal*, That he should immediately come ouer into *Affricke*, as the last refuge of *Carthage*. The Councell was no sooner broken vp, than all the Senators betooke themselves to the execution of that which was decreed: some, to the fortification of the towne: some, to make ready the Fleet; and some, appoynted therunto, forthwith to embarque themselves for *Italia*.

In this their trepidation *Scipio* comes to *Tunes*, a Citie in those dayes very strong, and standing in prospect almost of uery part of *Carthage*. This place, or rather more defensible peere adioyning, he easily tooke, the garrison forsaking it, and running away as soone as he drew neare. But whilst he was about thereto in campe, and fortifie himselfe against the City, he might perceiue the *Carthaginian* Fleet setting forth, and making towards *Vtica*: What this meant, he readily conceiued, and stood in great feare, lest his owne ships, that were very ill prepared for Sea-fight (as being heauily laden with engines of battery, and wholly disposed in such order, as was most conuenient for assaulting the towne) should make bad resistance, against a fleet appointed for that speciall seruice. Wherefore he hied away towards *Vtica*, to assist with his presence in this needfull case. It fell out well, that he had sent his carriages, and all the great booty which he drew along with him, thither before, at his going to *Tunes*. For had not he now made great expedition, he should haue come too late. Neither could he indeede haue bene there in due time, if the *Carthaginians* had vied such diligence as was conuenient. But they rested one night in harbour by the way: and at their coming to *Vtica*, they turned a while to make a brauado, presenting themselves in order of battell, as if the *Romans* would haue put forth to Sea against them. But *Scipio* had no such intent: he thought it would be sufficient, if he could preferre his Gallies. As for the pleasure of their brauerie at Sea; it should little auale the *Carthaginians*, if they got nothing by it, and lost their whole estate by Land. Wherefore he tooke his ships of burden, and fastning them together with cables, in foure ranks, one be hinde another, made a foure-fold bridge ouer the Channell of the Hauens; whereon he placed a thousand of his choice men, with store of Darts, and other casting weapons, to make defence. Some open spaces he left, whereat his Frigots, and other small Vessels, might runne out and backe againe vpon any aduantage or need: but these he couered with planks, vnder the masts and yards of his ships in stead of rafters, to ioyn them together, that his men might help one another, and the bridge it selfe not be torne asunder. Scarce was this worke finished, when the *Carthaginians*, seeing none issue forth against them, came into the Hauens. The fight betwene them and the *Romans* that were in the Hulkes, was rather like to the assaulting of a wall, than to any Sea-fight. For they that stood vpon the bridge, had sure footing, and threw their weapons downwards, with their whole strength and violence; which the *Carthaginians* out of their gallies, that were lower and vnsteady, could not doe. But the *Roman* Frigots & long boats, aduancing forth from behind the Bridge, were greatly ouer-borne by the force of the gallies; and were one occasion of that small losse which followed. They that stood vpon the Bridge were neither able to relieue them, nor yet could freely bestow their weapons among the *Carthaginians*, as before, for feare of hurting these their friends, that were intangled & mixed among the enemies. The *Carthaginians* had brought with them grappling hooks, hanging at Iron chains. These they threw vpon the masts & yards which serued as arches to ioyn the bridge together: then rowing

ing backwards, they tore all asunder, in such sort, that one ship followed another, and all the first ranke was broken, or defaced. The Defendants had no other way, than to saue themselves as hastily as they could, by shifting into the next ranke of ships, that lay behinde them vnouched. Neither did the *Carthaginians* trouble themselves any further in this laborious worke: but hauing haled away fixe ships of burden, and towed them out of the Hauens, returned home to *Carthage*. Their wel-come was greater than their victory: because among so many grieuous losses, onely this exploit had succeeded well, though it were of small importance.

Whilst things thus passed about *Carthage*, *Lelius* and *Masaniissa*, in their journey against *Syphax*, found as good success as could be desired. The fame of the victories already gotten, restored *Masaniissa* to his kingdom, without further contention: the *Masaniissa* his subiects, joyfully receiuing him, and forsaking the vsurpers. But here they stayed not: neither indeed would *Syphax* permit them to be quiet. He had such abundance of men and horses, that he felt not greatly the losses past: and therefore, being solicited by *Afarbal* and *Sophonisba*, he prepared againe for warre. But beside the instigation of his beloved wife, the losse of the *Masaniissa* would let him take no rest: neither was it the purpose of *Lelius* and *Masaniissa*, to give him any breathing time. It is common in men, to depart no lesse vnwillingly from that which they haue gotten by extortion, than from their proper inheritance; but to thinke all alike their owne, whereof they are in possession, be the title vnto some part neuer to vniuit. Hercunto alludes the fable of the young Kite; which thought that shee had vomited vp her owne guts, when it was onely the garbage of some other fowle, that she had hastily swallowed, and was not able to digest. But whether or no, *Syphax*, like the young Kite, beleued the Kingdom of the *Masaniissa* to be part of his entrails: *Lelius* and *Masaniissa* will shortly giue him somewhat that shall make him cast his gorge. For to this purpose chiefly are they come so farr. It concerned the *Romans* to dispossesse (if it might be) that King, whose false and hollow friendship towards them, had bene conuerted into strong enmity; as also for in his place another, who might doe them such good offices, as *Syphax* had lately done vnto the *Carthaginians*. How easily this might be effected, *Masaniissa* knew best, as being well acquainted with the nature of those Countries; wherein, vnto this day, though there be many strong townes, yet the fortune of a battell is enough, to translate the kingdom from one Competitor to another. So they met with *Syphax*, who came against them with no less an Army, than his former, and marshalled in the *Roman* order; according to the skill, which he had learned of the *Roman* Centurion, long agoe sent vnto him out of *Spain* from *Cn. Scipio*. But though he could teach his men how to march in order; yet could he not teach them to fight courageously. They were a rabble of all sorts, gathered vp in haste: and few of them had seen warre before. Encamping nere vnto the *Romans*, it fell out, as commonly, that some small troups of horse on both sides, encountred one another in the mid-way: and they that had the worst, were seconded by other of their fellows. By continuance of the skirmish, more and more were drawne out from either Campe: so that at length *Syphax*, vnwilling to dishearten his men by taking any foyle at their first meeting with the Enemy, came vp with all his horse, which were the best part of his forces, and therewith ouer-charged *Masaniissa*, whose numbers were farre lesse. But whilst he was prosecuting his hope of victory: some *Roman* squadrons of Foot came against him: though their owne Troupes of horse, which fell to the sides, and made a lane for them. So their battaile standing now more firme, than a little before; *Syphax* was vnable, though he laboured much in vaine, to make them giue ground. *Masaniissa* likewise, and his Troupes grew confident vpon this assistance: and charging afresh the Enemy, that could not make way forward, caused him to giue backe. Herewithall the Legions came in fight: which terrified the *Numidian* horse, that they beganne presently to dis-band. Faine would *Syphax* haue stayed them from flight: and to that end made head in person against the *Romans*; with hope, that his men would be ashamed to leaue him. But it fell out vnhalpally, that hee was cast from his horse, which receiued a wound, and was taken prisoner. Of others that were slaine or taken, the multitude was not great. It sufficed, that they forsooke the place, and fled, and that their king, vpon whom all depended, was in the *Roman* hand. *Masaniissa* told *Lelius*, that this victory should make an end of the *Numidian* warre, if presently they hasted away to *Cirta* the chiefe city of the kingdom; whither he himselfe desired

to be sent before with the Horse, carrying *Syphax*, along with him. Hereto *Laelus* agreed. *Masanissa* coming to *Cirta*, before any newes of the Kings mischance was there arrived, called out the chiefe of the City to parlee: wherein by many faire promises and threats, but especially by shewing vnto them *Syphax* bound, he pteuayled so farre, that the gates were forthwith opened vnto him; and euery one stroue to get his fauour, that was like to be their King hereafter. Among the rest *Queen Sophonisba* yielded herselfe into his hands, and vehemently besought him, that she might not be deliuered vp vnto the *Romans*. Her youth, and excellent beauty, so commended her suite, that *Masanissa* forthwith granted it; and to make good his promise, married her himselfe that very day: thereby to preuent *Laelus* and *Scipio* from determining other wise of her, since there was his wife. But *Laelus*, when he came thither, tooke the matter hainously, so that at first he would haue haled her away, together with *Syphax* and other prisoners, and haue sent her vnto *Scipio*. But being ouer-increased by *Masanissa*, he suffered the matter to rest, whileas he found it, and referred all to *Scipio's* discretion: to whom he sent away *Syphax* and other captiues immediately; following shortly after himselfe with *Masanissa*, when they had done what was needfull in the kingdome.

At the coming of *Syphax* there was great ioy in the *Roman* Campe: the mighty Armies which he had lately brought into the field: and his entertainment of *Scipio* and *Asdrubal*, both at one time, when *Rome* and *Carthage* together fought his friendship: with such other commemoration of his past and present fortune, unimisting to euery one a large argument of discourse. *Scipio* demanded of him, what had moued him, not onely to forsake the *Roman* friendship, but to make warre vpon them, unprouoked. He briefly answered, That his wife had moued him so to doe; calling her a Fury, and a pestilent creature: and saying, That *Masanissa* was no wiser than himselfe, since he had now taken the same woman to his wife, who would shortly draw him to the same courses. Hereat *Scipio* was greatly troubled: and stood in great doubt, lest this peillous woman should deprive him of *Masanissa*, as she had done of *Syphax*. It was not long, ere *Masanissa* and *Laelus* came vnto him: both of whom together he louingly welcomed; and highly commended in publique, for their notable seruice in this Expedition. Then taking *Masanissa* apart, he brake with him, as touching *Sophonisba*: letting him vnderstand, that the *Romans* had title to her herd, and that she was a mischieuous enemy of theirs. Wherefore he entreated him to moderate his affections: and not to detract the memory of his great seruices already done; (for which he should be highly rewarded to his owne contentment) by committing a great offence vpon little reason. *Masanissa* blusht, and wept: and finally promised to be gouerned by *Scipio*, whom he neuertheless entreated, to thinke vpon his faith giuen to *Sophonisba*, that she should not be deliuered into the *Romans* power. So he departed to his owne Tent, where, after sometime spent in agny, he called vnto him a seruant of his that had the custody of his poyson (which Princes vsed then to haue in a readinesse, against all mischances that might make them vniuiling to liue:) and terpering a potion for *Sophonisba*, sent it vnto her with this message, That gladly he would haue had her to liue with him as his wife: but since they who had power to hinder him of his desire, would not yeeld thereto, he sent her a cup, that should procure her from falling aliae into the hands of the *Romans*; willing her to remember her birth and estate, and accordingly to take order for her selfe.

At the receipt of this Message and Present, she onely sayd; That if her husband had not better token to send vnto his new wife, she must accept of this; adding, That she might haue dyed more honourably, if she had not wedded so lately before her funerall. And herewithall she oldely dranke off the poyson. Thus *Linie* reporteth. But *Appian* varies from this; and sets it downe agreeably to that which hath bene spoken before, concerning the precontract betwene *Masanissa* and *Sophonisba*. He sayth, That after the taking of *Syphax*, Embassadors from *Cirta* met with *Laelus* and *Masanissa* vpon their way thither, yeelding vp their City, and the Kings Palace: and that *Sophonisba*, for her owne private, sent messengers to excuse her marriage with *Syphax*, as made against her will, by compulsion of those in whose power she was. *Masanissa* readily admitted this excuse, and accepted her to wife. But when *Scipio* had receiued information from *Syphax*, how cunning in perswasion *Sophonisba* was; and that all her thoughts laboured for the good of *Carthage*, he fell out about her with *Masanissa* at his returne; and challenged her, as a part of the booty belonging to the *Romans*. *Masanissa* sayd, she was

was his owne wife, and vnto him betrothed many yeares before. But *Scipio* would not heare of this: or if it were true, yet he said it was no reason, that *Masanissa* should keepe her in possession, as long as it was disputable, vnto whom she might appertaine. Wherefore he willed him first of all to produce her, and then afterwards to make his claime vnto her, wherein he should haue no wrong. Herewithall he sent to fetch her away: and *Masanissa* accompanied the messengers, as it were to deliuer her: but making her acquainted with the necessity, gaue vnto her a cup of poyson, wherewith she ended her life, before they came that should haue apprehended her. So he shewed vnto the *Romans* her dead body, which he royally intured. The sudden violence of *Masanissa's* loue, and the ready consent of *Sophonisba* to marry with him: added not so much credit vnto this relation of *Appian*, as doth the want of all other euident cause (which *Linie* notes) of the sudden filling out betwene him and the *Carthaginians*, vnder whom he had bin trained vp, and done them great seruice. Howsoever it were; *Scipio*, hearing of this tragical accident, sent for *Masanissa*, and comforted him as well as he could, lest his melancholy should leade him to some inconuenience. Having therefore gently rebuked him for his rashnesse, he brought him forth in presence of the Army: where extolling his noble acts, and shewing how highly he had deserued of the City of *Rome*, he proclaimed him King, and gaue vnto him a Crowne of gold, with other royall ornaments. This was indeede the ready way to diuert his thoughts from the sad remembrance of that which was past, vnto the more chearefull contemplation of good fortune, that beganne to smile vpon him.

This was the first time that the *Romans* took vpon them to create or proclaime a King. Which honour though *Masanissa* well deserued: yet would not the Title haue redounded vnto his great benefit; neither should he haue bene much beholding to them for it, if he had not by their means recovered possession of his Country, together with the greatest part of *Syphax's* his dominions. It seemeth not unlikely, that had he remained a Neuter in these warres, and sustained himselfe with his troupe of horse, in such sort as he did before the coming of the *Romans*, he might neuertheless haue recovered his proper inheritance, by the loue of his owne subjects, without other helpe, when *Syphax* had once or twice bene vanquished. As for the enlargement of his kingdome, it was not more than he deserued: neither were the *Romans* then in case, to make a conquest of *Numidia* for themselves; neither could they haue wished after opportunity, than of such a man, vpon whom to bestow it, that was their assured friend, and passable withall among the *Numidians*, as being (for the *Masafli* were a *Numidian* Tribe) a great Prince of the same Nation. Yet this liberality of the *Romans*, was noised abroad as very glorious: and the *Romans* themselves, in a politicke sort of grauitie, tooke highly vpon them; as it euen their saluting him by the name of King, had bene a matter of great consequence. He thrived indeed well after it: and by their maintenance waxed mighty in times following, encroaching vpon his neighbours on all sides; but most of all vpon the State of *Carthage*, whereat they were little displeased. Hence it grew that *Vermin* the sonne of *Syphax* (of whom we shall shortly speake more) which held some peece of his fathers kingdome, desiring friendship of the *Romans*, and promising by all means to deserue their loue, requested therewithall, that they would call him King. But though it were so, that neuer any before him had made this a matter of suite: yet the *Roman* Senate was punctilious herein, and answered very grauely, That it was not their custome to giue the honour of that appellation, due onely vnto such Kings, as had greatly deserued of their City. Thus they made it a matter of State; & in proceesse of time grew so proud of this their imaginary prerogative, that they imputed as a singular benefit vnto Kings, that no way depended vpon them, the salutation by that name, though it were not accompanied with any other fauour or profit thence redounding.

§. XIX.

The Carthaginians desire Truce, and breake it.

THE *Carthaginians* were extremely dismayed, when they heard of the great calamity, that was befallen their good friend *Syphax*; and vnderstood that *Masanissa* their immortall enemy, had got possession of his kingdome. To increase their feare, *Scipio* returned againe to *Tunes* in view of their City: where he made an end of that Fortification, which he had begunne at his last being there. The *Carthaginians*

nians had neither forces, nor courage, to withstand him: but their hearts so failed them, that they sent forth vnto them thirty Embassadors, Princes of the citie, which were their Priuy Councell, to make suite for peace. These being admitted into the presence of *Scipio*, did not only prostrate themselves on the ground; but kissed the "feet of him, and of those that sat in Councell with him.

Excerpt. 2. Po.
lib. lib. 15.
Law. lib. 30.

Answerable to this base adoration was their speech that followed. They confessed themselves to have vnjustly broken the Peace betweene them and *Rome*; and to haue deserved whatsoever punishment it should please the *Romans* to inflict vpon them. Yet they humbly besought *Scipio* and the rest, that in common regard of those misfortunes, where to all men are subiect, they would shew mercy vnto the City of *Carthage*, and let it remaine, as a monument of their clemency; which, by the folly of other Citizens, had now twice deferred to be ouerthrowne. Herewithal they did not forget, to lay the blame vpon *Hannibal*: who without their appointment had beguene the warre; and was maintained in his doings by a Faction, without the good liking of the whole City. By this it appeares, that these Embassadors were no *Barchines*: but rather, that they were *Hanno*, and the choice of his company; who had now their long desired worke in hand, of suing vnto the *Romans* for peace. Whatsoever they were, it must needs be that they were most insolent men ouer those that were subiect vnto their power: for they would not haue made such adoration to the *Romans*, in their owne necessity; vnlesse they themselves had expected the like, where they had the aduantage.

It was not vnknowne to *Scipio*, or to his assistants, in what poore case the city of *Rome* then was; and how vnable to defray the charges of continuing the warre. Neither were the *Carthaginians*, notwithstanding the losse of so many Armies, in such ill case, as the *Romans* themselves had very lately bene. For they had money enough, wherewith to wage more men: they had a Citie farre stronger than *Rome*, and they had the Sea free. But they wanted the *Roman* resolution: and therefore distrustful the walles of *Carthage*, though *Pistica*, a weaker Citie, had all this while held out against *Scipio*, and could not yet be forced by him and his Army, though so often victorious in the field. *Scipio* therefore accepted their submission, and tolde them, That though he came into *Africke*, to make a conquest, and not a Peace: yet hauing the Conquest as it were in his hand, he would not deny to grant them the Peace which they desired; for thereby should all Nations vnderstand, that the people of *Rome* did follow the rule of Iustice, both in making warre, and in concluding it. The Conditions which he imposed vpon them, were these: That they should render vp vnto him all the prisoners that they had taken, together with all Renegadoes and fugitive slaves: That they should withdraw their Armies out of *Italie* and *Gaulle*: That they should not meddle in *Spaine*, nor yet in any Iland betwene *Italie* and *Africke*: That they should deliuer vp all their shippes of warre, saue twentie; and that they should pay a great summe of money, with certaine hundred thousand bushels of wheat and barley. To consider of these Articles, he gaue them three dayes: and when they had approved them, he granted a Truce; that they might send Embassadors vnto the *Roman* Senate.

This done, *Masaniissa* was dismissed, and went home into his kingdome, as if the warre had bene already at an end. *Syphax* was a little before sent with *Laelius* vnto *Rome*: where the fame of these victories filled men with ioy, and gaue hope, that the long-endured miseries would be shortly at an end. Wherefore all the Temples were fetopen, and an holy day appointed for thanksgiving and supplication to their gods. *Laelius* was accompanied with Embassadors from King *Masaniissa*: who gratulating the happy successe of the *Romans* in their *African* warre, and giuing thanks vnto the Senate for the benefits done by *Scipio* vnto their Master, made request for the *Numidians*, such as were now his subiects and prisoners in *Rome*, that they might be bestowed vpon him, who by rendering them to liberty, should doe an acte very plausible, that would make him gracious among his people in the beginning of his reigne. The *Roman* Senate were not behind with *Masaniissa* in complement: but shewing themselves to be highly pleased with all that *Scipio* had done, and should doe for him, they called him King againe, released his *Numidians* that were captiues; and sent him two purple Cassocks, that had each of them one gold button, with such other Presents, as in time of their pouerty might serue to testifie their good will. Scarcely were these and *Laelius* gone from *Rome*, when the newes came, that Embassadors from *Carthage* were arrived to desire peace. These Embassadors

were

were not admitted into the citie, but were lodged without: vnill *Laelius* being sent for, came backe from *Ofisia*, to be present when their demands wereto be heard. Then was audience giuen them in the Temple of *B. Vnna*; that stood in the Suburbs. The crand of these Embassadors, was peace, but the meaning of them and of their City, was one lyto winne time, and get respite for warre; vnill *Hannibal* and *Mago* should come out of *Italie*, either to chace the *Romans* out of *Africke*, or to obtaine peace for *Carthage*, by terror of their great names and Armies, vpon more easie conditions. Wherefore they made an idle discourse of the League, that was concluded betwene them and *Lucretius Catulus*, at the end of the former warre. This League they said, all things well considered, did still remaine in force: neither had there since bene any warre at all, betwene the people of *Rome* and the *Carthaginians*. For it was onely *Hannibal*, that, without any lease from *Carthage*, had of his owne head besieged and razed the Towne of *Saguntum*: and after that aduentured in like sort, without Commission, to passe the *Alpes*, and trouble (as he had done) the quiet of *Italy*. This being so, their Message was none other, than to desire, that the League before spoken of, made in the time of *Catulus*, might hereafter stand in force, as indeed it hitherto did, and ought to doe. The Senators had cause to wonder at this tale, hearing these Embassadors make (as it were) a jeast of a warre, that had bene so terrible. Wherefore they asked them a great many questions, concerning that Peace made by *Lucretius*, and other passages following betwene the two Cities. But they excused themselves by their age: (for they were all yong men) and said, That those things were beyond their knowledge and remembrance. Forthwith it appeared, That all was but collusion, and that they fought no other than to gaine time, vnill they might repaire the warre. Wherefore they were sent home in company of *Laelius*, without any conclusion at all of peace; and, in effect, without answer. This notwithstanding, wee finde in *Polybius*, That the Senate receiuing aduertisement from *Scipio*, of that which had passed betwene him and the *Carthaginians* in this Treatie of peace, approved the Conditions by him propounded, and gaue him licence to creupon, to proceede vnto conclusion. This may with good reason be belieued, since it was not vnknowne, that if the warre continued, all these goodly hopes must rife vpon the most vn certaine issue of one battell betwene *Hannibal* and *Scipio*: wherein if fortune should be auerse to them, their forces in *Africke* were no better than quite lost.

Matters thus hanging in suspence, before the *Carthaginian* Embassadors came backe from *Rome*, a Fleet out of *Sicily*, wherein were two hundred shippes of burden, and thirty Gallies, being bound for *Africke*, to victuall the *Roman* Campe, was ouer-taken by foule weather at Sea, and hardly escaping wrecke, was dispersed, and driuen aground in diuers parts of the Bay of *Carthage*, euen in view, and vnder command of the Citie. There was at that time, as wee finde in *Appian*, and may gather out of *Polybius*, a great dearth of victuall in *Carthage*, which caused the people to crie out vpon their Magistrates, that they should not let such a booty escape them; saying, that the danger of famine was greater and worse, than of breaking Truce. Whether it were so that hunger urged them, or that they yielded to their owne greedy desires: the multitude in *Carthage* vnderstood (as it seemes) that all this discourse of Peace in hand, was no better than mere mockery, and therefore cared not for obseruation of particular points, when they meant deceit in the whole. It was the manner in *Carthage*, as likewise in *Alexandria*, for all the rascality, together with women and boyes, to be meddling in vproaires, the clamors of the boyes being in such tumults no lesse violent than of the men. Wherefore it is no maruaile, if little regard were had of reason, or of honour, in any such commotion. A Fleet was sent out vnder *Asdrubal*, to gather vp the dispersed *Roman* shippes of burden (for the Gallies, by force of Oares, recovered the station whereto their campe adioyned) and bring them into *Carthage*, which was done. *Scipio* was hereat much offended: not only for the losse, and for that the Towne was thereby relieved; but for that by this breach of Truce, he fore-saw the intention of the *Carthaginians* to renew the warre, and put him to more trouble. Wherefore he sent Embassadors vnto them, both to require satisfaction for the injury done; and to deterre them from entertaining any other hope, than in the peace which they had so much desired. These gaue the *Carthaginians* to vnderstand, That Letters were come from *Rome* vnto *Scipio*, with allowance to conclude the Peace; vpon those conditions which he had propounded. But (said they) we hold it strange, That ye, who so lately haue cast your selues to the ground before vs, & kissed our feet,

Appian de bello
Punico.

Excerpt. 2. Po.
lib. lib. 15.

Excerpt. 2. Po.
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after an vn-usuall manner of humilitie, confessing your selues to haue perfidiously broken the League that was betwene vs, and thereby to haue deserued such punishment as is due vnto Rebels; should so soone forget what ye then vttered, and runne headlong againe into the same crimes, for which ye acknowledged your selues worthy to be destroyed, hauing only recourse vnto our mercy. We are not ignorant, that it is the confidence which ye repose in Hannibal, that thus emboldens you. Yet were it not amisse, that ye should consider, how long hee hath bin pent vp in a corner of Italy, among the Brutians; where he is in a manner besieged, and vnable to stirre: so that ye are like to find his help wanting in your greatest need. Or let it be supposed, that he were now in Affricke, and ready to giue vs battaile: yet should it well agree with your wisdome, to doubt what might befall; remembering that he is a man, and not invincible. Now if it should happen that he were overcome, what refuge haue ye left vnto your selues against heereafter? What gods will ye either sweare by, to be belieued, or call vpon in your misery? What words, or lamentable gesture will ye henceforth vse, to moue compassion? Surely ye haue already wasted all your force of perswasion, and shall not againe deuiue vs, if ye refuse the grace, whereof at this present ye are capable. It is no maruell though the Carthaginians were angry, when they heard themselves vpbraid with the base demeanor of their Embassadors. For it was not the generall opinion of the Citie, that the Truce was broken by them: but they thought it had pleased Hanno, or such as were of his faction, to gratifie the Romans with all manner of submission; and to renounce not onely their hope of the future, but all iustification of matters past. And indeed it seemes, that the Roman Embassadors were very much delighted, in the rehearfall of that point which was yielded vnto them; as knowing that thereon depended the iustice of the quarrell. But the Carthaginians tooke this in ill part, that hardly they could refrain from doing violence vnto the men, who had vsed vnto them such insolent speeches. Yet the fury of the multitude was in some sort appeased, either by Hanno, whom Appian (I know not why) calles *Hanno the Great*; or by the very reverence, due vnto the place of those that had vttered such liberal words. So they were dismissed in friendly sort, although it were without answer to their Proposition. There were also two Gallies appointed for their safe conuoy home; though with little intent of good vnto their persons. Asdrubal was then in the mid-way, as men sailed from Carthage, towards *Nica*. He, whether onely desirous to please the multitude, of whose disposition he was informed, or whether directed by publique order to cut off these Embassadors in their way homeward, lay waiting for them behinde a Cape, that was a little beyond the mouth of the riuer *Bagradas*. Their Conuoy hauing brought them on the way, as farre as to the mouth of *Bagradas*, wished them a good voyage; and so tooke leaue of them, as if they had bene then in safety, since the Roman Campe was euen in sight. The Embassadors tooke this in ill part, not as fearing any danger toward; but thinking themselves too much neglected, forasmuch as their attendants did so abruptly leaue them. But no sooner had they doubled the Cape, than Asdrubal fell vpon them, in such manner, as they might well discern his purpose, which was to haue stemmed them. They rowed hard therefore: and being in a Quinquere, that had more banks of Oares, than had any Gallie of Asdrubal, they slipped away, and made him ouer-shoot himselfe. Yet hee gaue them chase; and had well-near surprised them. But they discouered some Roman Companies on the shoare ouer against them, and therefore aduentured to runne their vessell aground: whereby they saved their owne liues, though a great part of their company were slaine, or hurt. This practise of the Carthaginians was inexcusable: and for the same cause perhaps were the Citizens heartned in such a dishonorable attempt, by those that were desirous to continue the warre; that thereby they might be driven to studie nothing else, than how to get the victory, as hauing none other hope remaining. Yet likely it is, that the same feare, which had caused them to make such earnest suite for peace, would also haue caused them to be better aduised, than thus to abandon all hope of Treatic: had they not bene giuen to vnderstand, that Hannibal was already landed in Affricke, in whom they reposed no small confidence; but verily perswaded themselves, that he would change their fortune, and teach the Romans to hold themselves contented with more easie conditions, than were those that Scipio, in the pride of his fortune, had of late propounded.

in what sort Hannibal spent the time after the battaile of Metaurus. The doing of Mago in Italie. Hannibal called out of Italie. How the Romans were diuersly affected by Hannibals departure.

Ever since the losse of first battaile at Metaurus, Hannibal remained in the Countrey of the Brutians; waiting for another supply from Carthage. The Roman Consuls that succeeded vnto Claudius and Linius, by whom Asdrubal was overcome and slaine, were contented to be quiet all their yeere. Neither did Licinius the Colleague of Scipio ought worthe of remembrance against Hannibal: being hindred by the pestilence that was in his Armie. Sempronius the Consul who followed Licinius, and Cn. Seruilius Cæpio, who followed Sempronius, were earnestly bent to haue done somewhat: but their diligence was in a manner fruitlesse. In some skirmishes with Hannibal, they had the better; in some, the worse: and a few poore Townes they got from him, as it were by stealth; his care being more to preserve his Armie, than to keepe those places that were weak.

The Romans had at this time so many great pieces of worke in hand, that their chiefe enemie was become, not the chiefe part of their care. Their thoughts were mainly bent vpon Affricke, wherein they were at no small charges to maintaine the Armie, which (as was hoped) should bring the warre to a short and happy conclusion. They stood nevertheless in much feare of Mago, the brother of Hannibal: who tooke exceeding paines among the Ligurians and Gaules to raise an Armie, wherewith to kindle anew the warre in Italie, that begonne to waxe cold. Mago solicited also the Hæturians, and found therein so ready to stirre in his behelpe, that if he could haue entered their Countrey strong, it might haue proued no lesse needfull for Scipio to resume home out of Affricke, than shortly it was for Hannibal, to make speed vnto the defence of Carthage. These dangers caused the Romans to employ one of their Consuls or Proconsuls, with an Armie, among the Hæturians; another among the Gaules; and a third among the Ligurians: forasmuch as it was vncertaine, vpon which side Mago would breake out. Being thus busied, it is no wonder though they forbore to ouercharge Hannibal with any great power.

As for Mago, when things were in some readines for his setting forwards, he met in the Countrey of the *Insabrians*, which is about Milan, with M. Cornelius the Roman Proconsul, and P. Quintilius Varus one of the Prætors. With these he fought a battaile, wherein though his vertue shewed it selfe worthe of his father and brethren; yet his fortune was Carthaginian. The fight continued a long while doubtfull, in such sort that the Roman Commanders began to distrust the issue. Wherefore Quintilius the Prætor, taking vnto him all the Roman Horse, thought to haue shaken the Enemies to pieces. The Legions at the same time gaue a loud shout: and strained themselves hard, as if at that brunt the victory should haue bene carried before them. But Mago opposed his Elephants to the Horse: the seruice of those beasts being fitter for such like, than against the Squadrons of Foot. The figure, sent, and braying of these Elephants, did so affright the Horse, that they started aside, and were scattered ouer the field; their Riders being vnable to manage them. Hereby the Numidians got aduantage vpon them: whose manner of fight was more auilible against those that were loose, than against the Troupes that were close and thick. Then fell the Elephants vpon the Legions: which entertained them after the accustomed manner, with a shower of darts, and killed foure of them; causing all the rest to giue backe. This notwithstanding, the same Legions were so vehemently pressed by the Enemy, that more for shame of running away, than by any great force to make resistance, they held their ground. The Proconsul therefore brought vp those forces, which hee had kept vnto the last, to succour where need should most require. Against these Mago employed some of his Gaules, whom hee had in readinesse for the like occasion. But these Gaules discharged their parts very ill. They were soone beaten off; and recoiled so hastily, that they brought feare vpon all the rest. When Mago saw that his men began to shrink, hee put himselfe in the head of his Armie; and held them so well to it, that keeping their order, they made a faire Retreat, with their faces toward the Enemy. But at length hee received a grievous wound in his thigh; wherof shortly after hee dyed. Hee was taken vp, and carried out of danger by some of his owne men:

men: the rest of them, after little further resistance, provided every one for himselfe: So the *Romans* obtained victorie, not without great cost; as purchasing the death of about five thousand enemies, with the losse of two thousand and three hundred of the *Praetors* Armie, besides those that dyed of the *Proconsuls* Legions; also besides diuers Colonels, Captaines, and Gentlemen of marke, that fell in this hote peece of seruice. Neither were there any prisoners taken; whereby it may seeme that the Enemies did not fall to rout, before they had recovered some ground that might assure them from pursuit: How euer it were, this victorie would haue much imported for the assurance of *Italie*, if the State of *Carthage* could longer haue permitted these valiant sonnes of *Amilcar* to abide therein. But *Mago* with-drawing himselfe (by easie iournies, because of his wound) to into *Liguria*, found there Embassadors from *Carthage* attending him: who gaue him to vnderstand the pleasure of their Citie, which was, That both hee and *Hannibal* should presently repaire home with all their forces; not staying any longer to thinke vpon the conquest of *Italie*, since *Carthage* it selfe was ready to be lost. He obeyed this Commandement, and embarked shortly his Armie; but dyed of his wound about *Sardinia*, in the way homewards.

About the same time *Hannibal* received the like command from *Carthage* to returne into *Africk*. He heard it with great impatience; gnashing his teeth, and groaning, and hardly keeping in the teares, that were readie to burst out, whilest the Embassadors were deliuering their errand. When their message was done; He told them, That this was yet to plain dealing. For, said He, They that now directly bid mee come home, haue long agoe done their best to haile me out of *Italie*; though more closely and crookedly they went to worke, by stopping the supply, that should haue enabled me to manage the Warre heere. *Scipio* therefore shall not need to bragge, that he hath drawne me home by the becles: it is *Hanno*, that hath wrought this noble feat; and overwhelmed the House of the *Barchines*, for lacke of other means to doe it, with the ruine of *Carthage*. He had before prepared a Fleet in readinesse, doubting that, which after came to passe: wherein he embarked, besides his owne men, as many of the *Italians*, as were content to be partakers of his fortune. Many there were, that shrunk backe from him, and refused to doe seruice in this Expedition: of whom such as he could take he slew; not sparing those that fled into the Temple of *Iuno Lucina*, to which had been held an inuiolable Sanctuarie vnto that day. He was indeed then wholly transported with rage; and departed out of *Italie* no lesse passionate, then men are wont to be, when they leaue their owne Countries to goe into exile. Hee looked backe vnto the shore: accusing both gods and men; and cursing his owne dulnesse, in that hee had not led his Armie from *Canna*, horte and bloudied as it was, directly vnto the Walls of *Rome*. With such vexation of spirit He quitted the possession of *Italie*; wherein he had liued almost halfe his time.

If it could haue bene foretold vnto the *Romans*, in the first beginning of this Warre, with what exceeding ioy in times following they should entertaine the newes of *Hannibal* his departure out of *Italie*: they would (I thinke) lesse earnestly haue pressed the *Carthaginians* to send him ouer thither. When sure aduertisement was brought vnto the Citie, that *Hannibal* was gone with all his Armie: an Holliday was appointed for thanksgiving vnto their gods; and extraordinary great sacrifices publicly made, for ioy of such happy tidings. Yet old *Q. Fabius* was of opinion, That the danger did still remaine the same, though the place were changed: for that *Hannibal* at his coming into *Africk*, would finde *P. Scipio* other manner of worke, than he had bene troubled with at any time before; and would do greater matters in his owne Countie, than euer he was able to performe abroad in a land of strangers. The remoue of the war from their owne doores, and the conceit of that victorie for which they hoped; was enough to makethem presume further, than at other times they would haue done. When therefore the *Saguntine* Embassadors brought vnto them a great masse of Gold and Silver, together with some Agents of the *Carthaginians* taken by them in *Spain*: onely the *Carthaginian* prisoners were accepted; the treasure was rendred backe vnto the *Saguntines* that had surpris'd it. Vpon like confidence of the future, a little before this, order was taken for the repayment of those monies, that had bene borrowed in time of more necessitie from private men. Hence also proceeded the seuerer chastisement, laid vpon those 12. Colonies, that for want either of means, or of good will, had refused to giue aid to the *Romans*. They were commanded, and enforced, to giue double the number of Foot to that which they had

had bene wont to set out for the Warres, with a proportion of Horse answerable to the vertie most of their abilitie. So confident were the *Romans* growne (though their wealth were not as yet satiable to the greatnesse of their spirit) vpon the good successe of the battell at *Metaurus*, and the hopes which they reposed in *Scipio*. All this notwithstanding, when they considered more neerely of that which might happen; and were informed, that the terrible Armie, whereof *Italie* had bene few daies since discharged, was landed safe in *Africk*: they began to reuolue a thousand fearefull matters in their heads, and to stand in doubt, lest *Q. Fabius* (who died about the same time) would bee found a true Prophet. For be thinking themselves of that which might comfort them in their hopes: they found in the victories against *Syphax* & *Asdrubal* no specialty of such great worth, as might promise the like successe against another manner of Generall, followed by other manner of men, than were eyther of those two. The *Numidian* King had bene wont to bring into the field a rascall multitude of halfe-scollions, that were good for nothing; being himselfe a fit Captaine for such Souldiors. Likewise *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Gislo*, was a Commander well thought of by the *Carthaginian* Senate; but otherwise one, that in the field was onely good at sauing himselfe by a swift retreat. But now there came an Armie of men, hardened from their childhood with incredible patience, steeled many hundred times in *Roman* blood, and wearing the spoyle, not onely of good souldiors, but of braue Captaine, by them slaine. Such talke vied the people of *Rome*, saying, That *Scipio* was like to meet in battell, with many that had slaine *Roman* Praetors, yeas and Consuls, with their owne hands; with many, that had been first in getting ouer the Trenches of severall *Romane* Campes, or in winning the tops of walls at the siege of Townes; briefly, that he should now be opposed by an Armie, as good as euer had seru'd in warre, and following the dreadfull name of *Hannibal*.

§. XXI.

Hannibal in Africk prepares to fight with Scipio; treats with him about peace in ruine; loseth a battell at Nadagara, and perswades the Carthaginians to sue for peace. Of the peace granted from Rome to Carthage.

Hannibal disembarked his Armie at *Leptis*, almost an hundred miles from *Carthage*, Eastward from the Headland of *Mercure*, and somewhat more then one degree to the South. He was ill provided of Horse; which it was not easie for him to transport out of *Italie*. Therefore it behoued him to land, as hee did, somewhat farr from the Enemy; that hee might furnish himselfe of these and the like needfull helpes, against the day of battell. From *Leptis* he passed on to *Adrumetum*, and so along through the *Inland* Countie, gathering friends vnto him by the way. *Tychæus* a *Numidian* Prince, and familiar friend of *Syphax*, was said to haue in those dayes the best Horses of seruice, that were to be found in *Africk*. Him therefore did *Hannibal* allure vnto his partie: making him vnderstand, that if the *Romans* got the victorie, it should be easie for *Masaniissa*, by their countenance and helpe to oppress both him, and as many other of the neighbour Princes as hindered his prospect. This argument, and the fame of him that vied it, prevailed with *Tychæus*; who shortly after brought vnto the *Carthaginians* two thousand Horse. *Appian* further addes, That *Mezetellus*, (the same who had made himselfe Protector ouer *Masaniissa* his Cousins; and was Head of a Family, and aduersie to the *Numidian* Kings of that race) brought to *Hannibal* another thousand Horse: as likewise that *Vermina* the son of *Syphax*, holding a great part of his Fathers Kingdom, began at the same time to assaile the places that yielded obedience to *Masaniissa*. This *Vermina*, as we finde in *Leuit*, came with more than 16. thousand men (for hee lost more than so many) to succour *Hannibal* when it was too late.

The *Carthaginians* were at this time in such hard estate, or (at least) so impatient of the state wherein they were; that they could not attend the lesse of those preparations, which would haue made the victorie assured. When they considered the worth of *Hannibal*, and the greatnesse of his Aids: it offended them to thinke, that they had bene so base as to make humble suit vnto the *Romans* for peace; whilest they had such a braue Champion alieue, to maintaine their cause by Warre. But when as they be thought themselves of their owne sufferings, which, for want of *Romane* magnanimity to endure them,

them, appeared greater than indeed they were: then cried they out earnestly, that it was no time to linger, but presently to fight; that so they might see an end of these troubles, either good or bad: and to this purpose they sent their Mandates to Hannibal: requiring him, without any further protraction, to doe what he could doe out of hand. Hannibal made answer, That they were his good Lords, and had power to dispose of him and his Armie: but since he was General of their forces, Hee thought it reasonable that they should suffer him to doe as a Generall ought to doe; and to choose his owne times. Neuerthelesse, to giue them satisfaction, Hee made great marches to Zama; and there encamped.

The breach of Truce, made by the Carthaginians: The violence, done to his Embassadors: and the news of Hannibal his being landed in Affricke, made Scipio to vnderstand the resolution of the Carthaginians, which was, not to yeeld vnto any conditions vnprofitable for themselves, as long as they were able to make resistance. Wherefore hee lent vnto Masaniſſa: and informed him of all that was fallen out; praying him to come away with speed, and lay all other businesse a-part. Tenne Roman Companies, of Horse and Foot together, Masaniſſa had with him; that were lent vnto him by Scipio, to doe him seruice in the establishing and enlarging of his Kingdome. But he well vnderstood, that those and many more besides all his owne forces would but little auail him; if Hannibal should driue the Romans out of Affricke. Wherefore taking such order as he could vpon the sudden, for the safetie of his owne Kingdome; with foure thousand Horse, and fixe thousand Foot, he made all haste vnto Scipio.

Soone after the beginning of these new troubles, the Carthaginian Embassadors that had been at Rome, returned backe vnder the conduct of Lelius and Fulvius: who brought them safe into the Roman Campe. There when they arrived, and vnderstood what had lately passed, especially how their Citizens had behaued themselves towards the Roman Embassadors: they made little doubt, how their owne heads should answer for such torious outrage. To confirme them in this opinion:

M. Babin one of the late Embassadors that had bin in Carthage, being left by Scipio to take charge of the Camp, laid hands vpon them and detained them; sending word vnto his Generall, who was gone abroad to make warre in the Countrie, that he had them in his power, and that now the Carthaginians might be repaid in their owne Coyne, for the iniurie by them lately done. Scipio was very glad to hear of this; & commanded Babin to vse them with all possible courteisie, & send them safe home. By thus doing He brake the hearts of his Enemies; & caused them to acknowledge themselves (which was a great victorie) far lesse honourable then the Romans. This notwithstanding, He made more cruell warre vpon them than before: taking their Townes by force; and putting them to sacke, without hearkning to any Composition. It was the manner of the Romans, as often as they took a Towne by assault, to put all that came in their way to the sword, whatsoever they were, without regard. This they did, to make themselves terrible: and the better to worke such impression in the minds of those, with whom they had to doe, they vsed oftentimes to kill the very Dogges and other Beasts, that ranne athwart them in the streets; hewing their bodies asunder, as men delighted in shedding of blood. This being their practise at other times: it is likely, that now they omitted no pece of cruelty, when they meant to giue proofe of their vehement indignation, and reuengful mindes, for the iniuries received. Hence it partly grew, that the Carthaginians were so earnest in pressing Hannibal to fight.

Hannibal being incamped at Zama, sent forth his Scouts and Spies, to discouer where the Romans lay; what they were doing; and as much as might be of their demeanour. Some of these were taken, & brought vnto Scipio: who in stead of trusting them vp, gaue them free leaue to view his Campe at pleasure; appointing one to conduct them vp and downe, and shew them whatsoever they desired. This done, He gaue them leaue to depart; and sent them away safe vnto their Generall. Hannibal vnderstanding this, admired the brauery and courage of his Enemy: with whom on the sudden he grew desirous to haue an Enter-view, and personall conference, and signified so much vnto him, by a messenger sent of purpose. Of this motion the Roman liked well: and returned answer, that Hee would meet him shortly in a place convenient. The next day Masaniſſa came with his Armie: whom Scipio taking with him, remoued vnto a Towne called Nadagara; neere vnto which he sat downe, in a place otherwise commodious, and close

Excerpt. p. 10.
Sylb. 10.

by a water that might opportunely serue his Campe. Thence hee sent word vnto the Carthaginians, That the time and place did fully serue, if He had ought to say to him. Hannibal thereupon remoued from Zama, & came within foure miles of the Enemy: where he encamped well to his own good liking in all things else; excepting that his men were driuen to take much paines, in fetching their water somewhat farre off. Then was order taken for their meeting: and the two Generalls, each of them with a troupe of Horse, rode forth of their Campes, till they came vnto a peece of ground; which was before well searched, for feare of ambush. There they will their followers to stand off: and themselves with each of them one Interpreter, encountered each other in the mid-way betweene their Companies. They remained a while silent, viewing one the other with mutual admiration. Then beganne the Carthaginian, saluting the Roman, to deliuer his minde to this effect: That it had bene better both for Carthage and Rome, if they could haue limited and contained their ambition within the shores of Affricke & of Italie, for that the Countreies of Sicill and of Spaine, about which their fathers and themselves had striven, were no sufficient recompence for so many Fleets as had bene lost, and of so much blood as had bene shedde, in making those costly purchases. But since things past could not be recalled: He said, That it was meet for them to confider, vnto what extreame dangers their owne Cities had bene exposed, by the greedy desire of extending their Empires abroad; and that it was euen time for them now at length, to make an end of their obstinate contention, and pray the gods to endue them with greater wisdom hereafter. And to such peaceable disposition Hee affirmed that his owne yeres, and long triall of Fortune both good and euill, had made him inclinable. But much he feared; that Scipio, by want of the like experience might rather fixe his minde vpon vncertaine hopes, than vpon the contemplation of that mutabilitie, whereto all humane affaires are subiect. Yet (said hee) mine owne example may peradventure suffice to teach thee moderation. For I am that same Hannibal, who after my victorie at Canne, wonne the greatest part of Italie: and denied with my selfe, what I should doe with your Citie of Rome; which I hoped verily to haue taken. Once I brought mine Armie to your walles, as thou hast since brought thine to ours of Carthage: but now, see the change! I stand before entreating thee to grant vs peace. This may serue as a document of Fortunes instability. I haue sought with thy father, Scipio: Hee was the first of the Roman Generalls, that euer met mee in the field. I did then little thinke, that the time would come, that I should haue such businesse, as now at the present, with his sonne. But this is euen one of Fortunes Paganes, wherof shee hath many. And thou maist haue experience of the like in thy selfe, who knowes how soone? Thinke vpon M. Attilius. If he would haue bearkened vnto such perswasions, as I now vse to thee; he might haue returned home to Rome an happy man. And so maist thou doe now, if any reasonable offer will giue thee satisfaction. How saist thou? Canst thou be contented, that all Spaine, Sicill, Sardinia, and whatsoever Islands else are situate betweene Italie and Affricke, be abandoned by the Carthaginians for euer; and left vnto the Romans, to beare Dominion thereunto? Thou shalt haue glory enough by effecting thus much: and the Romans may well be glad of such a bargain. As for vs: our owne quiett shall henceforth giue vs contentment. And the same contentment of ours, shall make vs faithfully obserue the peace with you. But if thou thinkest all too little, I must desire thee to ponder well how great an hazard thou must vndergoe for obtaining a very little more, than that which thou maist haue without contention. It is now in thine owne power, to lay hold vpon good Fortune, if it please thee: stay but vntill to morrow night; and thou must take such fortune, as it please the gods. The issue of battaile is vncertaine, and many times beguileth expectation. Men and Steele wee shall each of vs bring into the field: bus of the victorie, neither of vs hath assurance. Let vs therefore without more ado, make peace. And doe not tell me, that some false-hearted Citizens of ours deal fraudulently of late in the like Treatie: It is I Hannibal that now desire peace with thee, which I would neuer doe, if I thought it not expedient for my Countrie. And thinking it expedient, I will at all times maintaine it: like as I haue maintained vnto my power, as long as the gods did not enuie me, the Warre by me begun.

Hereunto Scipio made answer, That it was no ambitious desire of ruling in Sicill and in Spaine which had moued the Romans to enter into this or the former Warre: but that the defence of the Minervines; and afterwards of the Saguntines, their confederates, had caused them to put on their armes, which the gods by the final issue of the Warres had approued, and would approue to be most iust. As for the mutabilitie of Fortune,

he said, that he was not thereof ignorant; and that without any note of insolence, or overweening, he might well refuse the conditions offered. For was it not plain, that all these Countries, with which the Carthaginians now so willingly departed, were already wonne from the Romans? If, said He, these Conditions had bene propounded whilst as yet ye detained some part of Italic, they might peradventure not have bene refused. But as the safe now stands, I see no reason, why I should remit unto you any one piece of these my former demands, to which the Carthaginians have yielded already, and thought me to be gracious in dealing so moderately. Rather I say, that the injuries which they have done me since, have made them unworthy of obtaining peace upon so friendly termes. But I cannot blame thee, Hannibal, though thou wouldst be glad to make thy Citizens understand, from how much of their burden they to are by thy means eased. Only thou must thinke, that in like sort it concerns me in honour, not to let them be gainers or losers by the wrongs which they have done of late. Thou knowest well, that besides those offers which thou here hast made, they were well contented to restore unto us ransom-free, all prisoners that they have of ours; to pay us five thousand Talents; to deliver up their Gallies; and to deliver hostages for assurance of faire dealing. And must they now be discharged of all this, by their breach of Truce, their spying of our Fleet, and their violating our Embassadors? Not so. But if they can be contented, besides all this, to make such amends as I shall require, for these injuries newly done: then will I take advice with my Councell what answer to give you; otherwise, you may each prepare for warre, and blame your own selves, for that I have denied you peace.

Hereupon they brake off: and returned each to his owne Campe, with no other news than warre; bidding their Souldiers prepare for a battaile, wherein should be decided the quarrell betwene Rome and Carthage. The next morning at break of day they issued into the field: a noble march, and such as hath very seldom beene found; whether we regard the Generals, their Armies, the two Cities that contended, or the great importance of the battaile at hand. Scipio ordered his men after the Roman manner: placing first the *Hastati*, divided into their Maniples, or small Battalions, with a reasonable distance betwene them: Not farre behinde these followed the *Principes*, likewise divided, and so after the *Triarii*. But herein Scipio altered a little the ordinarie custome of the Romans: He placed not the Maniples of his *Principes* opposite unto the void spaces betwene the *Hastati*, that so the *Hastati*, as was vsuall, might fall backe betwene the *Principes*; but he placed them directly one behinde another, as it were, in File. This he did, because of the Elephants, whereof Hannibal had many. For of those beasts the danger was left, whilst there was open way to let them through. Therefore hee tooke such order, that when they had passed through the spaces betwene the first Battalions, they should not come vpon the *Principes* in Front. Vnto his *Velites* or thole of the light armature, that were to beginne the fight, hee gaue direction, that when they found themselves to be ouer-charged, either by the Enemies, or (which was most to be feared) by the Elephants, they should runne backe through those lanes that were betwene the Maniples; and that those which were swiftest, or otherwise best able, should continue on their flight, vntill they were got behind all their owne Armie; there by leaving room enough vnto those that were wounded, or cast behinde, to save themselves on the voyde ground, that was betwixt the first and second, or the second and third battalies, without cloying vp the way betwene the Maniples, which hee desired to keepe open. His Italian horse he placed in the left wing vnder C. Lelius. In the right wing was Masaniissa with his *Numidians*. He himselfe riding vp and downe, exhorted his men to doe valiantly, vsing words, not many, but forcible. He bade them remember what they had achieved, since their coming into *Africke*. He tolde them, that if this day were theirs, the warre was at an end: and that their victory in this warre, should make them Lords of all the world; for that afterwards, none would be found able to resist them. On the contrary, if they were beaten, he asked them whither they would flee. They were farre from home, yea and farre from their owne standing Campe: neither was there any place in *Africke*, that would giue them shelter: if they fell into the Carthaginians hands, they knew what to expect. And therefore there was none other way, but death or victory: vntill they would liue like wretched slaues vnder most mercifull Enemies. In such necessity, he said, that they which consider themselves to be, and take resolution answerable hereunto, haue neuer bene knowne to faile of getting victory.

Hannibal on the other side placed his Elephants, that were more than foure score, in Front

Front of his Battaile. Next behind these, he made his Vanguard all of Mercenaries, *Ligurians*, *Gauls*, *Baleares* and *Moorcs*. Then followed his Battaile: which was of Carthaginians and Africans, more interested in the quarrell than were those Mercenaries, though not so good souldiers: but to helpe (if it might be) their want of courage, they had with them foure thousand Macedonians, lately sent from King Philip. More then the space of a furlong behinde these came his Reward, consisting of those braue Souldiers which had serued him in his Italian warres; and were the onely men, in whom hee reposed any confidence. Opposite to Lelius, in his owne right wing hee bestowd the Carthaginian Horse. Tycheus and the Numidians he placed in his left wing against Masaniissa. He was indeed farre too weake for the Enemy in Horse, both in number and in goodnesse. For Tycheus and Menezellus had no more than three thousand; and those not so well exercised, as were the 4. thousand of Masaniissa. The Carthaginians also were no more, nor none other than such as could be leuied in the haste of a few dayes, and the remainder of those, that had of late bene often vanquished, and accustomed to fly. But it was no time for Hannibal, neither had he perhaps authority, to make these his companions alight and serue on foote, setting better men in their saddles. All that hee could haue done, was to stay a little longer, and expect more helpe. Had Vermina the Sonne of Syphax come thither, as he did in few dayes after, with sixteen thousand and vppwards, it e most of them Horse, the advantage of number might haue serued well to supply all other defect. Yet since the Lords of Carthage would brooke no delay: Hannibal must be faine to comfort himselfe, with the hope that he reposed in his old Italian souldiers, whose vertue had wrought greater wonders, when it was more strongly opposed. He encouraged therefore his men, with words agreeable to their severall conditions: promising vnto the Mercenaries bountifull rewards: threatening the Carthaginians with incurable seruitude, if they lost that day; but especially animating his old fellow-souldiers, by the many victories which they had obtained against farre greater numbers. He bade them to looke vpon the Enemies, and make an estimate, whether they were any thing like so many, as that huge Armie which they had slaughtered at Cannæ. He willed them to remember, That it was one P. Scipio, euen the father of this man, whom they had first of all compelled to runne away. He told them, that these Legions which they yonder beheld, were, for the most part of them, the very worst of the Roman Souldiers; euen such, as for their dastardly flight out of sundry battalies, could no longer bee trusted to beare Armes in their owne Countrey. As for the rest: they were yong men, the sonnes of Cowards, and bred vp in the continuall feare of those weapons, by which their fathers were daily slaine or chased. Wherefore hee entreated these his olde companions, vpon whose vertue he meant wholly to repose himselfe, that they would this day strue to make good their honour, and to purchase the fame of men invincible.

Such exhortations vied the two Generalls before the fight. When they drew nere together, the Numidian Horsemen on both sides began to skirmish. The Trumpets, and other instruments of warre, sounded to battaile: and Hannibal commanded his Elephants to breake vpon the Romanes. Of these Elephants (as they were alwayes an vncertaine kind of helpe) those that stood nere vnto the point of the left wing, turned backe for feare: and ranne vpon their owne Numidian Horse; which they affrighted and disordered. Masaniissa cloying this, gaue charge vpon the same Numidians, and not suffering them to rally themselves, drave them quite out of the field. The rest of those beasts made a great spoile of the Roman *Velites*, whom they followed into the spaces betwene the Maniples: but without any harme to the Battalions themselves, which gaue them open way, accordingly as Scipio had well provided. Diuers of them receiuing many wounds, and growing therewith furious, could no longer be gouerned: but ranne backe vpon the right point of their owne battaile, and beyond that into the open field. Herewithall they disordered the Carthaginian Horse which were in that wing: against whom they gaue to Lelius the same advantage, that Masaniissa had against the Numidians; which he vied in like sort. In the meane while, the battalies of foote aduanced, and drew nere together with a slow and watery pace, till they were almost within a weapons call: at what time they gaue a shout, and ranne one at the other. The Mercenaries for a time seemed both in audacity, and in quicknesse, to haue the better of the Romanes; wounding many, and doing more harme, than they took. But the Roman discipline after a while, prevailed against the boisterous violence of these vntrained Barbarians. Whereunto it helped not a little, that the battell

of the *Principes*, following somewhat neere after the *Hastati*, encouraged their fellows; and shewed themselves ready, if neede were, to relieue them. Contrariwise, the Mercenaries received no manner of helpe or comfort, from those that should haue seconded them. For the new-leued *Carthaginians* and *Africans*, when they saw their hired souldiers giue backe, did also themselves retire. This caused the *Ligurians*, *Gauls*, and the rest, to thinke themselves betrayed: whereupon they inclined vnto flight. The *Carthaginian* Battaille was herewith more terrified then before, so as it refused to giue way vnto the Mercenaries for their safe retreat; and yet withall forbore to make head against the Enemies, that pursued them. It was no time to aske them what they meant by this: Feare and Indignation caused those that were at once chased by the *Romans*, and betrayed, as to they thought, by their owne fellows, to turne their Armes with an headlesse furie against both the one and the other. Thus were many of the *Carthaginians* beate downe and slaine, through their owne indiscretion, by their owne Mercenaries. The *Romane Hastati* in like sort, fighting with desperate men in a throng, had their hands so full of worke, that the *Principes* were faine to come vnto them, and helpe to ouer-bear this great medley of enemies, that were together by the eares among themselves. In this place was made a great slaughter, both of the Mercenaries and of the *Carthaginians*: which hindring one another, could neither fight, nor easily fle. Such of them as escaped, ranse towards *Hannibal*: who kept his ground, and would not stirre one foote, to helpe or saue these Run-aways. Hee caused his men to bend their Pikes at thosk of his owne side, that would haue rushed vpon him: whom he thereby compelled to turne aside beyond his Battaille, and saue themselves in the open field. The ground, ouer which the *Romans* were now to march, ere they could meete with *Hannibal*, was covered with heapes of dead bodies and weapons, and so slipperie with blood: that *Scipio* began to stand in great doubt, lest the orders of his Battalions should bee dissolved in passing that way. In such case, if hee should fight with that warlike Armie, which hee saw before him, remaining yet entire, and without feare expecting him; He might be well assured to receive a notable overthrow. Hee caused therefore the *Hastati* to make a stand there where they were, opposite to the maine battaille of the *Hannibalsians*. Then drawing vp his *Principes* and *Triarii*: He placed them, when they had overcome the bad way, all in one front with the *Hastati*, and made of them his two Cornets. This done, he aduanced towards *Hannibal*: who entertained him after another manner, than euer he had bene receiued in his life before. All the daies worke till now, seemed to haue bene a matter of pastime, in regard of the sharpe Conflict, that was maintained betweene these notable Souldiers. The *Romans* were encouraged by their hauing preuailed all the day before: They were also farr the more in number. But these old Souldiers of *Hannibal* were fresh; and (perhaps) the better men. They fought with such obdurate resolution, that no man gaue backe one foote; but rather choseto die on the ground, whercon hee stood. So that, after a long time, it was vn certaine which part had the worke: vnlesse it may seeme, that the *Romans* were beginning to shrinke; for as much as the returne of *Masaniassa* and *Laelius* from pursuit of the Enemies Horse, is said to haue bene most happy and in a needfull time. These vpon a sudden charged the *Hannibalsians* in Rete; and ouer-bearing them by mere violence, compelled them too fall Rout.

In this Battaille there died of the *Romans* fifteene hundred and vppwards: on the *Carthaginian* side, about twenty thousand, besides as many that were taken; of whom, *Sopater* Captaine of the *Macedonians* was one. The singular skill that *Hannibal* shewed in this his last fight, is highly commended by *Polibius*; and was acknowledged, as *Luue* reports, by *Scipio* himselfe. But the Enemies were too strong for him in Horse: and being enioyned, as he was, by the State of *Carthage* to take battaille with such disadvantage, hee could worke no marvels. Hee saued himselfe with a few Horse, and stayed not in his journey, till he came to *Adrumetum*. Thence was he sent for to *Carthage*, from which he had bene absent fixe and thirtie yeeres. At his comming into the Senate He said plainly That there was none other way left, than to take such peace as could be gotten: Wherefore the *Carthaginians* not knowing what other course to take, resolved to send Embassadors againe; and try the fauour of *Scipio*, whose Armes they could not now resist.

Scipio hauing spoiled the Enemies Campe, returned backe to *Vtica*: where he found *P. Lentulus* newly arrived, with fiftie Gallies and an hundred Shippes of burden. With this

this Fleet, and that which he had before, Hee thought it best to make towards *Carthage*: rather of purpose to terrifie the Citie, than with any hope to take it. His Legions nee committed vnto *Cn. Octavius*, whom hee willed to meete him there by land. Then sending *Laelius* away to *Rome* with newes of the victory, He set saile from *Vtica* towards *Carthage*. He was encountered on the way by tenne Embassadors from the Citie: who bearing vp with the Admirall Gallie, began to vse the pittifull gesture of suppliants. But they received none other answere, than that they should meet him at *Tunes*, where He would giue them audience. So rowing along before the Citie: and viewing it more in braue-ry than with meaning to attempt it, He returned backe to *Vtica*, and called backe *Octavius* thither, with whom in person Hee set forwards to *Tunes*. As they were in their journey thither, they heard the newes, that *Perminus* the sonne of *Syphax*, was comming with an Armie of more Horse then Foot, to the succour of those that were already vanquished. This *Perminus* seemed to haue bene both carelesse of getting intelligence how things passed, and very defectiue in all other duties requisite in the Commander of an Armie. Part of the *Roman* foot, with all their power of Horse, was sent against him: which did not only beate him, but so compasse him in, that he hardly escaped himselfe with a few; leauing fiftene thousand of his followers dead behinde him, and twelue hundred taken prisoners. If this good company had bene with *Hannibal* at *Nadagara*, they should haue bene farr better conducted, and might well haue changed the Fortune of the day; which the *Carthaginians* lost, by default of Horse. But God had otherwise determined. It is not to be doubted, that this victory, though it were no great access vnto the former, yet strud wd to dunt the *Carthaginians*, & imprint in the greater feare of *Scipio*. When he came to *Tunes*, there met him thirty Embassadors from *Carthage*: whose behaviour though it was more pitifull than it had bin before, yet procured it lesse commiseration, by reason of their late false dealing, after they had in like sort humbled themselves. Neuertheless it was considered, what a long and laborious worke it would prone, to besiege the mightie Citie of *Carthage*. And particularly *Scipio* stood in great doubt, lest the honour of this warre, if it were protracted, should bee taken out of his handes; and giuen to one of the Consuls. *Cn. Serullius Scipio*, that Consul who had charge of the warre against *Hannibal*, at such times as hee departed out of *Italia*: was bold to passe ouer into the Ile of *Sicil* (as it were in chafe of *Hannibal* by him terrified and driuen away) with a purpose thence to haue proceeded into *Africk*, and taken from *Scipio* the Command of the Armie there. But a Dictator was chosn of purpose, to restraine the ambition of this Consul *Serullius*. After him followed *Tiberius Claudius*, who made suite for the same Prouince of *Africk*: and was therein so earnest, that though neyther the Senate, nor People, would grant him his desire, yet hee needed would be going, procuring onely leaue of the Senate, that he being Consul might ioyne with *Scipio*, were it with no more than equall authority. But ere He could haue his Fleet and all things in a readines for the iourney, where no man cared to further him: Winter came on, and hee was onely tost at Sea with foule weather, first vpon the Coast of *Hetruria*, and afterwards by *Sardinia*, where his Consulship expired, and so hee returned home a priuate man. Then came the ioyfull newes to *Rome*, of the victory obtained against *Hannibal*, and that the warre was now ended. Yet was *Lentulus* the new Consul so pessionae, in desiring *Africk* for his Prouince, That he said he would suffer nothing to passe in the Senate, vnill hee had first his will. Much adoe there was about this: and after many contentions, both in the Senate, and before the People, at last it was ordered, That if Peace were granted, it should be granted by *Scipio*; if the warre continued, *Scipio* should haue command therein by Land, and the Consul at Sea. The ambition of these men, caused *Scipio* to giue the more plausible answere vnto the *Carthaginian* Embassadors. Hee willed them to consider what they had deserued; and in regard thereof to thinke themselves well dealt withall, in that he was contented to leaue vnto them their libertie and their owne Lawes, without appointing any Gouernour ouer them, or Garrison to hold them in subiection; leauing also vnto them their possessions in *Africk*, such as they were at the beginning of this war. As touching the rest he was at a point, That, before he either granted them Peace or truce, they should make satisfaction for wrongs which they had done, whilst the late Treatie was in dependance. Hereunto if they would yeeld, then required Hee That immediately they should deliuer vp vnto the *Romans* all Prisoners, Fugitiues, and Renegados, that they had of theirs: likewise all their Gallies, excepting ten: and all their Elephants: That they should make

no warre at all thence forth out of *Africke*, neither yet within *Africke*, without licence of the *Romans*: That the Countries, Townes, goods whatsoeuer, belonging any wise vnto the *Malaniffas*, or to any of his Ancestors, which were in their possession, should be all by them restored vnto him: That they should finde corne for the *Roman Army*, and wages for their Auxiliaries, during the time of Truce, vntill the Peace were fully concluded: That they should pay tenne thousand Talents of Silver, in the terme of fifty yeares, by two hundred Talents a yeare; and that for obseruance of Conditions, they should giue an hundred hostages, such as *Scipio* would choofe, being none of them vnder fouretene yeares of age, nor above thirty.

With these conditions the Embassadours returned home, and reported them vnto the Citty. They were very vnpleasing, and therefore one *Gisco* stood vp to speake against them: and exhorted the people, who gaue good attention, that they should not condescend vnto such intollerable demands. But *Hannibal* perceiuing this, and noting withall what fauourable audience was giuen to this vaine Oratour, by the vnquiet yet vnwarlike Multitude, was bold to pull him downe from his standing, by plaine force. Hereat all the People murmured, as if their common liberty were too much wronged, by such insolence of this presumptuous Captaine. Which *Hannibal* perceiuing, rose vp and spake vnto them, saying, That they ought to pardon him, if he had done otherwise than the customes of the Citty would allow; forasmuch as he had bene thence absent euer since he was a Boy of nine yeares olde, vntill he was now a man of fise and forrie. 20 Having thus excused himselfe of the disorder, hee discoursed vnto them concerning the Peace: and perswaded them to accept it, as wanting ability to defend themselves; had the demands of the Enemy bene yet more rigorous. Finally, vpon good aduice, they resolved to yeeld vnto the Conditions propounded by *Scipio*: to whom they paid out of hand fise and twenty thousand pounds weight of silver, in recompence of damages, and iniuries by them done to his Fleet and Embassadours. *Scipio* granted them Truce for three moneths, in which time they might negotiate with the State of *Rome*, about confirmation of the League. But herewithall he gaue iniunction, that they should neither in the meane while send Embassadours any whither else, nor yet dismisle any Embassadours to them sent, without first making him acquainted what they were, and what 30 their errand was.

At this time *Hanno*, and they of his Faction, were become wise and honourable men, by the miseries wherinto *Carthage* was fallen through their malicious counsailes. *Asdrubal*, surnamed the *Kid*, a venerable man, and a great friend of *Hanno*, was chiefe of the Embassages which they sent to *Rome* for obtaining peace. They went thither in company of *Scipio* his Embassadours, who related vnto the Senate and People these ioyfull newes. About the same time arrived at *Rome* Embassadours from *Philip* King of *Macedon*: who, together with the *Carthaginians*, were faine to waite a while for audience, till the election of new Consuls then in hand was finished; and order taken for 40 the Provinces of them, and the new Pretors. Then were the *Macedonian* Embassadours called into the Senate: who first answering vnto some points, wherein the *Romans* had lately signified vnto their King, that they found themselves grieved; returned the blame vnto those *Greekes* themselves, that had made their complaint at *Rome*. Then accused they *Marcus Aurelius*: who being one of the three Embassadours, that had lately been sent from *Rome* vnto King *Philip*, tarried in *Greece* behinde his fellowes; and there leuying men, made warre vpon the King, without any regard at all of the League, that was betwene him and the *Romans*. Further they desired of the Senate, That one *Sopater*, a *Macedonian* Gentleman, with other of their Countreimen, that had lately serued *Hannibal* for Pay, and being taken prisoners in *Africke*, were kept in bonds by *Scipio*, might be released and deliuered vnto them. Vnto all this *M. Furius*, whom *Aurelius* had sent to *Rome* for that purpose, made a sharp answer. He said, that the *Greekes* which were confederate with *Rome*, endured so many iniuries at the hands of *Philip*, that *M. Aurelius* was faine to stay behinde, to helpe them as he might; which else were like to be brought vnder the Kings subiection. As for *Sopater*: hee affirmed him to be one of the Kings Counsaile, and very inward with him; one that serued not for money, but carried money with him, and foure thousand men, sent from the King to the ayde of *Hannibal*. About these points when the *Macedonian* Embassadours could make vnto the Senate no good answer: they were willed to returne, and tell their Master, That warre he long, 50 and

and warre he should finde, if he proceeded as he had begunne. For in two maine points hee had broken the League, that was betwene him and the *Romans*: first, in that hee had wronged their Confederates; and secondly, in that hee had ayded their Enemies against them with men and money.

These quarrels with *Philip*, that promised to open a way into *Greece* and the *Eastern* Countries, helped well the *Carthaginian* Embassadours in their sollicitation of Peace. They appeared a very reuerend company, when they entered into the Senate: and *Asdrubal* about the rest was much respected, as one, whose good offices had kept the *Romans* from necessity of sending Embassadours to *Carthage*, vpon the like errand. Hee 10 liberally granted, that the iustice of the quarrell had bene wholly on the *Roman* side; saying that it was the fault of some violent men, through which the Peace was broken: Yet could he not altogether excuse the Citty; that had bene too vehement in the prosecution of bad counsaile. But if *Hanno* and himselfe might haue had their wills: the *Carthaginians*, euén at the best of their Fortune, should haue granted the peace which they now desired. Herewithall hee commended the moderation of the *Romans*, as no small argument of their valour; by which alwayes they had bene victorious. To the same effect spake the rest of the Embassadours: all of them entreating to haue the Peace ratified; though some with more lamentable words than others, according to the diuersitie of their stile. They had patience enough to endure such reproofe of *Pericurius*, as they themselves might haue laid vpon the *Romans*; if their diligence and Fortune had bene such as the *Romans* was. Among the rest, when one of the Senators demanded, by what gods they would sweare to keepe the peace hereafter: *Asdrubal* made answere; *Euen by the same gods, that are so seueré vnto those that violate their Leagues.*

Lastly, when the Consul interposing the authoritie of his Office, would haue hindred the Senate from proceeding vnto conclusion of peace; for that hereby hee was like to lose the honour, which hee purposed to get by making warre in *Africke*. But the matter was propounded vnto the people, in whom rested the Soueraigne Command of *Rome*; and by them referred wholly vnto the pleasure of the Senate. So it was decreed, That *Scipio* with twenue Delegates sent vnto him from *Rome* of purpose, should make a League with 30 the *Carthaginians*, vpon such Conditions as seemed best: which were none other, than the same which he had already propounded. For this fauour, the *Carthaginian* Embassadours humbly thanked the Senate; and craued licence, that they might visite their Countreimen, which were prisoners in *Rome*: afterwards, that they might ransom and carrie home with them some, that were their especial friends; of whom they gaue in writing almost two hundred names. Whereupon the Senate ordained, that two hundred of those Prisoners, which the Embassadours would choofe, should be sent our into *Africke*, and bee freely restored to libertie by *Scipio*, when the peace was fully concluded. So they tooke leave, and returned home, in company of the ten Delegates, that were appointed by the Senate to ioyne with *Scipio* in Commission.

At their comming into *Africke*, the Peace was giuen, and accepted, without any controuersie or disparagement. The Prisoners, Fugitiues and Renegados, were deliuered vnto *Scipio*: likewise the Gallies, and the Elephants. *Scipio* tooke more vengeance vpon the Renegados, than vpon the Fugitiues; and vpon those of the *Romans* than vpon the *Latines* or other *Italians*. The *Latines* he beheaded: the *Romans* he crucified. About the first payment of their money, the *Carthaginians* were somewhat troubled. For though perhaps their common Treasurie could haue spared two hundred Talents for the present: yet since the pension was annuall, and to continue fiftie yeeres; it was thought meete to lay the burden vpon the Citizens. At the collection of the summe there was piteous lamentation, as if now the *Roman* yoke had begunne to pinch them; so as many, euén of 40 the Senators, could not forbear weeping. Contrariwise *Hannibal* could not restraîne from laughter. For which when he was checked by *Asdrubal Hadum*, and tolde, That it worst of all becomed him to laugh, since he had bene the cause why all other did weepe; He answered, That laughter did not alwayes proceed from ioy; but sometime from extremitie of indignation. For hee said He, My laughter is more reasonable, and lesse absurd, than your teares. For ye should haue wept, when ye gaue up your shippes and elephants, and when ye bound your owne hands from the use of Armes; without the good leaue of the *Romans* first obtained. This miserable condition keeps vs vnder: and holds vs in assured seruitude. But of these matters ye had no feeling. Now, when a little money is wrung out of your priuate purses, ye haue thereof

theroof some sense. God grant that the time come not hereafter, wherein ye shall acknowledge, That it was the very last part of your miserie, for which ye haueshed these teares. Thus discouraged Hannibal vnto those, who tasting the bitter fruits of their owne malicious counsaile, repented when it was too late; and in stead of cursing their owne disorders, which had bred this grievous disease, accused that Physicion, whose noble endeavours had bene employed in procuring the remedie.

Scipio being to take leaue of *Africk*, produced *Masanissa*, and magnified him in presence of the Armie, with high commendations not vnderseuedly. To him also hee con-
fessed ouer those Towns of King *Syphax*, which the *Romans* at that present held: where-
in, to say truth, he gaue him but his due; and that which otherwise he knew not well how to bestow. But the loue of the *Romans*, & friendship of *Scipio*, was fully answerable, now
and hereafter, to all the deseruings of this *Numidian* King. About *Carthage* there rested
no more to be done. Wherefore the *Romans* imbarqued themselves for *Sicily*: where
when they arrived at *Lilybæum*, *Scipio* with some part of his Armie tooke his way home
to *Rome* by land; and sent the rest before him thither by Sea. His iourney through *Italy*
was no lesse glorious than any triumph: all the people thronging out of the Towns and
Villages, to doe him honour as he passed along. Hee entered the *Citie* in Triumph: nei-
ther was there euer before, or after, any Triumph celebrated with so great ioy of the
people, as was this of *Scipio*; though, in brauery of the pompe, there were others intime
shortly following, that exceeded this. Whether *Syphax* were carried through the *Citie* so
in this Triumph, and died soone after in prison: or whether hee were dead a while be-
fore, it cannot bee affirmed. Thus much may be auowed, That it was a barbarous cus-
tome of the *Romans*, to insult ouer the calamities of mightie Princes, by leading them
contumeliously in Triumph; yea though they were such, as had alwaies made faire and
courtuous warre. But hereof we shall haue better example, ere the same Age passe. It
was neither the person of *Syphax*, nor any other glory of the spectacle, that so much
beautified the Triumph of *Scipio*; as did the contemplation of that grievous warre past,
whereof the *Romans* had bene in a manner without hope that euer they should see *Italy* free.
This made them looke cheerfully vpon the Author of so great a conuersion; and filled
them with more ioy, than they well could moderate. Wherefore they gaue to *Scipio* the
Title of the *African*: filling him by the name of that Prouince which hee had subdued.
This honorable kinde of surname, taken from a conquered Prouince, grew afterwards
more common, and was vsurped by men of lesse desert: especially by many of the *Ce-
sars*, who sometimes arrogated vnto themselves the title of Countries, wherein they had
performed little or nothing, as if such glorious Attributes could haue made them like
in vertue vnto *Scipio* the *African*.

Excerpt 2. Pol.
lib. 10.

CHAP. III.

Of PHILIP the father of PERSEVS, King of Macedon:

His first Acts and Warre with the Romans; by whom
hee was subdued.

§. I.

How the Romans grew acquainted in the East Countries, and desirous of warre there. The
beginning of many Princes, with great Warres, at one time. The *Ætolians* ouer-run *Pelo-
ponnesus*. Philip and his Associates make Warre against the *Ætolians*. Alteration of the
State in *Sparta*. The *Ætolians* invade *Greece* and *Macedon*, and are invaded at home by so
Philip.

Plot, in this
version.



F the great similitude found in worldly euents, the limitation of matter
hath bene assigned as a probable cause. For since Nature is confined vnto
a subject that is not vnbound; the workes of Nature must needs be simi-
litate, and many of them resemble one the other. Now in those actions, that
seeme to haue their whole dependance vpon the will of man, wee are lesse
to wonder if wee finde lesse varietie: since it is no great portion of things which is
obnoxious

obnoxious vnto humane power; and since they are the same affections, by which the
wills of sundrie men are ouer-ruled, in manning the affaires of our daily life. It may
be obserued in the change of Empires, before those times whereof we now write, how
the *Assyrians* or *Chaldeans* invaded the Kingdome of *Medes*, with two hundred thou-
sand Foot, and three score thousand Horse: but failing in their intended conquest, they
became subject within a while themselves vnto the *Medes* and *Persians*. In like manner
Darius, and after him *Xerxes*, fell vpon the *Greekes* with such number of men, as might
haue seemed refflesse. But after that the *Persians* were beaten home againe, their Em-
pire was neuer secure of the *Greekes*: who at all times of leisure from intestine Warre,
deuised vpon that conquest thereof, which finally they made: vnder the great *Alexander*.
If *Nabuchodonosor* with his rough old souldiers, had vnderaken the *Medes*: or *Cyrus*
with his well trayned Armie, had made the attempt vpon *Greece*; the issue might, in hu-
mane reason, haue bene farre different. Yet would it then haue bene expedient for
them, to employ the trauell and vertue of their men, rather than the greatnesse of their
names, against those people; that were no lesse valiant, though lesse renowned, than
their owne. For the menacing words vsed by *Cyrus*, and some small displeasures done
to the *Greekes* (in which kinde it may bee, that *Nabuchodonosor* likewise offended the
Medes and *Persians*) were not so auailable to victorie, as to draw on reuenge in the fu-
ture. Great Kingdomes, when they decay in strength, suffer as did the olde *Lyon*, for
the oppressiō done in his youth; being pinched by the Wolfe, gored by the Bull, yea
and kicked by the Ass. But Princes are often carried away from reason, by misse-
vnderstanding the language of Fame: and despising the vertue that makes little noyse, adven-
ture to provoke it against themselves; as if it were not possible that their owne glorie
should be soyled by any of lesse-noted excellence. Against the same stone, whereto
Xerxes, and before him (as I take it) *Enilmerodach*, had stumbled; *Pyrrhus* the *Epirot* hath
dashed his foot. He was not indeed the King of all *Greece*; though most of marke, and a
better souldier then any other *Greekish* King, when he entered into warre against the *Ro-
mans*. This war he vnderooke as it were for his minds sake: hauing receiued no iniurie,
but hoping by the glory of his name, and of the *Greekes* that serued vnder him, to pre-
vail so easily against the barbarous *Romans*; that they should onely serue as a step to his
further intended conquests, of *Sicily* and *Africk*. But when the *Romans*, by their victory a-
gainst *Pyrrhus*, had found their owne vertue to be richer mettall, than was the more
shining valour of the *Greekes*: then did all the brauery of the *Epirot* (his Elephants and
whatsoeuer else had serued to make him terrible) serue only to make the *Romans*, in time
following, to thinke more highly of themselves. * For since they had ouercome the best
Warriour in *Greece*, euen him, that, being thus beaten by them, could in a yere after
make himselfe Lord of *Greece* and *Macedon*: what should hinder them from the conquest
of all those vnwarlike Prouinces, which in compass of 12. yeres a *Macedonian* King
of olde memory had won? Certainly there was hereunto requisite no more, than to bring
to their owne deuotion by some good meanes, the whole Country of *Greece*: all the rest
this done, would follow of it selfe. How to deale with the *Greekes*; *Philip* and *Alexan-
der* had shewed a way: which, or perhaps a better, they might learne, by getting more ac-
quaintance with the Nation.

When therefore the first *Punicke* warre was ended, which followed soone after the
warre of *Pyrrhus* and of the *Tarentines*: then were the *Romans* at good leisure to hearken
after newes in *Greece*; and to entertaine any good occasion, that should bee on that side
presented. They had also then a strong Fleet: and were become, though not otherwise
very skillfull Mariners, yet good fighters at Sea. So it fell out as happily as could be wi-
shed, that the *Illyrian* Queene *Tenua* made at the same time cruel Warre vpon the *Greekes*:
wasting their Country, and lacking their Townes, onely because they were unable to re-
sist, though they had done her none offence. Into this quarrell if the *Romans* were desi-
rous to enter; the Queene was not slow to giue them cause. And their happy accom-
plishing of that war which they made with her, was, in their owne opinion, a matter not
vnworthy to make their Putt-ge to bee desired by the *Greekes*. But no such thing
happened: though they sent Embassadors, as it were to offer themselves; by signi-
fying, that for loue of *Greece* they had vnderaken this *Illyrian* warre. Thus beganne
the first acquaintance betwixt the *Greekes* and *Romans*: which, afterwards increased ve-
ry hastily, through the indiscretion of King *Philip* the *Macedonian*; whose businesse
with

The King of
Spaines pre-
tended inmi-
cible Naue,
being beaten
out of the Bri-
tish Seas, in-
vited vs to those
of Spaines and
hauing broke
the greatest
Fleet that euer
the Spaniards
gathered toge-
ther; we neuer
made account
of any of his
preparations
after that time

Lib. 14. c. 5.

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with them, being now the subject of our storie, it is meet that wee should relate (though somewhat briefly) the beginning of his reigne, and his first Actions. It was like to proue a busie time in the world, when, within the space of 4. yeeres, new Kings began to reigne in the most of all Countries knowne; and 3. of them young boyes, in 3. of the greatest Kingdoms. This hapned from the third yeere of the hundred thirty ninth Olympiad, unto the third of the Olympiad following. For in this time died *Seleucus Ceraunus* King of *Asia* and *Syria*, in whose room succeeded his brother *Antiochus*, afterwards called the great. *Ptolemie Philopator* succeeded in the Kingdome of *Egypt* unto his father *Euergetes*. And *Philip* the sonne of *Demetrius*, being 16. or 17. yeeres old, receiued the Kingdome of *Macedon*, together with the Patronage of the *Achaens*; and most of the *Greeks* by the deccesse of his Vncle *Antigonus Deson*, that was called the Tutor or Protector. About the same time also was the like change in *Cappadocia*, *Lacedemon*, & the Countries about Mount *Taurus*. For *Ariarathes* then beganne his reigne in *Cappadocia*. *Lyceurgus* found means to make himselfe King ouer the *Lacedemonians*, whose Common-weale, since the flight of *Cleomenes*, had continued in a manner headlesse; and *Achaens*, a kinsman of *Antiochus*, but a Rebelle unto him, occupied the Regions neare vnto Mount *Taurus*, and kept a while the State of a mighty King. Lastly, in the second & third yeeres of the hundred and fortieth Olympiad was, that open war brake out between *Rome* and *Carthage*; and that *Hannibal* began his great Inuasion vpon *Italie*. Those troubles of the Westerne world, which were indeed the greatest, we haue already followed vnto an end: Of *Antiochus*, *Ptolemie*, and the rest, we shall speake hereafter, when the *Romans* find them out.

Philip, loone after the beginning of his reigne, came into *Peloponnesus*; greatly desired of the *Achaens*, and many others his dependants. That Country, hauing freed it selfe by the helpe of *Antigonus* from the danger (accounted great) of an easie subiection vnto *Cleomenes*: was now become no lesse obnoxious to the *Macedonian*, than it should haue beene to the *Spartans*; and therewithal it lay open vnto the violence of the *Aetolians*, who despised enen the *Macedonian* Kings, that were Patrons thereof. The *Aetolians* were no men to beidle, nor were much addicted to any other Art than warre. Therefore wanting employment, they fell vpon the *Messenians* that were their owne Clients, & (excepting the *Eleans*, that were anciently of their consanguinitie) the onely good friends which they had at the present in *Peloponnesus*. Their inuasion was no lesse vnexpected, then it was vnusit: wherby with greater easie they made spoyle of the Country; finding none prepared to make resistance. The *Achaens*, were called by the *Messenians* to help: which they did the more willingly; because the *Aetolians* passing without leave through their Territorie, had (as was their manner) done what harme they listed. Olde *Aratus* could hardly abide these *Aetolians*; as both knowing well their nature, and remembering the iniuries, wherewith most ingratelully they had requied no small benefis done to them: by the *Achaens*. Hee was therefore so hasty to fall vpon this their Army, that he could hardly endure to stay a few daies vntill the time of his owne Office came; being chosen Prator of the *Achaens* for the yeere following. But his anger was greater than his courage: and he shewed himselfe a man fitter (as hath been already noted of him) for any other seruice, than leading of an Armie. He suffered them to passe quietly along with their boorie, through a part of the Countie, wherein he might very easilie haue distressed them; and afterwards pressed them so neere, when they had recouered ground of aduantage, that they easily defeated all his Armie. So they departed home rich, and well animated to returne agayne. As for the *Achaens*, they got hereby onely the friendship of the *Messenians*: with whom, by licence of King *Philip*, they made confederacie. Shortly after, the *Aetolians* inuaded *Peloponnesus* againe; hauing no more to doe, than to passe ouer the narrow Streights of the *Corinthian* Bay, called now the Gulph of *Lepanto*, where they might land in the Countie of the *Eleans*. There ioynd with them, in this their second inuasion, a great number of the *Illyrians*: who neglecting that Condition imposed vpon them by the *Romans*, of setting out no ships of war vnto the coast of *Greece*: made bold to seek aduentures agayne, and did great mischief. *Demetrius Pharim*, a creature of the *Romans*, commanded a part of these *Illyrians*: who shortly repented him of this his voyage, which caused him to lose his Kingdome, as is shewed before. But this *Demetrius* went another way, & fell vpon the Islands of the *Cyclades* in the *Aegean* sea: whence returning, he did some good offices for King *Philip*, or his friends. The rest of the *Illyrians* vnder *Serdilaidas*, or *Serdiletus*, hauing

Lib. 3. chap. 2.
§. 6.
Ibid.

Comp. 3. §. 1.

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gotten what they could else-where by roving at Sea, accompanied the *Aetolians* into *Peloponnesus*: who made greater hauocke in the Countie now, than in their former Expedition, and returned home, without finding any resistance.

Of these things great complaint was made vnto *Philip*, when hee came to *Corinth*. And because men were desirous to satishe themselves with some speedy reuenge: there were that vtged to haue some grievous punishment layd vpon the *Lacedemonians*: who were thought vnder hand to haue fauoured the *Aetolians*, in mere despite of the *Achaens* and *Macedonians*, by whom themselves had lately bene subdued. It is true, that the *Lacedemonians* had bene so affected: and (which was worse) at the arrivall of *Philip*, they flew such friends of his, as hauing checked their inclination, seemed likely to appeale them of the intended rebellion. Neither durst they well commit themselves to indgement: but entreated the King, that he would abstaine from comming to them with an Army: since their Towne was lately much disquieted with ciuil discord, which they hoped soone to appeale, and meant alwayes to remaine at his deuotion. *Philip* was easily satisfied with this: not for that he (or rather old *Aratus*, who then wholly gouerned him) did mis-vnderstand the *Lacedemonians*: but for that a greater worke was in hand, which ought not to be interrupted. There met at *Corinth*, in presence of the King, the Embassadors of the *Achaens*, *Boeotians*, *Epirots*, and *Acarnanians*: all complaining vpon the *Aetolians*: and desiring to haue warre decreed against them, by common assent. *Philip* sent his letters vnto the *Aetolians*, requiring them to make ready their answer in some convenient time: if they could alledge any thing in excuse of that which they had done. They returned word, that a Diet should be holden at *Bhim* for that purpose: whither if it pleased him to come, or send, he should be well informed of them and their whole meaning. The King prepared to haue bene there at the day. But when the *Aetolians* vnderstood this for certaintie, they adourned the Councell vnto a further time: saying, That such weighty matters ought not to be handled, faue in the great Parliament of all *Aetolia*. This trick of Law notwithstanding, open war was proclaimed against them. And they, as it were to shew how wel they had deserued it, made deccion of *Scopas* to be their Prator, that was Author of these Inuasions made on *Peloponnesus*; and the onely man, in a sort, vpon whom they must haue laid the blame of these actions, if they would haue shifed it from the publicke.

After this, *Philip* went into *Macedon*, where hee prepared busily for the warre against the yeere following. He also assayed the *Illyrian*, *Serdilaidas*, with faire words and promises; whom he easily won from the *Aetolian* side, forasmuch as the *Aetolians* had coufessed him of his share, when he was partner with them in their late robberies. In like sort the *Achaens*, who had first of all others proclaimed the warre in their owne Countie; sent vnto the *Acarnanians*, *Epirots*, *Messenians*, & *Lacedemonians*: requesting them forthwith to declare themselves, and to denounce warre vnto the *Aetolians*; without staying (as it were) to await the event. Hereunto they receiued diuerse answers, according to the qualities of those with whom they dealt. The *Acarnanians*, a free-hearted and valiant, though a small Nation, and bordering vpon the *Aetolians*, of whom they stood in continual danger; sayd, that they could not honestly refuse to shew their faithfull meaning in that warre, which was concluded by generall assent. The *Epirots* that were more mighty, were neuertheless more cunning and reserved: so that they stood vpon a needlesse point, and desired to be held excused, vntill *Philip* (of whose meaning they needed not to haue made any doubt) should first proclaim the war. The *Messenians*, for whose cause the warre was vnderaken, excused themselves, by reason of a Towne which the *Aetolians* held vpon their borders; and sayd, that they durst not be ouer-bold, vntill that bidle were taken out of their mouthes. As for the *Lacedemonians*, the chiefe of them shewed onely, how to mannage the treason, for which their City had bene so lately pardoned: and therefore dismissed the Embassadors of the Confederates, without any answer at all. They had three yeeres together continued subiect against their wills to the *Macedonians*, expecting still when *Cleomenes* should returne out of *Egypt* to reigne ouer them agayne, and maintayne, as hee was wont, the honour of their City. In this regard they chose not any Kings, but were contented with the rule of *Ephori*. Of these there were some, that thought the publicke safety to consist, in holding their faith with the *Macedonian* that had preserued them: And hereto they referred all their countailes: being perhappes a little moued with respect of the benefis, which might redound

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vnto

vnto themselves, by adhering firmly to those which at the present bore rule over them. Others, and those the greater part, were still deuising, how to make all ready for *Cleomenes* against his returne; and sought to ioine with the *Ætolians*, which were the most likely to giue him strong assistance. The *Macedonian* faction had the more authority and durst more freely speake their mindes: but the contrary side was the more passionate, and spared not by murders, or any other violent courses, to set forward their desire. Neyther did it suffice, that about these times there came certayne report of *Cleomenes* his death. For it was the liberty and honour of *Sparta*, which these intended: fancying vnto themselves the glory of their Ancestors in such Ages past, as were not like to come agayne. *Cleomenes* was, they knew, the most able man to restore them vnto their greatnesse and lustre; which once hee had in a manner performed: But since hee was dead, and that, without injury to his well-deseruing vertue, they might proceed to the election of new Kings: Kings they would haue, and those of the race of *Hercules*, as in former times; for that without such helpe, they must continue little better than subiects vnto the *Macedonians*, and farre lesse by him respected, than were the *Achaens*. Thus were they transported by contemplation of their old Nobility and fame. Some of the most working spirits among them, procured the *Ætolians* to send an Embassage to *Sparta*: which propounded the matter openly vnto the people, whereof no one of the Citizens durst haue made himselfe the Author. Much disputation, and hot there was, betwene those of the *Macedonian* partie, and these their opposites: in such wise that nothing could be concluded; vnill by massacre or banishment of all, or the chiefe, that spake against the *Ætolians*, the diuersitie of opinion was taken quite away. Then forthwith a League was concluded betwene the *Lacedemonians* and *Ætolians*: without all regard of the *Macedonians* or *Achaens*, who had spared the Citie, when they might haue destroyed it. Then also they went in hand with the election of new Kings: wherein their diligence was so nice, and so regardfull of their ancient Lawes, astouching the choosling of the one King, that wee may iustly wonder, how they grew so careless in making choice of the other. In the one of their royall Families they found *Agepsolis*, the son of *Agepsolis* the son of king *Cleombrotus*: and him they admitted to reigne ouer them, as heire apparant to his grandfather. This *Agepsolis* was a yong Boy, standing in neede of a Guardian; and had an Vncle, his fathers brother, that was fit for the Governement. Yet because the Law required, that the sonne, how young soeuer, should haue his fathers whole right and title: the *Lacedemonians*, though standing in neede of a man, were so punctuall in obseruation of the Law, that they made this childe their King, and appoynted his Vncle *Cleomenes* to be his Protector. But in the other branch of the royall Family, though there was no want of heires: yet would not the people trouble themselves about any of them, to examine the goodnesse of his Claime: but made election of one *Lycurgus*, who having no manner of title to the kingdom, bestowed vpon each of the *Ephors*, a Talent, and thereby made himselfe be filiated King of *Sparta*, and a Gentleman of the race of *Hercules*. This *Lycurgus*, to graue his Parusins, and to appoue his worth by action, invaded the Countrey of the *Argives*: which lay open and vngarded, as in a time of peace. There he did great spoile, and won diuers Townes; whereof two he retained, and annexed vnto the State of the *Lacedemonians*. After such open hostility, the *Lacedemonians* declared themselves on the *Ætolian* side; and proclaimed warre against the *Achaens*.

Thus the beginnings of the warre fell out much otherwise, then the *Achaens* and their Confederates had expected, when they first made preparation. *Philip* was not ready: the *Epirots* gaue vncertayne answer: the *Messenians* would not stirre: all the burden must lie vpon themselves and the poore *Acaronians*, whom the *Ætolians*, by fauour of the *Eleans*, could invade at pleasure, as they were like to doe; and by helpe of the *Lacedemonians*, could assaile on all parts at once. It was not long ere the *Ætolians*, passing ouer the Bay of *Corinth*, surprised the Towne of *Ægira*: which if they could haue held, they should thereby grieuously haue molested the *Achaens*, for that it stood in the mid-way betwene *Ægium* and *Sicyon*, two of their principall Citities, and gaue open way into the heart of all their Countrey. But as *Ægira* was taken by surprize: so was it presently left agayne, through greedinesse of spoyle, whilst they that should haue made it their first care, to assure the place vnto themselves, by occupying the citadel and other peeces of strength, fell heedlesly to ranke private houses, and thereby gaue the

the Citizens leaue to make head, by whom they were driuen with great slaughter backe vnto their Fleet. About the same time, another *Ætolian* Armie landing among the *Eleans*, fell vpon the Westerne Coast of *Achaia*; waiting all the Territories of the *Dymeans* and other people, that were first beginners of the *Achaean* Confederacie. The *Dymeans* and their neighbours made head against these Inuaders; but were so well beaten, that the enimie grew bolder with them than before. They sent for helpe vnto their Prætor, and to all the Townes of their Societie. In vaine. For the *Achaens* hauing lately beene much weakened by *Cleomenes*, were now able to doe little of themselves: neither could they get any strength of Mercenaries; forasmuch as at the end of *Cleomenes* his warre, they had contumeliously withheld part of their due from those that serued them therein. So through this disability of the *Achaens*, and insufficiency of their Prætor, the *Dymeans*, with others, were driuen to withhold their contribution heretofore made for the publike seruice, and to conuert the money to their owne defence. *Lycurgus* also with his *Lacedemonians*, began to winne vpon the *Arcadians*; that were confederate with *Philip* and the *Achaens*. *Philip* came to the borders of the *Ætolians*, whilst their Armie was thus employed a while off in *Peloponnesus*. The *Epirots* ioyned all their forces with him: and by such their fine readines, drew him to the siege of a Frontier peece, which they desired to get into their owne hands: for that, by commodity thereof, they hoped shortly to make themselves Masters of *Ambracia*. There hee spent fortie dayes, ere he could end the busines; which tended onely to the benefit of the *Epirots*. Had hee entered into the heart of *Ætolia* at his first comming in, it was thought that he might haue had an end of the war. But in happens off, that the violence of great Armies is broken vpon small Townes or Forts: and not seldom, that the importunitie of Associates, to haue their owne desires fulfilled; couerts the preparatiōs of great Kings to those vses for which they neuer were intended; thereby hindring the prosecution of their maine designs. Thus was our King *Henrie* the eighth aside, and quite out of his way, by *Maximilian* the Emperour to the siege of *Tourmay*: at such time as the French King *Lewes* the twelfth, hearing that the strong Citie of *Terruin* was lost, and that his Cavallerie, wherein rested his chiefe confidence, was shoulde be beaten by the Earle of *Essex* with seuen hundred *English*; was thinking to withdraw himselfe into *Brittaine*, in feare that *Henrie* would haue come to *Paris*.

The day that *Philip* made at *Ambracia*, did wondrously embolden the *Ætolians*: in such sort, as their Prætor *Scopas* aduentured to leade all their forces out of the Countrey; and therewith not onely to ouer-runne *Thessalie*, but to make impresseion into *Macedoni*. He came as farre as to *Dium*, a Citie of *Macedon* vpon the *Ægean* Sea: which, being forsaken by the Inhabitants at his comming, he tooke, and razed to the ground. He spared neither Temple, nor any other of the goodly buildings therein, but ouerturned all: and among the rest, he threw downe the Statuas that were there erected, of the *Macedonian* Kings. For this he was highly honoured by his Countrey men at his returne; forasmuch as hereby they thought their Nation to bee growne terrible, not onely (as before) vnto *Peloponnesus*, but euen to *Macedon* it selfe. But this their pride was soone abated; and they rewarded shortly at home in their owne Countrey, for their paines taken at *Dium*. *Philip* hauing dispatched his worke at *Ambracia*, made a strong inuasion vpon *Ætolia*. He tooke *Phœtie*, *Metropolis*, *Oeniade*, *Panionum*, *Elaus*, and diuers other Townes and Castles of theirs: of which he burnt some, and fortified others. He also beat the *Ætolians* in sundrie skirmishes; and wasted all the Countrie ouer, without receiuing any harme. This done, while he was about to make a cut ouer the Streights into *Peloponnesus*, and to doe the like spoile in the Countrey of the *Eleans*, whereto he was vehemently solicited by the *Achaean* Embassadors: newes came out of *Macedon*, that the *Dardani* were ready with a great Armie to fall vpon the Countrie. These *Dardaniens* were barbarous people, diuided by Mount *Hemus* from the Northerne part of *Macedon*, and were accustomed to seeke booty in that wealthy Kingdome, when they found their own times. Hauing therefore intelligence, that *Philip* was about to make a journey into *Peloponnesus*; they purposed in his absence, which they thought would be long, to get what they could for themselves in his Countrey; as had bene their manner vpon the like advantages. This made the King to dismisst the *Achaean* Embassadors, (whom he should haue accompanied home with his Armie) and to bid them haue patience vntill another yeere. So hee tooke his way homewards: and as hee was passing out of *Acarnania* into *Epirus*, there repaired vnto him *Demetrius Pharius*, with no more than

one Ship; that was newly chased out of his Kingdome by the *Romans*. This *Demetrius* had lately shewed himselfe a friend to *Antigonus Dofon*, in the warres of *Cleomenes*; and returning in his last Voyage from the *Cyclades*, was readie, at their first request, to take part with *Philips* Captaines. These, or the like considerations, made him welcome vnto the *Macedonian* King: whose Counsaillor he was euer after. The *Dardaniens* hearing of the Kings returne, brake vp their Armie, and gaue ouer for the present their inuasion of *Macedon*, towards which they were already on their way.

All that Summer following the King rested at *Larissa* in *Thessalie*, whilst his people gathered in their Haruest. But the *Aetolians* rested not. They augmented themselves vpon the *Epirots*: whom for the harmes by them and *Philip* done in *Asolia*, they required, with all extremities of warre, among which, the most notable was the ruine of the most famous Temple of *Dodona*. When Winter grew on, and all thought of warre vnill another yeere was laid aside: *Philip* stole a iourne into *Peloponnesus*, with fise thousand Foot, and about foure hundred Horfe. As soone as he was within *Corinth*, he commanded the Gates to be shut, that no word might be carried forth of his arrival. Hee sent priuily for old *Aratus* to come thither vnto him: with whom he tooke order, when, and in what places, he would haue the *Achaens* Souldiors readie to meete him. The Enemies were then abroad in the Countrie, with somewhat more than two thousand Foot and an hundred Horfe; little thinking to meet with such opposition. Indeede they had little cause to feare: since the *Achaens* themselves were not aware that the King was in their Land with his *Macedonians*; vnill they heard, that these two thousand *Eleans*, *Aetolians*, and their fellows, were by him surpris'd, and all made prisoners, or slaine. By this exploit which he did at his first coming, *Philip* got very much reputation and likewise he purchased both reputation and loue, by diuers actions immediately following. He won *Phosphis*, an exceeding strong Town, in the borders of *Arcadia*; which the *Eleans* and *Aetolians* then held. Hee wonne it by assault at his first coming: wherein it much auailed him, that the Enemye, not beleeuing that he would vndertake such a peece of worke at such an vnseasonable time of the yeere, was carelesse of providing euen such store of weapons, as might haue serued to defend it. The Towne was preferred by the King from lacke, and giuen to the *Achaens*, of his owne meere motion, before they requed it. Thence went he to *Lysion*, which yielded for very feare; hearing how easilie he had taken *Phosphis*. This Towne also he gaue to the *Achaens*. The like liberality he vsed towards others; that had ancient title vnto places by him recouered. Then fell hee vpon the Countrie of *Elis*, where was much wealth to bee gotten: for that the people were addicted to husbandrie, and liued abroad in Villages; euen such as were of the wealthier sort among them. So he came to the Citie of *Olympia*: where hauing done sacrifice to *Iupiter*, feasted his Captaines, and refreshed his Armie three daies; Hee proceeded on to the spoyle of those, that had taken pleasure to shire with the *Aetolians*, in the spoiles of their other-wise despoiling neighbours. Great abundance of Cattle hee tooke, with great numbers of slaues, and much wealth of all sorts, such as could bee found in rich villages. Then fell hee in hand with the Townes whereinto a great multitude of the Countrie-people were fledde. Some of these were taken at the first assault. Some yielded for feare. Some preuented the labour of his iourney, by sending Embassadors to yeeld before he came. And some that were held with Garrisons against their wills, tooke courage to set themselves at libertie, by seeing the King so neere; to whose Patronage thenceforth they betooke themselves. And many places were spoiled by the *Aetolian* Captaines, because they distrusted their ability to hold them. So the King wonne more Townes in the Countrie, than the sharpnesse of Winter would suffer him to stay there dayes. Faine he would haue fought with the *Aetolians*; but they made such haste from him, that he could not ouertake them, till they had couered themselves within the Towne of *Samicum*; where they thought to haue beene safe. But *Philip* assaulted them therein so forcibly, that he made them glad to yeeld the place; obtaining licence to depart, with their liues and armes. Hauing performed so much in this expedition, the King reposed himselfe a while in *Megalopolis*; and then remooued to *Argos*, where hee spent all the rest of the Winter.

Before the Kings arrival in *Peloponnesus*, the *Lacedaemonians* with *Lycargus* their new King, had gotten somewhat in *Arcadia*; and threatened to doe great matters. But when they were admonished, by the calamitie that fell vpon the *Eleans*, of the danger hanging

ouer

ouer their owne heads; they quitted their winnings, and withdrew themselves home. This *Lycargus*, as hee had no other right to the Kingdome of *Sparta*, than that which hee could buy with money: so was he neither free from danger of conspiracies made against him, nor from those ieaousies, with which vsurpers are commonly perplexed. There was one *Chilon*, of the Royall blood, that thinking himselfe to haue best right vnto the Kingdome, purposed to make way thereunto, by massacre of his opposites; and afterwards to confirme himselfe, by propounding vnto the Multitude such reformation of the State as was most popular: namely, by making an equall distribution of all the Lands among the whole number of the Citizens, according to the ancient institution of that Common wealth. Hee woane to his partie some two hundred men; with whom hee fell vpon the *Ephori* as they were together at supper, and slew them all. Then went he to *Lycargus* his house: who perceiving the danger, stole away and fled. It remained that he should giue account of these doings to the people, and procure them to take part with him. But their minds being not hereto predisposed; they so little regarded his goodly offers, as euen whilst hee was vsing his best persuasions, they were consulting how to apprehend him. *Chilon* perceiued whereabout they went, and shifted presently away. So he liued afterwards among the *Achaens* a banished man, and hated of his owne people. As for *Lycargus*, hee returned home: and suspecting thenceforth all those of *Hercules* his race, found means to driue out his fellow-King yong *Agapostolus*; where by hee made himselfe Lord alone. His doings grew to bee suspected, in such sort as once he should haue beene apprehended by the *Ephori*. But though his actions hitherto might haue beene defended; yet rather than to adventure himselfe into iudgement, he chose to flie for a time, and so iourne among his friends the *Aetolians*. His well knowne vehemencie in opposition to the *Macedonians*, had procured vnto him such good liking among the people, that in his absence they beganne to consider the weaknesse of their owne surmises against him; and pronouncing him innocent, recalled him home to his Estate. But in time following, hee tooke better heed vnto himselfe: not by amending his condition (for he grew a Tyrant, and was so acknowledged) but by taking order, that it should not be in the power of the Citizens to expell him when they list'd. By what actions hee got the name of a Tyrant: or at what time it was, that he chased *Agapostolus* out of the Citie; I doe not certainly finde. Like enough it is, That his being the first of three vsurpers, which followed in order one after another, made him to bee placed in the ranke of Tyrants; which the last of the three very iustly deserved. Whatsoeuer he was toward some priuate Citizens: in the warre against *Philip*, he behaued himselfe as a prouident man, and carefull of his Countreys good.

S. II.

How *Philip* was misadvised by ill Counsaillors: who afterwards wrought treason against him; and were iustly punished. Hee inuadeth the *Aetolians* a second time: and forceth them to sue for peace: which is granted vnto them.

Whilst the King lay at *Argos*, deuising vpon his businesse for the yeare following, some ambitious men that were about him, studied so diligently for their owne generall goodnesse, as they were like to haue spoiled all that hee tooke in hand. *Antigonus Dofon* had left vnto *Philip* such Counsaillors, as to him did seeme the fittest men for governing of his youth. The chiefe of these was *Apelles*; that had the charge of his person, and also the ordering of his Treasures. This man, seeming to himselfe a great Politician, thought that hee should doe a notable peece of seruice to his Prince; if hee could reduce the *Achaens* vnto the same degree of subiection, wherein the *Macedonians* liued. To bring this to passe, during the late Expedition hee had caused some of the *Macedonians* to thrust the *Achaens* out of their lodgings, and to strip them of the bootie that they had gotten. Proceeding further, as occasion fell out, hee was bold to chastise some of that Nation; causing his Ministers to take and whipper them. If any of them offered (as there were some of them that could not refrain) to helpe their fellows, then hee laid by the heeles, and punished as Mutiners. Hereby hee thought to bring it to passe by little and little, that they should bee qualified with an habite of blind obediences; and thinke nothing vnjust that pleased the King. But these *Achaens* were tenderly sensible in matters of libertie: whereof if they could haue beene contented to suffer any

little

little diminution, they needed not haue troubled the *Macedonians* to helpe them in the warre against *Cleomenes*. They bemoaned themselves vnto olde *Aratus*, and besought him to thinke vpon some good order, that they might not be oppressed by degrees. *Aratus* forthwith dealt earnestly with the King; as in a matter more weighty, than at first it might seeme. The King bestowed gracious words vpon those that had bene wronged; and forbade *Apelles* to follow the course begonne. Hereat *Apelles* was inwardly vexed, though he dissembled his choller for a time. He thought so well of his owne Project, that he could not endure to lay it aside, being perhaps vnable to doe the King any valuable seruice, in businesse of other nature. He purposed therefore hereafter to beginne at the head; since, in biting at the taile, the filth had shot away from his mouth. It could not otherwise be than that among the *Acheans* there were some, who bore no hearty affection to *Aratus*. These he enquired out, and sending for them, entertained them with words of Court; promising to become their especial friend, and commend them vnto the King. Then brake he his purpose with the King himselfe; letting him know, that as long as hee continued to make much of *Aratus*, he must beaine to deale precisely with the *Acheans*; and as it were by Indenture, according to the letter of the Contract: whereas if he would be pleased, to giue countenance vnto those others whom he himselfe commended, then should the *Acheans*, and all other *Peloponnesians*, be quickly brought to conforme themselves vnto the duty of obedient Subjects. By such persuasions, he drew the King to be present at *Egium*, where the *Acheans* were to hold election of a new Prator. There with much more labour, than would haue bin needfull in a businesse of more importance; the King by faire words and threatnings together, obtained so much, That *Eperatus*, a very insufficient man, but one of *Apelles* his new favourites, was chosen Prator, instead of one more worthy, for whom *Aratus* had laboured. This was thought a good introduction vnto greater matters that should follow. The King from thence passed along by *Patras* and *Dyma*, to a very strong Castle held by the *Eleans*, which was called *Tichos*. The garrison yeelded it vp forsaere, at his first coming: whereof he was glad, for that he had an earnest desire to bestow it vpon the *Dymeans*, as he presently did.

The King thought it strange, that all this while he heard of no messengers from the *Eleans*, to sue for peace. For at his departure out of their Countrey the last Winter, hee had let loose one *Amphidamus* a Captaine of theirs, that was his prisoner; because hee found him an intelligent man, and one that vnderooke to make them forke their alliance with the *Atolians*, and ioyne with him vpon reasonable termes. This if they could be contented to doe, he willed *Amphidamus* to let them vnderstand, That hee would render vnto them freely all prisoners which he had of theirs; That he would defend them from all forrein inuasion; and that they should hold their liberty entire, liuing after their owne Lawes, without paying any manner of Tribute, or being kept vnder by any garrison. These conditions were not to be despised, if they had found credit as they might haue done. But when *Philip* came to the Castle of *Tichos*, and made a new inuasion vpon their Countrey: then beganne the *Eleans*, (that were not before our-habit to beleue such faire promises) to suspect *Amphidamus* as a Traitor, and one that was set on worke for no other end, than to breede a mutuall diffidence betweene them and the *Atolians*. Wherefore they purposed to lay hands vpon him, and send him prisoner into *Atolia*. But he perceived their intent, and got away to *Dyma*: in good time for himselfe, in better for *Aratus*. For the King (as was sayd) maruailling what should be the cause, that he heard no newes from the *Eleans*, concerning the offers which hee had made vnto them by *Amphidamus*: *Apelles*, his Counsaillor, thereby tooke occasion to supplant *Aratus*. He sayd that old *Aratus*, and his some together, had such deuices in their heads, as tended little to the Kings good: And long of them he sayd it was, that the *Eleans* did thus hold out: For when *Amphidamus* was dismissed home, the two *Arati*, (the father and the sonne) had taken him aside and giuen him to vnderstand, that it would be very preiudiciall to all *Peloponnesus*, if the *Eleans* once became at the deuotion of the *Macedonian*: And this was the true cause, why neither *Amphidamus* was very careful in doing this message, nor the *Eleans* in hearkning to the Kings offers. All this was a false lie, deuised by *Apelles* himselfe, vpon no other ground than his owne malice. *Philip* had no sooner heard this tale, but in a great rage he sent for the two *Arati*, and bade *Apelles* rehearse it ouer againe to their faces. *Apelles* did so, and with a bold countenance,

tricking

talking to them as to men already convicted. And when hee had said all the rest, ere either *Philip* or they spake any word; He added this clause as it were in the Kings name: Since the King hath found you such vngratefull wretches; it is his meaning to hold a Parliament of these *Acheans*; and therein hauing made it knowne what ye are, to depart into *Macedon*, and leaue you to your felices. Old *Aratus* grauely admonished the King; That whensoever hee heard any accusation, especially against a friend of his owne or a man of worth, He should forbear a while to giue credit, vntill he had diligently examined the businesse. For such deliberation was Kingly, and he should neuer thereof repent him. At the present hee said there needed no more, than to call in those that had heard this talke with *Amphidamus*, and especially him that had brought this goodly tale to *Apelles*. For it would be a very absurd thing, That the King should make himselfe the Author of a report in the open Parliament of *Achaia*, whereof there was none other euidence, than one mans *yes*, and anothers *no*. Hereof the King liked well; and said that he would make sufficient inquirie. So passed a few dayes: wherein whilest *Apelles* delayed to bring in the prooff, which indeed he wanted; *Amphidamus* came from *Elis*, and tolde what had befallen him there. The King was not forgetfull, to examine him about the conspiracy of the *Arati*: which when he found no better than a meere device against his honourable friends; He entertained them in louing manner as before. As for his loue to *Apelles*, though it was hereby somewhat cooled; yet by means of long acquaintance and daily employment, no remissi in therein could be discerned.

The vnrestfull temper of *Apelles*, hauing with much vehemence brought nothing to passe; began (as commonly Ambition vsith) to swell and grow venomous for want of his free motion. He betakes himselfe to his cunning againe: and as before, being checkt in his doings with those of the vulgar, he had prepared a snare for the *Arati*, so flying of them, he thinks it wisdome to lay for the King himselfe, and for all at once which were about him. In such manner sometime, the Spider thought to haue taken the Swallow which draue away Flies out of the chimnie; but was carried (net and all) into the Ayre by the bird, that was too strong to bee caught and held by the subtil wokenmanship of a Cob-web. Of the foure that next vnto *Apelles* were left by *Antigonus* in chiefe place about *Philip*; *Taurion*, his Lieutenant in *Peloponnesus*, and *Alexander* Captaine of the Guard, were faithfull men, and such as would not be corrupted. The other two, *Leontius* Captaine of the *Targueters*, and *Megalas* chiefe of the Secretaries, were easily wonne to be at *Apelles* his disposition. This politician therefore studied how to remouee the other two from their places, and put some Creatures of his owne into their rooms. Against *Alexander* He went to worke the ordinarie way, by calumination and pricke detraction. But for the supplanting of *Taurion* he vsed more finenesse, loading him with daily commendations, as a notable man of warre, and one, whom for his many vertues, the King might ill spare from being alwaies in his presence. By such Art hee thought to haue remoued him as we say, Out of Gods blessing into a warme Sunne. In the meane season *Aratus* retired himselfe; and sought to auoid the dangerous friendship of the King, by forbearing to meddle in affaires of State. As for the new Prator of *Achaia*, lately chosen by such vehement instance of the King; Hee was a man of no dispatch, and one that had no grace with the People. Wherefore a great deale of time was lost, whilest *Philip* wanted both the money and the Corne; wherewith hee should haue bene furnished by the *Acheans*. This made the King vnderstand his owne errour, which he wisely sought to reforme betimes. Hee perswaded the *Acheans* to reiourne their Parliament from *Egium*, to *Sycion* the Towne of *Aratus*. There he dealt with the old man and his sonne: perswading them to forget what was past; and laying all the blame vpon *Apelles*, on whom thenceforth hee intended to keepe a more diligent eye. So by the trauell of these worthy men, He easily obtained what he would of the *Acheans*. Fifty talents they gaue him out of hand; with great store of Corne: and further decreed, That so long as hee himselfe in person followed the warres in *Peloponnesus*, hee should receiue ten talents a moneth. Being thus enabled, he began to prouide shipping, that so he might inuade the *Atolians*, *Eleans*, and *Lacedemonians*, that were maritime people, at his pleasure, and hinder their excursions by Sea.

It vexed *Apelles* beyond measure, to see things goe forward so well without his helpe; and by the ministry of those whom he most hated. Wherefore he entered into conspiacie with *Leontius* and *Megalas*: binding himselfe and them by Oath, to crosse and bring

bring to nought, as well as they were able, all that the King should take in hand. By so doing, they thought to bring it to passe, that very want of ability to doe any thing without them; should make him speake them faire; and bee glad to submit himselfe to their directions. The King it is like had stood in some awe of them whilst he was a child, and therefore these wise men perswaded themselves, that, by looking bigge vpon him, and imputing vnto him all that fell out ill through their own misgouernment of his affaires, they might rule him as a child still. *Apelles* would needes goe to *Chalcis*, there to take order for the provisions, which were to come that way out of *Macedon*: The other two staid behinde with the King, to play their parts; all more mindfull of their wicked oath, than of their dutie.

His fleet and Armie being in a readinesse: *Philip* made countenance, as if hee would haue bent all his forces against the *Eleans*; to whose aid therefore the *Aetolians* sent men, little fearing that the mischiefe would haue fallen as soone after it did, vpon themselves. But against the *Eleans* and those that came to helpe them, *Philip* thought it enought to leaue the *Achaens*, with some part of his and their Mercenaries. Hee himselfe with the body of his Armie putting to Sea, landed in the Ile of *Cephallenia*: whence the *Aetolians* dwelling ouer against it, vsed to furnish themselves of shipping, when they went to roue abroad. There he besieged the Towne of *Palea*, that had bene very seruicable to the Enemie against him and his Confederates; and might be very vsefull to him, if hee could get it. Whilst he lay before this Towne, there came vnto him fiftene shippes of warre from *Sceerulaidis*; and many good Souldiers, from the *Epirots*, *Acarnanians*, and *Messenians*. But the Towne was obstinate; and would not be terrified with numbers. It was naturally fenced on all parts save one, on which side *Philip* carried a Mine to the wall, wherewith hee ouerthrew two hundred foot thereof. *Leontius* Capitaine of the Targetiers, was appointed by the King to make the assault. But he, remembering his covenant with *Apelles*, did both wilfully forbear to doe his best; and caused others to do the like. So the *Macedonians* were put to foyle, and many slaine, not of the worst souldiers, but such as had gotten ouer the breach, and would haue carried the Towne, if the Treason of their Capitaine, and some by him corrupted, had not hindered the victory. The King was angry with this, but there was no remedie; and therefore so he thought vpon breaking vp the siege. For it was easier vnto the Townes men to make vp the gap in their wall, than for him to make it wider. Whilst he stood thus perplexed and vncertaine what couer to take: the *Messenians* and *Acarnanians* lay hard vpon him, each of them desirous to draw him into their owne Countrey. The *Messenians* altogether, that *Lycurgus* was busie in wasting their Countrey: vpon whom the King might come vnawares in one day; the *Etesian* windes which then blew, serving fitly for his Navigation. Heereto also *Leontius* perswaded; who considered that those windes, as they would easily carry him thither, so would they detain him there perforce (blowing all the Dogge-dayes) and make him spend the Summer to small or no purpose. But *Aratus* gaue better counsaile, and prevailed. He shewed how vsiting it were, to let the *Aetolians* ouer-runne all *Thessalie* againe, and some part of *Macedon*, whilst the King withdrew his Armie farre off to seeke small adventures. Rather, hee said, that the time now serued well to carrie the warre into *Aetolia*; since the Prætor was gone thence abroad on roving, with the one halfe of their strength. As for *Lycurgus*; he was not strong enough to doe much harme in *Peloponnesus*; and it might suffice, if the *Achaens* were appointed to make head against him. According to this aduice, the King sets sayle for *Aetolia*; and enters the Bay of *Ambracia*, which diuided the *Aetolians* from *Acarnania*. The *Acarnanians* were glad to see him on their borders; and ioyned with him as many of them as could beare armes, to helpe in taking vengeance vpon their bad neighbours. He marched vp into the in-land Countrey; and taking some places by the way, which he filled with Garrisons to assure his Retreat; He passed on to *Thermum*, which was the Receptacle of the *Aetolians*, and surest place of defence in all extremities. The Countrey round about was a great Fastnesse, enuironed with rockie Mountaines of very narrow, steepe, and difficult ascent. There did the *Aetolians* vse to hold all their chiefe meetings, their Faires, their election of Magistrates, and their solemne games. There also they vsed to bestow the most precious of their goods, as in a place of greatest securitie. This opinion of the naturall strength, had made them careless in looking vnto it. When *Philip* therefore had overcome the bad way, there was nothing else to do than to take spoile: whereof

whereof he found such plentie, that he thought the paines of his journey well recompenced. So he loaded his Armie: and consuming all that could not be carried away, forgot not to raze a goodly Temple, the chiefe of all belonging vnto the *Aetolians*; in remembrance of their like courtisie, shewed vpon the Temples of *Diem* and *Dodona*. This burning of the Temple, might (questionlesse) more for the Kings honour haue bene forbome. But perhaps he thought, as *Monsieur du Gourgues* the French Capitaine told the *Spaniards* in *Florida*, That they which had no faith, needed no Church. At his returne from *Thermum*, the *Aetolians* laid for him: which that they would doe, he beleued before; and therefore was not taken vnawares: Three thousand of them there were that lying in ambush fell vpon his skirts: but hee had laid a Counter-ambush for them of his *Thyrians*; who staying behinde the rest, did set vpon the backs of the *Aetolians*, whilst they were busily charging in Rere the Armie that went before. So with slaughter of the enemie, hee returned the same way that he came: and burning downe those places that he had taken before, as also wasting the Countrey round about him, hee safely carried all that he had gotten aboard his Fleet. Once the *Aetolians* made countenance of fight, issuing out of *Stratus* in great brauerie. But they were beaten home faster than they came, and followed to their very gates.

The ioy of this victorious Expedition being euery way complete, and not deformed (as commonly happens) by any sinister accident; it pleased the King to make a great feast vnto all his friends and Capitaines. Thither were invited among the rest *Leontius*, with his fellow *Megalas*. They came, because they could not chooseth: but their heauy looks argued what little pleasure they tooke in the Kings prosperity. It grieved them to thinke, that they should be able to giue no better account vnto *Apelles*, of their hindering the Kings businesse; since *Apelles* himselfe, as will be shewed anon, had plaied his owne part with a most mischieuous dexteritie. Finding *Aratus* on the way home to his Tent: they fell to railing him, throwing stones at him, so that they caused a great vprore; many running in (as happens in such cases) to take part with the one or the other. The King lending to inquire of the matter, was truly informed of all that had passed. Which made him send for *Leontius* and his fellows. But *Leontius* was gotten out of the way: *Megalas*, and another with him, came. The King began to ratchet for their disorder; and they, to giue him froward answers: in so much as they said at length, That they would neuer giue ouer, till they had rewarded *Aratus* with a mischiefe as hee deserved. Hereupon the King committed them to ward. *Leontius* hearing of this, comes boldly to the King, with his Targetiers at his heels: and with a proud grace demanded, who it was that had dared to lay hands vpon *Megalas*, yea and to cast him into prison? Why, said the King, it was euery I. This resolute answer, which *Leontius* had not expected, made him depart both sad and angrie; seeing himselfe out-frowned; and not knowing how to remedie the matter. Shortly after *Megalas* was called forth to his answer, and was charged by *Aratus* with many great crimes. Among which were, The hinderance of the Kings victorie at *Palea*, and the Compact made with *Apelles*: matters no lesse touching *Leontius*, that stood by as a looker on, than *Megalas* that was accused. In conclusion, the presumptions against him were so strong, and his answers thereto so weak; that he, and *Crinon* one of his fellows, were condemned in twentie Talents: *Crinon* being remanded backe to prison; and *Leontius* becoming Bayle for *Megalas*. This was done vpon the way home-ward, as the King was returning to *Corinth*.

Philip dispatched well a great deale of businesse this yeere. For as soone as hee was at *Corinth*, he tooke in hand an Expedition against the *Lacedamonians*. These and the *Eleans* had done what harme they could in *Peloponnesus*, whilst the King was absent. The *Achaens* had opposed them as well as they could; with ill successe, yet so, as they hindered them from doing such harme as else they would haue done. But when *Philip* came, he ouer-ran the Countrey about *Lacedamon*: and was in a manner at the gates of *Sparta*, ere men could well beleue that he was returned out of *Aetolia*. He tooke not in this Expedition any Cities, but made great waste in the fieldes: and hauing beaten the enemie in some skirmishes, carried backe with him to *Corinth* a rich bootie of Cartell, slaues, and other Countrey-spoile. At *Corinth* he found attending him, Embassadors from the *Rhodiens* and *Chians*: that requested him to set *Greece* at quiet, by granting peace vnto the *Aetolians*. They had gracious audience: and he willed them to deale first with the *Aetolians*; who, if they would make the same request, should not finde him vnreasonable. The

Aetolians

Asolians had sped ill that yeare: neither saw they any likely hopes for the yeares following. The Army that they had sent forth to waste *Thessaly* and *Macedon*, found such opposition on the way; that not daring to proceed, it returned home without bringing any thing to effect. In the meane season they had bene grievously afflicted, as before is shewed, by *Philip* in the center of their owne Countrey. All *Greece* and *Macedon* was vp in armes against them, and their weak Allies the *Elans* and *Lacedemonians*. Neither was it certaine, how long the one or other of these their *Peloponnesian* friends should be able to hold out, since they were not strong enough to keepe the field, but had already suffered those miseries of war, which by a little continuance would make them glad, each to seeke their owne peace, without regard of their Confederates. Wherefore the *Asolians* readily entertained this negotiation of Peace: and taking truce for thirty daies with the King, dealt with him by intercession of the same Embassadors, to intreat his presence at a Diet of their nation, that should be held at *Rhium*; whither if he would vouchsafe to come, they promised that he should find them comfortable to any good reason.

Whilest these things were in hand, *Leontius* and *Megalas* thought to haue terrified the King, by raising sedition against him in the Army. But this device sort to no good effect. The souldiers were easily and quickly incensed against many of the Kings friends, who were said to be the cause, why they were not rewarded with so much of the booty, as they thought to belong of right vnto them. But their anger spent it selfe in a noise, and breaking open of doores, without further harme done. This was enough to informe the King (who easily pacified his men with gentle words) that some about him were very false. Yea the souldiers themselves, repenting of their insolence, desired to haue the Authors of the tumult fought out, and punished according to their deserts. The King made shew as if hee had not cared to make such inquisition. But *Leontius* and *Megalas* were affraide, lest the matter would soone come out of it selfe to their extreme danger. Wherefore they sent vnto *Apelles*, the Head and Architect of their treason; requesting him speedily to repaire vnto *Corinth*, where hee might stand betwene them and the Kings displeasure. *Apelles* had not all this while bene wanting to the businesse, vndertaken by him and his treacherous companions. Hee had taken vpon him, as a man that had the Kings heart in his owne hand: and thereby was growne up into such credit, that all the Kings Officers in *Macedon* and *Thessaly* addressed themselves vnto him, and receiued from him their dispatch in euery businesse. Likewise the *Greekes* in all their flattering Decrees, tooke occasion to magnifie the vertue of *Apelles*, making slight mention (onely for fashions sake) of the King: who seemed no better than the Minister and Executioner of *Apelles* his will and pleasure. Such was the arrogance of this great man, in setting himselfe out vnto the people: but in managing the Kings affaires, hee made it his speciall care, that money, and all things needfull for the publique seruice, should be wanting. Yea he enforced the King, for very neede, to sell his owne Plate and household vessels: thinking to resolue these and all other difficulties, by onely saying, *Sir, he ruled wholly by me, and all shall be as you would wish.* Heceto if the King would giue assent, then had this Politician obtained his hearts desire. Now taking his journey from *Chalcis* in the Isle of *Euboea*, to the city of *Corinth* where *Philip* then lay: he was fetcht in with great pompe and royaltie, by a great number of the Captains and Souldiers, which *Leontius* and *Megalas* drew forth to meet him on the way. So entering the city with a goodly traine, he went directly to the Court, and towards the Kings chamber. But *Philip* was well aware of his pride, and had vehement suspicion of his fallshood. Wherefore one was sent to tel him, that he should wait a while, or come another time; for the King was not now at leisure to be spoken with. It was a pretty thing, that such a check as this made all his attendants forsake him, as a man in disgrace, in such sort, that going thence to his lodging, he had none to follow him save his owne Pages. After this, the King vouchsafed him now and then some slender graces: but in consultations, or other matters of priuacie, he vsed him not at all. This taught *Megalas* to look to himselfe, and run away betimes. Hereupon the King sent forth *Taurion* his Lieutenant of *Peloponnesus*, with all the Targetters, as it were to do some piece of seruice, but indeed of purpose to apprehend *Leontius* in the absence of his followers. *Leontius* being taken, dispatched away a messenger presently to his Targetters, to signify what was befallen him: and they forthwith sent vnto the King in his behalfe. They made request, That if any other thing were objected against him, hee might not be called

called forth to triall before their returne: as for the debt of *Megalas*, if that were all the matter, they said they were ready to make a purse for his discharge. This affection of the souldiers made *Philip* more hastie than else he would haue bene, to take away the Traiters life. Neither was it long, ere letters of *Megalas* were intercepted, which hee wrote vnto the *Asolians*; vilifying the King with opprobrious words; and bidding them not to hearken after peace, but to hold out a while, for that *Philip* was euen ready to shake vnder the burden of his owne penurie. By this the King vnderstood more perfectly the fallshood, not onely of *Megalas*, but of *Apelles*; whose cunning head had laboured all this while to keepe him so poore. Wherefore he sent one to pursue *Megalas*, who was fled to *Thebes*. As for *Apelles*, he committed both him, his sonne, and another that was inward with him, to prison; wherein all of them shortly ended their liues. *Megalas* also, neither daring to stand to triall, nor knowing whither to flie, was weary of his owne life; and slew himselfe about the same time.

The *Asolians*, as they had begun this warre vpon hope of accomplishing what they listed in the Nonage of *Philip*: so finding that the vigour of this yong Prince, tempered with the cold aduice of *Arctus*, wrought very effectually toward their overthrow; they grew very desirous to make an end of it. Neuertheless being a turbulent Nation, and ready to lay hold vpon all aduantages: when they heard what was happened in the Court, the death of *Apelles*, *Leontius*, and *Megalas*, together with some indignation thereupon conceiued by some of the Kings Targetters; they began to hope anew, that these troubles would be long lasting, and thereupon brake the day appointed for the meeting at *Rhium*. Of this was *Philip* nothing forie. For being in good hope thoroughly to tame this vnquiet Nation; He thought it much to concerne his owne honour, that all the blame of the beginning & continuing the warre should rest vpon themselves. Wherefore he willed his Confederates, to lay aside all thought of peace, and to prepare for war against the yeere following; wherein he hoped to bring it to an end. Then gratified hee his *Macedonian* souldiours, by yielding to let them winter in their owne Countrey. In this returne homeward, he called into iudgement one *Ptolemie*, a companion with *Apelles* and *Leontius* in their Treasons: who was therefore condemned by the *Macedonians*; and suffered death. These were the same *Macedonians*, that lately could not endure to heare of *Leontius* his imprisonment: yet now they thinke the man worthy to die that was but his adherent. So vaine is the confidence, on which Rebels vse to build, in their fauour with the Multitude.

During his abode in *Macedon*, *Philip* won some bordering Townes; from which the *Dardaniens*, *Asolians*, and other his ill neighbours, were accustomed to make rodes into his kingdom: when hee had thus provided for safety of his owne; the *Asolians* might well know what they were to expect. But there came again Embassadors from the *Rhodiens* and *Chians*, with others from *Ptolemie* King of *Aegypt*, and from the Citie of *Egyptum*, recontinuing the former solicitation about the Peace. This fashion had been taken vp in matters of *Greece*, euer since the Kings that reigned after *Alexander*, had taken vpon them to set the whole Countrey at libertie: No sooner was any Province or Citie in danger to be oppressed and subdued by force of warre, but presently there were found intercessors, who pitying the effusion of Greekish blood, would importune the stronger to relinquish his aduantage. By doing such friendly offices in time of need, the Princes and States abroad sought to binde vnto them those people, that were howsoever weak in numbers, yet very good souldiours. But hereby it came to passe, that the more forward sort, especially the *Asolians*, whose whole Nation was addicted to falsehood and robbrie, durst enter boldly into quarrels with all their Neighbours: being well assured, that if they had the worst; The loue of *Greece* would be sufficient for to redeeme their quiet. They had, since the late Treacie of peace, done what harme they could in *Peloponnesus*: but being beaten by the *Acheans*, and standing in feare to bee more soundly beaten at home, they desired now, more earnestly then before, to make an end of the Warre as soone as they might. *Philip* made such answer vnto the Embassadors, as he had done the former yeere; That he gaue not oncession to the beginning of this warre, nor was at the present afraid to continue it, or vnwilling to end it: but that the *Asolians*, if they had a desire to liue in rest, must first bee dealt withall, to signify plainly their determination, whereto himselfe would returne such answer as he should thinke fit.

Philip had at this time no great liking vnto the Peace, being a yong Prince, and in hope to increase the honour which he daily got by the warre. But it happened in the middle of this Negotiation, that he was aduertised by letters out of *Macedon*, what a notable victory *Hannibal* had obtained against the *Romans* in the battaile at *Thrasymene*. These letters hee communicated vnto *Demetrius Pharius*: who greatly encouraged him to take part with *Hannibal*: and not to sit still, as an idle beholder of the Italian Warre. Heereby he grew more inclinable than before vnto Peace with the *Aetolians*: which was concluded shortly in a meeting at *Napactus*. There did *Agelaus* an *Aetolian* make a great Oration: telling, how happie it was for the *Greekes*, that they might at their owne pleasure dispute about finishing Warre betweene themselves, without being molested by the *Barbarians*. For when once either the *Romans* or *Carthaginians*, had subdued one the other; it was not to be doubted, that they would forthwith looke Eastward, and seeke by all meanes to set footing in *Greece*. For this cause he said it were good, that their Countrey should be at peace within it selfe: and that *Philip*, if he were desirous of warre, should lay hold on the opportunitie, now fitly seruing, to enlarge his Dominion, by winning somewhat in *Italie*.

Such aduice could the *Aetolians* then giue, when they stood in feare of danger threatening them at hand: but being soone after weary of rest, as being accustomed to enrich themselves by pillage, they were so farre from observing and following their own good counsell, that they invited the *Romans* into *Greece*, whereby they brought themselves and the whole Countrey, (but themselves before any other part of the Countrey) vnder seruitude of strangers. The Condition of this Peace was simple, That euery one should keepe what they held at the present, without making restitution, or any amends for damages past.

§. III.

Philip, at the perswasion of *Demetrius Pharius*, enters into League with *Hannibal*, against the *Romans*. The Tenour of the League betweene *Hannibal* and *Philip*.

I His being agreed vpon: the *Greekes* betooke themselves to quiet courses of life; and *Philip* to prepare for the businesse of *Italie*, about which hee consulted with *Demetrius Pharius*. And thus passed the time away, till the great battaile of *Canna*: after which he ioyned in league with *Hannibal*, as hath beene shewed before. *Demetrius Pharius* bore great malice vnto the *Romans*; and knew no other way to be auenged vpon them, or to recouer his owne lost Kingdome, than by procuring the *Macedonian*, that was in a manner wholly guided by his counsaile, to take part with their enemies. It had otherwise beene farre more expedient for *Philip* to haue supported the weaker of those two great Cities against the more mighty. For by so doing, hee should perhaps haue brought them to peace vpon some equall termes; and so thereby, as did *Hiero* a farre weaker Prince, haue both secured his owne Estate, and caused each of them to be desirous of chiefe place in his friendship. The issue of the counsaile which hee followed, will appeare soone after this. His first quarrell with the *Romans*; the trouble which they and the *Aetolians* did put him to in *Greece*; and the Peace which they made with him for a time, vpon such Conditions that might easily be broken: haue beene related in another place, as belonging vnto the second Punicke Warre. Wherefore I will onely heere serdowne the tenour of the League betweene Him and *Carthage*: which may seeme not vnworthy to be read, if onely in regard of the forme it selfe then vsed; though it had beene ouer-long to haue beene inserted into a more busie peece.

THE



The Oath and Couenants betweene *Hannibal*, Generall of the *Carthaginians*, and *Xenophanes*, Embassador of *Philip* King of *Macedon*.

I HIS is the League ratified by oath, which *Hannibal* the Generall, and with him *Mago*, *Myrcal*, and *Barmocal*, as also the Senators of *Carthage* that are present, and all the *Carthaginians* that are in his Armie, haue made with *Xenophanes* the sonne of *Cleomachus Athenian*, whom King *Philip* the sonne of *Demetrius* hath sent vnto us, for himselfe and the *Macedonians*, and his Associates: Before *Iupiter*, and *Iuno*, and *Apollo*: before The God of the *Carthaginians*, *Hercules* and *Tolaus*, before *Mars*, *Tri-ton*, *Neptune*: before The Gods accompanying Armes, the Sunne, the Moone, and the Earth; before *Riuers* and *Meddowes*, and *Waters*; before all the Gods, that haue power ouer *Carthage*; before all the Gods that rule ouer *Macedon*, and the rest of *Greece*, before all the Gods that are Presidents of Warre, and present at the making of this League. *Hannibal* the Generall hath said, and all the Senators that are with him, and all the *Carthaginians* in his Armie: Be it agreed betweene *Ton* and *Vs*, that this Oath stand for friendship and louing affection, that We become friends, familiar, and brethren, vpon Countenants, that the safety of the Lords the *Carthaginians*, and of *Hannibal* the Generall and those that are with him, and of the Rulers of Provinces of the *Carthaginians* vsing the same Lawes, and of the *Vitians*; & as many Cities & Nations as obey the *Carthaginians*, and of the *Souldiers* and Associates, and of all Townes and Nations with which We hold friendship in *Italy*, *Gaulle*, and *Liguria*, and with whom we shall hold friendship or make alliance hereafter in this Region; be procured by King *Philip* and the *Macedonians*, and such of the *Greekes* as are their Associates. In like manner shall King *Philip* and the *Macedonians*, and other the *Greekes* his Associates, be laued and preserved by the *Carthaginian* Armies, and by the *Vitians*, and by all Cities and Nations that obey the *Carthaginians*, and by their Associates and *Souldiers*, and by all Nations and Cities in *Italy*, *Gaulle* and *Liguria*, that are of our Alliance, or shall hereafter ioyne with *Vs* in *Italy*. Wee shall not take counsaile one against the other, nor deale fraudulently one with the other. With all readinesse and good will, without deceit or subtiltie, We shall be enemies vnto the enemies of the *Carthaginians*, excepting those Kings, Towns, and Hauens, with which we haue already league and friendship. Wee also shall be enemies to the enemies of King *Philip*, excepting those Kings, Cities, and Nations, with which we haue already league and friendship. The warre that we haue with the *Romans*, haue we also with them, until the Gods shall giue vs a new and happie end. We shall aid *Vs* with those things wherof we haue need, and shall doe according to the Couenants betweene *Vs*. But if the Gods shall not giue vs to *Ton* and *Vs* their helpe in this warre against the *Romans* and their Associates; then if the *Romans* offer friendship, Wee shall make friendship in such wise that we shall be partakers of the same friendship, with Condition, That they shall not haue power to make warre vpon you: Neither shall the *Romans* be Lords ouer the *Corycraans*, nor ouer those of *Apollonia*, nor *Dyrrachium*, nor ouer *Pharus*, nor *Dimalle*, nor the *Parthini*, nor *Atintania*. They shall also render vnto *Demetrius Pharius* all those that belong vnto him, as many as are within the *Romanes* Dominions. But if the *Romans* (after such peace made) shall make warre vpon *Te* or *Vs*; Wee will succour one another in that warre, as either shall haue need. The same shall be observed in warre made by any other, excepting those Kings, Cities, and States, with whom wee hold already league and friendship. To this league if we or *Te* shall thinke fit to adde or detract, such addition or detraction shall be made by our common consent.

LIII 2

§. IIII.

§. IIII.

How Philip yielded to his naturall vices being therein foorth by Demetrius Pharius. His desire to tyrannise vpon the free States his Associates. With the troubles, into which he thereby fell, whilst he bore a part in the second Punick warre. He possoneth Aratus: and growes hateful to the Achæans.

Hitherto Philip had carried himselfe as a vertuous Prince. And though with more commendation of his wisdom, hee might haue offered his friendship to the *Romans*, that were like to be oppressed, than to the *Carthaginians* who had the better hand: yet this meddling in the Punicke warre, proceeded from a royall greatness of minde, with a desire to secure and increase his owne estate, adding therewithall reputation to his Countrey. But in this businesse he was guided (as hath bene said) by *Demetrius Pharius*: who, looking throughly into his nature, did accommodate himselfe to his desires: and thereby shortly gouerned him as he listed. For the vertues of Philip were not indeed such as they seemed. He was lustfull, bloudy, and tyrannicall: desirous of power to doe what he listed, and not other wise listning to doe what he ought, than so farre forth, as by making a faire shew he might breed in men such good opinion of him, as should helpe to serue his turne in all that hee rooke in hand. Before hee should busie himselfe in *Italie*, hee thought it requisite in good policie, to bring the *Greekes* that were his Associates vnder a more absolute forme of subiection. Hereunto *Apelles* had aduised him before: and hee had liked reasonably well of the course. But *Apelles* was a boyssour Counsellor, and one that referring all to his owne glory, thought himselfe deeply wronged if he might not wholly haue his owne way, but were driuen to await the Kings opportunity at better times. *Demetrius Pharius* could well be contented to obscure the Kings humours: and guided, like a Coach-man with the reins in his hand, those affections which himselfe did onely seeme to follow. Therefore hee grew daily more and more in credit: so as, without any manner of contention, he supplanted *Aratus*: which the violence of *Apelles* could neuer doe.

There arose about these times a very hote Faction among the *Messenians*, betwene the Nobilitie and Commons: their vehement thoughts being rather diuerted (as happens often after a forein warre) vnto domestical obiects, than allayed and reduced vnto a more quiet temper. In processe of no long time, the contention among them grew so violent, that Philip was entreated to compound the differences. He was glad of this: refusing so to end the matter, that they should not henceforth strue any more about their Gouernment: for that hee would assume it wholly to himselfe. At his comming thither, hee found *Aratus* busie among them to make all friends, after a better manner than agreed with his owne secret purpose. Wherefore hee consulted not with this reuerend old man: but talked in priuate with such of the *Messenians* as repaired vnto him. He asked the Gouernours, what they meant to stand thus disputing: and whether they had not Lawes, to bridle the insolence of the vnruelie Rabble: Contrariwise, in talking with the heads of the popular Faction, He said it was strange, that they being so many, would suffer themselves to be opposed by a few; as if they had not hands to defend themselves from Tyrants. Thus whilst each of them presumed on the Kings assistance; they thought it best to goe roundly to worke, ere that hee were gone that should countenance their doings. The Gouernours therefore would haue apprehended some seditious Orators, that were, they said, the stirrers vp of the multitude vnto sedition. Vpon this occasion the people tooke Armes: and running vpon the Nobilitie and Magistrates, killed of them in a rage almost two hundred. Philip thought, it seemed, that it would be easie to worrie the sheepe, when the Dogges their guardians were slaine. But his falshood and double dealing was immediately found out. Neither did the younger *Aratus* forbear, to tell him of it in publike, with very bitter and disgracefull words. The King was angry at this. But hauing already done more then was commendable, or excusable: and yet further intending to take other things in hand wherein hee should neede the helpe and countenance of his best friends; Hee was content to smother his displeasure, and make as faire weather as hee could. He ledde olde *Aratus* aside by the hand; and went vp into the Castle of *Ithome*, that was ouer *Messene*. There hee pretended to doe sacrifice: and sacrifice hee did. But it was his purpose to keepe the peace

to his owne vie; for that it was of notable strength, and would serue to command the further parts of *Peloponnesus*, as the Citadell of *Corinth*, which he had already, commanded the entrance into that Countrey. Whilst hee was therefore sacrificing, and had the entralls of the beast deliuered into his hands, as was the manner, Hee shewed them to *Aratus*, and gently asked him, whether the tokens that he saw therein did signifie, That being now in possession of this place, he should quietly goe out of it, or rather keepe it to himselfe. He thought perhaps, that the old man would haue foorthed him a litle; were it onely for desire to make amends, for the angry words newly spoken by his sonne. But as *Aratus* stood doubtfull what to answer, *Demetrius Pharius* gaue this verdict: *If thou be a Souldieryer, thou maist goe thy wayes, and let slip this good advantage; If thou be a King, thou must not neglect the opportunitie, but hold the Oxe by both his hornes.* Thus he spake, redembling *Ithome* and *Acrocorinthus* vnto the two hornes of *Peloponnesus*. Yet would Philip needs heare the opinion of *Aratus*: who told him plainly, That it were well doneto keepe the place, if it might be kept without breach of his faith vnto the *Messenians*: But if, by seizing vpon *Ithome*, He must lose all the other Castles that he held, and especially the strongest Castle of all that was left vnto him by *Antigonus*, which was his credit; then were it farre better to depart with his souldiers, and keepe men in duetie, as he had done hitherto, by their owne good wils, than by fortifying any strong places against them, to make them of his friends become his Enemies.

To this good aduice Philip yielded at the present: but not without some dislike, thenceforth growing betwene Him and the *Arats*; whom he thought more froward than becomed them, in contradicting his will. Neither was the old man desirous at all, to deale any longer in the Kings affairs, or be inward with him. For as he plainly discouered his Tyrannous purposes: so likewise hee perceived, that in resorting to his house, He had bene dishonest with his sonnes wife. He therefore staid at home: where at good leisure he might repent, that in despite of *Cleomenes*, his owne Countreiman, and a temperate Prince, he had brought the *Macedonians* into *Peloponnesus*.

Philip made a Voyage out of *Peloponnesus* into *Epirus*, wherein *Aratus* refused to beare him company. In this journey he found by experience what *Aratus* had lately told him; That vnholiest counsailes are not so profitable in deed, as in appearance. The *Epirots* were his followers and dependants; and so they purposed to continue. But Hee would needs haue them so to remaine, whether they purposed it or not. Wherefore to make them the more obnoxious vnto his Will, He seized vpon their Towne of *Oricum*, and laid siege to *Apollonia*; hauing no good colour of these doings: but thinking himselfe strong enough to doe what hee listed, and not seeing whence they should procure friends to helpe them. Thus in steed of settling the country, as his intended Voyage into *Italie* required: He kindled a fire in it which he could neuer quench, vntill it had laid hold on his owne Palace. Whilst hee was thus labouring to binde the hands that should haue fought for him in *Italie*: *M. Valerius* the *Romane* came into those parts; who not onely maintained the *Epirots* against him, but procured the *Aetolians* to breake the Peace, which they had lately made with him.

Thus began that warre; the occurrents whereof wee haue related before, in the place whereto it belonged. In manning whereof though Philip did the offices of a good Captaine: yet when leisure serued, He made it apparant that he was a vicious King. He had not quite left his former desire, of oppressing the libertie of the *Messenians*; but made another journey into their Countrey, with hope to deceive them, as before. They vnderstood him better now than before; and therefore were not hasty to trust him too farre. When he saw that his cunning would not serue, He went to worke by force; and calling them his Enemies, intruded them with open Vwarre. But in that warre he could doe little good; perhaps, because none of his Confederates were desirous to helpe him in such an enterprise. In this attempt vpon *Messene* hee lost *Demetrius Pharius*; that was his Counsaillor and Flatterer, not his peruerter, as appears by his growing daily more naught in following times. The worse that hee spied, the more angry hee waxed against those that seemed not to fauour his iniurious doings. Wherefore by the ministry of *Taurion*, his Lieutenant, hee possonned olde *Aratus*; and shortly after that hee possonned also the younger *Aratus*: hoping that these things would neuer haue bene knowne, because they were done secretly, and the possyons themselves were more fire than manifest in operation. The *Sicyonians*, and all the people of *Achaia*, dected vnto

Aratus more than humane honours, as Sacrifices, Hymnes, and Processions, to be celebrated euery yeere twice, with a Priest ordained vnto him for that purpose; as was accustomed vnto the *Hermes*, or men, whom they thought to be translated into the number of the gods. Hereunto they are said to haue bene encouraged by an Oracle of *Apollon*: which is like enough to haue bene true; since the helpe of the Deuill is neuer failing to the increase of Idolatrie.

The louing memorie of *Aratus* their Patron, and singular Benefactor, could not but worke in the *Achaens* a marvellous dislike, of that wicked King which had made him thus away. He shall therefore heare of this hereafter, when they better dare to take countsaile for themselves. At the present, the murder was not generally knowne or beleued: neither were they in cale to susbit, without his helpe that had committed it. The *Achaens* were a most outrageous people, great darers, and shamelesse robbers. With these the *Romans* made a league: whereof the Conditions were soone divulged, especially that maine point, concerning the diuision of the purchase which they should make, namely, That the *Atolians* should haue the country and Townes; but the *Romans* the spoyle, and carry away the people to sell for slaves. The *Achaens*, who in times of greater quiet, could not endure to make freight alliance with the *Atolians*, as knowing their vnicill disposition; were much the more auerle from them, when they perceiued how they had called in the *Barbarians* (for such did the *Greekes* account all other Nations except their owne) to make hauocke of the Country. The same consideration moued also the *Lacedaemonians*, to stand off a while, before they would declare themselves for the *Atolians*, whose friendship they had embraced in the late warre. The industry therefore of *Philip*, and the great care which he seemed to take of the *Achaens* his Confederates, sufficed to retaine them: especially at such time, as their owne necessitie was thereto concurrent. More particularly he obliged vnto himselfe the *Dymeans*, by an inestimable benefit: recouering their Towne, after it had bene taken by the *Romans* and *Atolians*; and redeeming their people whereof they might be found, that had been carried away Captiue, and sold abroad for slaves. Thus might he haue blotted out the memorie of offences past; if the malignitie of his naturall condition had not otherwhiles broken out, and giuen mento vnderstand, that it was the Time, and not his Vertue, which caused him to make such a shew of goodnesse. Among other foule acts, whereof hee was not ashamed; He tooke *Polyxara* the wife of the younger *Aratus*, and carried her into *Macedon*: little regarding how this might serue to confirm in the people their opinion, that he was guilty of the old mans death. But of such faults he shall be told, when the *Romans* make warre vpon him the second time: for of that which hapned in this their first Inuasion, I holde it superfluous to make repetition.

§. V.

Of *Philopœmen* General of the *Achaens*: and *Machanidas*, Tyrant of *Lacedamon*. Battaille betwene them, wherein *Mechanidas* is slaine.

It happens often, that the disease of one eminent man discouers the vertue of another. In the place of *Aratus* there stood vp *Philopœmen*: whose notable valour, and great skill in Armes, made the Nation of the *Achaens* redoubtable among all the *Greekes*, and careless of such protection, as in former times they had neede against the violence of their neighbours. This is that *Philopœmen*: who being then a young man, and hauing no command; did especiall seruice to *Antigonus* at the battaille of *Selassia* against *Cleomenes*. Thence forward vntill now he had spent the most part of his time in the Ile of *Crete*: the Inhabitants whereof being a valiant people, and seldom or neuer at peace betwene themselves; He bettered among them his knowledge, and practice in the Art of warre. At his returne home, hee had charge of the Horie: wherein he carried himselfe so strictly, trauiailing with all the Cities of the Confederacie to haue his followers well mounted, and armed at all pieces: as also hee so diligently trained them vp in all exercise of seruice that hee made the *Achaens* very strong in that part of their forces. Being afterward chosen Prætor or General of the Nation, hee had no lesse care to reforme their militarie discipline throughout, whereby his Countrie might be strong enough to defend it selfe, and not any longer (as in former times) need to depend vpon the helpe of others. Hee perswaded the *Achaens* to cut off their vaine

expense

expense of brauerie, in apparell, household stuffe, and curious fare, and to bellow that cost vpon their Armes: wherein by how much they were the more gallant, by so much were they like to proue the better Souldiers, and futeable in behauiour, vnto the pride of their furniture. They had serued hitherto with little light Bucklers, and slender Darts, to cast attaint off; that were vsfull in skirmishing at some distance, or for Surprises, or suddaine and hastic Expeditions; whereto *Aratus* had bene most accustomed. But when they came to handle strokes, they were good for nothing: so long as they were wholly driuen to relie vpon the courage of their Mercenaries. *Philopœmen* altered this: causing them to arme themselves more weightily, to vse a larger kind of shield, with good swords, and strong pikes, fit for seruite at hand. He taught them also to fight in close orders; and altered the forme of their embattailing: not making the Files so deepe as had bene accustomed, but extending the Front, that he might vse the seruice of many hands.

Eight Moneths were spent of that yeere, in which he first was Prætor of the *Achaens*; when *Machanidas* the Tyrant of *Lacedamon* caused him to make tryall, how his Souldiers had profited by his discipline. This *Machanidas* was the successor vnto *Lycargus*; a man more violent than his forgoer. He kept in pay a strong Armie of Mercenaries: and he kept them not only to fight for *Sparta*; but to heke the Citie in obedience to himselfe perforce. Wherefore it behoued him not to take part with the *Achaens*, that were fauourers of liberty; but to strengthen himselfe by friendship with the *Atolians*: who, in making Alliances, took no further notice of Vice or Vertue, than as it had reference to their owne profit. The people also of *Lacedamon*, through their inueterate hatred vnto the *Argines*, *Achaens*, and *Macedonians*; were in like sort (all or most of them) inclinable to the *Atolian* Faction. Very vnwisely. For in seeking to take reuenge vpon those, that had lately hindered them from getting the Lordship of *Peloponnesus*; they hindred themselves thereby from recouering the Maistrie of their owne Citie. This affeccion of the *Spartans*, together with the regard of his owne securitie, and no small hope of good that would follow, suffered not *Machanidas* to be idle; but alwaies made him redie to fall vpon his neighbours backs, and take of theirs what hee could, whilst they were enforced, by greater necessitie, to turne face another way. Thus had he often done, especially in the absence of *Philip*: whose suddencoming into those parts, or some other opposition made against him, had usually made him faile of his attempts. At the present He was stronger in men, than were the *Achaens*; and thought his owne men better Souldiers than were theirs.

Whilst *Philip* therefore was busied else-where, he entred the Countrey of the *Mantians*: being not without hope to doe as *Cleomenes* had done before him; yea and perhaps to get the Lordship of *Peloponnesus*, as hauing stronger friendes, and weaker opposition, than *Cleomenes* had found. But *Philopœmen* was ready to entertaine him at *Mantinea*; where was fought betwene them a great battaille. The Tyrant had brought into the field vpon Cartes a great many of Engines, where with to beat vpon the Squadrons of his Enemies, and put them in disorder. To prevent this danger, *Philopœmen* sent forth his light armature a good way before him; so as *Machanidas* was faine to doe the like. To second these, from the one and the other side came in continuall supply, till at length all the Mercenaries, both of the *Achaens* and of *Machanidas*, were drawne vp to the fight: being so farre aduanced, each before their owne *Phalanx*; that it could no otherwise be discerned which pressed forward, or which recoyled, than by rising of the dust. Thus were *Machanidas* his Engines made vnseruiceable, by the interposition of his owne men; in such manner as the Canon is hindered from doing execution, in most of the battailes fought in these our times. The Mercenaries of the Tyrant preuailed at length: not only by their aduantage of number, but (as *Polybius* well obserueth) by summounting their opposites in degree of courage; wherein vsually the hired souldiers of Tyrants exceed those that are waged by free States. For as it is true, that a free people are much more valiant than they which lie oppressed by Tyrannie, since the one, by doing their best in fight, haue hope to acquire somewhat beneficiall to themselves, whereas the other doe fight (as it were) to assure their owne seruitude: so the Mercenaries of a Tyrant, being made partakers with him in the fruites of his prosperitie, haue good cause to maintaine his quarrell as their owne; whereas they that serue vnder a free State, haue no other motive to doe manfully, than their bare stipend. Further than this, When a free State hath gotten the victorie: many Companies (if not all) of forrein Auxiliaries are presently cast;

and

*Excerpt. E
Polyb. l. i. c. 11.
Philopœmen
Polybius

and therefore such good fellowes will not take much paines to bring the war to an end. But the victorie of a Tyrant, makes him stand in need of more such helpers: because that after it he doth wrong to more, as having more subiects; and therefore stands in feare of more, that should seek to take reuenge vpon him. The stipendiaries therefore of the *Achaens*, being forced to giue ground, were vrged so violently in their retrayt by those of *Machanidas*, that shortly they betooke themselves to flight; and could not be staied by any persuasions of *Philopemen*, but ranne away quite beyond the battaile of the *Achaens*. This disaster had bene sufficient to take from *Philopemen* the honour of the day; had he not wisely obserued the demeanour of *Machanidas*, and found in him that error which might restore the victorie. The Tyrant with his Mercenaries gaue chase vnto those that fled: leaving behind him in good order of battaile his *Lacedemonians*; whom he thought sufficient to deale with the *Achaens*, that were already disheartened by the flight of their companions. But when this his rashnesse had carried him out of sight; *Philopemen* advanced towards the *Lacedemonians* that stood before him. There lay betwene them a thirtie the Countrie a long ditch, without water at that time; and therefore passable (as it seemed) without much difficultie, especially for Foot. The *Lacedemonians* aduanced ouer it, as thinking themselves better souldiers than the *Achaens*; who had in a manner already lost the day. But hereby they greatly disordered their owne Battaile; and had no sooner the foremost of them recovered the further bank, than they were stoutly charged by the *Achaens*, who draue them headlong into the ditch againe. Their first 20 ranks being broken, all the rest beganne to shrink: so as *Philopemen* getting ouer the ditch, easily chased them out of the Field. *Philopemen* knew better how to vie his advantage, than *Machanidas* had done. Hee suffered not all his Armie to disband and follow the chase: but retained with him a sufficient strength, for the custodie of a bridge that was ouer the ditch, by which he knew that the Tyrant must come backe. The Tyrant with his Mercenaries returning from the chase, looked very heauily when hee saw what was fallen out. Yet with a lustie Troupe of Horse about him Hee made towards the bridge: hoping to find the *Achaens* in disorder; and to set vpon their backs, as they were carelesly pursuing their victorie. But when hee and his companie saw *Philopemen* ready to make good the bridge against them; then beganne euerie one to looke, 30 which way hee might shift for himselfe. The Tyrant, with no more than two in his companie, rode along the ditch side; and searched for an easie passage ouer. He was easily discovered by his purple Cassocke, and the costly trappings of his Horse. *Philopemen* therefore leaving the charge of the bridge to another, coasted him all the way as he rode; and falling vpon him at length in the ditch it selfe, as hee was getting ouer it, slew him there with his owne hand. There dyed in this Battaile of the *Lacedemonians* side about foure thousand: and more than foure thousand were taken Prisoners. Of the *Achaen* Mercenaries, probable it is that the losse was not greatly cared for; since that Warre was at an end, and for their money they might hire more when they should haue need. 40

§. VI.

Philip having peace with Rome, and with all Greece, prepares against Asia. Of the Kings of Pergamus, Cappadocia, Pontus, Paphlagonia, Bithynia; and their Linages. Of the Galatians.

BY this victorie the *Achaens* learned to thinke well of themselves. Neither needed they indeed after a while (such was their discipline, and continuall exercise) to account themselves in matter of war inferior to any, that should haue brought against them no great oddes of number. As for the *Macedonians*, He made 50 no great vie of them: but when hee had once concluded peace with the *Romans* and *Ætolians*; Hee studied how to enlarge his Dominion Eastward; since the fortune of his friends the *Carthaginians* declined in the West. Hee tooke in hand many matters together, or very neerely together, and some of them not honest: wherein if the *Achaens* would haue done him seruice; they must, by helping him to oppress others that neuer had wronged him, haue taught him the way how to deale with themselves. Hee greatly hated *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, who had ioyned with the *Romans* and *Ætolians* in war against him.

This

This *Attalus*, though a King, was scarce yet a Noble-man, otherwise than as hee was enabled by his owne, and by his Fathers vertue. His fortune beganne in *Philetarus* his Vncle: who being gilded, by reason of a mishap which he had when hee was a childe, grew afterwards thereby to be the more esteemed: as great men in those times repoted much confidence in Eunuches, whose affections could not be obliged vnto wiues or children. He was entertained into the familie of *Docimus*, a Captaine following *Antigonus the first*; and after the death of *Antigonus*, hee accompanied his Master, that betooke himselfe to *Lyfimachus* King of *Thrace*. *Lyfimachus* had good opinion of him; and put him in trust with his money and accompts. But when at length he stood in feare of this King, that grew a bloudie Tyrant: He fled into *Asia*, where he seized vpon the Towne of *Pergamus*, and nine thousand talents belonging to *Lyfimachus*. The Towne and monie, together with his owne seruice, Hee offered vnto *Seleucus the first*, that then was ready to giue *Lyfimachus* battell. His offer was kindly accepted, but neuer performed; for that *Seleucus* having slaine *Lyfimachus*, dyed shortly after himselfe, before hee made vnto *Philetarus* or his monie. So this Eunuch still retained *Pergamus* with the Countrie round about it; and reigned therein twentie yeeres as an absolute King. He had two brethren: of which the elder is said to haue bene a poore Carter; and the yonger perhaps not much better; before such time they were raised by the fortune of this Eunuch. *Philetarus* left his Kingdome to the elder of these, or to the sonne of the elder called *Eumenes*. This *Eumenes* enlarged his kingdome; making his aduantage of the dissention, betwene *Seleucus Calinicus* and *Antiochus Hierax*, the sonnes of the second *Antiochus*. He fought a battell with *Hierax*, nere vnto *Sardes* and won the victory. At which time, to animate his men against the *Gauls* that serued vnder his Enemy, hee vied a pretty deuice. He wrote the word "Victorie" vpon the hand of his Soothsayer, in such colours as would easily come off: and when the hore liuer of the beast that was sacrificed, had cleanly taken the print of the letters, He published this vnto his Armie as a Miracle, plainly fore- 11. shewing that the gods would be assistant in that Battaile.

30 After this victorie, he grew a dreadfull enemy to *Seleucus*: who neuer durst attempt to recouer from him, by Warre, the Territorie that he had gotten and held. Finally, when hee had reigned two and twentie yeeres, hee died by a surfer of ouer-much drinke, and left his Kingdome to *Attalus*, of whom we now entreat, that was sonne vnto *Attalus* the yongest brother of *Philetarus*. *Attalus* was an vndertaking Prince, very bountifull, and no lesse valiant. By his owne proper forces He restored his friend *Ariarathes* the *Cappadocian* into his Kingdome, whence hee had bene expelled. He was grieuously molested by *Achaen*: who sitting vp himselfe as King against *Antiochus the great*, reigned in the lesser *Asia*. He was besieged in his owne City of *Pergamus*: but by the help of the *Techagæ*, a Nation of the *Gauls*, whom hee called ouer out of *Thrace*, Hee recouered all that hee had lost. When these *Gauls* had once gotten footing in *Asia*, they neuer wanted 40 employment: but were either entertained by some of the Princes reigning in those quarters; or interposed themselves, without inuitation, and found themselves worke in quarrels of their owne making. They caused *Prusias* King of *Bithynia* to cease from his warre against *Byzantium*. Whereunto when hee had condescended; they neuertheless within a while after invaded his Kingdome. Hee obtained against them a great victorie; and vied it with great crueltie, sparing neither age nor sexe. But the swarme of them increasing; they occupied the Region about *Hellepont*: where, in fearing themselves, they were much beholding vnto *Attalus*. Neuertheless, presuming afterwards vpon their strength; they forced their Neighbour Princes and Cities to pay them tribute. In the sharpe exaction whereof, they had no more respect vnto *Attalus* than to any that had 50 worse deferred of them. By this they compelled him to fight against them: and Hee being victorious, compelled them to containe themselves within the bounds of that Prouince, which tooke name from them in time following, and was called *Galatia*. Yet continued they still to oppress the weakest of their neighbours; and to fill vp the Armies of those, that could best hire them.

The Kings reigning in those parts, were the posterity of such, as had saued themselves and their Prouinces, in the slothfull reigne of the *Persians*; or in the busie times of *Alexander*, and his *Macedonian* followers. The *Cappadocians* were very ancient. For the first of their line had married with *Atissa*, sister vnto the great King *Cyrus*. Their Country was taken from them by *Perdices*, as is shewed before. But the son of that King, whom *Perdices*

*Id. From
Strat. l. i. c.
11.

Perdiccas crucified, eſpying his time while the *Macedonians* were at ciuill warres among themſelues; recovered his dominion, and paſſed it ouer to his off-ſpring. The Kings of *Pontus* had alſo their beginning from the Perſian Empire, and are ſaid to haue iſſued from the royall houſe of *Achamenes*. The *Paphlagonians* deriued themſelues from *Pylmenes*, a King that aſſiſted *Priamus* at the warre of *Troy*. Theſe, applying themſelues vnto the times, were alwayes conformable vnto the ſtrongeſt. The Anceſſors of *Prusias* had begun to reigne in *Bithynia*, ſome few generations before that of the great *Alexander*. They lay ſomewhat out of the *Macedonian* way: by whom therefore, hauing other employment, they were the leſſe moleſted. *Calanus*, one of *Alexanders* Captaines, made an Expedition into their Countrey, where hee was vanquiſhed. They had afterwards to doe with a Lieutenant of *Antigonus*, that made them ſomewhat more humble. And thus they thruſt, as did the reſt, vntill the reigne of *Prusias*, whom we haue already ſometimes mentioned.

§. VII.

The Towne of Cior taken by Philip, at the inſtance of Prusias King of Bithynia, and cruelly deſtroyed. By this and like actions, Philip growes hatefull to many of the Greekes: and is warred vpon by Attalus King of Pergamus, and by the Rhodians.

Ruſas a ſeighbour King, had many quarrels with *Attalus*; whoſe greamer he ſuſpected. He therefore ſtrengthened himſelfe, by taking to wife the daughter of *Philip*; as *Attalus*, on the contrarie ſide, entred into a ſtrict Confederacie with the *Ætolians*, *Rhodians*, and other of the *Greekes*. But when *Philip* had ended his *Æolian* warre, and was deuiſing with *Antiochus* about ſharing betweene them two the Kingdome of *Egypt*, wherein *Ptolemy Philopater* aſcended vnto them both was newly dead, and had left his ſonne *Ptol. Euphemes* a young childe his heire; the *Bithynian* entreated this his Father-in-law to come ouer into *Asia*, there to winne the Towne of the *Ciani*, and beſtow it vpon him. *Prusias* had no right vnto the Towne, nor iuſt matter of quarrell againſt it: but it was ſely ſeared for him; and therewithall rich. *Philip* came; as ſo one that could not well denieto helpe his Sonne-in-law. But hereby he mightily offended no ſmall part of *Greece*. Embaſſadours came to him whileſt he lay at the ſiege, from the *Rhodians*, and diuers other States: entreating him to forſake the Enterpriſe. He gaue dilatorie, but otherwiſe gentle answers: making ſhew as if he would condeſcend to their requeſt, when he intended nothing leſſe. At length he got the Towne: where, euin preſence of the Embaſſadours, of whoſe ſolicitation hee had ſeemed ſo regardfull, He omitted no part of cruelty. Hereby hee rendred himſelfe odious to his neighbours, as a perſidious and cruell Prince. Eſpecially his fact was deteſted of the *Rhodians*, who had made vehement interceſſion for the poore *Ciani*: and were aduerted by Embaſſadours of purpoſe ſent vnto them from *Philip*, That, howſoeuer it were in his power to winne the Towne as ſoone as he liſted: yet in regard of his loue to the *Rhodians*, Hee was contented to giue it ouer. And by this his clemencie, the Embaſſadours ſaid, that he would manifeſt vnto the world, what ſlanderous tongues they were; which noyſed abroad ſuch reports, as went of his falſhood and oppreſſion. Whileſt the Embaſſadours were declaiming at *Rhodes* in the Theater to this effect; there came ſome that made a true relation of what had hapned: ſhewing that *Philip* had ſacked and deſtroyed the Towne of *Cui*, and, after a cruell ſlaughter of the Inhabitants, had made ſlaues of all that eſcaped the ſword. If the *Rhodians* tooke this in great deſpite, no leſſe were the *Ætolians* inflamed againſt him: ſince they had ſent a Captaine to take charge of the Towne; being warned before ſo by his doings at *Lyſimachia* and *Chalcedon* (which he had withdrawn from their Confederacie to his owne) what little truſt was to be reposed in the faith of this King. But moſt of all others was *Attalus* moued with conſideration of the *Macedonians* violent ambition, and of his owne eſtate. He had much to loſe; and was not without hope of getting much if he could make a ſtrong Partie in *Greece*. He had already, as a new King, followed the example of *Alexander*: Captaines, in purchaſing with much liberalitie the loue of the *Athenians*; which were notable Trumpeters of other mens vertue, hauing loſt their owne. On the friendſhip of the *Ætolians* hee had cauſe to preſume; hauing bound them vnto him by good offices, many and great, in their late warre with *Philip*. The *Rhodians* that were

were mighty at Sea, and held very good intelligence with the *Ægyptians*, *Syrians*, and many other Princes and States, he eaſily drew into a ſtreight alliance with him; by their hatred newly conceiued againſt *Philip*.

Vpon confidence in theſe his friends, but moſt of all, in the ready aſſiſtance of the *Rhodians*, *Attalus* prepared to deale with the *Macedonian* by open warre. It had bene vniſonable to procrastinate, and expect whereto the doings of the Enemy tended; ſince his deſire to ſaſten vpon *Asia* was manifeſt, and his falſhood no leſſe manifeſt, than was ſuch his deſire. They met with him ſhortly not farre from *Chios*, and fought with him a battaile at Sea: wherein though *Attalus* was driuen to runne his owne ſhippe on ground, hardly eſcaping to land: though the Admirall of the *Rhodians* tooke his deaths wound: and though *Philip* after the battaile tooke harbour vnder a Promontorie, by which they had fought, ſo that he had the gathering of the wracks vpon the ſhoare: Yet forſmuch as he had ſuſſered far greater loſſe of ſhips and men, than had the Enemy; and ſince he durſt not in few dayes after put forth to Sea, when *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* came to braue him in his Port; the honour of the victory was adiuſged to his Enemies. This notwithstanding, *Philip* afterwards beſieged and wonne ſome Townes in *Caria*: whether only in a brauery, and to deſpight his oppoſites; or whether vpon any hopefull deſire of conqueſt, it is vncertain. The ſtraggling, by which hee wonne *Prinassus*, is worthy of noting. He attempted it by a Myne: and finding the Earth ſo ſtony, that it reſiſted his worke; he neuertheleſſe commanded the Pioners to make a noiſe vnder ground; and ſecretly in the night-time he raiſed great Mounds about the entrance of the Myne, to breed an opinion in the beſieged, that the worke went maruellouſly forward. At length he ſent word to the Towneſ-men, that by his vnder-mining, two acres of their wall ſtood only vpon wooden proppes, to which if hee gaue fire, and entred by a breach, they ſhould expect no mercy. The *Prinassians* little thought, that hee had ſerched all his earth and rubbiſh by night a great way off, to raiſe vp thoſe heapes which they ſaw; but rather that all had bene extracted out of the Myne. Wherefore they ſuſtained themſelues to be out-faced, and gaue vp the Towne as loſt, which the Enemy had no hope to winne by force. But *Philip* could not ſtay to ſettle himſelfe in thoſe parts. *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* were too ſtrong for him at Sea, and compelled him to make haſte backe into *Macedon*, whither they followed him all the way in manner of purſuit.

§. VIII.

The Romans, after their Carthaginian warre, ſeek matter of quarrell againſt Philip. The Athenians vpon ſight cauſe, proclaime warre againſt Philip; moued thereto by Attalus; whom they ſuſtainer. Philip winnes diuers Townes: and makes peremptorie answers to the Roman Ambaſſadour. The furious reſolution of the Abydeni.

Here *Aſiaticque* matters, which no way concerned the *Romans*, yet ſerued well to make a noiſe in *Rome*; and fill the peoples heads, if not with a deſire of making warre in *Macedon*, at leaſt with a conceit that it were expedient ſo to doe. The *Roman* Senate was perfectly informed of the ſtate of thoſe Eaſterne Countreies; and knew, that there was none other Nation than the *Greekes*, which lay betweene them and the Lordſhip of *Asia*. Theſe *Greekes* were ſaſcious, and ſeldome or neuer at peace. As for the *Macedonian*, though length of time, and continuall dealings in *Greece* euin ſince the reignes of *Philip* and *Alexander*, had left no difference betweene him and the *Naturalls*: yet moſt of them abhorred his Dominion, becauſe he was originally footſooth a *Barbarian*: many of them hated him vpon ancient quarrels: and they that had bene moſt beholding vnto him, were neuertheleſſe weary of him, by reaſon of his perſonall faults. All this gaue hope, that the affaires of *Greece* would not long detain the *Roman* Amies: eſpecially ſince the diuiſions of the Countrey were ſuch, that euery petty Eſtate was apt to take counſaile apart for it ſelfe; without much regarding the generality. But the poore Commonalty of *Rome* had no great affection to ſuch a chargeable enterpriſe. They were already quite exhausted, by that grieuous war with *Hannibal*: wherein they had giuen by Loane to the Republicke, all their money: neither had they as yet receiued, neither did they receiue vntill fifteene or fixteene yeares after this, their whole ſumme backe againe. That part of payment alſo which was already made, being not in preſent mony, but much of it in Land: it behoued them to reſt a while, and beſtow the

more diligence in tilling their grounds, by how much they were the lesse able to bestow cost. Wherefore they tooke no pleasure to heare, that *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* had sent Embassadors to sollicite them against *Philip*, with report of his bold attempts in *Asia*: or that *M. Aurelius*, their Agent in *Greece*, had sent letters of the same tenour to the Senate, and magnified his intelligence, by setting out the preparations of this dangerous enemy, that solicited not only the Townes vpon the Continent, but all the Islands in those Seas, visiting them in person, or sending Embassadors, as one that meant shortly to hold warre with the *Romans* vpon their owne ground. *Philip* had indeed no such intent: neither was he much too strong either of himselfe, or by his alliance in *Greece*, to be resisted by *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, especially with the helpe of the *Aetolians* their good friends, (and in a manner) his owne professed enemies. But such things must be published abroad, if onely to predispose men vnto the warre, and giue it the more honest colour.

Philip was a man of ill condition; and therefore could not thrive by intermeddling in the affaires of those, that were more mightie than himselfe. He was too vnskillfull, or rather wise too vnapt, to retaine his old friends: yet would hee needes be seeking new enemies. And hee found them such, as hee deferred to haue them: for he offered his helpe to their distraction, when they were in miserie, and had done him no harme. It behoued him therefore, either to haue strained his forces to the utmost in making warre vpon them; or in desisting from that iniurious course, to haue made amends for the wrongs so past, by doing friendly offices of his owne accord. But hee, hauing broken that League of peace which is of all other the most naturall, binding all men to offer no violence willingly, vnlesse they thinke themselves iustly prouoked, was afterwards too fondly persuaded, that hee might well be secure of the *Romans*, because of the written Covenants of peace between him and them. There is not any forme of oath, where by such attitudes of peace can be held inviolable, save onely * by the water of *Syx*, that is, by *Necessitie*: which whilest it bindes one partie, or both vnto performance, making it apparent, that he shall be a loser who starts from the Conditions; it may so long (and so long onely) be presumed, that there shall bee no breach. Till *Hannibal* was vanquished, the *Romans* neuer hearkened after *Philip*: for necessitie made them let him alone. But when once they had peace with *Carthage*, then was the River of *Syx* dried vp: and then could they swear as * *Mercurie* did in the Comedie, by their owne selues, euen by their good swords, that they had good reason to make warre vpon him. The Voyage of *Sepater* into *Africke*, and the present warre against *Attalus*, were matter of quarrell as much as needed: or if this were not enough, the *Athenians* helped to furnish them with more.

The *Athenians*, being at this time Lords of no more than their own barren Territory, tooke state vpon them neuertheless, as in their ancient fortune. Two yong Gentlemen of *Acarmania* entering into the Temple of *Ceres*, in the dayes of Initiation, (wherein were deliuered the mysteries of Religion, or rather of idolatrous superstition, vainly bid to becauailable vnto felicity after this life) discovered themselves by some impertinent questions, to be none of those that were initiated. Hereupon they were brought before the Officers: and though it was apparent, that they came into the place by mere error, not thinking to haue therein done amisse; yet, as it had beene for some bairns time, they were put to death. All their Countrymen at home tooke this in ill part; and sought to reuenge it as a publike iniurie, by warre vpon the *Athenians*. Procuring therefore of *Philip* some *Macedonians* to helpe them, they entred into *Attica*: who wasted it with fire and sword; and carried thence a great bootie. This indignitie stirred vp the high-minded *Athenians*; and made them thinke vpon doing more, than they had ability to performe. All which at the present they could doe, was to send Embassadors to King *Attalus*, gratulating his happy successe against *Philip*, and entreating him to visit their Citie. *Attalus* was hereto the more willing, because hee vnderstood that the *Roman* Embassadors, hauing about *Greece* for matter of intelligence, had a purpose to bee there at the same time. So he went thither, accompanied, besides his owne followers, with some of the *Rhodians*. Landing in the *Piræus*, he found the *Romans* there, with whom he had much friendly conference: they reioicing that he continued enemy to *Philip*; and hee being no lesse glad, when he heard of their purpose to renew the warre. The *Athenians* came out of their Citie, all the Magistrates, Priests, and Citizens, with their wiues and children, in as lofty pompe as they could deuise, to meeete and honour the King. They entertained the

* *Sir Fr. Bacon* de *Sep. Veturum*.

* *Plaut. Amphitruo*.

the *Romans* that were with him, in very louing manner: but towards *Attalus* himselfe they omitted no point of obsequance, which their flatterie could suggest. At his first coming into the Citie they called the people to Assembly: where they desired him to honour them with his presence, and let them heare him speake. But he excused himselfe, saying, That with an euill grace hee should recount vnto them those many benefits, by which hee studied to make them know what loue he bore them. Wherefore it was thought fit, that hee should deliuer in writing, what hee would haue to be propounded. Hee did so. The points of his Declaration were; first, what hee had willingly done for their sake: then, what had lately passed betwene him and *Philip*: lastly, an exhortation vnto them, to declare themselves against the *Macedonian*, whilest hee with the *Rhodians*, and the *Romans*, were willing and ready to take their part: which if they now refused to doe, he protested, that afterwards it would be vaine to craue his helpe. There needed little entreatie: for they were as willing to proclaim the warre, as hee to desire it. As for other matters, they loaded him with immoderate honours: and ordained, That vnto threen Tribes, whereof the body of their Citizens consisted, should be added another, and called after his name; as if he were in part one of their Founders. To the *Rhodians* they also decreed a Crowne of Gold, in reward of their vertue; and made all the *Rhodians* free Citizens of *Athens*.

This beganne a great noyse of warre, wherein little was left vnto the *Romans* for their part; *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* taking all vpon them. But while these were vaine-ly mispending the time, in seeking to draw the *Aetolians* to their partie: that contrarie to their olde manner were glad to be at quiet: *Philip* wonne the Townes of *Maronea* and *Amyus*, with many other strong places about the *Hellepont*. Likewise passing ouer the *Hellepont*, he laid siege vnto *Abydus*; and wonne it, though he was faine to stay there long. The Towne held out, rather vpon an obstinate resolution, and hope of succour from *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, then any great ability to defend it selfe against so mightie an Enemy. But the *Rhodians* sent thither onely one *Quadrime Gallie*: and *Attalus* no more than three hundred men; farre to weak an aide to make good the place. The *Roman* Embassadors wondred much at this great negligence, of them that had taken so much vpon them.

These Embassadors *C. Claudius*, *M. Amylius*, and *P. Sempronius*, were sent vnto *Ptoleme Epiphane* King of *Aegypt*, to acquaint him with their victorie against *Hannibal* and the *Carthaginians*; as also to thanke him for his fauour vnto them shewed in that war; and to desire the continuance thereof, if they should need it against *Philip*. This *Aegyptian* King was now in the third or fourth yere of his Reigne, which (as his Father *Philopater* had done before him) he beganne a very yong boy. The courtesie for which the *Romans* were to thanke him, was, That out of *Aegypt* they had lately bene supplied with Corne, in a time of extreme Dearth; when the miseries of Warre had made all their own Provinces vnable to releue them. This message could not but bee welcome to the *Aegyptian*: since it was well knowne, how *Philip* and *Antiochus* had combined themselves against him, conspiring to take away his Kingdome. And therefore it might in reason be hoped, that hee, or his Councell for him, should offer to supply the *Romans* with Corne: since this their *Macedonian* Expedition concerned his Estate no lesse than theirs.

But as the errand was for the most part complementall: so had the Embassadors both leisure and direction from the Senate, to looke vnto the things of *Greece* by the way. Wherefore they agreed, that *M. Amylius* the yongest of them should step aside, and visite *Philip*, to try if he could make him leave the siege of *Abydus*; which else he was like to carry. *Amylius*, comming to *Philip*, tels him, that his doings are contrarie to the League that hee had made with the *Romans*. For *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, vpon whom he made warre, were Confederate with Rome: and the Towne of *Abydus*, which he was now besieging, had a kind of dependencie vpon *Attalus*. Hereto *Philip* answered, That *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* had made warre vpon him: and that hee did onely requite them with the like. Doe you also (sayde *Amylius*) requite these poore *Abydeni* with such terrible warre, for any the like Inuasion by them first made vpon you? The King was angrie to heare himselfe thus taken short: and therefore hee roundly made answer to *Amylius*; It is your youth, Sir, and your beautie, and (above all) your being a *Roman*; that maketh you thus presumptuous. But I would wish you

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to remember the League that ye haue made with me, and to keepe it: If ye doe otherwise, I will make ye vnderstand, that the Kingdome, and Name of Macedon is in matter of Warre, no lesse noble than the Roman. So Hee dismissed the Embassador; and had the Towne immediately yielded to his discretion. The people had entertained a resolution, to haue died euerie one of them, and set their Town on fire, binding themselves hereto by a fearful oath, when Philip denied to accept them vpon reasonable Conditions. But hauing in desperate fight, once repelling him from the Breach, lost the greatest number of their Youth: it was thought meett by the Governours and Ancients of the Citiets change this resolution; and take such peace as could be gotten. So they carried out their Gold and Silver to Philip: about which whilst they were busie, the memory of their oath wrought so effectually in the younger sort; that, by exhortation of their Priests, they fell to murdering their women, children, and themselves. Heereof the King had so little compassion, that He said, he would grant the *Athyenians* three dayes leisure to die: and to that end forbad his men to enter the Towne; or hazard themselves in interrupting the violence of those mad fooles.

§. IX.

The Romans decree warre against Philip, and send one of their Consuls into Greece, as it were in defence of the *Athyenians* their Confederates. How poore the *Athyenians* were at this time both in quality and estate.

THis calamitie of the *Athyenians*, was likened by the *Romans* vnto that of the *Saguntines*: which indeed it neerely resembled; though *Rome* was not alike interested in the quarrell. But to help themselves with pretence for the wane, they had found out another *Saguntum*, euen the Citie of *Athens*: which if the *Macedonian* should winne, then rested there no more to doe, than that hee should presently imbarke himselfe for *Italie*, whither he would come, not as *Hannibal* had from *Saguntum* in five months, but in the short space of five daies sayling. Thus *P. Sulpitius* told the Multitude, when he exhorted them to make warre vpon Philip; which at his first propounding they had denied. The example of *Pyrrhus* was by him alledg'd; to shew, what Philip, with the power of a greater kingdome, might dare to vnder-take: as also the fortunate Voyage of *Scipio* into *Africke*, to shew the difference of making warre abroad, and admitting it into the bowels of their owne Countrey. By such arguments was the Commonalty of *Rome* induced to beleue, that this warre with the *Macedonian* was both iust and necessary. So it was decreed: and immediately the same Consul hastned away towards *Macedon*, hauing that Province allotted vnto him before, and all things in a readinesse, by order from the Senate; who followed other Motiues, than the people must be acquainted with. Great thanks were giuen to the *Athyenian* Embassadors, of their constancie (as was sayd) in not changing their faith at such time as they stood in danger of being besieged. And indeed great thanks were due to them, though not vpon the same occasion. For the people of *Rome* had no cause to thinke it a benefit vnto themselves, that any *Greek* Towne, refusing to sue vnto the *Macedonian* for peace, requested their helpe against him. But the Senate intending to take in hand the Conquest of the Easterne parts, had reason to giue thanks vnto those, that ministered the occasion. Since therefore it was an vntuie suggestion, That Philip was making readie for *Italy*; and since neither *Attalus*, the *Rhodian*, nor any other State in those quarters, desired the *Romans* to giue them protection: these busie-headed *Athyenians*, who filling out with the *Acarnanians*, and consequently with Philip, a matter of May-game, (as was shewed before) sent Embassadors into all parts of the World, euen to *Ptolemy* of *Egypt*, and to the *Romans*, as well as to *Attalus* and others their neighbors; must be accepted as cause of the warre, and Authors of the benefit thence redounding.

Nevertheless as it loues to fall out where the meaning differs from the pretence: the doings of *P. Sulpitius* the Consul were such, as might haue argued *Athens* to be the least part of his care. Hee failed not about *Peloponnesus*, but tooke the easie way to *Macedon*; and landing about the River of *Asius*, betwene *Dyrrachium* and *Apollonia*, there began the Warre. Soone vpon his comming, the *Athyenian* Embassadors were with him, and craved his helpe; whereof they could make no benefit whilst hee was farre from them. They be-moaned themselves as men besieged, and intreated him to deliuer

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them. For which cause he sent vnto them *C. Claudius* with twenty gallies, and a competent number of men: but the maine of his forces hee retained with him, for the prosecution of a greater designe. The *Athyenians* were not indeed besieged: onely some *Romans* from *Chalcis*, in the Ile of *Euboea*, and some bands of aduenturers out of *Corinth*, vied to take their shippes and spoyle their fields; because they had declared themselves against King Philip, that was Lord of these two Townes. The robberies done by these Pyrats and Free-booters, were by the more eloquent than warlike *Athyenians*, in this declining Age of their Fortune and Vertue, called a Siege. From such detriment the arrivall of *Claudius*, and shortly after of three *Rhodian* Gallies, easly presecuted them. As for the *Athyenians* themselves, they that had bene wont, in ancient times, to vnder-take the conquests of *Egypt*, *Cyprus*, and *Cilicia*, to make warre vpon the great *Persian* King, and to hold so much of Greece in subiection, as made them redoubtable vnto all the rest; had now no more than three shippes, and those open ones, not much better than long boates. Yet thought they not themselves a whit the worse men, but stood as highly vpon the glory and vertue of their Ancestors, as if it had bene still their owne.

§. X.

The Towne of *Chalcis* in *Euboea*, taken and sackt by the *Romans* and their Associates, that lay in Garrison at *Athens*. Philip attempteth to take *Athens* by surprise: molesteth the Countrey about: and makes a iourney into *Peloponnesus*. Of *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedemon*, and his wife. Philip offers to make warre against *Nabis* for the *Achaens*. Hee returneth home through *Attica*, which he spoyleth againe: and provides against the Enemies. Some exploits of the *Romans*. Diuers Princes ioyne with them. Great labouring to draw the *Ætolians* into the warre.

Philip, returning home from *Alydus*, heard newes of the Roman Consuls his being about *Apollonia*. But ere he stirred forth to giue him entertainment, or perhaps before hee had well resolved, whether it were best a while to sit still, and trie what might be done for obtaining of peace, or whether to make opposition, and resist these Inuaders with all his forces: he receiued aduertisement from *Chalcis* of a grievous mishap there befallen him, by procurement of the *Athyenians*. For *C. Claudius* with his *Romans*, finding no such worke at *Athens* as they had expected, or was answerable to the fame that went abroad, purposed to do somewhat that might quicken the warre, and make his owne employment better. He grew loone weary of sitting as a Scare-crowe, to saue the *Athyenians* grounds from spoyle; and therefore gladly tooke in hand a businesse of more importance. The Towne of *Chalcis* was very negligently guarded by the *Macedonian* Souldiers therein, for that there was no Enemie at hand: and more negligently by the Towne men, who reposed themselves vpon their Garrison. Heereof *Claudius* hauing aduertisement, layed thither by night, for feare of being decryed: and arriuing there a little before break of day, tooke it by Scalado. Hee vnder-tooke no mercy, but slew all that came in his way: and wanting men to keepe it, (vnlesse he should haue left the heartlesse *Athyenians* to their owne defence) Hee set it on fire; consuming the Kings Magazines of Corne, and all provisions for Warre, which were plentifully filled. Neither were He and his Associates contented with the great abundance of spoyle which they carried about their shippes, and with inlarging all those, whom Philip, as in a place of most securitie, kept there imprisoned: but to shew their despite and hatred vnto the King, they ouerthrew and brake in pieces the Statues to him there erected. This done, they hastned away towards *Athens*: where the newes of their exploit was like to be ioyfully welcomed. The King lay then at *Demetrias* about some twenty miles thence; whither when these tidings, or part of them, were brought him, though he saw that it was too late to remedie the matter yet hee made all haste to take reuenge. He thought to haue taken the *Athyenians*, with their trusty friends, busie at worke in ransacking the Towne, and loading themselves with spoyle: but they were gone before his comming. Five thousand light-armed-foote hee had with him, and three hundred horse: whereof leauing at *Chalcis* onely a few to burie the dead, Hee marched from thence away speedily toward *Athens*: thinking it not vnpossible to take his enemies, in the ioy of their Victory, as full of negligence, as they had taken *Chalcis*. Neither had he much failed of his expectation, if a Foot-post that stood Scout for the Citie vpon the borders, had not desired him a farre off, and swiftly carried word of his approach

to *Athens*. It was mid-night when this Post came thither : who found all the Towne asleepe, as fearelesse of any danger. But the Magistrates, hearing his report, caused a trumpet out of their Cittadell to sound the Alarme ; and with all speede make ready for defence. Within a few houres *Philip* was there : who seeng the many lightes, and other signes of busie preparation vusual in such a case, vnderstood that they had newes of his comming; and therefore willed his men, to repose themselves till it were day. It like, that the paucitie of his followers did helpe well to animate the Citizens, which beheld them from the walls. Wherefore though *Claudius* were not yet returned (who was to fetch a compass about by Sea, and had no cause of haste) yet hauing in the Towne some mercenarie Souldiers, which they kept, of their owne, besides the great multitude of Citizens; they aduentured to issue forth at a gate, whereto they saw *Philip* make approach. The King was glad of this, reckoning all those his owne, that were thus hardie. Hee therefore onely willed his men to follow his example; and presently gaue charge vpon them. In that fight hee gaue singular proofe of his valour : and beating downe many of the Enemies with his owne hands, draue them with great slaughter backe into the Citie. The heate of his courage transported him further, than discretion would haue allowed, euen to the very gate. But he retired without harme taking; for that they which were vpon the Towers ouer the gate, could not vse their casting weapons against him, without much indangering their owne people that were thronging before him into the City. There was a Temple of *Hercules*, a place of exercise, with a Groue, and many goodly Monumentes besides, nere adioyning vnto *Athens* : of which hee spared none; but suffered the rage of his anger to extend, euen vnto the sepulchers of the dead. The next day came the *Romans*, and some Companies of *Attalus* his men from *Agina*; too late in regard of what was already past : but in good time to preuent him of satisfying his anger to the full, which as yet hee had not done. So he departed from thence to *Corinth*, and hearing that the *Acheans* held a Parliament at *Argos*, He came thitherto them vexpected.

The *Acheans* were deuising vpon warre : which they intended to make against *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedemon*: who being started vp in the roome of *Machinidas*, did greater mischief then any that went before him. This Tyrant relied wholly vpon his Mercenaries; and of his subiects had no regard. He was a cruell oppressor; a greedy extortioner vpon those that liued vnder him; and one that in his naturall condition smelt crankle of the Hangman. In these qualities, his wife *Apege* was very fildly matched with him, since his dexteritie was no greater in spoiling the men, than hers in flouting their wives; whom shee would neuer suffer to bee at quiet, till they had presented her with all their iruels and apparell. Her husband was so delighted with her propertie, that hee caused an Image to be made liuely representing her; and appparelled it with such costly garments as the vied to weare. But it was indeed an Engine, seruing to torment men. Hereof hee made vse, when he meant to trie the vertue of his Rhetorick. For calling vnto him some rich man, of whose mony he was desirous; Hee would bring him into the roome where this Counterfeit *Apege* stood, and there vse all his Art of perswasion, to get what he desired, as it were by good will. If he could not so speede, but was answered with excuses, then tooke hee the refractorie denier by the hand, and told him, that perhaps his Wife *Apege* (who fate by in a Chaire) could perswade more effectually. So hee ledde him to the Image, that rose vp and opened the armes, as it were for imbracement. Those armes were full of sharpe yron nayles, the like whereof was also sticking in the breasts, though hidden with her clothes : and herewith shee griped the poore wretch, to the pleasure of the Tyrant, that laughed at his cruell death. Such, and worse (for it were long to tell all herethat is spoken of him) was *Nabis* in his Gouernment. In his dealings abroad hee combined with the *Atolians*, as *Machinidas* and *Lycurgus* had done before him. By these he grew into acquaintance with the *Romans*; and was comprehended in the League which they made with *Philip*, at the end of their former war. Of *Philopemens* vertue he stood in feare; and therefore durst not prouoke the *Acheans*, as long as they had such an able Commander. But when *Cyclades*, a farre worse Capitaine, was their Prator; and all, or the greatest part of their Mercenaries were discharged; *Philopemens* being also gone into *Crete*, to follow his beloued occupation of Warre : then did *Nabis* fall vpon their Territory; and wasting all the fields, made them distrust their owne safetie in the Townes.

Against

Against this Tyrant the *Acheans* were preparing for warre, when *Philip* came among them; and had set downe, what proportion of Souldiers euery Citie of their Corporation should furnish out. But *Philip* willed them, not to trouble themselves with the care of this businesse; forasmuch as he alone would ease them of this warre, and take the burden vpon himselfe. With exceeding ioy and thanks they accepted of this kinde offer. But then he told them, That, whilst he made warre vpon *Lacedemon*, He ought not to leaue his owne Townes vnguarded. In which respect hee thought they would be pleased, to send a few men to *Corinth*, and some Companies into the Ile of *Euboea*; that so he might securely pursue the warre against *Nabis*. Immediately they found out his device, which was none other, than to engage their Nation in his warre against the *Romans*: Wherefore their Prator *Cyclades* made him answer, That their Lawes forbade them to conclude any other matters in their Parliament, than those for which it was assembled. So passing the Decree, vpon which they had agreed before, for preparing warre against *Nabis*; hee brake vp the Assembly, with euery mans good liking; whereas in former times, He had bene thought no better than one of the Kings Parasites.

It grieved the King to haue thus failed in his purpose with the *Acheans*. Neuertheless, he gathered vp among them a few Voluntaries; and so returned by *Corinth* backe into *Attica*. There he met with *Philoetes* one of his Captaines, that with two thousand men had bene doing what harme hee might vnto the Countrey. With this addition of strength, he attempted the Castle of *Eleusine*, the Haven of *Pyreus*, and euen the City of *Athens*. But the *Romans* made such haste after him by Sea, thrusting themselves into euery of these places; that he could no more then wreake his anger vpon those goodlie Temples, with which the Land of *Attica* was at that time singularly beautified. So He destroyed all the works of their notable Artificers, wrought in excellent Marble; which they had in plenty, of their owne; or, hauing long agoe bene masters of the Sea, had brought from other places, where best choyce was found. Neither did hee onely pull all downe : but caused his men to breake the very stones, that they might be vnderlicable to their reparation. His losse at *Chalcis* being thus reuenged vpon *Athens*, Hee went home into *Macedon* : and there made prouision; both against the Roman Consul that lay about *Apollonia*; and against the *Dardanians*, with other his bad neighbours, which were likely to infect him. Among his other cares he forgot not the *Atolians* : to whose Parliament, shortly to be held at *Neopatus*, he sent an Embassage, requesting them to continue in his friendship. Thus was *Philip* occupied.

Sulpicius the Roman Consul encamped vpon the riuer of *Apfus*. Thence hee sent forth *Apustius*, his Lieutenant, with part of the Army, to wasteth the borders of *Macedon*. *Apustius* tooke sundry Castles and Townes; vntil such extremity of sword and fire at *Antipatria*, the first good Towne which hee wonne by force, that none durst afterwards make resistance, vntil hee they knew themselves able to hold out. Returning towards the Consul with his spoyle, he was charged in Rere, vpon the passage of a brooke, by *Athenagoras* a *Macedonian* captaine : but the *Romans* had the better, and killing many of these enemies, tooke prisoners many more, to the increase of their booty; with which they armed in safety at their campe. The successe of this Expedition, though it were not great; yet serued to draw into the Roman friendship, those that had formerly no good inclination to the *Macedonian*. These were *Pleuratus*, the sonne of *Serdailidas* the *Illyrian*; *Aminander* King of the *Abamanians*, and *Bato* the sonne of *Longarus*, a Prince of the *Dardanians*. They offered their assistance vnto the Consul, who thanked them : and sayd, That hee would shortly make vse of *Pleuratus* and *Bato*, when hee entred into *Macedon*; but that the friendship of *Aminander*, whose Countrey lay betweene the *Atolians* and *Thessalie*, might be perhaps auailable with the *Atolians*, to stirre them vp against *Philip*.

So the present care was wholly set vpon the *Atolian* Parliament at hand. Thither came Embassadors from the *Macedonian*, *Romans*, and *Athenians*. Of which, the *Macedonian* spake first, and sayd : That as there was nothing fallen out, which should occasion the breach of peace betweene his Master and the *Atolians* : so was it to be hoped, that they would not suffer themselves, without good cause, to be caried away after other mens fancies. He prayed them to consider, how the *Romans* heretofore had made shew, as if their warre in *Greece* tended onely to the defence of the *Atolians*; and yet notwithstanding had bene angry, that the *Atolians* by making peace with *Philip*, had no longer

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need

need of such their Patronage. What might it be that made them so busie, in obtruding their protection vpon those that needed it not? Surely it was euen the generall hatred, which these *Barbarians* bore vnto the *Greekes*. For euen after the same sort had they lent their helpe to the *Mamertines*; and afterwards deliuered *Syracuse*, when it was oppressed by *Carthaginian* Tyrants: but now both *Syracuse* & *Messana*, were subiect vnto the Rods and Axes of the *Romans*. To the same effect he alleaged many examples, adding, That in like sort it would happen to the *Ætolians*: who if they drew such Masters into *Greece*, must not looke hereafter to hold, as now, free Parliaments of their owne, wherinto consult about Warre and Peace: the *Romans* would ease them of this care, and send them such a Moderator, as went euery yeere from *Rome* to *Syracuse*. Wherefore he concluded, That it was best for them, whilst as yet they might, and whilst one of them as yet could helpe the other, to continue in their League with *Philip*: with whom if at any time, vpon light occasion, they happened to fall out, they might as lightly be reconciled: and with whom they had three yeeres agoe made the peace which still continued; although that the very same *Romans* were then against it, who sought to breake it now. It would haue troubled the *Romans*, to frame a good answere to these obiections. For the *Macedonian* had spoken the very truth, in shewing wherunto this their Patronage, which they offered with such importunitie, did tend. Wherefore the *Athenians* were let on by them to speake next: who had store of eloquence, and matter of reprimandation enough, to make *Philip* odious. These affirmed, that it was a great impudence in the *Macedonian* Embassadour, to call the *Romans* by the name of *Barbarians*: knowing in what barbarous manner his owne King had, in few daies past, made Warre vpon the gods themselves, by destroying all their Temples in *Attica*. Herewithall they made a signifi- full rehearfall of their owne calamities: and said, that if *Philip* might haue his will, *Ætolia*, and all the rest of *Greece*, should feele the same that *Attica* had felt; yea that *Athen* it selfe, together with *Minerva*, *Iupiter*, *Ceres*, and other of the gods, were like to haue felt, if the walls and the *Roman* armes had not defended them.

Then spake the *Romans*: who excusing, as well as they could, their owne oppression of all those, in whose defence they had heretofore taken Armes, went roundly to the point, in hand. They sayd, that they had of late made Warre in the *Ætolians* behalfe, so and that the *Ætolians* had without their consent made peace: whereof since the *Ætolians* must excuse themselves, by alleaging that the *Romans*, being busied with *Carthage*, wanted leisure to giue them aide conuenient: so this excuse being now taken away, and the *Romans* wholly bent against their common Enemy, it concerned the *Ætolians* to take part with them in their War and victorie, vnlesse they had rather perish with *Philip*.

It might easily be perceived, that they which were so vehement, in offering their helpe ere it was desired, were themselves carried vnto the warre by more earnest motives, than a simple desire to helpe those friends, with whom they had no great acquaintance. This may haue bene the cause, why *Dorymachus* the *Ætolian* Prætor shifted them off a while with a dilatorie answer: though he told his Countrymen, That by reseruing themselves, as till the matter were inclined one way or other, they might afterwards take part with those that had the better fortune. His answer was, first, in generall termes; That our much haste was an enemy to good counsaile: for which cause they must further deliberate, ere they concluded. But coming neerer to the matter in hand, He passed a Decree, That the Prætor might at any time call an Assembly of the States, and therein conclude vpon this businesse; any Law to the contrary notwithstanding: whereas otherwise it was vnlawfull to treat of such affaires, except in two of their great Parliaments, that were held at set times.

§. XI.

The meeting of *Philip* with the *Romans*, and skirmishing with them on his borders. The *Ætolians* invade his dominions, and are beaten home. Some doings of *Attalus* and the *Roman* Fleet.

Philip was glad to heare, that the *Romans* had sped no better in their sollicitation of the *Ætolians*. Hee thought them hereby disappointed, in the very beginning, of one great helpe; and meant himselfe to disappoint them of another. His sonne *Perseus*, a very boy, was sent to keepe the Streights of *Pelagonia* against the *Dardani-ans*;

Dardani-ans; hauing with him some of the Kings Councell, to gouerne both him and his armie. It was iudged, as may seeme, that the preference of the Kings Sonne, how yong soeuer, would both encourage his followers, and terrifie the enemies; by making them at least beleue, that hee was not weakly attended. And this may haue bene the reason, why the same *Perseus*, a few yeeres before this, was in like manner left vpon the borders of *Ætolia* by his father, whom earnest businesse called thence another way. No danger of enemies being left on either hand: it was thought, that the *Macedonian* Fleet vnder *Heracles*, would serue to keepe *Attalus*, with the *Rhodian* and *Romanes*, from doing harme by sea, when the Kings backe was turned; who tooke his journey Westward against *Sulpicius* the Consul.

The Armes met in the Countrey of the *Deffaretij*, a people in the vtmost borders of *Macedon* towards *Illyria*, about the mountaines of *Candauia*; that running along from *Hemus* in the North vntill they ioyned in the South with *Pindus*, inclose the Westerne parts of *Macedon*. Two or three dayes they lay in sight the one of the other, without making offer of battaile. The Consul was the first that issued forth of his Campe into the open field. But *Philip* was not confident in the strength which hee had then about him; and therefore thought it better to send forth some of his light-armed Mercenaries, and some part of his horse, to entertaine them with skirmish. These were easily vanquished by the *Romans*, and driuen backe into their Campe. Now although it was so, that the King was vnwilling to hazard all at first vpon a Cast, and therefore sent for *Perseus* with his Companies, to increase his owne forces: yet being no lesse vnwilling to lose too much in reputation; He made shew a day after, as if he would haue fought. He had found the advantage of a place fitt for ambush, wherein hee bestowed as many as hee thought meet of his Targettiers: and so gaue charge to *Athenagoras*, one of his Captaines to prouoke out the *Romans* to fight; instructing both him and the Targettiers, how to behaue themselves respectively, as opportunitie should fall out. The *Romans* had no mistrust of any ambush, hauing fought vpon the same ground a day before. Wherefore perhaps they might haue sustained some notable detriment, if the Kings directions had bene well followed. For when *Athenagoras* began to fall backe, they charged him so boldly, that they draue him to an hasty flight, and pursued him as hard as they were able. But the Captaines of the Targettiers, not staying to let them runne into the danger, discovered themselves before it was time; and thereby made frustrate the worke, to which they were appointed. The Consul hereby gathered, that the King had some desire to trie the fortune of a battaile: which he therefore presented the second time; leading forth his Armie, and setting it in order, with Elephants in the front: a kind of helpe which the *Romans* had neuer vsed before, but had taken these of late from the *Carthaginians*. Such are the alterations wrought by Time. It was scarce about foure score yeeres ere this, that *Pyrrhus* carried Elephants out of *Greece* into *Italie*, to assist the *Romans*, who had neuer seene any of those beasts before. But now the same *Romans* (whilst possibly some were yet aliue, which had knowne that Expedition of *Pyrrhus*) come into *Macedon*, bringing Elephants with them: whereof the *Macedonians* and *Greekes* haue none. *Philip* had patience to let the Consul braue him at his Trenches: wherein he did wisely: for the *Roman* had greater neede to fight, than hee. *Sulpicius* was vnwilling to lose time: neither could he without great danger, lying so neere the Enemy, that was strong in Horse, send his men to fetch in corne out of the fields. Wherefore he removed eight myles off: presuming that *Philip* would not adventure to meete him on euen ground; and so the more boldly hee fortified his Fortagers to ouer-runne the Countrey. The King was nothing sorry of this; but permitted the *Romans* to take their good pleasure: euen till their presumption, and his owne supposed feare, should make them careless. When this was come to passe, hee tooke all his horse, and light-armed foote, with which hee occupied a place in the midway, betwene the Fortagers and their Campe. There hee stayed in Couert with part of his forces; to keepe the passages that none should escape. The rest he sent abroad the Countrey, to fall vpon the straglers: willing them to put all to the sword, and let none run home with newes to the Campe. The slaughter was great: and those which escaped the hands of them that were sent abroad to scowre the fields, lighted all or most of them vpon the King and his complices in their flight: so as they were cut off by the way. Long it was ere the Campe had newes of this. But in the end there escaped some: who thought they could not make any perf. & relation how the matter went:

went: yet by telling what had happened to themselves, raised a great tumult. *Sulpicius* hereupon sends forth all his horse, and bids them helpe their fellowes where they saw it needfull: He himselfe with the Legions followed. The companies of Horse diuided themselves, accordingly as they met with aduertisements vpon the way, into many parts: not knowing where was most of the danger. Such of them as lighted vpon *Philips* Troupes, that were compassing the field, tooke their taske where they found it: But the maine bulke of them fell vpon the King himselfe. They had the disadvantage; as comming fewer, and vnprepared, to one that was ready for them. So they were beaten away: as their fellowes also might haue beene, if the King had well bethought himselfe, and giuen ouer in time. But while, not contented with such an harvest, he was too greedie about a poore gleaming: the *Roman* Legions appeared in sight: which emboldened their horse too make a charge. Then the danger apparant, enforced the *Macedonians* to look to their owne safety. They ranne which way they could: and (as men that lie in waite for others, are feldown heedfull of that which may befall themselves) to escape the Enemy, they declined the fairest way; so as they were plunged in Marishes and Bogges, wherein many of them were lost. The Kings horse was slaine vnder him: and there had hee beene cast away, if a louing subiect of his had not alighted, mounted him vpon his owne horse, and deliuered him out of perill, at the expence of his owne life, that running on foote was ouertaken and killed.

In the common opinion *Philip* was charged with improvident rashnes; and the Con-20 sul, with as much dulnesse, for his dayes seruice. A little longer stay would haue deliuered the king from these enemies without any blow: since when all the fields about them were wasted, they must needs haue retired backe to the Sea. On the other side, it was not thought vnkely, That if the *Romans* following the King, had set vpon his Campe, at such time as hee fled thither, halfe amazed with feare of being either slaine or taken, they might haue wonne it. But that noble Historian, *Liue*, (as is commonly his manner) hath iudiciously obserued, That neither the one, nor the other, were much too blame in this dayes worke. For the maine body of the Kings Armie lay safe in his Campe, and could not be so astonished with the losse of two or three hundred Horse, that it should therefore haue abandoned the defence of the Trenches. And as for the 30 King himselfe, he was aduertised, that *Pleuratus* the *Illyrian*, and the *Dardaniens*, were fallen vpon his Countrey; when they found the passage thereinto open, after *Perseus* was called away from custody of the Streights. This was it which made him a dunce to doe somewhat betimes; that he might let the *Romans* going the sooner, and afterwards looke vnto his troublesome neighbours. In consideration of this, *Philip* was desirous to cleare himselfe of the *Romans*, as soone as he might. And to that purpose hee sent vnto the Consul; requesting a day of truce for buriall of the dead. But instead of so doing, he marched away by night, and left fires in his Campe to beguile the enemy, as if he had not stirred out of the place. *Sulpicius*, when he heard of the Kings departure, was not slow to follow him. He ouertooke the *Macedonians* in a place of strength, which they 40 had fenced (for it was a woody ground) by cutting downe trees, and laying them athwart the way where it was most open. In making of such places good, the *Macedonian Phalanx* was of little vse; being a square battell of pikes, not fit for euery ground. The Archers of *Crete* were iudged, and were indeed, more seruicable in that case. But they were few; and their arrowes were of small force against the *Roman* shields. The *Macedonians* therefore helpe them by flinging of stones. But to no purpose. For the *Romans* got within them; and forced them to quit the place. This victory (such as it was) layd open vnto the Consul some poore Townes thereabout; which partly were taken by strong hand, partly yielded for feare. But the spoyle of these, and of the fields adioyning, was not sufficient to maintaine his Armie; and therefore he returned backe to *Apollonia*.

The *Dardaniens*, hearing that *Philip* was come backe, withdrew themselves apace 50 out of the Countrey. The King sent *Athenagoras* to waite vpon them home; whilst he himselfe went against the *Atolians*. For *Damocritus* the Prætor of the *Atolians*, who had refused himselfe and his Nation vnto the euent of things, hearing report, that *Philip* was beaten once & againe: as also that *Pleuratus* and the *Dardaniens* were fallen vpon *Macedon*, grew no lesse busie on the sudden, than before he had beene wise. He perswaded his Nation to take their time: and so, not staying to proclaim warre, ioynd his forces with *Aminander* the *Athamanian*; and made inuasion vpon *Thessalie*. They tooke and cruelly

cruelly sacked a few Townes: whereby they grew confident; as if, without any danger, they might doe what they listed. But *Philip* came vpon them ere they looked for him: and killing them as they lay dispersed, was like to haue taken their Campe; if *Aminander*, more warie then the *Atolians*, had not helped at need, and made the Retreat through his owne mountainous Countrey.

About the same time, the *Roman* *Fleete*, assisted by *Atalus* and the *Rhodians*, had taken some small Ilands in the *Ægean* Sea. They tooke likewise the Towne of *Oreum* in the Isle of *Eubœa*; and some other places therabout. The Townes were giuen vnto *Atalus*, after the same Compact that had formerly beene made with the *Atolians*: the goods therein found were giuen vnto the *Romans*; and the people, for slaues. Other attempts on that side were hindred; either by foule weather at Sea; or by want of daring, and of means.

§. XII.

Vilius the *Roman* Consul wastes a yeere to no effect. Warre of the *Gauls* in *Italie*. An Embasie of the *Romans* to *Carthage*, *Malinissa*, and *Vermina*. The *Macedonian* prepares for defence of his Kingdome: and *T. Quintius Flaminius* is sent against him.

10 Thus the time ranne away: and *P. Vilius* a new Consul, tooke charge of the war in *Macedon*. He was troubled with a Mutinie of his oldest Souldiours: whereof two thousand; having serued long in *Sicil* and *Affric*, thought themselves much wronged, in that they could not bee suffered to looke vnto their owne estates at home. They were (belike) of the Legions that had serued at *Cannæ*: as may seeme by their complaint, of having beene long absent from *Italie*; whither faime they would haue returned, when by their Colonels they were shipped for *Macedon*. How *Vilius* dealt with them, it is vncertaine. For the History of his yeere is lost: whereof the misse is not great, since he did nothing memorable. *Valerius Antias*, as wee find in *Liue*, hath adorned this *Vilius* with a great exploit against *Philip*. Yet since *Liue* himselfe, an Historian to whom few of the best are matchable, could find no such thing recorded in any good Author; 20 we may reasonably beleue, that *Vilius* his yeere was idle.

In the beginning of his *Macedonian* Warre, the *Romans* found more trouble than could haue beene expected with the *Gauls*. Their Colonie of *Placentia*, a goodly and strong Towne, which neither *Hannibal*, nor after him *Asdrubal*, had bene able to force, was taken by these *Barbarians*, and burnt in a manner to the ground. In like sort *Cremona* was attempted; but saved her selfe, taking warning by her neighbours calamitie. *Amilcar* a *Carthaginian*, that staid behind *Asdrubal*, or *Mago*, in those parts; was now become Capitaine of the *Gauls*, in these their enterprises. This when the *Romans* heard, they sent Embassadors to the *Carthaginians*: giuing them to vnderstand, That, if they were 30 not wearie of the peace, it behoued them to call home, and deliuer vp, this their Citizen *Amilcar*, who made war in *Italie*. Hereunto it was added (perhaps left the message might seme other wise to haue sauoured a little of some feare) That of the Fugitive slaues belonging to the *Romans*, there were some reported to walke vp and downe in *Carthage*: which if it were so, then ought they to be restored backe to their Masters, as was conditioned in the late Peace. The Embassadors that were sent on this errand, had further charge to treat with *Malinissa*, as also with *Vermina* the sonne of *Syphax*. Vnto *Malinissa*, besides matter of complement, they were to signifie what pleasure Hee might doe them, by lending then some of his *Numidian* Horse, to serue in their Warre against the *Macedonian*. *Vermina* had entreated the Senate, to vouchsafe vnto him the name of King: and promised thereafter to deserue it, by his readinesse in doing them all good of 40 50 fices. But they were somewhat scrupulous in the matter: and said, That haueing beene, and being still (as they tooke it) their Enemy, Hee ought first of all to desire peace; for that the name of King, was an honour which they vsed not to conferre vpon any, saue onely vpon such as had royally deserved it at their hands. The authoritie to make peace with him, was wholly committed vnto these Embassadors vpon such termes as they should thinke fit; without further relation to the Senate and People. For they were then busied with greater cares. The *Carthaginians* made a gentle answer, That they wholly disclaimed *Amilcar*: banishing him; and confiscating his goods. As for the Fugitives: they had restored as many as they could finde; and would in that point, as farre as was requisite,

requisite, giue satisfaction to the Senate. Herewithall they sent a great proportion of Corne to Rome; and the like vnto the Armie that was in Macedonia. King *Masaniassa* would haue lent vnto the Romans two thousand of his *Numidian* Horse: but they were contented with halfe the number; and would accept no more. *Vermius* met with the Embassadors, to giue them entertainment, on the borders of his Kingdome; and without any disputation, agreed with them vpon termes of peace.

Thus were the Romans busied in taking order for their Macedonian Warre, that they might pursue it strongly, and without interruption. As for *Amilcar* and his *Gauls*: they layde siege vnto *Cremona*; where *L. Furius Roman* Prator came vpon them, fought a battaile with them, and ouercame them. *Amilcar*, the *Carthaginian* died in this battaile; and the fruit of the victorie was such, as both made amends for losses past, and left the worke easie to those, that afterwards should haue the managing of warre among those *Gauls*. So was there good leisure to thinke vpon the businesse of Macedonia: where *Philip* was carefully prouiding to giue contentment vnto his subiects, by punishing a bad Counsaillour whom they hated, as also to assure vnto himselfe the *Achaens*, by rendering vnto them some Townes that he held of theirs; and finally to strengthen his Kingdome, not onely by exercising and training his people, but by fortifying the passages that led thereinto out of *Epirus*. This was in doing, when *Vilius*, hauing vnprofitably laboured to find way into Macedonia, taking a iourney (as *Salspius* had done before him) where in hee could not be supplied with victuals, determined at length to trie a new course. But then came aduertisement, that *T. Quintius Flaminius* was chosen Consul, and had Macedonia allotted him for his Prouince; whose coming was expected; and hee very shortly arrived at the Armie.

§. XIII.

The Romans beginne to make warre by negotiation. T. Quintius winnes a passage against Philip. The Thessalies wist by Philip, the Romans, and Achians. The Achians forsaking the Macedonians, take part with the Romans. A treatie of peace, that was vaine. Philip delivers Argos to Nabis the Tyrant, who presently enters into League with the Romans.

THE *Romans* had not bene wont in former times, to make Warre after such a trifling manner. It was their vse, to giue battaile to the Enemy, as soone as they met with him. If he refused it, they besieged his Townes: and so forced him to trie the fortune of a day, with his disadvantage in reputation, when he had long forborne it (as it would be interpreted) vpon knowledge of his owne weaknesse. But in this their Warre with *Philip*, they beganne to learne of the subtle *Greekes*, the arte of Negotiation: wherein hitherto they were not growne so fine, as within a little while they proued. Their Treasury was poore, and stood indebted, many yeeres after this, vnto priuat men, for part of those monies that had bene borrowed in the second Punicke Warre. This had made the Commonaltie auerse from the Macedonian Warre; and had thereby driven the Senators greedy of the enterprize, to make vse of their cunning. Yet being weary of the slow pace wherewith their businesse went forward, they determined to increase their Armie, that they might haue the lesse neede to relye vpon their Confederates. So they leauied eight thousand foot, and eight hundred Horse (the greater part of them of the *Latines*) which they sent with *T. Quintius Flaminius*, the new Consul into Macedonia. Their Nauie, and other meanes could well haue serued, for the setting forth and transportation of a greater Armie: but by straining themselves to the most of their ability, they should (besides other difficulties incident vnto the sustenance of those that are too many and too farre from home) haue bred some ialousie in their friends of *Greece*, and thereby haue lost some friends, yea, perhaps haue increased the number of their enemies more than of their owne Souldiers. This present augmentation of the forces was very requisite; for that *Attalus*, about the same time, excused himselfe vnto them, by his Embassadors; requesting that either they would vndertake the defence of his Kingdome against *Antiochus*, who invaded it; or else that they would not take it vncourteouslie, that hee quitted the Warre with *Philip*, and returned home, to looke vnto that which more concerned him. Their answer was remarkable. They saide, That it was not their manner to vse the ayde of their friends, longer than their friends had good opportunitie, and could also bee well contented to afforde it; That

That they could not honestly take part with *Attalus*, their good friend though he were, against *Antiochus*, whom they held in the like account; but, That they would deale with *Antiochus* by Embassadors, and (as common friends vnto both of the Kings) doe their best to perwade an atonement betweene them. In such louing fashion did they now carry themselves, towards their good friend the King *Antiochus*; who reciprocally at their intreaty, withdrew his Army from the kingdome of *Attalus*. But how little they regarded these termes of friendship, after that once they had made an end with *Philip*, it will very soone appeare.

T. Quintius halting away from Rome, came betimes into his Prouince, with the supply decreed vnto him, which consisted, for the most part, of old Souldiers, that had serued in *Spain* and *Africke*. He found *Vilius* the old Consul, (whom at his coming hee presently discharged) and king *Philip* of Macedonia, encamped one against the other, in the Straights of *Epirus*; by the riuer of *Apso* or *Aous*. It was manifest, that either the Romans must fetch a compasse about, and seeke their way into Macedonia, through the poore Countrey of the *Dassaretians*; or else winne, by force, that passage which the King defended. In taking the former way, they had already two yeeres together mis-spent their time, and bene forced to returne backe without profit, for want of victuals: whereof they could neither carry with them store sufficient, nor finde it on the way. But if they could once get ouer these Mountains, which diuided the South of *Epirus* from *Thessalie*, then should they enter into a plentifull Countrey, and which by long dependance on the Macedonians, was become (in a manner) part of his kingdome, whereof it made the South border. Neuertheless, the desire of winning this passage, was greater than the likelihood. For the riuer of *Apso*, running along through that valley which alone was open betweene the Mountaines, made it all a deep Marish and unpassable Bogge: a very narrow way excepted, and a path cut out of the maine Rocks by mans hand. Wherefore *Quintius* assayed to climbe in the Mountaines: but finding himselfe disappointed of this hope, through the diligence of his Enemy, who neglected not the god or them that was very easie, hee was compelled to sit still, without doing anything for the space of sixty dayes.

This long time of rest gaue hope vnto *Philip*, that the war might be ended by composition, vpon some reasonable termes. He therefore dealt with some of the *Epirots*, (among whom hee had many friends) that hee and the Consul had a meeting together. But nothing was effected. The Consul would haue him to set all Townes of *Greece* at libertie, and to make amends for the iniuries, which hee had done to many people in his late Warres. *Philip* was contented to giue libertie to those whom hee had subdued of late: but vnto such, as had bene long subiect vnto him and his Ancestors, hee thought against all reason, that hee should relinquish his claime and dominion ouer them. He also said, That as farre forth as it should appeare that hee had done wrong vnto any Towne or people whatsoever, hee could well be pleased to make such amends, as might seeme conuenient in the iudgement of some free State, that had not bene interested in those quarrels. But herewithall *Quintius* was not satisfied. There needed (he said) no iudgement or compromise; forasmuch as it was apparant, that *Philip* had alwaies bene the Inuader; and had not made warre, as one prouoked, in his owne defence. After this altercation, when they should come to particulars: and when the Consul was required to name those Townes, that he would haue to be set at libertie, the first that he named were the *Thessalians*: These had bene Subiects (though conditionally) vnto the Macedonian Kings, euer since the dayes of *Alexander* the Great, and of *Philip* his Father. Wherefore, as soone as *Flaminius* had named the *Thessalians*, the King in a rage demanded what sharper Condition he would haue layd vpon him, had hee bene but vanquished. And herewithall abruptly hee flang away; refusing to heare any more of such discourse.

After this the Consul stroue in vaine two or three dayes together, to haue preuayled against the difficulties of that passage which *Philip* kept. When he had well wearied himselfe, and could not resolue what course to take: there came to him an Herd-man sent from *Charopas* a Prince of the *Epirots* that fauoured the Romans, who hauing long kept beasts in those Mountaines, was thoroughly acquainted with all by-paths, and therefore undertooke to guide the Romans, without any danger, to a place where they should haue aduantage of the Enemy. This guide, for feare of treacherous dealing, was fast bound:

bound : and being promised a great reward , in case hee made good his word , had such Companies as was thought fit , appoynted to follow his directions . They trauielled by night (it being then about the full of the Moone) and rested in the day-time, for feare of being discouered . When they had reconuered the hill-tops, and were about the *Macedonians*, (though vndiscouered by them, because at their backs) they raised a great smoke, whereby they gaue notice of their successe vnto the Consul . Some skirmishes, whilst these were on their iourney, *T. Quintius* had held with the *Macedonians*, thereby to avert him from thought of that which was intended. But when on the third morning he saw the smoke arise more and more plainly, and thereby knew that his men had attained vnto the place whither they were sent, he pressed as neare as he could vnto the Enemies Campe , and assailed them in their strength . He preuailed as little as in former times, vntill the shoutings of those that ranne downe the hill, and charged *Philip* on the backe, astonished so the *Macedonians*, that they betooke themselves to flight. The King, vpon first apprehension of the danger, made all speed away to saue himselfe. Yet anon considering, that the difficulty of the passage must needs hinder the *Romans* from pursuing him : hee made a stand at the end of five miles, and gathered there together his broken troups, of whom he found wanting no more than two thousand men. The greatest losse was of his Campe and prouisions : if not rather perhaps of his reputation, for that now the *Macedonians* beganne to stand in feare, lest being driuen from a place of such advantage, they should hardly make good their party against the Enemy, vpon equall ground. Neither was *Philip* himselfe much better perswaded. Wherefore he caused the *Thessalians*, as many of them as in his hasty retreat he could visit, to forsake their Townes and Countrey, carying away with them as much as they were able, and spoyleing all the rest. But all of them could not be perswaded, thus to abandon (for the pleasure of their king) their ancient habitations, and all the substance which they had gotten. Some there were that forcibly resisted him, which they might the better doe, for that he could not stay to vsee any great compulsion. He also himselfe tooke it very grievously, that he was driuen to make such waste of a most pleasant and fruitfull Countrey, which had euer been well affected vnto him : so that a little hinderance did serue, to make him breake off his purpose, and withdraw himselfe home into his kingdom of *Macedon*.

The *Atolians* and *Abthamians*, when this fell out, were euen in a readinesse to invade *Thessaly* ; whereinto the wayes lay more open, out of their feuerall Countries. When therefore they heard for certainty, that *Philip* was beaten by the *Romans* : they forelloved not the occasion, but made all speede, each of them to lay holde vpon what they might. *T. Quintius* followed them within a little while : but they had gotten so much before his coming, that he, in gleaning after their haruest, could not find enough to maintaine his Army . Thus were the poore *Thessalians*, of whose liberty the *Romans* a few dayes since had made shew to be very desirous, wasted by the same *Romans* and their Confederates; not knowing which way to turne themselves, or whom to auoyde. *T. Quintius* wonne *Phaleria* by assault : *Metropolis* and *Piera* yielded vnto him. *Rhage* he besieged : and hauing made a faire breach, yet was vnable to force it; so stoutly it was defended both by the Inhabitants, and by a Macedonian garrison therein. *Philip* also at the same time, hauing somewhat recollecte his spirits, houered about *Tempe* with his Army, thrusting men into all places, that were like to be distressed. So the Consul, hauing wel-neare spent his victuals, and seeing no hope to preuaile at *Rhage* ; brake vp his siege, and departed out of *Thessaly*. He had appointed his ships of burden to meete him at *Antigra*, an Haven Towne of *Phocis*, on the Gulph of *Corinth* : which Countrey being friend to the *Macedonian*, he presently invaded ; not so much for hatred vnto the people, as because it lay conveniently seated between *Thessaly* and other regions, wherein he had businesse, or was shortly like to haue. Many Townes in *Phocis* he wonne by assault : many were yielded vp vnto him for feare ; and within short space hee had (in effect) mastered it all.

In the meane time *L. Quintius* the Consuls brother, being then Admirall for the *Romans* in this warre, ioyned with King *Attalus* and the *Rhodian* Fleete. They wonne two Cities in *Euboea*; and afterward layd siege vnto *Cenchree*, an Haven and Arceall of the *Corinthians* on their Easterne Sea. This enterprize did somewhat helpe forward the *Achaens*, in their desire to leaue the part of *Philip* : since it might come to passe, that *Corinth* it selfe, ere long time were spent; and that *Cenchree*, with other places appertaining

to *Corinth*, now very shortly should be rendred vnto their Nation, by fauour of the *Romans*.

But there were other Motiues, inducing the *Achaens* to preferre the friendship of the *Romans*, before the patronage of *Philip*; whereto they had bene long accustomed. For this King had so many wayes offended them in time of peace, that they thought it the best counse to rid their hands of him ; whilst being intangled in a dangerous warre, hee wanted meanes to hinder the execution of such counsaile, as they should hold the safest. His tyrannous practises to make himselfe their absolute Lord : His poysoning of *Aratus* their old Gouernour : His false dealing with the *Messenians*, *Epirots*, and other people of their Confederates, and his owne dependants : together with many particular outrages by him committed ; had caused them long since to holde him as a necessary euill, euill whilst they were vnable to be without his assistance. But since by the vertue of *Philopamen*, they were growne somewhat confident in their owne strength, so as without the *Macedonians* helpe they could as well subsist, as hauing him to friend : then did they only thinke how euill he was ; and thereupon reioyce the more, in that hee was become no longer necessary. It angered him to perceiue how they stood affected : and therefore hee sent murderers, to take away the life of *Philopamen*. But failing in this enterprise, and being detected, hee did thereby onely set fire to the Wood, which was thoroughly dry before, and prepared to burne. *Philopamen* wrought so with the *Achaens*; that no discourse was more familiar with them, than what great cause they had to with draw themselves from the *Macedonian*. *Cyclidas*, a principall man among them, and lately their Prator, was expelled by them, for shewing himselfe passionate in the cause of *Philip*; and *Ariftenus* chosen Prator, who laboured to ioyne them in societie with the *Romans*.

These newes were very welcome to *T. Quintius*. Embassadours were sent from the *Romans*, and their Confederates, King *Attalus*, the *Rhodians*, and *Athenians*, to treat with the *Achaens*; making promise, that they should haue *Corinth* restored vnto them, if they would forsake the *Macedonian*. A Parliament of the *Achaens* was held at *Sicyon*, to deliberate and resolute in this weighty case. Therein the *Romans* and their adherents desired the *Achaens*, to ioyne with them in making warre vpon *Philip*. Contrarywise, the Embassadours of *Philip*, whom he had also sent for this busines, admonishing the *Achaens* of their Alliance with the King, and of their faith due vnto him; requested them, that they would be contented to remaine as Neuters. This moderate request of *Philips* Embassadour, did no way aduance his Masters cause. Rather it gaue the *Achaens* to vnderstand, That hee, who could bee satisfied with so little at their hands, knew himselfe vnable to gratifie them in any reciprocall demand. Yet were there many in that great Councell ; who remembering the benefites of *Philip* and *Antigonus*, laboured earnestly for the preseruatiou of the ancient League. But in fine, the sence of late iniuries, and expectation of like or worse from him in the future, preuailed against the memorie of those old good turnes, which he, (and *Antigonus* before him) had partly sold vnto them, and partly had vied as baits, whereby to allure them into absolute subiection. Neither was it perhaps of the least importance, That the *Romans* were strong, and likely to preuaile in the end. So after much altercation the Decree passed, That they should thenceforward renounce the *Macedonian*, and take part with his enemies in this warre. With *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, they forthwith entred into societie : with the *Romans* (because no League would bee of force, vntill the Senate and people had approued it) they forbore to decree any societie at the present, vntill the returne of those Embassadours from *Rome*, which they determined to send thither of purpose. The *Megalopolitans*, *Dymeans*, and *Argiues*, hauing done their best for the *Macedonian*, as by many respects they were bound; rose vp out of the Councill, and departed before the passing of the Decree, which they could not resist, nor yet with honestie thereto giue assent. For this their good will, and greater, which they shortly manifested, the *Argiues* had so little thanks; that all the rest of the *Achaens* may bee the better held excused, for escaping how they might, out of the hands of so fell a Prince.

Soone after this, vpon a Solemne day at *Argos*, the affection of the Citizens discouered it selfe so plainly, in the behalfe of *Philip*, that they which were his Partisans within the Towne, made no doubt of putting the Citie into his hands, if they might haue any small assistance. *Philoctes*, a Lieutenant of the Kings, lay then in *Corinth*, which he had manfully defended against the *Romans* and *Attalus*. Him the Conspirators drew to

Argos; whither comming on a sudden, and finding the Multitude readie to ioyne with him, He easily compelled the *Achaean* Garrison to quit the place.

This getting of *Argos*, together with the good defence of *Corinth* and some other Townes, as it helped *Philip* a little in his reputation, so they gaue him hope to obtaine some good end by Treatie, whilst as yet with his honour he might seeke it: and when (the Winter being now come on) a new Consul would shortly be chosen; who should take the worke out of *Titus* his hands, if it were not concluded the sooner. *Titus* had the like respect vnto himselfe; and therefore thought it best, since more could not bee done, to predispose things vnto a Conclusion, for his owne reputation. The meeting was appointed to be held on the Sea-shore, in the Bay then called the *Malian*, or *Laminian Bay*, now (as is supposed) the *Gulfe of Zithon*, in the *Aegean Sea*, or *Archipelago*. Thither came *Titus*, with *Aminander* the *Athamanian*; an Embassadour of *Attalus*, the Admirall of *Rhodes*; and some Agents for the *Asiatians* and *Achaean*s. *Philip* had with him some few of his owne Capitaines, and *Cycliadas*, lately banished for his sake out of *Achaia*. He refused to come on shore: though fearing (as he said) none but the immortal Gods; yet misdoubting some treachery in the *Asiatians*. The demands of *Titus* in behalfe of the *Romans* were, That he should set all Cities of *Greece* at libertie; deliuer vp to the *Romans* and their Confederates, all prisoners which he had of theirs, and *Rencadoes*; likewise whatsoeuer he held of theirs in *Ilyria*; and whatsoeuer about *Greece* or *Asia* he had gotten from *Ptolemie* then King of *Egypt*, after his fathers death. *Attalus* demanded restitution to be made, entire, of Ships, Townes, and Temples, by him taken and spoyled in the late warre betwene them. The *Rhodians* would haue againe the Countrie of *Persea*, lying ouer against their Iland; as also that he should withdraw his Garrisons, out of diuers Townes about the *Hellepont*, and other Hauens of their friends. The *Achaean*s desired restitution of *Argos* and *Corinth*: about the one of which they might, not vniuently, quarrell with him; the other had beene long his owne by their consent. The *Asiatians* tooke vpon them angrily, as Patrons of *Greece*: willing him to depart out of it, euen out of the whole Countrie, leauing it free; and withall to deliuer vp vnto them, whatsoeuer he held that had at any time bene theirs. Neither were they here withall content: but insolently decaymed against him, for that which hee had lately done in *Theſſalie*, corrupting (as they said) the rewards of the Victors, by destroying, when hee was vanquished, those Townes which else they might haue gotten. To answer these malapert *Asiatians*, *Philip* commanded his Gallie to be rowed neerer the shore. But they began to plice him afresh: telling him, that he must obey his betters, vntill hee were able to defend himselfe by force of Armes. He answered them, (as he was much giuen to gybing) with sundry scoffes; and especially with one, which made the *Romane* Consul vnderstand, what manner of companions these *Asiatians* were. For hee said, That he had often dealt with them; as likewise the best of the *Greekes*; desiring them to abrogate a wicked Law, which permitted them to take spoile from spoyle: yet could he get no better an answer, than that they would sooner take *Asiatia* out of *Asiatia*. *Titus* wondered what might be the meaning of this strange Law. So the King told him, That they held it a laudable custome, as often as Warre happened betwene their friends, to hold vp the quarrell by sending voluntaries to serue on both sides, that should spoyle both the one and the other. As for the liberty of *Greece*, Hee said it was strange that the *Asiatians* should bee so carefull thereof, since diuers Tribes of their owne, which hee there named, where indeede no *Grecians*: wherefore hee would faine know, whether the *Romanes* would giue him leaue to make slaues of those *Asiatians*, which were no *Greekes*. *Titus* hereat smiled, and was no whit offended, to heare the *Asiatians* well ratled vp; touching whom hee began to vnderstand, how odious they were in all the Countrie. As for that generall demand of setting all *Greece* at libertie, *Philip* acknowledged, that it might well become the greatnesse of the *Romans*; though hee would also consider, what might become his owne dignitie. But that the *Asiatians*, *Rhodians*, and other pettie Estates, should thus presume, vnder countenance of the *Romanes*, to take vpon them, as if by their great might hee should bee therunto compelled: it was, hee saide, a strange and ridiculous insolence. The *Achaean*s hee charged with much ingratitude; reciting against them some Decrees of their owne; wherein they had loaden both *Antigonus* and him, with more than humane honors. Next hee he said, that he would render *Argos* vnto them: but, as touching *Corinth*, that he would further deliberate with *Titus* himselfe.

Thus

Thus hee addressed himselfe wholly to the *Roman* Generall; vnto whom if hee could giue satisfaction, he cared little for all the rest. With *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, his late warre, (hee said) was onely defense; they hauing bene the offerers: or if he gaue them any occasion, it was onely in helping *Prusias*, his sonne-in-law; neither did he see why they should rather seeke amends at his hands, than hee at theirs. For whereas they complained, that, spoyling a Temple of *Venus*, hee had cut downe the Groue, and pleasant walkes thereabouts: what could hee doe more, than send Gardiners thither with young plants; if some King of another would stand to aske such recompence? Thus hee iested the matter out: but offered neuertheless, in honour of the *Romans*, to giue backe the Region of *Pe-
loponnesus* to the *Rhodians*; as likewise to *Attalus*, the Ships and Prisoners of his; whereof hee had then possession. Thus ended that dayes conference, because it was late: *Philip* requiring a nights leisure to thinke vpon the Articles, which were many, and hee ill provided of Counsaile, wherewith to aduise about them. For your being soill provided of Counsaile, said *Titus*, you may euen thanke your selfe; as hauing murdered all your friends, that were wont to aduise you faithfully. The next day *Philip* came not, vntill it was late at night; excusing his long stay by the waightinesse of the things propounded, whereon he could not suddenly tell how to resolve. But it was beleueed, that hee thereby sought too abridge the *Asiatians* of leisure to raile at him. And this was the more likely, for that he desired conference in priuate with the *Roman* Generall. The summe of his discourse, as *Titus* afterward related it, was, That hee would giue the *Achaean*s both *Argos* and *Corinth*; as also that he would render vnto *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, what he had promised the day before; likewise to the *Asiatians*, that hee would grant some part of their demands; and to the *Romans*, whatsoeuer they did challenge. This when *Titus* his associates heard, they exclaimed against it, saying, That if the King were suffered to retaine any thing in *Greece*, he would shortly get possession of all which hee now rendered vp. The noise that they made came to *Philip*s care: who therupon desired a third day of meeting; and protested, that if he could not perswade them, he would suffer himselfe to bee perswaded by them. So the third day they mette early in the morning: at what time the King intreated them all, that they would with sincere affection hearken vnto good offers of peace; and immediately conclude it, if they could like well of those Conditions, which he had already tendered; or otherwise, that they would make truce with him for the present, and let him send Embassadours to *Rome*, where he would referre himselfe to the cōsuetude of the Senate.

This was such as *Quintus* would haue it: who stood in doubt, lest a new Consul might happen to defraud him of the honour, which he expected by ending of the warre. So he easily preuailed with the rest, to assent hereunto: forasmuch as it was Winter, a time vnfit for seruice in the warre; and since, without authoritie of the Senate, he should be vnable to proceed resolutely either in Warre or peace. Further hee willed them to send their severall Embassadours to *Rome*, which intimating vnto the Senate what each of them required, should easily hinder *Philip*, from obtaining any thing to their prejudice. Among the rest he perswaded *Aminander*, to make a journey to *Rome* in person: knowing well, that the name of a King, together with the confluence of so many Embassadours, would serue to make his owne actions more glorious in the Cite. All this tended to procure, that his owne Command of the Armes in *Greece* might be prorogued. And to the same end had he dealt with some of the Tribunes of the people at *Rome*: who had already (though as yet hee knew not so much) obtained it for him, partly by their authoritie, partly by good reasons which they alledged vnto the Senate.

The Embassadour of the *Greekes*, when they had audience at *Rome*, spake bitterly against the King, with good liking of the Senate, which was more desirous of victorie, than of fauour. They magnified the honourable purpose of the *Romans*, in vnder-taking to set *Greece* at libertie. But this (they said) could neuer bee effected; vntill especiall care were taken, that the King should bee dispossessed of *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, and *Demetrias*. In this point they were so vehement, producing a Map of the Countrie, and making demonstration how those places held all the rest in seruilitie, that the Senate agreed to haue it eue so as they desired. When therefore the Embassadours of *Philip* were brought in, and beganne to haue made a long Oration; they were bricfly cut off in the middelt of their Preface, with this one demand: Whether their Master would yield up *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, and *Demetrias*: Hereto they made answer, That concerning those places, the King

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King

King had giuen them no direction or Commission what to say, or do. This was enough. The Senate would no longer hearken to *Philips* desire of peace; wherein they said hee did no better than trifle. Yet might his Embassadors haue truly said, That neither the *Aetolians*, *Achaens*, nor any of their fellowes, had in the late Treaty required by name, that *Chalcis* and *Demetrius* should be yeelded vp. For which of them indeed could make any claime to either of these Townes: As for *Corinth*, whereto the *Achaens* had some right, (though their right were no better, than that, hauing stolne it from One *Macedonian* King in a night, they had, after mature deliberation, made it away by bargain vnto an Other.) *Philip* had already condescended to giue it backe vnto them. And this perhaps would haue bene alleadged, euen against the *Greekes*, in excuse of the King, by some of *T. Quintius* his friends; that so he might haue had the honour to conclude the warre, if a Succesfull had bene decreed vnto him. But since he was appointed to continue General: neither his friends at *Rome*, nor he himselfe, after the returne of the Embassadors into *Greece*, cared to giue care vnto any talke of peace.

Philip, seeing that his *Achaens* had forsaken him, and ioyned with their common Enemies; thought euen to deal with them in the like manner, by reconciling himselfe vnto *Nabis*, whom they hated most. There were not many yeeres past, since the *Lacedaemonians* vnder *Cleomenes*, with little other helpe than their owne strength, had bene almost strong enough both for the *Macedonians* and *Achaens* together. But now the condition of things was altered. *Nabis* his force consisted, in a manner, wholly in his Mercenaries: for he was a Tyrant, though stiling himselfe King. Yet he sorely vexed the *Achaens*: and therefore came to *Philip* one likely to stand him in great stead, if he could be wonne. To this purpose it was thought meet, that the Towne of *Argos*, which could not otherwise be easily defended, should be assigned ouer into his hands, in hope, that such a benefit would serue to tie him fast vnto the *Macedonian*. *Philocles* the Kings Lieutenant, who was appoynted to deal with *Nabis*, added further, That it was his Masters purpose to make a straight alliance with the *Lacedaemonian*, by giuing some daughters of his owne in marriage vnto *Nabis* his sons. This could not but be well taken. Yet *Nabis* made some scruple in accepting the Towne of *Argos*; vntill by decree of the Citizens themselves he might be called into it. Hereabout *Philocles* dealt with the *Argiues*; but found them so averse; that, in open assembly of the people, they detested the very name of the Tyrant, with many railing words. *Nabis* hearing of this, thought hee had thereby a good occasion to robbe and fleece them. So hee willed *Philocles*, without more ado, to make ouer the Towne which hee was ready to receiue. *Philocles* accordingly did let him with his Army into it by night, and gaue him possession of the strongest places therein. Thus dealt *Philip* with the *Argiues*; who for very loue had forsaken the *Achaens*, to take his part. Early in the morning, the Tyrant made himselfe Master of all the Gates. A few of the principall men, vnderstanding how things went, fled out of the Citie at the first tumult. Wherefore they were all banished, and their goods confiscated. The rest of the chiefe Citizens that staid behinde, were commanded to bring forth, out of hand, all their Gold and Silver. Also a great imposition of monies was laid vpon all those, that were thought able to pay it. Such as made their contribution readily, were dismissed without more ado. But if any stood long vpon the matter: or played the theues, id purloining their owne goods; they were put to the whip, and, besides losse of their wealth, had their torments to boot. This done, the Tyrant began to make popular Lawes: namely such, as might serue to make him gracious with the whole multitude: abrogating all debts, and diuiding the Lands of the rich among the poore. By such art of oppressing the great ones, it hath bene an old custome of Tyrants, to assure themselves of the Vulgar for a time.

As soone as *Nabis* had gotten *Argos*, he sent the newes to *T. Quintius*; and offered to ioine with him against *Philip*. *Titus* was glad of it: so as he tooke the paines to crosse ouer the Straights into *Peloponnesus*, there to meete with *Nabis*. They had soone agreed (though King *Attalus*, who was present with the Consul, made some cauil touching *Argos*) and the Tyrant lent vnto the *Romans* fixe hundred of his Mercenaries of *Crete*: as also hee agreed with the *Achaens*, vpon a Truce for foure moneths, reseruing the final conclusion of peace betwene them vntill the Warre of *Philip* should be ended, which after this continued not long.

§. XIII.

The battaile at *Cynosephala*, wherin *Philip* was vanquished by *T. Quintius*.

Titus Quintius, as soone as hee vnderstood that he was appointed to haue Command of the Armie, without any other limitation of time, than during the pleasure of the Senate; made all things readie for diligent pursuit of the Warre. The like did *Philip*: who hauing failed in his negotiation of peace, and no lesse failed in his hopes of getting *Nabis* to friend in that Warre; meant afterwards wholly to relie vpon himselfe.

Titus had in his Armie about fixe and twentie thousand: and *Philip* a proportionable number. But neither of them knew the others strength, or what his Enemy intended to doe. Onely *Titus* heard that *Philip* was in *Thessalie*, and thereupon addressed himselfe to seeke him out. They had like to haue met vnawares, neere vnto the Citie of *Phere*: where the vancorriers on both sides discovered each other, and sent word thereof vnto their seuerall Captaines. But neither of them were ouer hasty, to commit all to hazard vpon so short warning. The day following each of them sent out three hundred Horse, with as many light armed Foot, to make a better discouerie. These met, and fought a long while: returning finally backe into their seuerall Campes, with little advantage vnto either side. The Country about *Phere* was thickest with Trees: and otherwise full of Gardens and mud-walles; which made it vnproper for serue of the *Macedonian Phalanx*. Wherefore the King dislodged, intending to remoue backe into *Sotusa* in the Frontier of *Macedon*; where he might be plentifully serued with all necessities. *Titus* conceiued aright his meaning: and therefore purposed also to march thitherwards; were it onely to waste the Country. There lay betwene them a great ledge of hills, which hindered the one from knowing what course the other tooke. Neuenthelesse they encamped not farre asunder, both the first and the second night; though neither of them vnderstood what was become of the other. The third day was very tempestuous; and forced each of them to take vp his lodging, where hee found it, by chance. Then sent they forth discouersers againe, in greater number than before. These meeting together, held a long fight, wherein at first the *Macedonians* had the worse. But *Philip* anon sent in such strong supply; that if the resistance of the *Aetolians* had not bene desperate, the *Romans* their fellowes had bene driuen backe into their Campe. Yet, all resistance notwithstanding, the *Macedonians* prevailed: so that *Titus* himselfe was faine to bring forth his Legions, that were not a little discouraged, by the defeat of all their Horse, to animate those which were in flight.

It was altogether besides the Kings purpose, to put the fortune of a battaile in trust that day, with so much of his Estate as might thereon depend. But the newes came to him thick and tumultuously, how the enemies fled, and how the day was his owne; if hee could vse an occasion, the like whereof hee should not often finde. This caused him to alter his purpose: in so much as he embattailed his men; and climbed vp those hills, which, for that the knops thereon had some resemblance vnto Dogs heads, were called, by a word signifying as much, *Cynosephala*. As soone as he was on the hill-top; it did him good to see that they of his owne light armature were busie in fight, almost at the very Campe of the Enemies; whom they had repelled so farre. Hee had also libertie to choose his ground, as might serue best his advantage: forasmuch as the *Romans* were quite driuen from all parts of the Hill. But of this commoditie hee could make no great vse: the roughnesse of the place among those Dogs heads, as they were called, seruing nothing apply for his *Phalanx*. Neuenthelesse hee found convenient roome, wherein to marshall the one part of his Armie: and gaue order vnto his Captaines, to follow with the rest, embattailing them as they might. Whilst he was doing this: Hee perceived that his Horsemen and light armature beganne to shrink; as being false vpon the *Roman* Legions, by force whereof they were driuen to recoyle. He set forward to helpe them: and they no lesse hastily draw vnto him for succour, hauing the *Romans* not farre behinde them.

As the Legions beganne to climbe the Hill; *Philip* commanded those of his *Phalanx* to charge their pikes, and entertaine them. Here *Titus* found an extreme difficult piece

of worke. For this *Phalanx*, being a great square battaile of a med pikes, like in all points to those which are now used in our moderne Warres: and being in like manner vnderd, as ours; was not to be resisted by the *Roman* Targettiers, as long as the *Phalanx* it selfe held together vndissolued. The *Macedonians* were embattailed in very close order: so that two of them stood opposite to one of the *Romans*; as also the pikes of the first ranke, had their points advanced two or three foot before their fore-man. Wherefore it is no maruaile, if the *Romans* gaue backe: euery one of them being troubled (as it were) with tenne enemies at once; and not able to come neerer to the next of them, than the length of a dozen foot or thereabout. *Titus* finding this, and not knowing how to remedie it, was greatly troubled: for that still the *Phalanx* bare downe all which came in the way. But in the meane while hee obserued, That they which were appointed by *Philip* to make his left wing, were not able through the much vneuenness of the ground, to put themselves in order: so as either they kept their places on the Hill-tops, or else (which was worse) vpon desire either of beholding the pastime, or of seeming to be partakers in the worke, ranne foolishly along by the side of their fellowes, which were occupied in fight.

Of this their disorder Hee made great and present vse. Hee caused the right wing of his Battaile to march vp the hill, against the ill ordered troupes: his Elephants leading the way, to increase the terrour. The *Macedonians* were ready to dispute what should be done in such a case, than well aduised what to doe; as having no one man appointed, to command that part in chiefe. Indeepe if they should haue done their best, it could not haue serued; since the ground whereon they stood, made their weapons vnsuifull. For let it be supposed, that *Philip* having fixe and twentie thousand in his Armie (as hee is said to haue beene equal to the Enemy in number) had foure thousand Horse, foure thousand Targettiers, and foure thousand light-armed: so shall there remaine foureteen thousand Pikes; whereof he himselfe had embattailed the one halfe in a *phalanx*, the other halfe in the left wing, are they whom *Quintius* is readie now to charge. The *Phalanx* hauing usually fixteene in File, must, when it consisted of seuen thousand, haue well neere foure hundred and fortie in ranke: but foure hundred would serue, to make Front long enough; the other fortie or seuen and thirtie Files might be cut off, and reckoned in the number of the Targettiers, or light-armed. Allowing therefore as *Polybius* doth, to euery man of them three foot of ground: this Front must haue occupied twelue hundred Foote, or two hundred and fortie paces; that is, very neere a quarter of a myle in length. Such a space of open Champaine, free from incumbrance of Trees, Ditches, Hillocks, or the like impediments, that must of necessitie disioyne this close battaile of the *Phalanx*; was not euery where to be found. Here at *Cynoscephale* *Philip* had so much roome, as would only suffice for the one halfe of his men; the rest were faine to stand still and looke about them, being hindered from putting themselves in order, by the roughnesse of the *Dogges heads*. But the *Romans*, to whom all grounds were much alike, were not hindered from cominging vpon them; nor found any difficulty in masting those enemies, whose feet were in a manner bound by the difcommodity of the place. The very first impression of the Elephants, caused them to giue backe; and the coming on of the Legions, to beate themselves to flight. A *Roman* Tribune or Colonell, seeing the victory on that part assured, left the prosecution of it vnto others: and being followed by twenty Ensignes or Maniples, that is, (as they might fall out) by some two thousand men, took in hand a notable piece of worke; and mainly helpfull to making of the victorie complete. He considered that *Philip*, in pursuing the right wing of the *Romans*, was runne on so farre: as that himselfe with his fellowes, in mounting the hill to charge the left wing of the *Macedonians*, was already gotten above the Kings head. Wherefore he turned to the left hand: and making downe the hill after the Kings *Phalanx*, fell vpon it in the Rear. The hindmost ranks of the *Phalanx*, all of them indeepe saue the first file, were accustomed, when the battells came to ioyning, to carry their pikes vp right, and with the whole weight of their bodies to thrust on their fore-men: and so were they doing at the present. This was another great inconuenience in the *Macedonian Phalanx*. That it serued neyther for offence nor defence, except only in front. For though it were so, that *Alexander*, when hee was to fight with *Darius* in *Mesopotamia*, arranged his *Phalanx* in such order, that all the foure sides of it were as so many fronts looking sundrie wayes,

wayes, because he expected that he should be encompassed round: yet it is to be vnderstood, that herein he altered the vsuall forme; as also at the same time hee embattailed his men in loose order, that so with ease they might turne their weapons, which way need should require. Likewise it is to be considered, That *Alexanders* men being thus disposed, were fit only to keepe their owne ground; not being able to follow vpon the Enemy, vnlesse their hindmost ranks could haue marched backwards. But in this present case of *Philip*, there was no such prouision for resistance. Therefore his men, being otherwise vnable to helpe themselves, threw downe their weapons, and fled. The King himselfe had thought vntill now, that the fortune of the battaile was euery where alike, and the day his owne. But hearing the noyse behinde him, and turning a little aside with a troupe of Horse, to see how all went: when hee beheld his men casting downe their weapons, and the *Romans* at his backe on the higher ground; He presently betooke himselfe to flight. Neither staid he afterwards in any place (except only a small while about *Tempe*, there to collect such as were dispersed in this ouerthrow) vntill he was gotten into his owne Kingdome of *Macedon*.

There died of the *Roman* Armie in this battaile, about seuen hundred: of the *Macedonians* about eight thousand were slaine; and siue thousand taken prisoners.

§. XV.

20 T. *Quintius* falleth out with the *Atolians*; and grants truce vnto *Philip*, with conditions, vpon which the peace is ratified. Libertie proclaimed vnto the *Greekes*. The *Romans* quarrell with *Antiochus*.

He *Atolians* wonderfully wanted themselves; and desired to haue it noised through all *Greece*, that the victory at *Cynoscephale* was gotten (in a manner) wholly by their valour. They had gotten indeepe the meit of the bootie; by sacking the *Macedonian* Campe, whilst the *Romans* were busied in the chase. *Titus* therefore being offended both at their vaine-glory, and at their raucous condition, purposed to teach them better manners, by regarding them as slightly, as they thought highly of themselves. He also well perceiued, That by viding them with any extraordinary fauour, he should greatly offend the rest of his Confederates in *Greece*; who detested the *Atolians* much more vehemently, than euer they had done the *Macedonians*. But this displease brake not forth yet a while.

After the battaile *Titus* made haste vnto *Larissa*, a Citie of *Thessalie*: which he presently tooke. Before his coming, *Philip* had sent thither one of his Courtiers to burne all his letters, and passages whatsoeuer in writing, betwixt him and others: of which many were there kept. It was well done of the King, that among the cares of so much aduertisie, he forgot not to prouide for the safety of his friends. Yet by his thus doing, they of *Larissa* might well perceiue, that he gaue them as already lost. Wherefore we finde not that they, or any of their Neighbors, did make delay of opening their gates to *Titus*. At the same time, the Towne of *Leucas* bordering vpon *Acarnania*, was taken by the *Roman* Fleete: and verie soone after, all the *Acarnanians*, a warlike Nation, and in hatred of the *Atolians* euer true to *Philip*; gaue vp themselves vnto the *Romans*, hearing of the victory at *Cynoscephale*. The *Rhodians* also were then in hand with the conquest of *Petrea*, a Region of the Continent ouer against the Iland; whereof they had demanded restitution, in the late Treaty of Peace. They did herein more manly, than any other of the *Greekes*: forasmuch as they aueried not the good leisure of the *Romans*; but with an Army of their own, & some helpe which they borrowed of the *Acheans* and other their friends; gaue battell to *Dinocrates* the Kings Lieutenant, wherein they had the victory, & consequently recovered the whole Province. It angered *Philip* worse then all this, that the *Dardaniens* gathered courage out of his affliction, to invade his Kingdome; waiting and spoyling, as if all had bene abandoned to their discretion. This made him gather an Army in all haste of sixe thousand foot and siue hundred horse: wherewith coming vpon them, he drave them, with little or no losse of his owne, and great slaughter of theirs, hastily out of the Kingdome. Which done, He returned to *Thessalie*.

In this one enterprise He had successe and verieable to his desire; but seeing what bad fortune accompanied his affaires, in all other parts at the same time, hee thought it wise, to yeeld vnto necessity; and therefore sent in all haste *Limnaeus* and *Demosthenes*, with

with *Cyclus* as the banished *Achaean*, in whom he reposed much confidence, Embassadors vnto *Titus*. These had conference a long while in priuate, with *Titus* and some of his *Roman* Colonels: by whom they were gently entertained, and in very friendly wise dismissed. It seems that they had Commission, to referre all vnto *Titus* his owne discretion; as *Philip* himselfe in few daies after did. There was granted vnto him a Truce for fiftene dayes: in which time, the King himselfe might come and speake with the *Roman* Generall. In the meane season many suspicious rumors went of *Titus*, as if he had been corrupted with great rewards from the King, to betray the *Greekes* his Confederates. Of these bruits the *Aetolians* were chiefe authors: who being wont to regard neither friendship nor honestie, where profited them a wrong way, iudged alike of all men else. But against the day appointed for the meeting betwixt him and *Philip*, *Titus* had sent letters vnto his Associates, willing them to haue their Agents ready by a time appointed, at the entrance of *Tempe*, where the Treaty should bee held. There when they were all assembled, they entred into consultation before the Kings arriuall, what should be most expedient for the common benefit of them all, and for every estate in particular. The poore King *Aminander* besought them all, & especially the *Romans*, that they would thinke vpon him; and considering his weakenesse which he confessed, make such provision, that after the *Romans* had turned their backs, and were gone home, *Philip* might not wreake his anger vpon him who was not able to resist. Then spake *Alexander* one of the *Aetolians*: who commending *Titus* for so much as he had thus assembled the Confederates to aduise vpon their owne good, and had willed them to deliuer their mindes freely: added, That in the maine of the purpose which he had in hand, he was vterly deceived: for that by making peace with *Philip*, hee could neither assure the *Romans* of their quiet, nor the *Greekes* of their liberty. There was, he said, none other end to be made of the warre, which could agree either with the purpose of the Senate and people of *Rome*, or with the faire promises made by *Titus* himselfe vnto the *Greekes*, than the chasing of *Philip* quite out of this Kingdome. And to this effect he made a long discourse. But *Titus* answered, That this *Aetolian* was ill acquainted, either with the good pleasure of the Senate and People of *Rome*, or with the laudable customes which they generally held: for that it was not the manner of the *Romans*, to seeke the vter destruction of any King or Nation, at such time as they first made warre with them; vntill by some rebellion they found it a matter of necessitie, to take such a rigorous course. And heereof hee alledged the *Carthaginians* as a notable example: adding, That victorie, so generous minded, was onely an inducement to moderation. As concerning the publicke benefit of *Greece*: it was (he said) expedient, that the Kingdome of *Macedon* should be greatly weakened and brought low; not that it should be vterly destroyed: forasmuch as it served as a barre, to the *Toracians*, *Gauls*, and a multitude of other sauage Nations, which would soone ouerflow the whole Continent of *Greece*, if this kingdome were not interposed. Wherefore he concluded, that if *Philip* would yeeld vnto those demands, wherewith hee had pressed him in the former Treaty; then was there no reason to denie him peace. As for the *Aetolians*: if they thought otherwise, it should be at their owne pleasure, to take counsaile apart for themselves as they thought good. Then began *Phanaces*, another of the *Aetolians*, to say, That all was come to nothing; for that ere long, *Philip* would trouble all the *Greekes*, no lesse than hee had done in time before. But *Titus* interrupted him, and bad him leaue his babbling, saying, That himselfe would take such order, as that *Philip*, were he neuer so desirous, should thenceforth not haue it in his power to molest the *Greekes*.

The next day King *Philip* came thither: whom *Titus* vsed friendly: and suffering him to repose himselfe that night, held a Councell the day following; wherein the King yeelded vnto all that had been required at his hands; offering yet further to stand to the good pleasure of the Senate, if they would haue more added to the Conditions. *Phanaces* the *Aetolian*, insulting ouer him, said it was to bee hoped, that hee would then at length giue vp to the *Aetolians* a many of townes (which he there named) bidding him speake whether he would, or no. His answer was, that they might take them all. But *Titus* interposing himselfe, said it should be otherwise; These were *Thessalian* Townes, and should be all free: one of them onely excepted, which not long agoe had refused to commit it selfe to the faith of the *Romans*, and therefore should now be giuen to the *Aetolians*. Heereat *Phanaces* cried out, that it was too great an iniurie, thus to bee defrauded of the Townes

Townes that had sometime belonged vnto their Common-weale. Rather hee willed *Titus* to consider, that by an ancient Couenant betwene them and the *Romans*, all the Townes taken ought to be their owne, and the *Romans* to haue nothing saue the pillage and captiues. It is true, that there had bene such a Condition in the former warre: but it ceased to be of any validitie, as soone as the *Aetolians* made peace with *Philip*. And thus much *Titus* gaue them to vnderstand, asking them whether they thought it reasonable, that all the Townes in *Greece*, which had let in the *Romans* by composition, should be deliuered into subiection of the *Aetolians*. The rest of the Confederates were very much delighted, with these angry passages betwene the *Roman* and the *Aetolians*: neither had they great reason to feare any hard measure, since *Titus* was so earnest in behalfe of those *Thessalians*, to giue them libertie, though they had stood out against him, euen till very feare made them open their gates. Wherefore they opposed not themselves; but gaue their consent willingly vnto a Truce for foure Moneths.

The chiefe cause that moued *Titus* to grant peace so readily to the *Macedonian*, besides that laudable custome by him before alledged; was, the fame of *Antiochus* his coming with an Armie from *Syria*, and drawing nere toward *Europe*. Hee had also perhaps yet a greater motiue; euen the consideration that his successor might happen to defraud him of the honour, if the warre should happen to be protracted. And he was in the right. For when his letters, together with Embassadors from the *Macedonian*, and sundry Statues of *Greece*, came vnto *Rome*, new Consuls were chosen: who, (especially the one of them) stood very earnestly against the peace, alledging friuolous matter of their owne suspicion, in hope to get the honour of concluding the warre. The Senate began to be doubtfully affected, betwene the Embassadors of *Philip*, offering to stand to whatsoever was demanded, and the letters of *Titus* pressing them to accept his offer, on the one side; and the importunitie of the Consul on the other: who said, that all these goodly shewes were fraudulent, and that the King would rebell, as soone as the Armie was called out of *Greece*. But the matter was taken out of the Senators hands by two of the Tribunes, that referred it to an Assembly of the People; by whose soueraigne authority it was concluded, That Peace should be granted vnto the King. So renne Embassadors were sent from *Rome* ouer into *Greece*: in which number were they, that had bene Consuls before *Titus*; and it was ordained by their aduice, That *Titus* should goe through with the businesse of Peace. These would very fauine haue retained those three important Cities, of *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, and *Demetrias*, vntill the state of *Greece* were somewhat better settled. But finally *Titus* prevailed so, that *Corinth* was (though not immediately) rendred vnto the *Achaens*; and all the other *Greece* Townes which *Philip* held, as well in *Asia* as in *Greece*, restored vnto libertie.

The Conditions of the Peace granted vnto *Philip*, were, That before the celebration of the next *Isthmian Games*, hee should withdraw his Garrisons out of all the *Greece* Townes which he held, and consigne them ouer to the *Romans*: That he should deliuer vnto them all Captiues that hee had of theirs, and all Renegado's: Likewise all his shippes of warre, reseruing to himselfe onely five of the lesser sort, and one of extraordinary greatnesse, wherein sixteen men laboured at euery oare: Further, that he would pay a thousand talents, the one halfe in hand, the other in ten yeeres following, by euén portions. Heereat *Liue* adds, That he was forbidden to make warre out of *Macedon*, without permission of the Senate. But I finde not that he obserued this Article, or was at any time charged with the breach of it. Four hundred talents he had already deliuered to *Titus*, together with his younger son *Demetrius*, to remaine as hostage for his true dealing in this matter of peace, as such time as hee lately sent his Embassadors to *Rome*: when it was promised, that the money, and his sonne, should be restored backe vnto him, if the Senate were not pleased with the agreement. Whether this money were reckoned as part of the thousand talents, I cannot finde: and it seemeth otherwise, forasmuch as young *Demetrius*, who together with those four hundred Talents was giuen for hostage, remained still in custodie of the *Romans*, as a part of the bargain which *Titus* formerly had made. Letters also were then sent by *Titus* vnto *Prusias* King of *Bithynia*: giuing him to vnderstand what agreement was made with *Philip* in behalfe of the *Greekes*; and how the Senate held it reasonable, that the *Cians*, most miserably spoyled and oppressed by *Philip* to gratifie this *Bithynian* his sonne-in-law, should be restored to libertie, and permitted to enioy the same benefit of the *Romans*, which other of their Nation did. What effect

effect these letters wrought, it was not greatly matterall; since the *Romans* were shortly busied with *Antiochus*, in such wise that they had not leisure to examine the conformity of *Prusias* to their will.

All *Greece* reioycing at the good bargain which *Titus* had made with *Philip*. Onely the *Ætolians* found themselves agreed that they were utterly neglected; which was to the rest no small part of their contentment. The *Bæotians* continued to fauour the *Macedonian*; and thereby occasioned much trouble vnto themselves. There were some among them well-affected to the *Romans*: who seeing how things were like to goe, made their complaint vnto *Titus*; saying, that they were no better then lost, for the good will which they had borne vnto him; vnlesse at this time, when he lay close by them with his Armie, their Prætor which was head of the opposite Faction might be made away. *Titus* refused to haue a hand in the execution, yet neuertheless did animate them in their purpose. So they committed the fact, and hoped to haue kept themselves vndiscovered. But when the murder came out, and somewhat was confessed by those which were put to torture: the hatred of the people brake out violently against the *Romans*; in such wise, that howsoeuer they durst not take Armes against them, yet such of them as they found stragling from their Campe, they murdered in all parts of the Countrey. This was detected within a while, and many of the dead bodies found. Hereupon *Titus* requires of the *Bæotians*, to haue the murderers deliuered into his hands; and for five hundred soldiers, which he had lost by them, to haue paid vnto him five hundred Talents. Instead of making any such amends, they paid him with excuses; which hee would not take as good satisfaction. Hee sends Embassadors to the *Acheans* and *Athenians*, informing them what had hapned: and requested them not to take it amisse, though he dealt with these their friends as they had deserved. Herewithall he falls to wasting their Countrey, and besiegeth two such Townes of theirs, as did seeme to bee most culpable of the murders lately done. But the Embassadors of the *Acheans* and *Athenians*, (especially of the *Acheans* who offered, if he needed them, to helpe him in this warre; yet besought him rather to grant peace vnto the *Bæotians*) prevailed so farre with him; that he was pacified with thirty Talents, and the punishment of such as were knowne offenders.

In like sort, though not so violently, were many States of *Greece* distracted: some among them reioycing that they were free from the *Macedonian*; others greatly doubting that the *Roman* would proue a worse neighbour. The *Ætolian* would haue beene glad of any Commotion; and therefore published rumors abroad, That it was the purpose of the *Romans*, to keepe in their owne hands all those places, wherein *Philip* lately had his Garrisons. Little did they, or the rest of the *Greekes*, conceiue, that this *Macedonian* Warre serued as an introduction to the Warre to bee made in *Asia* against King *Antiochus*; where grew the fruit, that was to bee reaped of this and many other victories. Wherefore to stay the progresse of bad rumors, when the *Isthmian games* were held, which in time of peace were neuer without great solemnity and concourse: *Titus* in that great assembly of all *Greece*, caused proclamation to be made by sound of Trumpet to this effect, That the Senate and people of *Rome*, and *Titus Quintius Flaminius* the Generall, hauing vanquished King *Philip* and the *Macedonians*, did will to be at libertie, free from Impositions, free from Garrisons, and liuing at their owne Lawes, the *Corinthians*, *Phocians*, *Loerians*, *Eubæans*, *Acheans* of *Phthiotis*, *Mægnetians*, *Thessalians*, and *Perrhebian*. The suddenesse of this Proclamation astonished men: so as though they applauded it with a great shout; yet presently they cried out to heare it againe, as if they durst scarce credit their owne eares. The *Greekes* were Crafts-masters in the Art of giuing thanks: which they rendred now to *T. Quintius* with so great affection, as that they had well-nere smothered him, by thronging officiously about him.

This good will of the *Greekes*, was like to be much more auailable vnto the *Romans* in their warre against *Antiochus*, than could haue beene the possession of a few Townes, yea or of all those Provinces which were named in the Proclamation. Vpon confidence hereof, no sooner were the *Isthmian games* at an end, than *Titus*, with the *Romans* that were of his Councell, gaue audience to *Hagesanax* and *Zylus* King *Antiochus* his Embassadors: whom they willed to signifie vnto their Lord, That hee should doe well to abstaine from the free Cities in *Asia*, and not vexe them with warre: as also to restore whatsoever he had occupied, belonging to the Kings, *Ptolomie* or *Philip*. Moreover they willed him by these his Embassadors, that he should not passe ouer his Army into Europe;

adding, That some of them would visit him in person ere it were long, to talke with him further concerning these points. This done, they fell to accomplishing their promises vnto the *Greekes*; to the rest they gaue what they had promised. But the *Phocians* and *Loerians* they gaue vnto the *Ætolians*; whom they thought it no wilddome to offend or much, being shortly to take a greater worke in hand. The *Acheans* of *Phthiotis* they annexed vnto the *Thessalians*, all saue the Towne of *Thebes* in *Phthiotis*, the same which had beene abandoned by *T. Quintius* to the *Ætolians* in the last Treaty with *Philip*. The *Ætolians* contended very earnestly about *Pharalus* and *Leucas*. But they were put off with a dilatory answer, and reiected vnto the Senate: for howsoeuer somewhat the Councell might fauour them; yet was it not meet that they should haue their will, as it were in despite of *Titus*. So the *Acheans* were restored *Corinth*, *Triphylia*, and *Herea*. So the *Corinthians* were made free indeed (though the *Romans* yet a while kept the *Acrocinthius*) for that all which were partakers of the *Acbaean* Common-wealth, enioyed their libertie in an absolute manner, as they could desire. To *Pleuratus* the *Ilyrian* were giuen one or two places, taken by the *Romans* from *Philip*: and vpon *Aminander* were bestowed those Castles, which he had gotten from *Philip* during this Warre; to reigne in them and the grounds which they commanded, as he did among his *Athamanians*. The *Rhodian* had borne their owne Caruers. *Attalus* was dead a little before the Victorie; and therefore lost his share. Yet many that were with *Titus* in Councell, would haue giuen the Townes of *Oreum* and *Eretria*, in the Ile of *Eubæa*, to his sonne and successour King *Eumenes*. But finally it was concluded, that these as well as the rest of the *Eubæans*, should be suffered to enioy their libertie. *Orestia*, a little Province of the Kingdome of *Macedon*, bordering on *Epirus*, and lying towards the *Ionian* Sea, had yielded vnto the *Romans* long ere this, and since continued true to them: for which cause it was also set at libertie, and made a free estate by it selfe.

These busineses being dispatcht: it remained, that all care should be vsed, not how to auoid the warre with King *Antiochus*, but how to accomplish it with most ease and prosperitie. Wherefore Embassadors were sent both to *Antiochus* himselfe, to picke matter of quarrell; and about vnto others, to predispose them vnto the assisting of the *Romans* therein. What ground and matter of Warre against this King the *Romans* now had, or shortly after found: as also how their Embassadors and Agents dealt and sped abroad; I referre vnto another place.

CHAP. V.

The Warres of the Romans with ANTIOCHVS
the Great, and his adherents.

S. I.

What Kings, of the races of *Seleucus* and *Ptolomie*, reigned in *Asia* and *Egypte* before *Antiochus* the great.



Seleucus Nicator, the first of his race, King of *Asia* and *Syria*, died in the end of the hundred twentie and fourth Olympiad. He was treacherously slaine by *Ptolomie Ceraunus*, at an Altar called *Argos*; hauing (as is saide) beene warned before by an Oracle, to beware of *Argos*, as the fall place of his death. But I neuer haue read that any mans life hath beene preferred, or any mischance auoyded, by the predictions of such Diuellish Oracles. Rather I beleue, That many such predictions of the Heathen Gods, haue beene ante-dared by their Priests or by others; which deuised them after the manner.

Antiochus Soter, the sonne and heire of this *Seleucus*, was dearely beloued of his Father; who surrendered vp vnto him his owne wife *Stratonica*, when hee vnderstood how much the yong Prince was enamoured on her. Wherefore *Ptolomy Ceraunus* had great cause to feare, that the death of *Seleucus* would not be vntreueged by this his Successor.

But

But *Antiochus* was contented to be pacified, either with gifts, or perhaps only with faire words; containing himselfe within *Asia*, and letting *Ceraneus* enioy that quietly, which he had purchased in *Europe* with the blood of *Seleucus*. It is said of this *Antiochus*, that although he married with the Queene *Stratonice* in his Fathers life; yet out of modestie he forbore to embrace her, till his Father was dead. So that perhaps his incestuous loue was partly, if not chiefly, the cause of his not prosecuting that reuenge, whereunto Nature should haue vrged him. Afterwards hee had warres with *Antigonus Gonatas*, and with *Nicomedes* King of *Bithynia*. Also *Lutaris* and *Leonorius*, Kings or Captaines of the *Gaulles*, were fter upon him by the same *Nicomedes*. With these hee fought a great battaile: wherein though otherwise the Enemies had all aduantage against him; yet by the terror of his Elephants, which afflicted both their Horses and them, hee wonne the Victorie. He tooke in hand an enterprise against *Ptolomie Philadelphus*: but finding ill successe in the beginning, he soon gave it ouer. To this King *Antiochus* Soter it was, that *Berosus* the *Chaldean* dedicated his Historie of *Assyria*: the same, which hath since bene excellently falsified by the Frier *Amnius*. Hee left behinde him one sonne, called *Antiochus Theos*; and one daughter, called *Apame*, that was married vnto the King of *Cyrene*. So he died about the end of the hundred twentie and ninth *Olympiad*, or the beginning of the *Olympiad* following, in the fiftieth or one and fiftieth yeere of the Kingdome of the *Greekes*, when he had reigned nineteene yeeres.

Antiochus, surname d *Theos*, or the god, had this vaine and impious title giuen to him, 20 by flatterie of the *Milefians*; whom hee deliuered from *Timarchus*, a Tyrant that oppressed them. Hee held long and difficult, but fruitlesse, warre with *Ptolomie Philadelphus* King of *Egypt*; which finally he compounded, by taking to wite *Berenice* the daughter of *Ptolomie*.

Of these two Kings, and of this Lady *Berenice*, *S. Hierome* and other Interpreters haue vnderstood that Prophecy of *Daniel*: The Kings daughter of the South, shall come to the King of the North, to make an agreement; and that which followeth.

Ptolomie Philadelphus was a great loue of Peace and Learning; and (setting apart his incestuous marriage with his owne sister *Arfinoe*) a very excellent Prince: howeouer, the worst of all that race. It was Hee, that built and furnished with Bookes, that famous Librarie in *Alexandria*: which to adorne, and to honour the more, Hee sent vnto *Elezazar* then high Priest of the *Jewes*, for the Bookes of *Moses* and other Scriptures. The benefits of this King vnto the *Jewes*, had formerly bene very great: for Hee had set at libertie as many of them, as his Father held in slaueerie throughout all *Egypt*; and hee had sent vnto the Temple of God in *Hierusalem* very rich Presents. Wherefore *Elezazar* yeelding to the Kings desire, presented him with an Hebrew coppie: which *Ptolomie* caused to be translated into *Greek*, by seuentie two of the most graue and learned persons that could be found among all the Tribes. In this number of the 72 Interpreters, or (as they are commonly called) the *Seuentic*; *Iesus* the sonne of *Syrach*, is thought by *Genebrard* to haue bene one: who that hee liued in this Age, it seemes to me very sufficient- 40 ly hee proued by *Iamnius*, in his Preface vnto *Ecclesiasticus*. The whole passage of this business between *Philadelphus* and the High Priest, was written (as *Iosephus* affirms) by *Aristaeus* that was employed therein. Forrie yeeres *Ptolomie Philadelphus* was King; reckoning the time where he ioyntly reigned with his Father. Hee was exceedingly beloved of his people; and highly magnified by Poets, and other Writers. Towards his end he grew more voluptuous, than he had bene in his former yeeres: in which time he boasted, that he alone had found out the way how to liue for euer. If this had bin referred vnto his honourable deeds, it might haue stood with reason: otherwise, the Gou- with which hee was often troubled, was enough to reach him his owne error. Hee was the first of the Kings, deriued from *Alexanders* Successors, that entred into League with 50 the *Romans*: as also of his Offspring was the last among those Royall Families, which by them was rooted vp.

Antiochus Theos had another wife, called *Laodice*, at such time as he married with *Berenice* the daughter of this *Ptolomie*. After his second marriage, hee vied his first wife with no better regard, than if she had bene his Concubine. *Laodice* hated him for this: yet aduentured not to seeke reuenge; vntill her own sonne *Seleucus Callinicus* was of ability to be King. This was two or three yeeres after the death of *Ptolomie Philadelphus*: at what time shee poisoned her husband *Theos*; and by permission of *Seleucus* her son, murder- 55

Berenice,

Berenice; together with a sonne that shee had borne to *Antiochus*. *Iustine* reports, that *Berenice* laued her selfe, together with the young Prince her child, a while in the Sanctuary at *Daphne*: and that not onely some Cities of *Asia* prepared to succour her, but her brother *Ptolomie Euergetes*, King of *Egypt*, came to rescue her with an Armie; though too late, for shee was slaine before.

With such cruelties *Seleucus Callinicus*, succeeding vnto his Father that had fiftene yeeres bene King, beganne his reigne. His subiects were highly offended at his wicked nature; which they diucovered in his first entrance. Wherefore it was like, that his Estate would haue bene much endangered, if *Ptolomie Euergetes*, who came against him, had not bene drawne backe into his owne Countrey, by some Commotions there in hand. For there were none that would beare armes against *Ptolomie*, in defence of their owne King: but rather they sided with the *Egyptians*; who took *Laodice* the Kings mother, and rewarded her with death as shee had well deserved. Wherefore *Seleucus*, being freed from this inuasion, by occasion of those domesticall troubles which recalled *Euergetes* home into *Egypt*; went about a dangerous peece of worke, euen to make Warre vpon his owne subiects, because of their bad affection towards him; when as it had bin much better, by well-deferuing, to haue changed their hatred into loue. A great Fleet he prepared: in furnishing and manning whereof hee was at such charges, that hee scarce left himselfe any other hope, if that should miserie. Herein hee embarked himselfe; and 20 putting to Sea, did meet with such a tempest, as deuoured all saue himselfe, and a very few of his friends that hardly escaped. This calamity, hauing left him nothing else in a manner than his naked body, turned neuerthelesse to his great good; as anon after it seemed. For when his Subiects vnderstood, in what sort the gods (as they conceived it) had punished him for his offences: they had commiseration of his Estate; and, presuming that hee would thenceforth become a new man, offered vnto him their seruice with great alacritie. This reuiued him, and filled him with such spirit; as thinking himselfe well enough able to deale with the *Egyptians*, hee made ready a mighty Armie for that purpose. But his fortune was no better at Land, than it had bene at Sea. Hee was vanquished by *Ptolomie* in a great battaile: whence hee escaped hardly; no better 30 remed, than after his late shipwracke. Halting therefore backe to *Antioch*, and fearing that the Enemy would soone be at his heeles; He wrote vnto his brother *Antiochus Euergetes*, who lay then in *Asia*, praying him to bring succour with all speed; and promising, in recompence of his faith and diligence, the Dominion of a great part of *Asia*. *Antiochus* was then but fourteene yeeres old, but extremely ambitious; and therefore glad of such an occasion to make himselfe great. Hee leued a mighty Armie of the *Gaulles*; wherewith hee set forward to helpe his brother, or rather to get what he could for himselfe. Hereof *Ptolomie* being aduertised: and hauing no desire to put himselfe in danger more than needed; tooke Truce with *Seleucus* for tenne yeeres. No sooner was *Seleucus* freed from this care of the *Egyptian* Warre, but his brother *Antiochus* came vpon him, and needs would fight with him, as knowing himselfe to haue the better Armie. So 40 *Seleucus* was vanquished againe; and saued himselfe, with so few about him, that hee verily supposed to haue perished in the battaile. Thus did Gods iustice take reuenge of those murders, by which the Crowne was purchased; and settled (as might haue been thought) on the head of this bloudie King. *Antiochus* was very glad to heare of his brothers death, as if thereby hee had purchased his hearts desire. But the *Gaulles*, his Mercenaries, were gladder then He. For when hee led them against *Emenes* King of *Pergamus*, being in hope to get honour by making a Conquest in the beginning of his Reigne: these perfidious *Barbarians* tooke counsaile against him, and deuised how to stripe him of all that hee had. They thought it very likely, that if there were none of 50 the Royall house to make head against them; it would be in their power, to doe what should be best pleasing to themselves, in the lower *Asia*. Wherefore they laid hands on *Antiochus*; and enforced him to ransom himselfe with money, as if hee had bene their lawfull Prisoner. Neither were they so contented; but made him enter into such Composition with them, as rendered but little to his honour. In the meane while *Seleucus* had gathered a new Armie; and prepared once more to trie his fortune against his brother. *Emenes* hearing of this, thought the season fit for himselfe, to make his profit of their discord. *Antiochus* fought with him, and was beaten: which is no great matter, since hee had great reason to stand in no lesse feare of the *Gaulles* his owne souldiers,

O o o o o

than

Genebrard l. 2.
Iust. Mart. in
Pars. 1.

D. Sm. V. 11. C. 6.

* Aug. de Civ.
Dei. 18. c. 42.
h. 14. an. 12.
c. 2.

Conceiuing
that Booke
which now
goes vnder the
name of *Ar-
istaeus*; many
learned men,
& among the
rest *Eduardus
Pruet*, hold opi-
nion that it is
counterfeite,
and the inuen-
tion of some
late Author.
Surely if it
were to be sus-
pected in the
time of *Ptole-
my*, it may be now
much more
justly suspec-
ted: since a new
Edition of it is
come forth,
purged from
fauels (as the
Papists terme
those bookes,
wherein they
haue changed
what they
please) and for-
ward by *Mid-
dendropius* at
Colen. An.
Dom. 1578.

than of the enemy with whom he had to deale. After this, *Eumenes* wonne much in *Asia*, whilst *Antiochus* went against his brother. In the second battell, fought betwene the brethren, *Seleucus* had the upper hand: and *Antiochus* *Hierax* or the Hawke, (which surname was given him, because he fought his prey vpon euery one, without care whether he were prouoked or not) soared away as farre as he could, both from his brother, and from his owne *Gaulles*. Having fetcht a great compassse through *Mesopotamia* and *Armenia*, He fell at length in *Cappadocia*; where his father-in-law King *Artamenes* tooke him vp. Hee was entertained very louingly in outward shew; but with a meaning to betray him. This he soone perceiued: and therefore betooke him to his wings againe; though he knew not well, which way to bend his flight. At length hee resolved to bestow himselfe vpon *Ptolemie*; his owne conscience telling him, what euill hee had meant vnto *Seleucus* his brother; and therefore what little good hee was reciprocally to expect at his hands. Infideliitie can finde no sure harbour. *Ptolemie* well vnderstood the perfidious & turbulent nature of this *Hierax*. Wherefore hee layd him vp in close prison: whence, though by means of an harlot, he got out; yet flying from his keepers, hee fell into the hands of the eues, by whom he was murdered. Neare about the same time died *Seleucus*. The *Parthians* and *Bactrians* had rebelled against him, during his wars with his brother. He therefore made a journey against *Asaces* founder of the *Parthian* kingdom: where in his euill fortune, or rather Gods vengeance, adhered so closely to him, that he was taken prisoner. *Asaces* dealt friendly with him, and dismissed him, hauing cury way giuen him royall entertainment: but in returning home, he brake his necke by a fall from his horse, and so ended his vnhappy reigne of twenty yeres. He had to wife *Laodice*, the sister of *Andromachus*, one of his most trusty Captaines: which was father vnto that *Achaus*, who making his aduantage of this affinitie, became shortly after (as he stiled himselfe) a king; though rather indeed, a great troubler of the world in those parts. By *Laodice* he had two sonnes; *Seleucus* the third, surnamed *Ceraunus*; and *Antiochus* the third, called afterwards the Great.

Seleucus Ceraunus reigned onely three yeres in which time he made warre vpon *Antiochus* the first, that was King of *Pergamus*. Being weake of body through sicknesse, & in want of mony, He could not keepe his men of warre in good order: and finally hee was slain by trealon of *Nicanor*, and *Apaturnus* a *Gaulle*. His death was reuenged by *Achaus*, who slue the Traitors, and tooke charge of the Armie: which he ruled very wisely, and faithfully a while; *Antiochus*, the brother of *Seleucus*, being then a Child.

§. II.

The beginning of the Great *Antiochus* his reigne. Of *Ptolemie* *Euergetes*, and *Philopator*, Kings of *Egypt*. Warre betwene *Antiochus* and *Philopator*. The rebellion of *Molo*: an Expedition of *Antiochus* against him. The continuance of *Antiochus* his *Egyptian* warre: with the passages betwene the two Kings: the victory of *Ptolemie*, and Peace concluded. Of *Achaus*, and his rebellion; his greatnesse, and his fall. *Antiochus* his Expedition against the *Parthians*, *Bactrians*, and *Indians*. Somewhat of the Kings reigning in *India*, after the death of the Great *Alexander*.

Antiochus was scarcely fiftene yeres olde, when he began his reigne, which lasted fixe and thirty yeres. In his Minoritie, He was wholly gouerned by one *Hermias*, an ambitious man, and one which maligned all vertue, that hee found in any of the Kings faithfull seruants. This vilde qualitie in a Counsellour of such great place, how harmfulfull it was vnto his Lord, and finally vnto himselfe; the successe of things will shortly discouer.

Soone after the beginning of *Antiochus* his reigne, *Ptolemie* *Euergetes* King of *Egypt* died; and left his heire *Ptolemie* *Philopator*, a yong Boy likewise, as hath elsewhere bene remembred. This was that *Euergetes*, who relieved *Aratus* and the *Achaens*: who afterwards tooke part with *Cleomenes*; and louingly entertained him, when he was chased out of *Greece* by *Antigonus* *Gonatas*. He annexed vnto his Dominion the Kingdom of *Cyrene*; by taking to wife *Berenice*, the daughter of King *Magas*. He was the third of the *Ptolemies*; and the last good King of the race. The name of *Euergetes*, or the doer of good, was given to him by the *Egyptians*; not so much for the great spoyle which he brought home, after his victories in *Syria*; as for that he recovered some of those

those Images or Idols, which *Cambyses*, when hee conquered *Egypt*, had carried into *Persia*. He was ready to haue made war vpon the *Jewes*, for that *Onias* their high Priest, out of meer couetousnesse of mony, refused to pay vnto him his yerely tribute of 20. talents: but he was pacified by the wisdom of *Iosephus* a *Leuy*, to whom afterwards he let in farme the Tributes and Customes that belonged vnto him, in those parts of *Syria* which he held. For *Calesyria*, with *Palestina* & all those parts of the Country that lay neerest vnto *Egypt*, were held by the *Egyptians*; either as hauing fallen to the share of *Ptolemie* the first, at such time as the great *Antigonus* was vanquished & slaine in the battell at *Issus*; or as being won by this *Euergetes*, in the troublesome and vnhappy reigne of *Seleucus* *Callinicus*. The victories of this *Euergetes* in *Syria*, with the contentions that lasted for many succeeding ages betwene the *Ptolemies* and the *Seleucide*; were all foretold by *Daniel* in the Prophecie before cited, which is expounded by *S. Hierome*. This *Ptolemie* *Euergetes* reigned fixe and twenty yeres; and died towards the end of the hundred thirtieth and ninth *Olympiad*. It may seeme by that, which we finde in the Prologue vnto *Iesus* the sonne of *Sirach* his booke, that he should haue reigned a much longer time. For *Sirach* dares saith, that he came into *Egypt* in the eight and thirtieth yere, when *Euergetes* was King. It may therefore be, That either this King reigned long together with his father: or that those eight and thirty yeres, were the yeres of *Iesus* his owne age; if not perhaps reckoned (as the *Jewes* did otherwhiles reckon) from some notable accident that had befallen them.

Not long after the death of *Euergetes*, *Hermias* the Counsaier, and in a manner the Protector of King *Antiochus*, incited his Lord vnto warre against the *Egyptians*, for the recovery of *Calesyria* and the Countries adioyning. This counsaile was very vnreasonably giuen; when *Molo*, the Kings Lieutenant in *Media*, was broken out into rebellion; and fought to make himselfe absolute Lord of that rich Country. Neuertheless *Hermias*, being more froward than wise, maintained stiffly, that it was most expedient, and agreeable with the Kings honour, to send forth against a rebellious Captain, other Captaines that were faithfull, whilst He in person made warre vpon one, that was like himselfe, a King. No man durst gaine-say the resolution of *Hermias*; who therefore sent *Xenatas* an *Achaean*, with such forces as he thought expedient, against the Rebell; whilst in the mean season an Army was preparing for the Kings Expedition into *Calesyria*. The King hauing marched from *Apamea* to *Laodicea*, and soouer the Deserts into the Vallie of *Marjyas*, betwene the Mountains of *Libanus* and *Anti-libanus*; found his way there stopped by *Theodorus* an *Atolian*, that serued vnder *Ptolemie*. So hee consumed the time there a while to none effect: and then came news, that *Xenatas*, his Captaine, was destroyed with his whole Armie; and *Molo* thereby become Lord of all the Countrey, as farre as vnto *Babylon*.

Xenatas, whilst hee was yet on his iourney, and drew neere to the Riuer of *Tygris*; recieued many aduertisements, by such as fledde ouer vnto him from the Enemie, That the followers of *Molo* were, for the most part, against their wills, drawne by their Commandment to beare armes against their King. This report was not altogether false; but *Molo* himselfe stood in some doubt: lest his followers would leaue him in time of necessity. *Xenatas* therefore making shew, as if he had prepared to passe the Riuer by Boats in face of his Enemie; left in the night time such as hee thought meet to defend his Campe; and with all the floure of his Armie went ouer *Tygris*, in a place tenne miles lower than *Molo* his Campe. *Molo* heard of this, and sent forth his horse to giue impediment: but hearing that *Xenatas* could not so bee stopped, Hee himselfe dislodged, and tooke his iourney towards *Media*; leaving all his baggage behinde him in his Campe. Whether hee did this, as distrustful the faith of his owne souldiers: or whether thereby to deceiue his Enemie; the great folly of *Xenatas* made his stratagem prosperous. For *Xenatas*, hauing borne himselfe proudly before, vpon the countenance of *Hermias* by whom he was aduanced vnto this charge; did now presume, that all should giue way to his authority, without putting him to much trouble of vsing the sword. Wherefore hee suffered his men to feast, with the provisions which they found ready in the forsaken Campe: or rather hee commanded them so to doe, by making Proclamation, That they should cherish themselves against the iourney, which hee intended to take next day, in pursuit of the Rebels that fledde. And to the same purpose hee busied himselfe, in transporting the remainder of his Armie, which he had left on the other side of *Tygris*. But *Molo* went

no further that day, than he could easily returne the same night. Wherefore vnderstanding what good rule the Kings men kept: he made such haste backe vnto them, that he came vpon them early in the morning, whilst they were yet heauy with the wine and other good cheere, that they had spent at supper. So *Xenias* and a very few with him, died fighting in defence of the Campe: the rest were slaughtered, without making resistance; and many of them, ere they were perfectly awake. Likewise the Campe on the other side of *Tigris*, was easily taken by *Molo*: the Captaines flying thence, to save their owne liues. In the heat of this victorie, the Rebell marched vnto *Seleucia*, which he presently tooke: and, mastering within a little while the Prouince of *Babylonia*, and all the Countrie downe to the Red-Sea, or Bay of *Persia*, hee hastened vnto *Susa*; where at his first comming, he won the City: but failing to take the Castle that was exceeding strong, he returned backe to *Seleucia*, there to giue order concerning this businesse.

The report of these things comming to *Antiochus*, whilst he lay (as is said before) in the Vale of *Marস্য*, filled him with great sorrow, and his Campe with trouble. Hee tooke counsaile what to doe in this needfull case; and was well aduised by *Epigenes* the best man of warre he had about him, to let alone this Enterprise of *Calosyria*; and bend his forces thither, where more need requir'd them. This counsaile was put in execution with all conuenient haste. Yet was *Epigenes* dissuaded by the way, and soone after slain, by the practise of *Hermias*; who could not endure to heare good counsaile given, contrary to his owne good liking and allowance. In the iourney against *Molo*, the name and presence of the King was more auailable, then any oddes which hee had of the Rebell in strength. *Molo* distrusted his owne followers: and thought, that neither his late good successe, nor any other consideration, would serue to hold them from returning to the Kings obedience; if once they beheld his person. Wherefore he thought it safest for him to assaile the Kings Campe in the night time. But going in hand with this, He was discovered by some that fled ouer from him to the King. This caused him to returne backe to his Campe: which, by some error, tooke alarme at his returne; and was hardly quiered, when *Antiochus* appeared in fight. The King was thus forward in giuing battaile to *Molo*, vpon confidence which he had that many would reuolt vnto him. Neither was hee deceived in this his belief. For not a few men, or Ensignes; but al the left wing of the enemy, which was opposite vnto the King, changed side forthwith as soon as euer they had sight of the Kings person; and were ready to do him seruice against *Molo*. This was enough to haue wonne the Victorie: but *Molo* thorned the worke, by killing himselfe; as did also diuers of his friends, who for feare of torments preuented the Hang-man with their owne swords.

After this Victorie came ioyfull newes, that the Queene *Laodice*, daughter of *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, which was married vnto *Antiochus* a while before, had brought forth a sonne. Fortune seemed bountifull vnto the King: and therefore he purposed to make what vse he could, of her friendly disposition whilst it lasted: Being now in the Easterne parts of his kingdome, He iudged it conuenient to visit his Frontiers, were it onely to terrifie the *Barbarians*, that bordered vpon him. Hereunto his Counsailler *Hermias* gaue assent: not so much respecting the Kings honour, as considering what good might thereby happen to himselfe. For if it should come to passe, that the King were taken out of the world by any casualtie: then made hee no doubt of becoming Protector to the yong Prince; and thereby of lengthening his owne Government. *Antiochus* therefore went against *Arabalazanes*, who reigned among the *Atropatians*; hauing the greatest part of his kingdome, situate betwene the *Caspian* and *Euxine* Sea. This barbarous King was very olde and fearefull; and therefore yeilded vnto whatsoever conditions it pleased *Antiochus* to lay vpon him. So in this iourney *Antiochus* got honour, such as well contented him; and then returned homewards. Vpon the way, a Physician of his brake with him as concerning *Hermias*; informing him truly, how odious he was to the people; and how dangerous hee would be shortly vnto the Kings owne life. *Antiochus* beleued this, hauing long suspected the same *Hermias*; but not daring, for feare of him, to vtr his suspitions. It was therefore agreed, that he should be made away on the sudden: which was done, hee being trained forth by a sleighta good way out of the Campe, and there killed without warning or disputation. The King needed not to haue vied so much Art, in ridding his hands of a man so much detested. For howe euer he seemed gracious whilst he was aliue: yet they that for feare had bene most obsequious to him,

him, whilst he were in case to do them hurt, was as ready as the foremost, to speake of him as hee had deserued, when once they were secure of him: Yea, his wife and children dying then at *Apamea*, were stoned to death by the wifes and children of the Citizens; wifol indignation brake forth the more outrageously; the longer that they had bene concealed.

About these times, *Achæus* (of whom we spake before) thinking that *Antiochus* might happen to perish in some of these Expeditions which he tooke in hand; was bold to set a Diademe vpon his owne head, and take vpon him as a King. His purpose was to haue invaded *Syria*: but the fame of *Antiochus* his returning thitherwards, made him quit the enterprise; and studie to set some handsome colour on his former presumption. It is very strange, that *Antiochus* neither went against *Achæus*; nor yet dissembled the notice which hee had taken, of these his traitorous purposes: but wrote vnto him, signifying that hee knew all; and vbraiding him with such infidelity, as any offender might know to be vnpardonable. By these meanes he emboldned the Traytor: who being already detected, might better hope to maintaine his former actions by strong hand, than to excuse them, or get pardon by submission. *Antiochus* had at that time a vehement desire to recover *Calosyria*, or what else he could, of the Dominions of *Ptolemie Philopater* in those parts. He began with *Seleucia*, a very strong City neere to the mouth of the Riuer *Orontes*; which ere long hee wonne, partly by force, partly by corrupting with bribes the Captaines that lay therein. This was that *Seleucia*, whereto *Antigonos the great*, who founded it, gaue the name of *Antigonia*: but *Seleucus* getting it shortly after, called it *Seleucia*; and *Ptolemie Evergetes* hauing lately won it, might, if it had pleased him, haue changed the name into *Ptolemæis*. Such is the vanity of men, that hope to purchase an candlelike memoriall vnto their names, by workes proceeding rather from their greatness, than from their vertue; which therefore no longer are their owne, than the same greatness hath continuance. *Theodotus* the *Ætolian*, hee that before had opposed himselfe to *Antiochus*, and desired *Calosyria* in the behalfe of *Ptolemie*; was now grown forry, that he had vied so much faith & diligence, in seruice of an vnthankful and luxurious Prince. Wherefore, as a Mercenarie, he began to haue regard to his owne profit: which thinking to finde greater, by applying himselfe vnto him that was (questionlesse) the more worthy of these two Kings; He offered to deliuer vp vnto *Antiochus*, the Cities of *Tyrrus* and *Ptolemæis*. Whilst he was dealing about this treason, and had already sent messengers to King *Antiochus*: his practice was detected, and he besieged in *Ptolemæis* by one of *Ptolemies* Captaines, that was more faithfull then himselfe. But *Antiochus* hastning to his relieue, vanquished this Captaine who met him on the way: and afterwards got possession, not onely of *Tyrrus* and *Ptolemæis*, with a good flecte of the *Ægyptian* Kings that was in those Hauens: but of so many other Townes in that Countrie, as emboldened him to thinke vpon making a iourney into *Ægypt* itselfe. *Agathocles* and *Sosibius* bore all the sway in *Ægypt* at that time: *Ptolemie* himselfe being loth to haue his pleasures interrupted, with businesse of so small importance, as the sate of his Kingdome. Wherefore these two agreed together, to make prouision as hastily, and yet as secretly as might bee, for the warre: and neuertheless, at the same time, to presse *Antiochus* with daily Embassadors to some good agreement. There came in the heate of this businesse, Embassadors from *Rhodes*, *Byzantium*, and *Cyrenæ*, as likewise from the *Ætolians*; according to the vsuall courtesie of the *Greekes*; desiring to take vp the quarrell.

These were all entertained in *Memphis*, by *Agathocles* and *Sosibius*: who intreated them to deale effectually with *Antiochus*. But whilst this treaty lasted, great preparations were made at *Alexandria* for the warre: wherein these two Counsaillers perswaded themselves reasonably, that the victory would be their own; if they could get, for money, a sufficient number of the *Greekes* to take their parts. *Antiochus* heard only what was done at *Memphis*, and how desirous the Gouverours of *Ægypt* were to be at quiet: wherunto he gaue the readier beleefe, not onely for that he knew the disposition of *Ptolemie*, but because the *Rhodesians*, and other Embassadors, comming from *Memphis*, discoursed vnto him al after one manner; as being al deceived, by the cunning of *Agathocles* & his fellow: *Antiochus* therefore hauing wearied himselfe, at the long siege of a Towne called *Dura*, which he could not winne: and being desirous to refresh himselfe and his Armie in *Seleucia*, during the winter which then came on; granted to the *Ægyptian* a Truce for foure

moneths, with promise that hee would bee ready to hearken vnto equall Conditions, when they should be offered. It was not his meaning to be so courteous, as hee would faine haue seemed, but onely to lull his enemies asleepe, whilst he tooke time to refresh himselfe; and to bring *Achaus* to some good order, whose treason daily grew more open and violent. The same negligence which he thought the *Ægyptian* would haue vied, He vied himselfe; as presuming, that when time of the yere better serued, little force would be needfull; for that the Townes would voluntarily yeeld vnto him, since *Ptolemie* provided not for their defence. Neuerthelesse, hee gaue audience to the Embassadors, and had often conference with those that were sent out of *Ægypt*: pleasing himselfe well to dispute about the iustice of his quarrell; which he purposed shortly to make good by the sword, whether it were iust or no. Hee said, that it was agreed betwene *Selenus* his Ancestor, and *Ptolemie* the sonne of *Lagi*, That all *Syria*, if they could winne it from *Antigonus*, should be giuen in possession to *Selenus*: and that this bargain was afterwards ratified, by generall consent of all the Confederates, after the battaile at *Issus*. But *Ptolemies* men would acknowledge no such bargain. They said, that *Ptolemie* the sonne of *Lagi*, had wonne *Calisyria*, and the Prouinces adioyning for himselfe: as also that he had sufficiently gratified *Selenus*, by lending him forces to recover his Prouince of *Babylon*, and the Counties about the Riuer of *Euphrates*. Thus whilst neither of them greatly cared for peace, they were, in the end of their disputation, as farre from concluding as at the beginning. *Ptolemie* demanded restitution; *Antiochus* thought, that he had not as yet gotten all that was his owne: Also *Ptolemie* would needs haue *Achaus* comprehended in the League betwene them, as one of their Confederates; But *Antiochus* would not endure to heare of this, exclaiming against it as a shamefull thing, that one King should offer to deale so with another, as to take his Rebell into protection, and seek to ioyne him in Confederacie with his own Soueraigne Lord. When the Truce was expired, and *Antiochus* prepared to take the field againe: contrary to his expectation he was informed, That *Ptolemie*, with a very puissant Armie, was coming vp against him out of *Ægypt*. Setting forward therefore to meet with the Enemy, he was encountered on the way by those Captaines of *Ptolemie*, that had resisted him the yere before. They held against him the passages of *Libanus*, whence neuerthelesse he draue them: and, proceeding onward in his iourney, wonne so many places, that hee greatly increased his reputation: and thereby drew the *Arabians*, with diuers of the bordering people, to become his followers. As the two Kings drew nere together: many Captaines of *Ptolemie* forsooke his pay, and fled ouer to *Antiochus*. This notwithstanding, the *Ægyptian* had the courage to meet his enemy in the field. The battaile was fought at *Raphia*: where it was not to be decided, whether the *Ægyptians* or *Asiatiques* were the better Souldiers (for that the strength of both Armies consisted in Mercenaries, chiefly of the *Greekes*, *Thracians*, and *Gauls*) but whether of the Kings was the more fortunate. *Ptolemie*, with *Arfinne* his sister and Wife, rode vp and downe encouraging his men; the like did *Antiochus* on the other side: each of them rehearsing the braue deeds of his Ancestors; as not hauing of their owne, whereby to vaile themselves. *Antiochus* had the more Elephants: as also his, being of *Asia*, had they beene fewer would haue beaten those of *Africke*. Wherefore by the aduantage of those beasts, He draue the enemies before him; in that part of the battaile wherein he fought himselfe. But *Ptolemie* had the better men: by whose valour he brake the Groffe of his Enemies battaile, and won the victory; whilst *Antiochus* was heedlessly following vpon those, whom he had compelled to retire. *Antiochus* had brought into the field about seuentie thousand foot, and sixe thousand horse; whereof though he lost scarce ten thousand foot, and not foure hundred horse; yet the fame of his overthrow tooke from him all those places which he had lately won. When therefore he was returned home to *Antioch*: He began to stand in feare, lest *Ptolemie* and *Achaus*, setting vpon him both at once, should put him in danger of his whole Estate. This caused him to send Embassadors to the *Ægyptian* to treat of peace: which was readily granted; it being much against the nature of *Ptolemie* to vex himselfe thus with the tedious businesse of warre. So *Ptolemie*, hauing staid three moneths in *Syria*, returned home into *Ægypt* clad with the reputation of a Conqueror; to the great admiration of his subiects, and of all those that were acquainted with his voluptuous and slothfull condition.

Achaus was not compitised in the League betwene these two Kings: or if hee had beene

been included therein; yet would not the *Ægyptian* haue taken the paines, of making a second Expedition for his sake. The best was, that he thought himselfe strong enough, if fortune were not too much against him, to deale with *Antiochus*. Neither was hee confident without great reason: For besides his many victories, whereby he had gotten all that belonged vnto *Antiochus* on this side of *Taurus*, Hee had also good successe against *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*; that was an able man of warre, and commanded a strong Armie. Neither was hee, as *Molo* the Rebell had beene, one of meane regard otherwise, and carried beyond himselfe by apprehending the vantage of some opportunitie: but Cousin german to the King, as had beene shewed before; and now lately the Kings brother-in-law, by taking to wife a yonger daughter of the same *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, which was also called *Laodice*, as was her sister the *Queene*, *Antiochus* his wife. These things had added maiestie vnto him; and had made his followers greatly to respect him, euen as one to whom a Kingdome was belonging. Neither made it a little for him, That King *Ptolemie* of *Ægypt* held him in the nature of a friend: and that King *Antiochus* was now lately vanquished in the battaile at *Raphia*; and had thereby lost all his gettings in *Syria*. But all these hopes and likelihoods came to nothing: For the King of *Pontus*, if hee would meddle in that quarrell betwene his sonnes-in-law, hee had reason to take part against the more honourable. As for the *Ægyptian*: He was not onely slothfull, but hindered by a rebellion of his owne subiects, from helping his friends abroad. For the people of *Ægypt*, of whom *Ptolemie*, contrarie to the manner of his Progenitors, had armed a great number to serue in the late Expedition; beganne to entertaine a good opinion of their owne valour, thinking it not inferior to the *Macedonian*. Here vpon they refused to suffer as much as formerly they had done: since they lesse esteemed, than they had done, the force of the Kings Mercenary *Greekes*; which had hitherto kept them in straight subiection. Thus brake out a warre betwene the King and his subiects: wherein though the ill-guided force of the Multitude was finally broken; yet King *Ptolemie* thereby wasted much of his strength, and much of his time, that might haue bene spent, as he thought, much better in retelling, or, as others thought, in succouring *Achaus*. As for *Antiochus*, He had no sooner made his peace with the *Ægyptian*, than he turned all his care to the preparation of warre against *Achaus*. To this purpose he entred into League with *Attalus*; that so he might distract the forces of his Rebell, and finde him worke on all sides. Finally, his diligence and fortune were such, that within a while he had put *Achaus* into the Citie of *Sardes*; where he held him about two yeeres besieged. The Citie was very strong, and well victualled: so that there appeared not, when the second yeere came, any greater likelihood of taking it, than in the first yeeres siege. In the end, one *Leagrus* a *Cretan* found means how to enter the Towne. The Castle it selfe was vpon a very high Rocke, and in a manner impregnable, as also the Towne-wall adioyning to the Castle, in that part which was called the *Sauie*, was in like manner situate vpon steepe Rocks, and almost inaccessible; that hung ouer a deepe bottom, wherinto the dead carcases of Horses, and other beasts, yea, and sometimes of men, vied to be throwne. Now it was observed by *Lagoras*, that the Ravens and other birds of prey, which haunted that place by reason of their food which was there neuer wanting, vied to flie vp vnto the top of the Rocks, and to pitch vpon the walls, where they rested without any disturbance. Observing this often, hee reasoned with himselfe, and concluded, that those parts of the Wall were left vnguarded, as being thought vnapproachable. Hereof he informed the King: who approved his iudgement, and gaue vnto him the leading of such men, as he desired for the accomplishing of the enterprise. The successe was agreeable to that which *Lagoras* had afore conceiued: and though with much labour, yet without resistance, he scaled those Rocks, and whilst a generall assault was made) entred the Towne in that part; which was at other times vnguarded, then vnthought vpon. In the same place had the *Persians*, vnder *Cyrus*, gotten into *Sardes*; when *Craesus* thought himselfe secure on that side. But the Citizens tooke not warning, by the example of a losse many ages past; and therefore out of memorie. *Achaus* held still the Castle: which not onely seemed by nature impregnable, but was very well stored with all necessaries; and manned with a sufficient number, of such as were to him well assured. *Antiochus* therefore was constrained to waste much time about it; hauing none other hope to preuaile, than by famishing the inclosed. Besides the vsuall tediousnesse of expectation; his businesse called him thence away into the higher *Asia*, where the *Bactrians*,

Arians, and *Parthians* with the *Hyrcanians*, had erected Kingdomes taken out of his Dominions, vpon which they still incroched. But he thought it not safe, to let *Acheus* breake loose againe. On the other side there were some Agents of *Ptolemie* the *Egyptian*, and good friends vnto *Acheus*, that made it their whole studie, how to deliuer this besieged Prince. If they could rescue his person, they cared for no more: but presumed, that when he should appeare in the Countreys vnder *Taurus*, hee would soone haue an Armie at command, and be strong enough to hold *Antiochus* as hardly to worke as at any time before. Wherefore they dealt with one *Bolis* a *Cretan*, that was acquainted well with all the wayes in the Countrey, and particularly with the by-paths and exceeding difficult passages among those Rocks, whereon the Castle of *Sardes* stood. Him they tempted with great rewards, which hee should receiue at the hands of *Ptolemie*, as well as of *Antiochus*; to doe his best for performance of their desire. He vnderooke the businesse: and gaue such likely reasons of bringing all to effect, that they wrote vnto *Acheus*, by one *Arianus*, a trustie messenger, whom *Bolis* found means to conuiege into the Castle. The faith of these Negotiators *Acheus* held most assured. They also wrote vnto him in priuie characters, or Ciphers, wherewith none sawe hee and they were acquainted: whereby hee knew, that it was no fained deuiſe of his Enemies, in the name of his friends. As for the messenger; hee was a trustie fellow, and one whom *Acheus* found, by examination, heartily affected vnto their side. But the Contents of the Epistle, which were, That he should be confident in the faith of *Bolis*, and of one *Cambylus* 20 whom *Bolis* had wonne vnto the businesse, did somewhat trouble him. They were men to him vnknowne: and *Cambylus* was a follower of *Antiochus*; vnder whom hee had the command of those *Cretans*, which helde one of the Forts that blocked vp the Castle of

Sardes. Neuerthelesse other way to escape he saw none, than by putting himselfe to some adventure. When the messenger had therefore passed to and fro: it was at length concluded, That *Bolis* himselfe should come speake with *Acheus*, and conduct him forth. There was none other than good faith meant by any of the rest, save onely by *Bolis* and *Cambylus*; which were *Cretans*, and (as all their Countrymen,) some few excepted, haue bene, and still are) false knaues. These two held a consultation together, that was, as *Polybius* obserues it, rightly *Cretical*: neither concerning the safety of him whose desire 30 liether they vnderooke, nor touching the discharge of their owne faith; but onely how to get most with least adoe and danger to themselves. Briefly they concluded, That if of all the good & all they would equally share betwene them ten Talents, which they had already receiued in hand: and then, That they would reueale the matter to *Antiochus*; offering to deliuer *Acheus* vnto him, if they might bee well rewarded both with present monie, and with promise of consideration answerable to the greatnesse of such a seruice, when it should be dispatched. *Antiochus* hearing this promise of *Cambylus*, was no lesse glad, than were the friends of *Acheus* well pleased with the comfortable promises of *Bolis*. At length when all things were in readinesse on both sides, and that *Bolis* with *Arianus* 40 was to get vp into the Castle, and coniege *Acheus* thence: Hee first went with *Cambylus* to speake with the King, who gaue him very priuate audience; and confirmed vnto him by word of mouth the assurance of his liberrall promises. And after that, putting on the countenance of an honest man, and of one that was faithfull vnto *Ptolemie* whom hee had long serued; Hee accompanied *Arianus* vp into the Castle. At his coming thither, Hee was louingly entertained; yet questioned at large by *Acheus*, touching all the weight of the businesse in hand. But hee discoursed so well, and with such grauitie; that there appeared no reason of distrusting either his faith or iudgement. Hee was an 'olde Souldiour, had long bene a Captayne vnder *Ptolemie*, and did not thrust himselfe into this businesse; but was inuited by honourable and faithfull men. Hee 50 had also taken a safe course, in winning (as it seemed) that other counterman of his, who kept a Fort that stood in their way; and thereby had alreadie fundrie times giuen safe passage and repassage vnto *Arianus*. But against all these comfortable hopes, the importance of so great an adventure stirred vp some diffidence. *Acheus* therefore deale wisely, and sayde, That hee would yet stay in the Castle a litte longer: but that hee meant to send away with *Bolis* three or foure of his friends; from whom when hee receiued better advertisement, concerning the likely hood of the enterprise, then would hee issue forth himselfe. Hereby he took order, not to commit himselfe wholly vnto the faith of a man vnknowne. But as *Polybius* well notes, hee did not consider that

*Amongst these few I doe not except one, calling himselfe *Eudemus*. *Idon* *Andreas* a *Cretan*; who in one of his late shamelesse li-bels, wherein he traducth our King, Religion, and Country, with all the good & all they worthy misdeeds who he could learne the names, hath, by inferring my name vnto belied me; in calling me a Puritan, &c. one that haue been dangerous vnto my Soueraigne. It is an honour to bee dispoſed of by so diligent a supporter of Treasons and Architect of Lies: in regard whereof I may not denie him the commendation of *Cretan*: no lesse voluminous, than he in multiplicitie of name is beyond any of the *Cretans* in other times, that were alwaies Lyes, euil bests, and flow bellies. Hee *Polybius* liſt.

he played the *Cretian* with a man of *Crete*: which is to say, That he had to doe with one, whose knaury could not bee avoided by circumspection. *Bolis* and *Cambylus* had layd their plots thus, That if *Acheus* came forth alone, then should hee easily be taken by the ambush prepared for him: if he were accompanied with many of his friends, then should *Arianus* be appointed to lead the way, as one that of late had troden it oft; and *Bolis* following behinde, should haue an eye vpon *Acheus*, to prevent him not onely from escaping in the tumult, but from breaking his owne necke, or otherwise killing himselfe: to the end that being taken aliue, Hee might bee to *Antiochus* the more welcome Present. And in such order came they now forth: *Arianus* going before as Guide; the rest following, as the way serued, and *Bolis* in the Rere. *Acheus* made none acquainted with his purpose, till the very instant of his departure. Then signified hee the matter to his Wife *Laudice*; and comforting her with hope as well as hee could, appointed foure of his speciall friends to beare him companie. They were all disguised: and one of them alone 10 took vpon him to haue knowledge of the *Greeketongue*; speaking & answering as need should require, for all, as if the rest had bene *Barbarians*. *Bolis* followed them, craftily deuising vpon his businesse, and much perplexed. For (saith *Polybius*) Though he were of *Crete*, and prone to surmise any thing to the mischiefe of another: yet could hee not see in the dark, nor know which of them was *Acheus*, or whether *Acheus* himselfe were there. The way was very vncaie, and in some places dangerous; especially to those that knew it not. Wherefore they were faine to stay in diuers places, and helpe one another vp or 20 downe. But vpon euery occasion they were all of them very officious towards *Acheus*; lending him their hands, and taking such care of him, as easily gaue *Bolis* to vnderstand, that he was the man: and so by their vncautionable duty, they vndid their Lord. When they came to the place where *Cambylus* lay in wait; *Bolis* whistled, and presently clasped *Acheus* about the middle, holding him fast that he could not stirre. So they were all taken by the Ambush, and carried forthwith to *Antiochus*: who sat vp watching in his Paullion, expecting the euent. The sight of *Acheus*, brought in bound vnto him, did so astonish the King, that hee was vnable to speake a word, and anon brake out into weeping. Yet was he before informed of the plot, which might haue kept him from admiration: as also the next morning betimes assembling his friends together, Hee condemned *Acheus* to a cruell death; which argues, that hee was not moued with pity towards this vnhappy man. Wherefore it was the general regard of calamities, incident vnto great fortunes, that wrung from him these teares: as also the rarity of the accident, that made both him and his friends to wonder: though it be so, that such a course as this of his, in employing two mischieuous knaues against one Traitor, doth not rarely succeed well; according to that Spanish Proverbe, *A un traydor des alenafos*. The death of *Acheus* brought such astonishment vpon those which held the Castle, that after a while they gaue vp the place and themselves vnto the King; whereby he got entire possession of all to him belonging in the lesser *Asia*.

40 Some yeeres passed after this, ere *Antiochus* was ready for his Expedition against the *Parthians* and *Hyrcanians*. The *Parthians* were a little Nation of obscure beginnings, and commonly subiect vnto those that ruled in *Media*. In the great shuffling for Provinces, after the death of *Alexander*, the Government ouer them was committed by *Antipater* to one *Philip*, a man of small regard; (shortly they fell to *Eumenes*; then to *Antigonos*; and from him, together with the *Medes*, to *Seleucus*: vnder whose posterity they continued vntill the Reigne of *Seleucus Callinicus*, being ruled by Lieutenants of the *Syrian* Kings. The lustfull insolencie of one of these Lieutenants, together with the misfortune of *Callinicus*, that was vanquished and thought to be slaine by the *Gauls*; did stirre vp *Asiaces*, a Noble man of the Countrie, to seek reuenge of injuries done, and 50 to animate them to rebell. So hee slue the Kings Lieutenant; made himselfe King of the *Parthians*; and Lord of *Hyrcania*; fought prosperously with those that disturbed him in his beginnings; and tooke *Seleucus Callinicus* prisoner in bataille, whom he royally entertained, and dismissed. Hereby hee wonne reputation as a lawfull King: and by good government of his Countrie, procured vnto himselfe such loue of his Subjects, that his name was continued vnto his successors, like as that of the *Ptolemies* in *Egypt*, and that of the *Cæsars* afterwards in *Rome*. Much about the same time the *Bactrians* rebelled: though they at length, and all belonging vnto the *Seleucida* beyond *Euphrates*, increased the *Parthians* Dominion. Now *Antiochus* went against them with so strong an Armie, that

that they durst not meet him in plaine field; but kept themselves in Woods, or places of strength, and defended the Streights and passages of Mountaines. The resistances they made availed them not. For *Antiochus* had with him so great a multitude, and so well fortified, as hee needed not to turne out of the way, from those that lay fortified against him, in Woods and Streights between their Mountaines; it being easie to spare out of so great a number, as many as fetching a compass about, might either get about the Enemies heads; or come behind, and charge them on the backe. Thus did hee often employ against them his light armature: wherewith hee caused them to dislodge, and give way vnto his Phalanx; vpon which they durst not adventure themselves in open ground. *Asfages*, the second of the name, (for his Father was dead before this) was then King of *Parthia*: who though hee was confident in the fidelitie of his owne subjects; yet feared to encounter with so mightie an invader. His hope was, that the bad wayes, and Deserts, would haue caused *Antiochus*, when he was at *Ecbatane* in *Media*, to giue over the journey, without proceeding much further. This not so falling out: Hee cauled the Wells and Springs in the Wildernesse, through which his Enemy must passe, to bee dammed vp and spoyled. By which means, and the resistance before spoken of, when he could not preuaile, Hee withdrew himselfe out of the way; suffering the Enemy to take his pleasure for a time, in wasting the Countrey: wherein, without some victorie obtained, he could make no long abode. *Antiochus* hereby found, That *Asfages* was no thing strongly provided for the warre. Wherefore he marched through the heart of *Parthia*: and then forward into *Hyrcania*; where hee wanne *Tambrace*, the chiefe Citie of that Prouince. This indignitie, and many other losses, caused *Asfages* at length, when he had gathered an Armie that seemed strong enough, to adventure a battaile. The issue thereof was such, as gaue to neither of the Kings hope of accomplishing his desires, without exceeding difficultie. Wherefore *Asfages* craued Peace, and at length obtained it: *Antiochus* thinking it not amisse, to make him a friend, whom he could not make a subject.

The next Expedition of *Antiochus*, was against *Euthydemus* King of the *Bactrians*: one that indeed had not rebelled against him or his Ancestors: but hauing gotten the Kingdome from those that had rebelled, kept it to himselfe. With *Euthydemus* hee fought a battaile by the Riuer *Arius*, where hee had the victorie. But the victorie was not so greatly to his honour; as was the testimonie which he gaue of his owne private valour, in obtaining it. Hee was thought that day to haue demeaned him more courageously, than did any one man in all his Armie. His horse was slaine vnder him; and hee himselfe received a wound in his mouth, whereby hee lost some of his teeth. As for *Euthydemus*, Hee withdrew himselfe backe vnto the furthest parts of his Kingdome, and afterwards protracted the Warre, seeking how to end it by composition. So Embassadors passed betweene the Kings: *Antiochus* complaying, That a Countrey of his was vnjustly vsurped from him: *Euthydemus* answering, That hee had wonne it from the children of the Vsurers: and further, That the *Bactrians*, a wilde Nation, could hardly be re-tayned in order, saue by a King of their owne; for that they bordered vpon the *Scythians*, with whom if they should ioyne, it would be greatly to the danger of all the Prouinces that lay behind them. These allegations, together with his owne weariedness, pacified *Antiochus*, and made him willing to grant Peace, vpon reasonable Conditions. *Demetrius*, the sonne of *Euthydemus*, being a goodly Gentleman, and employed by his Father as Embassador in this Treaty of Peace, was not a little auailable vnto a good Conclusion: for *Antiochus* liked him so well, that he promised to giue him in marriage, one of his owne daughters; and therewithall permitted *Euthydemus* to retaine the Kingdome, causing him neuertheless to deliuer vp all his Elephants; as also to binde himselfe by oath, to such Couenants as he thought requisite.

So *Antiochus* leauing the *Bactrian* in quiet, made a iourney ouer *Caucasus*, and came to the borders of *India*, where he renewed with *Sophaganes*, King of the *Indians*, the society that had beene betweene their Ancestors. The *Indians* had remained subiect vnto the *Macedonians*, for a little while, after *Alexander*'s death. *Eumenes* in his warre against *Antigonus*, raised part of his forces out of their Countrey. But when *Antigonus* (after his victorie) turned Westward, and was ouer-busied in a great ciuill warre: then then did one *Sandrocottus*, an *Indian*, stirre vp his Countrymen to Rebellion; making himselfe their Captaine, and taking vpon him as Protector of their libertie. This Of-

fice and Title hee soone changed, though not without some contention, into the Name and Maiestie of a King. Finally he got vnto himselfe, (hauing an Armie of fixe hundred thousand men) if not all *India*, yet as much of it as had beene *Alexanders*. In this Estate hee had well confirmed himselfe, ere *Seleucus Nicator* could finde leisure to call him to account. Neither did Hee faile, or humble himselfe, at the coming of *Seleucus*: but met him in field, as ready to defend his owne, so strongly and well appointed, that the *Macedonian* was contented, to make both peace and amitie with him, taking onely a reward of fiftie Elephants. This League, made by the Founders of the *Indian* and *Syrian* Kingdomes, was continued by some Offices of loue betweene their children, and now renewed by *Antiochus*: whose number of Elephants were increased therevpon, by the *Indian* King, to an hundred and fiftie: as also he was promised, to haue some treasure sent after him, which he left one to receiue. Thus parted these two great Kings. Neither had the *Indians*, from this time forwards, in many generations, any businesse worthy of remembrance with the Westerne Countreys. The posteritie of *Sandrocottus*, is thought to haue retained that kingdome vnto the dayes of *Augustus Caesar*: to whom *Porus*, then reigning in *India*, sent Embassadors with Presents, and an Epistle written in *Greece*: wherein, among other things, Hee said, That He had command ouer fixe hundred Kings. There is also found, scattered in sundrie Authors, the mention of some which held that kingdome, in diuers Ages, euen vnto the time of *Constantine the Great*: being all peradventure of the same race. But *Antiochus*, who in this Treatie with *Sophaganes* carried himselfe as the worthier person, receiuing Presents; and after marched home through *Drangiana* and *Carmania*, with such reputation, that all the Potentates not onely in the higher *Asia*, but on the higher side of *Taurus*, humbled themselves vnto him, and called him *The Great*: saw an end of his owne Greatnesse within few yeeres ensuing, by presuming to stand vpon points with the *Romans*; whose Greatnesse was the same indeed, that his was onely in seeming.

§. III.

The lewd Reigne of *Ptolemie Philopator* in *Egypt*: with the tragicall ende of his fauourite, when hee was dead. *Antiochus* prepares to warre on the yong childe *Ptolemie Epiphanes*, the sonne of *Philopator*. His irresolution in preparing for diuers warres at once. His voyage towards the Hellespont. Hee seeks to bold amitie with the *Romans*, who make friendly shew to him; intending neuertheless to haue warre with him. His doings against the Hellespont; which the *Romans* made the first ground of their quarrell to him.

His Expedition being finished, *Antiochus* had leisure to repose himselfe awhile, and studie which way to conuert the terror of his puissance, for the enlargement of his Empire. Within two or three yeeres *Ptolemie Philopator* died: leauing his sonne *Ptolemie Epiphanes*, a yong Boy, his successor in the kingdome, vnlike by him to be well defended, against a neighbour so mightie and ambitious. This *Ptolemie* surnamed *Philopator*, that is to say, a louer of his Father, is thought to haue had that surname giuen him in mere derision; as hauing made away both his Father and Mother. His yong yeeres, being newly past his childhood when hee beganne to reigne, may seeme to discharge him of so horrible a crime, as his Fathers death: yet the beastlinesse of all his following life, makes him not vnlike to haue done any mischief, whereof hee could be accused. Hauing wonne the battaile at *Raphia*, He gaue himselfe ouer to sensuality; and was wholly gouerned by a Strumpet called *Agathoclea*. At her instigation Hee murdered his owne wife and sister; which had aduenced herselfe with him, in that onely dangerous Action by him vndertaken and performed with honour. The Lieutenantships of his Prouinces, with all Commands in his Armie, and Offices whatsoever; were wholly referred vnto the disposition of this *Agathoclea*, and her brother *Agathocles*, and of *Oenanthe* a filthy Bawd that was mother vnto them both. So these three gouerned the Realme at their pleasure, to the great griefe of all the Countrey, till *Philopator* died: who haue reigned seuentene yeeres, left none other sonne than *Ptolemie Epiphanes* a childe of five yeeres old, begotten on *Arifnoe* that was his sister and wife. After the Kings death, *Agathocles* began to take vpon him, as Protector of yong *Epiphanes*, and Gouernour of the Land. He assembled the *Macedons* (which were the Kings ordinary forces in pay, not all borne in *Macedonia*, but the race of those that abode in *Egypt* with *Ptolemies* the first, and

and would not be accounted *Egyptians*; as neither would the Kings themselves) and bringing forth vnto him his sister *Agathocles*, with the yong King in her armes; began a solemne Oration. He told them, That the deceased father of this their King, had committed the childe into the armes of his sister, but vnto the faith of them: on whose valiant right hands, the whole state of the Kingdome did now relye. He besought them therefore that they would be faithfull, and as great neede was, defend their King against the treason of one *Tlepolemus*, an ambitious man, who traiterously went about to let the Diademe vpon his owne head, being a meere stranger to the Royall blood. Herewithall he produced before them a witness, that should iustifie his accusation against *Tlepolemus*. Now though it were so, that he deliuered all this with a fained passion of sorrow, and counterfeiting teares: yet the *Macedons* that heard him, regarded not any word that he spake; but stood laughing, and talking one to another, what a shamelesse dissembler he was, to take so much vpon him, as if he knew not how greedily he was hated. And so brake vp the Assembly: He that had called it, being scarce aware how. *Agathocles* therefore, whom the old Kings fauour had made mighty, but neither wise nor well qualified, thought to goe to worke, as had formerly bene his manner, by vsing his authority, to the suppression of those that he distrusted. He haled out of a Temple the mother-in-law of *Tlepolemus*; and cast her into prison. This filled *Alexandria* with rumours, and made the people (though accustomed to suffer greater things, whilest they were committed in the old Kings name) to meete in knots together, and vicer one to another their minds; where in they had conceived extreame hate, against these three pernicious misgouernours of the old King. Besides their consideration of the present iniurie done to *Tlepolemus*, they were somewhat also moved with feare of hame; which, in way of requitall, *Tlepolemus* was likely to doe vnto the Citie. For hee was, though a man most vnapt for Government, as afterwards he proued; yet no bad Souldier, and well beloued of the Armie. It was also then in his power, to stop the prouision of victuals which was to come into *Alexandria*. As these moriours wrought with the people: so by the remedy which *Agathocles* vsed, were the *Macedons* more hastily, and more violently stirred vnto vpror. He secretly apprehended one of their number, whom hee suspected of conspiracie against him; and deliuered him vnto a follower of his owne, to be examined by torture. This poore Souldior was carried into an inner roome of the Palace, and there stripped out of all his apparrell to be tormented. But whilest the whippes were brought forth, and all things euen in a readinesse for that purpose, there was brought vnto the minister of *Agathocles*, a sad report of *Tlepolemus* his being at hand. Hereupon the Examiner, and his Torturers, one after another, went out of the roome; leaving *Moeragenes* the Souldior alone by himselfe, and the doores open. He perceiving this, naked as he was, conueighed himselfe out of the Palace, and got vnto the *Macedonians*; of whom he found some in a Temple thereby at dinner. The *Macedonians* were as fierce in maintenance of their Priuiledges, as are the *Turkes Janizars*. Being assured therefore that one of their fellows had thus bene vsed; they fell to Armes in a great rage, and began to force the Palace: crying out, That they would see the King, and not leaue him in possession of such a dangerous man. The whole multitude in the Citie, with lowd clamours, made no lesse ado than the Souldiours, though to lesse effect. So the old Bawd *Oenante* fled into a Temple: her Sonne and Daughter staid in the Court, vntill the King was taken from them; and they, by his permission which he easily gaue, and by appointment of those that now had him in their hands, deliuered vp to the furie of the people. *Agathocles* himselfe was flabbed to death, by some which therein did the office of friends; though in manner of enemies. His sister was dragged naked vp and downe the streetes; as was also his mother, withall to them belonging: the enraged multitude committed vpon them a barbarous execution of iustice; biting them, pulling out their eyes, and tearing them in pieces.

These troubles in *Egypt*, serued well to stirre vp King *Antiochus*; who had very good leisure, though he wanted all pretence, to make warre vpon young *Ptolemie*. *Philip* of *Macedon* had the same desire, to get what part he could of the chilles estate. But it happened well, that *Ptolemie Philopator* in the Punicke Warre, which was now newly ended, had done many good offices vnto the *Romans*. Vnto them therefore the *Egyptians* addressed themk liues, and craued helpe against these two Kings: who though they secretly maligned one the other, yet had entred into couenant to diuide betwene them,

all that belonged vnto this *Orphan*; whose Father had bene Confederate with them both. So * *M. Lepidus* was sent from *Rome*, to protect from all violence the King of *Egypt*; especially against *Antiochus*. As for the *Macedonian*, He was very soone found bided, with warre at his owne doores. Also *Scopas* the *Aetolian*, being a Pensioner to the *Egyptians*, was sent into *Greece* to raise an Armie of Mercenaries. What *Lepidus* did in *Egypt*, I doe not finde: and therefore thinke it not improbable, that He was sent thither only one of the three Embassadors, in the beginning of the Warre with *Philip*; as hath bene shewed before. As for *Scopas*, He shortly after went vp into *Syria* with his Armie: where winning many places among the rest of his Aids, He subdued the *Temes*; who seeme to haue yeelded themselves a little before vnto *Antiochus*, at such times as they law him prepare for his Warre, and despaired of receiving helpe from *Egypt*. But it was not long, ere all these Victories of *Scopas* came to nothing. For the very next yeere following, which was (according to *Eusebius*) the same yeere that *Philip* was beaten at *Cyncephalus*, *Antiochus* vanquished *Scopas* in battaile, and recouered all that had bene lost. Among the rest, the *Temes* with great willingnesse returned vnder his obedience; and were therefore by him very gently entreated.

The Land of *Egypt* this great King did forbear to invade; and gaue it out, that he meant to bestow a daughter of his owne in marriage vpon *Ptolemie*: either hoping, as may seeme, that the Countie would willingly submit it selfe vnto him, if this yong child should happen to miscarrie; or else that greater purchase might be made in the Westerne parts of *Asia*, whilest *Philip* was held ouer-laboured by the *Romans*. It appears that he was very much distracted; hunting (as we say) two Hares at once with one Hound. The quarrels betweene *Attalus*, *Philip*, and the *Greekes*, promised to afford him great advantage, if he should bring his Armie to the *Hellestom*. On the other side, the state of *Egypt* being such as hath bene declared, seemed easily to be swallowed vp at once. One while therefore heooke what he could get in *Syria*: where all were willing (and the *Temes* among the rest, though hitherto they had kept faith with the *Egyptians*) to yeeld him obedience. Another while, letting *Egypt* alone, He was about to make inuasion vpon *Attalus* his Kingdome; yet suffered himselfe easily to be perswaded by the *Roman* Embassadors, and desisted from that enterprise. Having thus farre gratified the *Romans*; He sends Embassadors to the Senate, to conclude a perfect amitie betwene him and them. It is not lightly to be ouerpast, that these his Embassadors were louingly entertained at *Rome*; and dismissed, with a Decree and answer of the Senate, altogether to the honour of King *Antiochus*. But this and were of the *Romans* was not sincere; being rather framed according to regard of the Kings good liking, than of their owne intent. They had not yet made an end with *Philip*: neither would they gladly be troubled with two great warres at once. Wherefore, notwithstanding much vpon the nice examination of what belonged vnto their honour, they were content to giue good words for the present. In the meane time *Antiochus* fights with *Scopas* in *Syria*, and shortly prepares to winne some Townes elsewhere, belonging vnto *Ptolemie*; yet withall hee sends an Armie Westward, intending to make what profit he can of the distractions in *Greece*. Likewise it is considerable, as an argument of his much inelosions, how notwithstanding his attempts vpon both of their Kingdomes; hee offered one of his daughters to *Ptolemie*; and another to *Eumenes* the sonne of *Attalus*, newly King of *Pergamus*; seeking each of their friendshippes, at one and the same time, when hee sought to make each of them a spoyle. Thus was hee acting and deliberating at once; being carried with an inspicible desire of repugnancies; which is a disease of great, and over-swelling fortunes. Howsoeuer it was; He sent an Armie to *Sardes* by Land; vnder two of his owne sonnes; willing them there to stay for him; whilest he himselfe with a flegion of an hundred Gallies, and two hundred other vessels, intended to passe along by the Coasts of *Cilicia* and *Caria*, taking in such places as held for the *Egyptians*. It was a notable Act of the *Rhadians*, that, whilest the waste of *Philip* lay yet vpon their hands, they aduentured vpon this great *Antiochus*. They sent vnto him a proud Embassage: whereby they gaue him to vnderstand, That if he passed forward beyond a certaine Promontorie in *Cilicia*, they would meete him and fight with him; not for any quarrell of theirs vnto him; but because he should not ioyne with *Philip* their enemy, and helpe him against the *Romans*. It was insolently done of them, neither seemed it otherwise, to prescribe such limits vnto the King: yet he tempered himselfe, and without

any shew of indignation gave a gentle answer; partly himselfe to their Embassadors; partly vnto their whole Citie; by Embassadors which he thither sent. He shewed his desire to renew the ancient Confederacies betwene his Ancestors and them: and willed them not to be afraid, lest his coming should tend vnto any hurt, either of them, or of their Confederates. As touching the *Romans* whom they thought that he would molest: they were (he said) his very good friends; whereof, he thought there needed no better proofe, than the entertainment and answer by them newly giuen to his Embassadors.

The *Rhodians* appeare to haue bene cunning people, and such as could foresee what weather was like to happen. This answer of the King, and the relation of what had passed betwene his Embassadors and the Senate, moued them not a whit; when they were informed shortly after, that the *Macedonian* warre was ended at the battaile of *Cynoscephale*. They knew that *Antiochus* his turne would be next; and prepared to be forward on the stronger side. Wherefore they would not be contented to sit still; vntill the Townes on the South Coast of *Asia*, belonging to *Ptoleme* their friend and Confederate, were suffered to be at quiet. Herein also they did well; for that they had euer bene greatly beholding to all the race of the *Ptolemies*. They therefore, in this time of necessity, gave what aide they could vnto all the subjects of the *Egyptian* in those parts. In like manner did King *Eumenes*, the sonne of *Attalus*, prognosticate as concerning the war that followed, betwene *Antiochus* and the *Romans*. For when King *Antiochus* made a friendly offer, to bestow one of his daughters vpon him in marriage: Hee excused himselfe, and would not haue her. *Attalus* and *Phileteerus*, his brethren, wondered at this. But he told them, that the *Romans* would surely make warre vpon *Antiochus*; and therein finally persuaile. Wherefore he said, That by abstaining from this affinitie, it should be in his power to ioyne with the *Romans*; and strengthen himselfe greatly with their friendship. Contrariwise, if he leaned to *Antiochus*: as hee must be partaker in his overthrow; so was he sure to be oppressed by him, as by an ouer-mightie neighbor, if he happened to win the victory.

Antiochus himselfe wintered about *Ephesus*: where he tooke such order as he thought convenient, for the reducing of *Smirna* and *Lampascus* to obedience; that had usurped their libertie, and obstinately strove to maintaine it, in hope that the *Romans* would protect them. In the beginning of the Spring he sailed vnto the *Hellepont*: where hauing won some Townes that *Philip* had gotten not long before this, he passed ouer into *Europe* side; and in short space mastered the *Cerberusius*. Thence went he to *Lysimachia*: which the *Thracians* had gotten and destroyed, when *Philip* withdrew his Garrison thence, to employ it in the *Roman* warre. The *Asolians* obiected as a crime vnto *Philip*, in the Conference before *T. Quintius*, that he had oppressed *Lysimachia*, by thrusting therein a Garrison. Hereupon *Philip* made answer, that his Garrison did not oppress the Towne, but saue it from the *Barbarians*: who tooke and sackt it, as soone as the *Macedonians* were gone. That this answer was good and substantiall, though it were not acceptable as such might appeare by the miserable case, in which *Antiochus* found *Lysimachia* at his coming thither. For the Towne was utterly razed by the *Barbarians*; and the people carried away into slavery. Wherefore the King tooke order to haue it reedified: as also to redeme those that were in bondage; and to recollect as many of the Citizens, as were dispersed in the Countie thereabout. Likewise he was careful to allure thither, by hopefull promises, new inhabitants; and to replenish the Citie with the wanted frequentie. Now to the end that men should not be terrified from coming thither to dwell, by any feare of the neighbour *Thracians*: hee tooke a iourne in hand against those barbarous people, with the one halfe of his Armie, leauing the other halfe to repaire the Citie. These paines he tooke; partly in regard of the convenient situation, and former glory of *Lysimachia*; partly for that he thought it highly redounding vnto his owne honour, to recover and establish the dominion in those parts, which his fore-father *Selencus Nicator* had won from *Lysimachus*, and thereby made his Kingdome of greater extent, than it occupied in any following time. But for this ambition he shall dearly pay: and as after that victory against *Lysimachus*, the death of King *Selencus* followed shortly; so shall a deadly wound of the Kingdome founded by *Selencus* ensue very speedily, after the reconquest of the same Countie, which was the last of *Selencus* his purchases.

§. IIII.

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The *Romans* hold friendly correspondence with *Antiochus*, during their warre with *Philip*: after which they quarrell with him. The doings of *Hannibal* at *Carthage*: whence he is chased by his enemies, and by the *Romans*: His flight vnto the King *Antiochus*. The *Aetolians* murmure against the *Romans* in *Greece*. The warre of the *Romans* and *Acheans*, with *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedaemon*. The departure of the *Romans* out of *Greece*. *T. Quintius* his Triumph. Peace denied to *Antiochus* by the *Romans*.

Or the *Romans*, though they were vnable to smother their desire of warre with *Antiochus*, whereof notice was already taken both by their friends and by their enemies: yet was it much against their will to keepe the rumour on foot, which they meant shortly to make good, of this intended warre, so long as they wanted matter of quarrell; whereof they were furnished, by this enterprise of the Kings about *Lysimachia*. It was not long, since King *Attalus*, a friend and helper of the *Romans* in their warre with *Philip*, could obtaine of them none other helpe against *Antiochus*, than Embassadors to speake for him; because the one of these Kings was held no lesse a friend than the other. Neither did there afterwards passe betwene them any other offices, than very friendly. *Antiochus* at the request of their Embassadors, withdrew his Inuasion from the Kingdome of *Pergamus*: also very shortly after he sent Embassadors to them, to make a perfect League of amitie betwene them. This was whilest as yet they were busied with *Philip*; and therefore had reason to answer his good will with good acceptance: as they did in outward shew. But when the *Macedonian* war was at an end, and all, or most of all the States in *Greece*, were become little better than Clients vnto the *Romans*: then was all this good correspondence changed, into termes of worke, but more plaine meaning. For *T. Quintius*, with his ten Counsaillors sent from *Rome*, required (as hath been shewed before) with a commination of war, this kings gratulation of their victory; as also his long-proffered amitie, and desire to continue in the same.

These ten Counsaillors were able to informe *T. Quintius*, and acquaint him with the purpose of the Senate: whereof yet it seemes that he was not ignorant before; since, in regard of *Antiochus*, he was the more inclinable vnto peace with *Philip*. It was therefore agreed, when they diuided themselves to make progresse through diuers quarters of *Greece* for the execution of their late Decree, That two of them should visite King *Antiochus*; and the rest, where occasion serued, vse diligence to make a partie strong against him. Neither was the Senate at *Rome* vnmindfull of the businesse: wherein lest *T. Quintius*, with his ten Assaillants, should happen to forget any thing to their parts belonging; *L. Cornelius* was sent from *Rome* of purpose, to deale with the King about those controuerfies, that were betwene him and *Ptoleme*. What other private instructions *Cornelius* had; we may coniecture by the managing of this his Embassage. For coming to *Selymbria*: and there vnderstanding that *P. Villius* and *L. Torrentius*, hauing bene sent by *Titus*, were at *Lysimachia*, He hastned thither; whither also came *P. Lentulus* (another of the ten Counsaillors) from *Burgilla*, to be present at the Conference. *Hegesias* and *Lysias* were also there: the same, who had lately brought from *Titus* those peremptorie Conditions, which the Embassadors present shall expound vnto their Master. After a few dayes *Antiochus* returned from his *Thracian* Expedition. The meeting and entertainment betwene Him and these *Romans*, was in appearance full of loue. But when they came to treat of the businesse in hand; this good mood was quite altered. *L. Cornelius*, in two or three words, briefly deliuered his errand from *Rome*: which was, That *Antiochus* had reason to deliuer backe vnto *Ptoleme* those Townes of his, whereof hee had lately gotten possession. Hereunto he added, and that very earnestly, That hee must also giue vp the Townes of late belonging vnto *Philip*; and by him newly occupied. For what could be more absurd, than such folly in the *Romans*; as to let *Antiochus* enjoy the profit of that warre, wherein they had laboured so much, and Hee done nothing? Further He warned the King, that he should not molest those Cities that were free: and finally Hee demanded of him, vpon what reason he was come ouer with so great an Armie into *Europe*; for that other cause of his iourne there was none probable, than a purpose to make warre vpon the *Romans*. To this the King made answer, That hee wondered why the *Romans* should so trouble themselves, with thinking

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vpon

upon the matters of *Asia*: wherewith Hee prayed them to let him alone; euen as He, without such curiositie, suffered them to doe in *Italie* what they thought good. As for his comming ouer into *Europe*: they saw well enough what businesse had drawne him thither; namely, the warre against the barbarous *Thracians*: the rebuilding of *Lysimachia*, and the recovery of Townes to him belonging, in *Thrace* and *Chersonesus*. Now concerning his title vnto that Countie, He deriued it from *Seleucus*: who made conquest thereof, by his victory against *Lysimachus*. Neither was it so, that any of the places in controuersie betwene him and the other Kings, had bene still of old belonging to the *Macedonians* or *Egyptians*; but had bene seized on by them, or by others from whom they receiued them, at such time as his Ancestors, being Lords of those Countie, were hindered by multiplictie of businesse, from looking vnto all that was their owne. Finally so he willed them, neither to stand in feare of him, as if he intended ought against them from *Lysimachia*, since it was his purpose to bestow this Citie vpon one of his sons, that should reigne therein: nor yet to be grieved with his proceedings in *Asia*; either against the free Cities, or against the King of *Egypt*, since it was his meaning to make the free Cities beholding vnto himselfe, and to ioyne ere long with *Ptolemie*, not onely in friendship, but in a bond of neere affinitie. *Cornelius* hauing heard this, and being perhaps vnable to refuse it; would needes heare further, what the Embassadors of *Smyrna* and of *Lampfacus*, whom he had there with him, could say for themselves. The Embassadors of *Lampfacus* being called in, beganne a tale; wherein they seemed to accuse the King be-²⁰ fore the *Romans*, as it were before competent Iudges. *Antiochus* therefore interrupted them, and bade them hold their peace; forasmuch as hee had not chosen the *Romans*, but would rather take the Citizens of *Rhodes*, to be Arbitrators betwene Him and them.

Thus the Treatie held some few dayes, without any likelihood of effect. The *Romans*, hauing not laid their complaints in such sort, as they might be a conuenient foundation of the warre by them intended: nor yet hauing purpose to depart well satisfied; and thereby to corroborate the present peace, were doubtfull how to order the matter, in such wise as they might neither too rudely, like boisterous *Gallo-Greekes*, pretend onely the goodnesse of their swords; nor yet ouer-modestly, to retaine among the *Greekes* an opinion of³⁰ their iustice, forbeare the occasion of making themselves great. The King on the other side was wearie of these tedious ghesits; that would take none answer, and yet scarce knew what to say. At length came newes, without any certaine author, That *Ptolemie* was dead. Hereof neither the King, nor the *Romans*, would take notice, though each of them were desirous to hasten into *Egypt*: *Antiochus*, to take possession of the Kingdome; and *L. Cornelius*, to preuent him thereof, and set the Countie in good order. *Cornelius* was sent from *Rome* Embassadour, both to *Antiochus* and to *Ptolemie*: which gaue him occasion to take leaue, and prepare for his *Egyptian* voyage. Both He, and his fellow Embassadors, had good leaue to depart all together: and the King forthwith made ready, to be in *Egypt* with the first. To his sonne *Seleucus* he committed his Ar-⁴⁰ mic; and left him to ouer-see the building of *Lysimachia*: but all his Sea-forces Hee tooke along with him, and sailed vnto *Ephesus*. Thence hee sent Embassadors to *T. Quintus*: whom he requested to deale with him in this matter of Peace, after such sort, as might stand with honestie and good faith. But as hee was further proceeding on his voyage, He was perfectly informed that *Ptolemie* was aliue. This made him beare another way from *Egypt*: and afterwards a tempest, with a grievous shipwracke, made him without any further attempt on the way, glad to haue safely recovered his Port of *Seleucia*. Thence went he to *Antiochia*, where he wintered: secure, as might appeare, of the *Roman* warre.

But the *Romans* had not so done with him. During the Treatie at *Lysimachia*, (at least, so wife not long before or after it) one of their Embassadors that had bene sent vnto the *Macedonian* gaue him counsaile, as in a point highly tending to his good; Not to rest contented with the Peace which was granted vnto him by the *Romans*, but to desire societie with them, whereby they should be bound to haue the same friends and enemies. And this he aduised him to doe quickly, before the Warre brake out with *Antiochus*; lest otherwise he might seeme, to haue awaited some fit occasion of taking Armes a-⁵⁰ gaine. They who dealt thus plainly, did not meane to be satisfied with weake excuses. In like manner some of the *Greekes* were sollicit; and particularly the *Aetolians*.

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That constantly and faithfully they should abide in the friendship of the People of *Rome*. It was needlesse to say plainly whereto this entreatie tended: the froward answer made by the *Aetolians*, declares them to haue well vnderstood the purpose. They complained, that they were not alike honoured by the *Romans* after the Victory, as they had bene during the Warre. They that so complained were the most moderate of them. Others cryed out that they had bene wronged, and defrauded of what was promised vnto them: vpraying withall the *Romans*, as men to them beholding; not onely for their Victory ouer *Philip*; but euen for helping them to set foot in *Greece*, which else they neuer could haue done. Hereto the *Roman* gaue gentle answers: telling them that there was no more¹⁰⁰ to doe, than to send Embassadors to the Senate, and vter their griefes; and then should all be well.

Such care tooke the *Romans* in *Greece*, for their Warre intended against *Antiochus*. The same hereof arriuing at *Carthage* gaue matter vnto the enemies of *Hannibal*, wherewith both to picke a thanke of the *Roman* Senate; and to chace out of their Citie this honourable man, whom they so greatly hated. He had of late exercised his vertue against them in the Ciuill administration; and giuen them an overthrow, or two, in the long Robe. The Iudges at that time bore all the sway in *Carthage*: holding their places during life; and hauing subiect vnto them, the liues, goods, and fame of all the rest. Neither did they vse this their power with moderation: but conspired in such wise together, that who so offended any one of them, should haue them all to be his enemies, which being once knowne, He was sure to be soone accused and condemned. In this their im-¹⁰⁰ portant rule of the Citie, *Hannibal* was chosen Prator. By vertue of which Office, though he was superiour vnto them during that yeere: yet had it not bene their manner to beate much regard vnto such an annual Magistrate, as at the yeeres end must be accountable to them, if sought were laid vnto his charge. *Hannibal* therefore sending for one of the Quaestors, or officers of the Treasurie, to come and speake with him: the proud Quaestor set lightly thereby, and would not come. For hee was of the aduerser Faction to *Hannibal*; and men of his place were to be chosen into the Order of Iudges; in contemplation whereof, he was filled already with the spirit of future Greatnesse. But he¹¹⁰ had not to doe with such a tame Prator, as were they that had occupied the place before. *Hannibal* sent for him by a Pursuant; and hauing thus apprehended him, brought him into iudgement before a publike assembly of the people. There hee not onely shewed, what the vndutifull stubbornnesse of this Quaestor had bene; but how vn-¹²⁰ sufficient the insolencie of all the Iudges at the present was: whose vnbridled power made them to regard neither Lawes nor Magistrats. To this Oration when he perceived that all the Citizens were attentive and fauourable; Hee forthwith propounded a Law, which passed with the generall good liking; That the Iudges should be chosen from yeere to yeere, and no one man be continued in that Office two yeeres together. If this Law had bene passed, before hee passed ouer *Iberus*: it would not per-¹³⁰ haps haue bene in the power of *Hannibal*, to haue brought him vnto necessitie, of reforming another grievance, concerning the *Roman* Tribute. This Tribute the *Carthaginians* were faine to leuie by Taxation layed vpon the whole Commonwealtie, as wanting money in their publike Treasurie, wherewith to defray either that, or diuers other needfull charges. *Hannibal* considering this, beganne to examine the publike Reuenues; and to take a perfect note, both how much came into the Treasurie, by wayes and meanes whatsoever; and in what sort it was thence laid out. So hee found, That the ordinarie charges of the Common-wealth did not exhaust the Treasurie: but that wicked Magistrats, and corrupt Officers, turning the greatest part of the monies to their owne vse, were thereby faine to lode the people with needlesse burdens. Hereof hee¹⁴⁰ made such plaine demonstration, that these Robbers of the common Treasurie were compelled to restore, with shame, what they had gotten by knauerie: and so the *Carthaginians* were freed from the necessity of making such poore shifts, as formerly they had vied, when they knew not the valew of their owne Estate. But as the vertue of *Hannibal*, was highly commended by all that were good Citizens: so they of the *Roman* Faction, which had, since the making of the peace vnill now, little regarded him, beganne to rage extremely; as being by him stript of their ill-gotten goods, an ill-¹⁵⁰ employed authoritie, both at once, euen when they thought themselves to haue bene in full possession of the vanquished *Carthage*. Wherefore they sent letters to their friends

at Rome: wherein they complained, as if the *Barchine* Faction grew strong againe, and *Hannibal* would shortly be in armes. Questionlesse, if oppressing the Citie by iniustice, and robbing the Treasure, were the onely way to hold *Carthage* in peace with Rome: these enemies to the *Barchines* might well cry out, That hauing done their best already to keepe all in quiet, they saw none other likelihood than of Warre. But hauing none other matter to alludge, than their owne inuentions: they said, That *Hannibal* was like vnto a wilde beast, which would neuer be tamed: That secret messages past betwene him, and King *Antiochus*: and that he was wont to complaine of idlenesse, as if it were harmful to *Carthage*; with what else to like effect they could imagine. These accusations they directed not vnto the Senate: but addressing their letters craftily, euery one to 10 the best of his owne friends at Rome, and such as were Senators; they wrought so well, that neither publicke notice of their Conspiracie was taken at *Carthage*; nor the authoritie of the Roman Senate, wanting to the furtherance of their malicious purpose. Onely *P. Scipio* is said to haue admonished the *Fathers*, that they should not thus dishonourably subscribe, and become Seconds to the accusers of *Hannibal*: as if they would oppresse, by suborning or countenancing false witnesses against him, the Man, against whom in warre they had not of long time preuailed, nor uided their Victory in such base manner, when they obtained it. But the Romans were not all so great-minded as *Scipio*: they wished for some such advantage against *Hannibal*; and were glad to haue found it. Three Embassadors they sent ouer to *Carthage*, *C. Seruilius*, *Q. Terentius*, and *M. Claudius* 20 *Marcellus*: whose very names import sufficient cause of bad affection to *Hannibal*. These hauing past the Sea, were entertained by those that had procured their coming; and, being by them instructed how to carry themselves, gaue out, That they were sent to end some controversies, betwene the *Carthaginians* and *Masaniissa*. But *Hannibal* had kept such good espiall vpon the Romans, that he knew their meaning well enough: against which he was neuer vnprepared. It were enough to say, That he escaped them by flight: but in the actions of so famous a man, I hold it not impertinent to rehearse the particularities. Hauing openly shewed himselfe, as was his manner, in the place of Assembly, He went forth of the Towne when it began to waxe darke, accompanied with two which were ignorant of his determination; though such as he might well trust. He had appointed 30 Horses to be in a readinesse at a certaine place: whence riding all night, He came to a Tower of his owne by the Sea-side. There had he a Shippe furnished with all things needfull; as hauing long expected the necessitie of some such journey. So Hee bade *Africk* farewell; lamenting the misfortune of his Countrey; more than his owne. Passing ouer to the Ile of *Cercina*; hee found there in the Hauen some Marchants shippes of *Carthage*. They saluted him respectfully: and the chiefe among them began to enquire, whither he was bound. Hee said, Hee went Embassador to *Tyre*: and that he intended there in the Iland to make a sacrifice; whereto Hee inuited all the Merchants, and Masters of the Shippes. It was hote weather: and therefore Hee would 40 needs hold his Feast vpon the shore; where, because there wanted couert, He made them bring thither all their failes and yards to be veyed in stead of Tents. They did so; and feasted with him till it was late at night: at which time he left them there asleepe; and putting to Sea, held on his course to *Tyre*. All that night, and the day following, He was sure not to be pursued. For the Merchants did neither make halte to send any newes of him to *Carthage*, as thinking him to be gone Embassador: neither could they, without some losse of time, such of them as made most speede homeward, get away from *Cercina*; being busied awhile in fitting their tackle. At *Carthage*, the misse of so great a person was diuersly construed. Some ghesied aright, That he was fled. But the more common opinion was, That the Romans had made him away. At length came newes where 50 he had bene seene: and then the Roman Embassadors, hauing none other errand thither, accused him (with an euill grace) as a troubler of the Peace; whereby they onely diuerted the mischiefe by them intended against him, and the malice of their Senate mistaking the while their purpose, and causing men to vnderstand, that He fled not thus without great reason.

Hannibal coming to *Tyre*, the Mother-Citie of *Carthage*, was there entertained Royally: as one, in whose great worth and honour the *Tyrans*, by reason of affinity betwene their Citie, thought themselves to haue interest. Thence went heeto *Antioch*; and, finding the King departed, visited his sonne in *Daphne*: who friendly welcomed

med him, and sent him vnto his Father at *Ephesus*, that exceedingly reioyced at his coming.

As *Antiochus* had cause to be glad, in that he had gotten *Hannibal*: so had the Romans no great cause to be therefore sorrie; otherwise than as they had much disgraced them-selves, by discouery of their impotent malice, in chasing him thus out of his Countrey. For it would not proue alike easie vnto this great Commander, to make stout Souldiours of base *Astiques*; as it had been by his trayning and discipline, to make very seruiciable and skilfull men of Warre of the *Spaniards*, *Africans*, *Gauls*, and other Nations, that were hardie, though vnexperienced. Or were it supposed, that one mans worth, especially being so extraordinary, could alter the nature of cowardly people: yet was it therewithall considerable, that the vanities of *Antiochus*, the pride of his Court, the basenesse of his Flatterers, and a thousand other such vexations, would bee farre more powerfull in making vnprofitable the vertue of *Hannibal*; now a desolate and banished man; than had bin the villanie of *Hanno* and his Complices, hindring him in those actions wherein he had the high Command, and was seconded by his warlike brethren. Wherefore the name of this Great *Carthaginian*, would onely helpe to ennoble the Roman Victorie: or if it further serued to hearten *Antiochus*, and make him lesse careful to auoid the war; then should it further serue, to iustifie the Romans in their quarrell. And it seemes indeed that it was no little part of their care, to get a faire pretence of making warre. For *Antiochus*, as is said before, hauing newly sent Embassadors to *T. Quintius*, requiring that the Peace might faithfully be kept: it was not probable, that hee had any meaning to take Armes; vnlesse by mere violence he were thereto enuoyed. Onely the *Atolians* were greatly suspected, as a turbulent people, desirous of inuouation, and therefore practising with this Great King; whom they wished to see among them in *Greece*. In this regard, and to appeale them; they had of late beene answered with gentle words by one of the ten Counsaillours. That the Senate would grant them whatsoever with reason they should aske. But this promise was too large, and vnadulsed. For when their Embassadors came to Rome, the Senate would grant them nothing; but wholly referred them to *T. Quintius*, who fauoured them least. Hereat they murmured, but knew not how to 30 fight themselves: otherwise than by speaking such words, as might hasten the Romans out of *Greece* for very shame; who had no desire to be thence gone.

The daily talke at Rome was of warre with *Antiochus*; but in *Greece*, when the Romans would leaue the Countrey. For the *Atolians* were wont to vpbraid the rest of the *Greeks* with the vaine libertie which the Romans had proclaimed, saying, That these their Deliuerers had layd heauier fetters vpon them, than formerly they did weare; but yet brighter and fairer, than those of the *Macedonian*; likewise, That it was a gracious act of *Titus*, to take from the legs of the *Greekes* their chaine, and tie it about their necks. There was indeed no cause of tarrying longer in *Greece*, if the Romans had no other meaning than what they pretended. For *Philip* made no delay in accomplishment of that which 40 was laid vpon him: all the Townes of *Greece* were at libertie, and the whole Countrey at peace, both with the Romans, and within it selfe. As for *Antiochus*; Hee made it his daily suit, That the Peace betwene him and Rome, such as it was, might be confirmed, and strengthened by a League of more assurance. Neuertheless *T. Quintius* would needs feare that *Antiochus* meant forthwith to seize vpon *Greece*, as soone as hee and his Armie were thence departed. And in this regard, Hee retained still in his owne hands *Chalcis*, *Demetrias*, and the *Acrocorinthus*: by benefit of which Townes, hee might the better with stand the dangerous Inuasion like to be made by *Antiochus*. Sutable vnto the doings of *Quintius* were the reports of the tenne Embassadors, that had bene sent ouer to assist him; when they returned backe into the Citie. *Antiochus*, they said, would que- 50 stionlesse fall vpon *Greece*: wherein he should find not onely the *Atolians*; but *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedamon*, ready to giue him entertainment. Wherefore there was none other way, than to doe somewhat against these suspected enemies: especially against *Nabis*, who could worst make resistance; whilst *Antiochus* was farre away in *Syria*, and not intenued to his businesse. These reports went not onely current through the Citie, among the Vulgar; but found such credit with the chiefe of the Senate, that in the following yeere, against which time it was expected that *Antiochus* should be ready to take his great enterprife in hand; *P. Cornelius Scipio* the African desired, and obtained, a second Consulship, with intention to be Generall in the Warre, against the King and his

Hannibal.

Hannibal. For the present, the businesse with *Nabis* was referred vnto *Titus*; to deale with him as hee thought good. This would bee a faire colour of his longer tarrance in *Greece*. Therefore he was glad of the employment: whereof also he knew that many of the *Greekes* would not be fony; though for his owne part, hee wanted all good pretence of taking it in hand. For *Nabis* had entred into friendship with him, two or three yeeeres before this, as is already shewed, whilst he had warre with *Philip*: and had further bene contented for the *Romans* sake to be at peace with the *Achaens*; neither since that time had hee done any thing, whereby hee should draw vpon himselfe this Warre. Hee was indeed a detestable Tyrant, and hated of the *Achaens*; as one, that besides his owne wicked Conditions, had formerly done to them great mischief. *Titus* therefore had a plausible Theme, whereon to discourse before the Embassages of all the Confederate Cities; Which he caused to meet for that purpose at *Corinth*. He told them, That in the warre with *Philip*, not only the *Greekes*, but the *Romans* themselves, had each their motives apart (which hee there briefly rehearsed) that should stirre them vp, and cause them to be earnest. But in this which he now propounded to them concerning *Nabis*, the *Romans* had none other interest, than only the making perfect of their honour, in setting all *Greece* at liberty: which noble Action was in some sort maimed, or incomplete, whilst the noble City of *Argos* was left in subiection to a Tyrant, that had lately occupied it. It therefore belonged vnto them, the *Greekes*, duly to consider, whether they thought the deliuerance of *Argos* a matter worthy to be vnderaken; or whether otherwise to auoid all further trouble, they could be well contented to leaue it as it was. This concerned them, and not the *Romans*: who intaking this worke in hand, or letting it alone, would wholly be ruled by the *Greekes* themselves. The *Athenian* Embassador made answer hereunto very eloquently, and as pleasing as hee could deuise. Hee gaue thanks to the *Romans* for what was past; extolled their vertues at large; and magnified them highly in regard of this their Proposition: wherein vnrequestedly they freely made offer to continue that bounty, which at the vehement request of their poore Associates, they had already of late extended vnto the *Greekes*. To this Hee added, That great pittie it was to heare, such notable vertue & high deserts ill spoken of by some: which tooke vpon them, out of their owne imagination to foretell, what harme these their Benefactors meant to doe hereafter: when as Thankfulness rather would haue required an acknowledgement of the benefits and pleasures already receiued. Every one found the meaning of this last clause, which was directly against the *Aetolians*. Wherefore *Alexander* the *Aetolian* rose vp, and told the *Athenians* their owne: putting them in minde of their ancient glorie, in those times when their City had bene the Leader of all *Greece*, for defence and recouery of the liberty generall: from which honor they were now so farre fallen, that they became Parasites vnto those whom they thought most mighty; and by their base assentation, would leade all the rest into seruitude. Then spake Hee against the *Achaens*, Clients that had bene a long time vnto the *Macedonian*; and foulders of *Philip*, vntill they ranne away from his aduersitie. These, He said, had gotten *Corinth*, and must now haue warre bee made for their sakes, to the end that they might also bee Lords of *Argos*: whereas the *Aetolians*, that had first made warre with *Philip*, and alwayes bene friends vnto the *Romans*, were now defrauded of some places, anciently to them belonging. Neither did he thus containe himselfe, but objected vnto the *Romans* fraudulent dealing: forasmuch as they kept their Garrisons in *Demetrias*, *Chalcis*, and the *Acrocorinth*; hauing bene alwayes wont to professe, That *Greece* could neuer be at libertie, whilst those places were not free. Also now at last, what else did they secke by this discourse of warre with *Nabis*, than businesse wherewith to finde themselves occupied, that so they might haue some seeming cause of abiding longer in the Country? But as they should doe well, if they meant as they spake, to carrie their Legions home out of *Greece*: which could not indeed be free, till their departure. As for *Nabis*, the *Aetolians* themselves did promise, & would vndertake, That they would either cause him to yeeld to reason, and relinquish *Argos* freely, withdrawing thence his Garrison; or else compell him by force of Armes, to submit himselfe to the good pleasure of all *Greece*, that was now at vnitie. These words had bene reasonable, if they had proceeded of from better men. But it was apparent, that no regard of the common liberty wrought so much with these *Aetolians*; as did their owne rauenous desire of oppressing others, and getting vnto themselves, that worke would vse it, the whole Dominion in *Greece*, which *Philip* had

had lost. Neither could they well dissemble this; making it no small part of their grievance, That the old League was forgotten: wherein it had bene couenanted, That the *Romans* should enioy the spoyle of all, but leaue the Townes and Lands in possession of the *Aetolians*. This, and the remembrance of a thousand mischiefs by them done in former times, made the whole assembly, especially the *Achaens*, crie out vpon them: entreating the *Romans* to take such order before they went, that not only *Nabis* might be compelled to doe right; but the *Aetolian* theues bee enforced to keepe home, and leaue their neighbours in quiet. All this was highly to the pleasure of *Titus*: who saw, that by discountenancing the *Aetolians*, He was become the more gracious with all the rest. But whether it pleased him so well that *Antiochus* his Embassadors did presently after lie hard vpon him, to draw the peace to some good conclusion, it may bee greatly doubted. He cast them off with a slight answer: telling them, That the ten Embassadors or Counsaillours which had bene sent vnto him from *Rome*, to bee his assistants in these matters of weight, were now returned home; and that, without them, it was not in his power to conclude vpon any thing.

Now concerning the *Lacedaemonian* warre; it was very soone ended. For *Titus* vsed the helpe of all his Confederates; and made as great preparation against *Nabis*, both by Land and Sea, as if hee should haue had to doe with *Philip*. Besides the *Roman* forces; King *Eumenes* with a Naue, and the *Rhodian* Fleet, were inuited to the seruice: as also *Philip* of *Macedon* sent aid by Land; doing therein poorly, whether it were to get fauor of the *Romans*, or whether to make one among the number, in seeking reuenge vpon *Nabis*, that had done him iniurie. But the most forward in this Expedition were the *Achaens*, who fit out ten thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse. As for the *Aetolians*: rather to hold good fashion, and sound their dispositions, than in hope to speed, their helpe was required; whereof they excused themselves as well as they thought best. Thus are the *Achaens* now become the prime friends of the *Romans* in *Greece*; hauing remooued the *Aetolians* from that degree of fauour: like as they themselves hereafter (though not in all haste) shall be supplanted of the same *Lacedaemonians*; against whom they are now marching.

Some of the *Argines* more bold then wise, began a conspiracie against the *Lacedaemonians*: that held their Towne, meaning to open their gates vnto the *Roman*. But ere *Titus* drew neare, they were all detected and slaine: excepting a very few, that escaped out of the Towne. The fame of this Commotion, caused the Armie to march apace toward *Argos*; with hope to be there, before things were at quiet. But there was no stir within the Walles: the execution done vpon the first mouers, hauing terrified all the rest of the Citizens. *Titus* then thought it better, to assaile *Nabis* in the head of his strength at *Lacedaemon*, than to consume time about other places; especially at *Argos*: for the freedom whereof since the Warre was made, pittie it were, that the calamities of the warre should thereon fall most heauily.

Nabis had in readinesse an Army of fifteene thousand, wherewith to defend himselfe against these Inuaders. Fieue thousand of them were Mercenaries: the rest, of his owne Countrey; but such as were of all other the worst, as manumitted slaves, malefactors and base peasants, vnto whom his Tyrannie was beneficiall. Of the good and worthy Citizens he stood in doubt; and since he could not hope to win their loue, his meaning was to hold them quiet by feare. He called them all to an Assembly: and compassing their round in with his Armie, told them of the danger that was toward him and them. If they could agree within themselves; they might, hee said, hope the better to withstand the common Enemie. But forasmuch as turbulent heads were inuited by light occasions, to raise tumults, and worke dangerous treason: it seemed vnto him the safest, and (withall) the mildest course, to arrest beforehand, and put in ward, all those whom he found most reason to suspect. So should he keep them innocent perforce; and thereby preferue not only the City and his owne person from danger, but them also for the punishment, which else they might haue incurred. Heere vpon hee cites and apprehends about fourescore of them; whom hee leades away to prison, and the next night putteth them all to death. Thus was hee sure that they neither should offend, nor yet breake loose. As for the death of them, if it should happen to be noised abroad: what could it else doe than terrifie the people; who must thereby vnderstand, that it was a mortal crime to bee suspected? And to the same purpose his cruelty extended it selfe vnto some

some poore wretches: whom he accused of a meaning to flie to the Enemie. These were openly whipt through all the streets, and flaine. Hauing thus affrighted the Citizens: He turned the more freely all his thoughts toward the Enemie, that came on apace. He welcomed them with a fallie: wherein, as commonly happens, the Souldiers of the Towne had the better at first; but were at length repelled with losse. *Titus* abode not many daies before *Sparta*: but ouer-ranne the Countrey; hoping belike to prouoke the Tyrant forth to battaile. The *Roman* Fleet at the same time with King *Eumenes* and the *Rhodian*s, layd siege vnto *Gythium*, the onely or principall Towne that *Nabis* had. Likely they were to haue taken it by force, when there appeared hope of getting it by treason. There were two Gouvernours within the Towne equall in authoritie: whereof the one, either for feare, or desire of reward, had a purpose to let in the *Romans*. But the other finding what was in hand, and being somewhat more faithfull, slue the Traitor; after whose death, hee himselfe alone made the better defence. Yet when *T. Quintius* with part of his Armie came thitherto *Gythium*: this Captaine of the Towne had not the heart to abide the vttermoost, and await what either Time or his Master might doe for him, but was contented to giue vp the place; yet vpon Condition, to depart in safety to *Sparta* with his Garrison. *Pythagoras*, the sonne in law of *Nabis*, and brother vnto his wife, was come from *Argos*, whereof he had the Gouernment with a thousand Souldiers Mercenaries, and two thousand *Argiues*: it being (as may seeme) the Tyrants purpose, to relieue *Gythium*: which hee thought would haue held longer out. But when they heard that it was lost, then began they to thinke vpon Enlishing the warre, by some reasonable Composition. *Pythagoras* therefore was sent his Embassadour to *Titus*: requesting onely that he would appoint a time and place for *Nabis* to meet and speak with him. This was granted. In that Parlee the Tyrant spake very reasonably for himselfe: prouing, that he had sinned wrong, and had done none, and that by many good arguments, whereof the summe was, That whatsoeuer they now did, or could obiect vnto him, was of elder date than the League which they had made with him. Whereupon he inferred, That neither for his keeping the Towne of *Argos*, nor for any other cause by them alledged, they ought to make warre vpon him; since *Argos*, and all other their allegations whatsoeuer, had not hindered them, in time of their more need of him, from entering into that League with him; which was neuer broken on his part, nor ought to be on theirs. But *Quintius* was not herewith satisfied. He charged him with Tyrannie, and gaue instance, as easily he might, of diuers barbarous cruelties by him committed. In all which points, so far as much as they knew this *Nabis* to be guiltie, before they made Peace and Confederacie with him; it was expedient, that some other cause of this Inuasion should be alledged. Wherefore he said further, That this Tyrant had occupied *Messene*, a Towne Confederate with the *Romans*: That hee had bargained to ioyne with *Philip*; when he was their enemie, not onely in League, but also in affinity: and that his Fleet had robbed many of their ships, about the Cape of *Malta*. Now touching this Piracie, since in the Articles by *Titus* propounded vnto *Nabis*, there was no restitution mentioned, other than of ships, by him taken from the *Greeks* his neighbours, with whom hee had long held warre: it may seeme to haue bene objected, onely by way of Complement, and to enlarge the volume of those complaints, that were otherwise very frivolous. As for *Messene*, and the bargain of Alliance made with *Philip*: they were matters foregoing the League, that was made betweene the *Romans* and this Tyrant; and therefore not to haue bene mentioned. All this it seemes that *Arsenus*, the Prator of the *Achaens*, verie well perceived: who therefore doubting lest the *Romans*, (that were wont to talke so much of their owne iustice, honour, and faithfull dealing) should now relent, and forbeare to molest him, who, though a wicked man, was yet their Confederate, and had neuer done them wrong; framed this discourse to another end. He entreated *Nabis* to consider well of his owne estate, and to settle his fortunes, whilest he might do it without hazard: alledging the examples of many Tyrants that had ruled in the neighbour-cities, and therein committed great outrages; yet were afterwards contented to surrender their Estates, and liued in great securitie, honour, and happinesse, as priuate men. Thus they discoursed vntill night. The next day *Nabis* was contented to relinquish *Argos*; and requested them, to deliuer vnto him in writing their other demands; that hee might take counsaile with his friends. The issue of all was, That, in regard of the charges, whereat the Confederates must bee, for maintenance of an Armie to lie in League all

that

that Winter (as there was no hope of making short worke) before the City of *Sparta*: they were contented to make peace with the Tyrant, vpon such Conditions as *Titus* should thinke meete. Besides the restitution of *Argos*, and all the places thereon depending, *Titus* propounded many other Conditions to *Nabis*, and some of them very grievous. Hee would not suffer the *Lacedemonians* to haue ought to doe in the Ile of *Crete*; no, nor to make any Confederacies; nor warre, either in that land or elsewhere; not to build any Towne or Castle vpon his owne Lands; not to keepe any other shipping; than two small Barkes; besides many other troublesome iniunctions; with imposition of an hundred talents in siluer to be paid out of hand, and fiftie talents yearly, for eight yeeres next ensuing. For obseruance of these Couenants hee demanded fiftie hostages, such as he himselfe should name; and one of them to bee the Tyrants owne sonne. If it had bene the meaning of *Titus*, to withdraw the warre from *Nabis*, because it was not grounded vpon iustice: then had it bene enough, if not more than enough, to take *Argos* from him; which he himselfe did offer, though it were for feare, to deliuer vp. But if it were thought reasonable, to dispense a little with the *Roman* faith, in regard of the great benefit which thereby might redound vnto the state of their best friends in *Greece*, by the extirpation of this Tyrannie: then should this enterprize, when once it was taken in hand, haue bene prosecuted vnto the very vtmost. As for this middle course which the *Romans* held: as it was not honourable vnto them, to enrich themselves by the spoyle of one that had not offended them: nor pleasing to the *Achaens*, who iudged it euer after a great blemish to the noble acts of *Titus*: so did it minister vnto the *Asiatics*, and to such as curiously picke into the faults of those which tooke vpon them to be Patrons of *Greece*, no barren Subject of malicious discourse. For since *Philip*, a King, and descended of many famous Kings, might not be suffered by these Matterly *Romans*, to hold any one of those Countries or Townes in *Greece*, that had belonged vnto his Ancestors: it was thought very strange, that *Lacedamon*, once the most famous Citie among all the *Greekes*, was by the same *Romans* left in possession of a Tyrant; that had vsurped it but yesterday: and Hee therein rooted by their authoritie, as their friend and Confederate. *Nabis* on the other side thought himselfe vnmercifully dealt withall, by the selfe-same *Romans*, whose amitie he had preferred in time of a doubtfull warre, before the loue and assistance of the *Macedonian* King, that had committed the Citie of *Argos* into his hands. But filly had he dealt with the *Macedonian*: and fallly was hee dealt with by those, to whom hee did betake himselfe. Among these Articles propounded, there was nothing that pleased him; save onely that for the banished *Lacedemonians*, (of whom a great number were in the *Roman* Campe; hauing among them *Agessipolis* the natural King of *Sparta*, that being a yong childe was driuen out by *Lycurgus*, the first of the Tyrants) there was made no prauision, to haue them restored vnto their Citie and Estates; but onely leaue required for as many of their wives, as would be so contented, to lue abroad with them in banishment. Wherefore he forbore to giue consent vnto these demands: and sustained an assault or two; hoping belike that the enemies would soone be wearie. But his fearefull nature shortly ouercame the resolution, which the sense of these injuries had put into him. So yielding vnto all that had bene propounded, Hee deliuered the hostages; and thereupon obtained peace, that was confirmed afterwards at *Rome* by the Senate and People. From this time forward, He thought the *Romans* farre more wicked than himselfe; and was readie vpon the first aduantage, to doe them all the mischief that he could.

The *Argiues* had heard newes that *Lacedamon* was euen at point of being taken. This erected them, and gaue them heart to thinke vpon their owne good. So they aduentured to set vpon the Garrison; which was much weakened, by the remoual of the three thousand carried thence by *Pythagoras*, to helpe the Tyrant at *Sparta*. There needed vnto their libertie no more, than that all of them ioyntly should fee their hands to the getting of it; which no sooner they did than they obtained it. Presently after this came *T. Quintius* to *Argos*, where hee was ioyfullie welcommed. Hee was deferredly acknowledged as author of that benefit, whereon the Citizens had laid hold without staying for him; and that he might the better chide himselfe chetere, hee caused the libertie of the *Argiues* to be proclaimed at the *Nemean* games; as ratifying it by his authority. The Citie was annexed againe to the Countrell of *Achaia*; whereby the *Achaens* were not more strenghtened, than the *Argiues* themselves were secured from danger of relapse,

into

into the same extremities out of which they had newly escaped.

After this, *Titus* found little businesse or none wherewith to set on worke his Army in *Greece*. *Antiochus* was about to send another Embassage to *Rome*, desiring peace & friendship of the Senate. Things being therefore in appearance wholly disposed vnto quiet; *Scipio the African*, that was chosen Consul at *Rome*, could not haue his desire, of being sent Commander into *Greece*. The vn sincere meaning of *Antiochus*, and the tumultuous disposition of the *Aetolians*, were held as considerations worthy of regard: yet not sufficient causes of making Warre. Neither appeared there any more honest way, of confuting the *Aetolians*, and of thoroughly perswading all the *Greekes* (which was not to be neglected, by those that meant to assure vnto themselves the Parronage of *Greece*) that the good of the Countrey, was their sole intent: than by withdrawing thence their Legions, and leaving the Nation vnto it selfe, till occasion should be ripe, and call them ouer againe. Wherefore after *Titus* had spent a Winter there, without any matter of employment, either found, or at any neere distance appearing; hee called an Assembly of Delegates, from all parts of *Greece* to *Corinth*: where hee meant to bid them farewell. There hee recounted vnto them all that had passed since his coming into those parts; and willed them to value the *Roman* friendship, according to the difference of estate, wherein the *Romans* found and left them. Hereto he added some wholesome counsell, touching the moderate vse of their libertie, and the care which they ought to haue of liuing peaceably, and without faction. Lastly hee gaue vp *Acrocorinthus* to the *Achaens*; 20 withdrawing thence the *Roman* Garrison, and promising to do the like (which very soon he did) at *Chalcis* and *Demetrias*; that so it might bee knowne, what liers the *Aetolians* were, who had accused the *Romans*, of a purpose to retaine those places. With ioyfull acclamations did the *Greekes* testifie their good liking of that, which *Titus* had said and done: as also (at his request) they agreed, to ransom and enlarge all *Romans*, that had bin sold into their Countrey by *Hannibal*.

Thus *Titus* crowned his actions in *Greece* with an happy end: and by leaving the Countrey before his departure was vrged. Left therein behinde him the memorie of his vertue and benefits, vntainted by ielousie & suspicion of any euill meaning. At his coming to the Citie, He had the honour of a Triumph; which was the goodliest of all that *Rome* had vntill that day beheld. Three daies together the shew of his pomp continued: as being set out with the spoiles of a Countrey, more abundant in things worthy of such a spectacle, than any wherein the *Romans* had before made Warre. All sorts of Armes, with Statues and curious pieces of Brasse or Marble, taken from the Enemy, were carried in the first dayes Pageant. The second day, was brought in, all the treasure of Gold and Silver: some in the rude Masse vnwrought, some, in diuers sorts of Coine; and some, in Vessels of sundry kindes, that were the more highly prized by the workmanship. Among these were tenne shields, all of Silver; and one of pure Gold. The third day *Titus* himselfe entred the Citie in his Triumphant Chariot. Before him were, carried an hundred and fourteene Crownes of Gold, bestowed vpon him by diuers Cities. There were also led the beasts for Sacrifice; the Prisoners, and the hostages: among which, *Demetrius* the sonne of King *Philip*, and *Armenus* the sonne of *Nabis*, were principall. After him followed his Armie; and (which added much grace, and good liking, to the Shew) the *Roman* Captiues, by his procurement redeemed from slavery in *Greece*.

Not long after this Triumph; He procured audience of the Senate for many Embassages, that were come out of *Greece* and *Asia*. They had all very fauourable answers, excepting those of King *Antiochus*: whom the Senate would not heare, but referred ouer to *Q. Quintius*, and the ten that had bin his Counsaillors; because their businesse was said to be somewhat intricate. Hereat the Kings Embassadors wondred. They said vnto *Titus* & his Associates, That they could not discern wherein consisted any perplexitie of their message. For all Treaties of peace and friendship, were either betwene the Victor and the vanquished; between those that haue warred together; were vpon equal termes of aduantage; or between those that had liued alwayes in good agreement, without any quarrell. Vnto the Victor, they said, that the vanquished must yeeld; and patiently endure the imposition of some Couenants, that else might seeme vnreasonable. Where Warre had beene made, and no aduantage gotten: there was it vsuall to demand and make restitution of things and places claimed, gotten, or lost; accordingly as both parts could

could agree. But betwene those which had neuer fallen out, there ought no Conditions of establishing friendship to bee proposed: since it was reasonable, that each part should hold their owne; and neither carry it selfe as superiour vnto the other, in prebiding ought that might be troublesome. Now of this last kinde, was the league & friendship that had beene so long in conclusion, betwixt *Antiochus* and the *Romans*. Which being so: they held it strange, that the *Romans* should thus insist on points no way concerning them, and take vpon them to prescribe vnto the King, what Cities of *Asia* hee should fet at libertie; from what Cities they would giue him leaue to exact his wonted Tributes; eyther putting, or not putting, his Garrisons into them, as the Senate should thinke fit. Hereto *Quintius* answered, That since they went so distinctly to worke, He would also doe the like. Wherefore hee propounded vnto them two Conditions, and gaue them their choyce whether to accept: Eyther that it should bee lawfull for the *Romans*, to take part in *Asia* with any that would seeke their friendship; Or if King *Antiochus* misliked this, and would haue them forbear to meddle in *Asia*, that then he should abandon whatsoeuer he had gotten in *Europe*. This was plaine dealing, but no reasonable nor pertinent answer, to that which the Kings Embassadors had propounded. For if the *Romans* might be hired to abstaine from *Asia*, by the gift of all that *Antiochus* had lately wonne in *Europe*: then did not the affaires of *Smyrna*, *Lampascus*, or any other *Asiatiques*, whom they were pleased to reckon as their Confederates, binde them in honour to make warre with a King that sought their loue, and had neuer done them injury. But they knew very well, that *Antiochus* could not without great shame be so base, as to deliuer vp vnto them the Citie of *Lysimachia*, whercon of late he had bene at so much cost; in building it vp euen from the foundations, and repeopling it with inhabitants, that had all beene disperfed, or captiue to the *Barbarians*. And so much the Embassadors with great indignation alleaged: saying, that *Antiochus* desired friendship of the *Romans*; but so, as it might stand with his honour. Now in point of honour, the *Romans* tooke vpon them as if their cause were farre the superiour. For it was, they said, their purpose, to set at liberty those Towns, which the King would oppresse and hold in subiection: especially since those Townes were of *Greekish* bloud and language; and fell in 30 that regard vnder the patronage, which *Rome* had afforded vnto all *Greece* besides. By this colour they might soon haue left *Antiochus* King of not many subiects on the higher side of *Euphrates*. Neyther did they forbear to say, That, vnlesse hee would quit what he held in *Europe*, it was their meaning not onely to protect those which relied vpon them in *Asia*, but therein to make new Alliances: namely (as might bee vnderstood) with such as were his subiects. Wherefore they vrged his Embassadors to come to a point, and tell them plainly which of these two Conditions their King would accept. For lacke of a pleasing answer, which the Embassadors could not heretoe make; little wanted of giuing presently defiance to the King. But they suffered themselves to be entreated, and were contented once againe to send ouer *P. Villius*, and others that had been 40 already with the King at *Lysimachia*; by whom they might receiue a finall answer, whether these demands made by *Quintius* and his Associates would be accepted, yes, or no. By this respite of time, and the fruitlesse Treaties ensuing, *Antiochus* got the leisure of two yeeres, or thereabouts, to prepare for warre; finding in the *Romans* all that while, no disposition to let him liue in peace.

§. V.

Of the long warres which the *Romans* had with the *Gauls*, *Ligurians*, and *Spaniards*. Of *M. Porcius Cato*. Injuries done by *Manassilla* to the *Carthaginians*, that sue to the *Romans* 50 for iustice in vaine.

THE *Insubrians*, *Boians*, and other of the *Cisalpine Gauls*, together with the *Ligurians*; made often, and (in a manner) continuall warre vpon the *Romans* in *Italie*, euen from such time as *Hannibal* and his brother *Mago* departed thence, vntill such time as they themselves were vterly subdued: which was not, before the *Romans* were almost at the vey height of their Empire. These Nations, hauing served vnder *Mago* for wages, and afterwards hauing gotten *Amilcar* a *Carthaginian*, to be Leader vnto them all, as hath beene already shewed; by this their fellowship in Armes,

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this booke.

Armes grew to be such willing partakers each of others fortune, that seldome afterwards either the *Gauls* or *Ligurians* did stirre alone, but that their companions, hearing it, were readie to second them. How the *Romans* first prevailed, and got large possessions in *Gallia Cisalpina* now called *Lombardie*; it hath beene long since rehearsed, betwene the first and second *Punic* Warres. As also it hath since appeared, how they lost the greatest part of their hold in that Countrey, by meanes of *Hannibal* his passage there-through. Neither is it likely that the re-conquest would have bene more difficult or tedious vnto the *Romans*, than was the first purchase: if, besides the greater employments which they had of their Armies abroad, their forces appointed vnto this warre had not beene distracted by the *Ligurians*; that alwaies made them to proceed warily, hauing an eye to the danger at their backes. The *Ligurians* were a stout Nation, light and swift of bodie; so well practised in laying ambushes, and not discouraged with any ouerthrow, but forthwith ready to fight againe. Their Countrey was mountainous, rough, wooddie, and full of streight and dangerous passages. Few good Townes they had; but many Castles, exceedingly well fortified by nature: so as without much labour, they could neither bee taken nor besieged. They were also very poore, and had little or nothing that might giue contentment vnto a victorious Armie that should spoyle their Land. In these respects, they scrued excellently well, to traine vp the *Roman* Souldiers to hardnesse and military patience: teaching them (besides other exercises of warre) to endure much, and liue contented with a little. Their quarrell to *Rome*, grew partly from their loue vnto the *Gauls*, so their neighbours and companions, partly from their delight in robbing and spoyleing the Territorie of their borderers, that were subiect vnto *Rome*. But their obstinate continuance in the Warre which they had begun, seemed to haue bin grounded vpon the Condition of all Salvages; To be friends or foes, by custome, rather than by Iudgement; and to acknowledge no such vertue in Leagues, or formall conclusions of Peace, as ought to hinder them from vsing their advantage, or taking reuenge of injuries when they returne to minde. This qualitie is found in all, or most of the *West-Indians*: who, if they be demanded a reason of the Warres betwene them and any of their neighbours, doe vie commonly this answer, *it hath still bene the custome for vs and them, to fight one against the other.*

• Diuers ouerthrowes, though none that were great, these *Ligurians* gaue vnto the *Romans*: but many more, and greater, they received. Often they fought peace, when they found themselves in distresse; and brake it againe as often, when they thought it profitable so to doe. The best was, that as their Countrey was a good place of exercise vnto the *Romans*, so out of their owne Countrey they did little harme: not sending any great Armies farre from home; perhaps, because they knew not how to make warre, save on their owne ground.

The Countrey of *Spaine*, as it was the first part of the Continent out of *Italie* that became subiect vnto the *Romans*: so was it the last of all their Prouinces, which was wholly & thoroughly by them subdued. It is likened in figure by some Geographers vnto an Ox-hide: and the *Romans* found in it the property of that Ox-hide, which *Calanus* the *Indian* shewed vnto the Great *Alexander*, as an Embleme of his large Dominions. For, treading vpon any side of it, the further parts would rise from the ground. And thus was it with *Spaine*. Seldome did it happen, that those parts from which the *Roman* Armies lay furthest, were not vp in rebellion. The *Spaniards* were a very hardy Nation, and easily stirred vp to armes; but had not much knowledge in the Art of warre, nor any good Captaines. They wanted also (being divided into many small Signiories, that had little other communion than of language, they seldome or neuer provided in generall for the common good of their Countrey; but made it their chiefe care, each of them to looke vnto their owne Territorie. Such priuate respects made them often to fall asunder, when many had vniued themselves together, for chasing out of the *Romans*. And these were the causes of their often ouerthrowes: as desire of liberty, rather than complaint of any wrong done to them, was the cause of their oftentaking armes.

The *Carthaginians* had bene accustomed, to make euacuation of this Chollerike *Spanish* humour; by employing as Mercenaries in their warres abroad, those that were most likely to be vnquiet at home. They had also taken Souldiers from one part of the Countrey, and vsed them in another: finding meanes to pay them all, out of the profits which

which they raysed vpon the whole Countrey; as being farre better husbands, and of more dexteritie than were the *Romans*, in that kinde. But contrariwise the *Romans*, vsing the seruice of their owne Legions, and of their sure friends the *Laines*, had little businesse for the *Spaniards*; and therefore were faine to haue much businesse with them. *Spaine* was too far distant, and withal too great, for them to send out Colonies thither, whereby to hold it in good order, according to the course that they tooke in *Italie*. Wherefore it remained, that they should alwaies maintaine such Armies in the Countrey, as might serue to hold it in obedience perforce; and such heedfull Captaines, as might be still ready to oppose the *Barbarians* in their first Commotion. This they did: and so thereby held the Countrey, though seldome in peace.

Very soone after the departure of *Scipio*, there was raised warre in *Spaine* against the *Romans*, euen vpon the same generall ground, that was the foundation of all the *Spanish* Warres following. It was thought vnreasonable, that the *Spaniards* should one while helpe the *Carthaginians* against the *Romans*, and another while the *Romans* against the *Carthaginians*; basely forgetting to helpe themselves against those that were strangers, yet vsurped the Dominion ouer them. But the forces which *Scipio* had left behinde him in that Countrey, being well acquainted with the manner of Warre in those parts, suppressed this Rebellion by many victories: and, together with subiection, brought peace vpon the Countrey; which lasted five yeeres. This Victory of the *Romans*, though it happily ended the Warre: yet left it still remaining the cause of the Warre; which after five yeeres brake out againe. The *Spaniards* sought a battaile with the *Romans* Proconsul, whom they slew; and had a great Victorie, that filled them with greater hopes. Yet the happie successe of their Warres in *Greece*, made the *Romans* thinke it enough to send thither to Prætors, and with each of them some two Legions. These did somewhat: yet not so much, but that *M. Porcius Cato*, who was Consul the yere following, and sent into that Prouince, found at his coming little lesse to doe, than the reconquering of all *Spaine*. But it fell out happily, that all the *Spaniards* were not of one minde: some were faithfull to *Rome*; and some were idle beholders of the paines that others tooke. Yet when *Cato* had wonne a great victory vpon the chiefe of them; they rose against him in many parts of the Countrey, and put him vnto much new trouble. Whilest he was about to make a iourne against those that were as yet vnsubdued: some of the lately vanquished, were euen ready to rebell. Hee therefore dismissed them: which they tooke so heauily, that many of them slew themselves for very griefe. Hearing of this, and well vnderstanding, that such desperation might worke dangerous effects; Hee called vnto him the principall among them: and commending vnto them peace and quietnesse, which they neuer had disturbed but vnto their owne great losse, He prayed them to deuise what course might be taken, for holding them assured vnto *Rome*, without further trouble. None of them could, or would giue counsaile in a matter of this nature. Having therefore talked with them once or twice, and finding their inuention barren in this kinde of Subiect; Hee gaue expresse charge, That vpon a day appointed they should throw downe the wals of all their Townes. Afterwards he carried the Warre about from place to place; and with singular industry finished it in short time. Neither thought he it any disgrace to him or to *Rome*, in this time of danger, to imitate the *Carthaginians*, and hire an Armie of the *Celtiberians*, against other of their Countreymen: excusing the indignitie, such as it seemed, with a iest. That if he were vanquished and slaine, then should hee neede to pay them nothing; whereas if he had the Victory, hee could pay them with the Enemies money. Finally, He brought the Warre to so good end, that in long time after, though *Spaine* were often troubledome, yet was it in no danger of being lost. He increased also the publike Reuenues in that Prouince, by raising some Mines of Iron and Siluer to be wrought, that had before laine vnregarded. Herein hee did benefit the Common-wealth, by a vertue much agreeable to his owne peculiar disposition.

For this *M. Cato* was not onely very notable in the Art of War, which might well be then termed the Occupation of the *Romans*; but so well furnished with all other vsfull qualities, that very little was wanting in him, which might seeme requisite to the accomplishment of a perfect man. He was very skillfull in the *Roman* Lawes, a man of great Eloquence, & not vnprofitable in any businesse either priuate or publike. Many books he wrote: whereof the principall were, of the *Roman* antiquities, & of husbandry. In matter

of husbandrie he was notable, and thereby most increased his substance; being of meane birth, and the first of his House. Strong of bodie he was, and exceeding temperate: so as he liued in perfect health to very old age. But that which most commended him vnto the better sort of the *Romans*, was his great sinceritie of life, abstinence from bribes, and fashioning himselfe to the ancient laudable Customes of the Citie. Herein he had merited singular commendations, if the vehemencie of his nature had not caused him to maligne the vertue of that Noble *Scipio the African*, and some other worthy men; that were no lesse honest than himselfe, though farre lesse rigid, and more gallant in behaviour. Otherwise, Hee was a very good Citizen, and one of such temper, that hee could fashion himselfe to all occasions; as if he were neuer out of his Element. He loued businesse so well, or rather hated vice so earnestly; that euen vnto the end of his life, He was exercised in defending himselfe, or accusing others. For at the age of fourescore & sixe yeeres, He pleaded in his owne defence: and foure yeeres after, he accused *Sergius Galba* vnto the People. So began the Nobility of *Cato* his family, which ended in his great grandchilde *M. Cato the Pitan*: one, that being of like vertue and seruencie, had all his good purposes dash't, and was finally wearied out of his life, by men of such Nobilitie and greatnesse as this his Ancestor had continually vexed.

The *Spanish* Warres, after *Cato* his departure out of the Countrie, though they were not very dangerous, yet were they many; and the Countrie seldome free from insurrection, in one part or other. The *Romane* Prætors therefore, of which two euery yeere 20 were sent ouer Commanders into *Spain* (that was diuided into Governements) did rarely faile of such worke, as might afford the honour of Triumph. One flew thirtene thousand *Spaniards* in battell: another tooke fiftie Townes; and a third enforced many States of the Countrie to sue for Peace. Thus euery one of them, or most of them, did some laudable seruice; and yet so, that commonly there were of men, townes, and people, new that rebelled, in stead of the old that were slaine, taken, or reclaimed. At the causes hereof, I haue already pointed; and therefore thinke it enough to say, That the businesse in *Spain* required not the imployment of a *Romane* Consul, from such time as *Cato* thence departed, vntill the *Numidian* Warre broke out, which was verie long after.

In all other Countreies to the West of the *Ionian* Seas, the *Romans* had peace; but so had not the *Carthaginians*. For when *Hannibal* was gone from them, and that the enemies of the *Barchine* House promised all felicitie which *Rome* could grant, vnto themselves & their obedient Citie: *Masaniissa* fell to disputing with the sword, about the title to the best part of their Lands. He began with *Emporia*, a fruitful Region about the lesser *Syrtis*: wherein among other Cities was that of *Leptis*, which daily paid a Talent vnto *Carthage* for Tribute. This Countrie the *Numidian* challenged; and by winning some part of it, seemed to better his claime vnto the whole. He had a great advantage: for that the *Carthaginians* might not make any Warre, without leaue obtained from their Masters the *Romans*. They had none other way of redresse, than by sending to *Rome* their Complaint of his doings. And surely they wanted not good matter to allege, if the Judges had been vnpartiall. For besides that *Scipio*, in limiting out to them their bounds had left them the possession of this Countrie: *Masaniissa* himselfe, now very lately, pursuing a Rebelle that fled out of his Kingdom, desired leaue of the *Carthaginians*, for himselfe to passe through it in his way to *Cyrene*: thereby acknowledging (had it otherwise been questionable) that the Countrey was theirs. This notwithstanding, *Masaniissa* had wherewith to iustifie his proceedings, especially vnto the *Romane* Senate. Hee gaue the *Fathers* to vnderstand by his Embassadors, what faithlesse people the *Carthaginians* were, and how ill-affected to the State of *Rome*. There had lately bene sent vnto them from 50 *Hannibal*, one that should perswade them to take part with *Antiochus*. This man they had examined vpon some suspicion of his errand; yet neither arresting him nor his shippe, had thereby afforded him meanes to escape. Hence the *Numidian* concluded, That certainly it was their purpose to rebell; and therefore good policie to keepe them downe.

As for the Countrie of *Emporia*: it had alwaies, hee said, bene theirs that were able to hold it by strong hand: and so belonged sometime vnto the *Numidian* Kings; though now of late it was in possession of the *Carthaginians*. But if truth were knowne, the Citizens of *Carthage* had not any very warrantable title vnto any more ground, than

that whereon their Citie stood; or scarcely to so much. For they were no better than strangers in *Africk*, that had gotten leaue thereto build vpon so much ground, as they could encompass with an Ox-hide cut into small thongs. Whatsoever they held without such a compasse, was purchased by fraud, and wrongfull encroachments. This considered, *Masaniissa* requested of the Senate, That they would not adiudge vnto such vsurers, the Countrie sometimes appertaining to the Ancestors of him their assured friend. The *Romans* hauing heard these allegations on both sides, found the matter too doubtful, that they could not on the sudden tell what to determine. Wherefore because they would doe nothing rashly; they sent ouer three Embassadors, of whom *P. Scipio* the 10 *African* was one and the chiefe, to decide the controuersie: yet secretly giuing them instructions, to leaue all as they found it, without making any end one way or other. The Embassadors followed their directions, and left all doubtful. So was it likely, that *Masaniissa* with a strong Army should quickly preuaile, against those that could no more than talke of their right, and exclaime against the wrong. By such Arts were the *Carthaginians* held, not onely from stirring in fauour of King *Antiochus*, if they had thereto any disposition; but were prepared by little and little vnto their final destruction: that came vpon them, when the *Romans* had leisure to expresse the utmost of their hatred.

§. VI.

The *Atolians* labour to prouoke *Antiochus*, Philip, and Nabis, to warre vpon the *Romans*; by whom they hold themselves wronged and disgraced. Nabis besiegeth *Gythium*, and wasteth some part of *Achaia*. The exact skill of Philopœmen, in advantage of ground: whereby hee utterly vanquisheth Nabis. *Antiochus* being denied Peace by the *Romans*, comes with the *Atolians*. The *Atolians* surprize *Demetrius*; and by killing Nabis, their Confederates, seize vpon *Sparta*. But they are driven out by the Citizens: who at Philopœmen his persuasions annex themselves to the *Achaians*.

30 **W**HEN *L. Greece* being at peace, and the *Roman* Armies thence departed: it grieved much the *Atolians* to thinke, that they who had promised vnto themselves the whole spoyle of *Philip*, and the highest reputation among the *Greekes*, were not onely disappointed of their couetous hopes, but quite forsaken by their ancient dependants; and of all other the most vngrateful. Yet was there made a great access to their Estate; by adding much vnto them, of that which had bene taken from the *Macedonian*. This might haue well sufficed them, if their desires had not bene immoderate; and their indignation more vehemēt, than their desire. But they were not so pleased with that which they had, since they thought it no more than part of their due; as they were vexed with the denial of that which they claimed, and with finding themselves to be wholly disesteemed, wherein they thought that they had vn- 40 scorable wrong. Wherefore they deuided, in a Parliament which they shortly held, by what means they best might right themselves; and giue the *Romans* a sorrowfull knowledge of the difference, betwene their enmity and friendship. To this purpose they soone agreed, as concurring all in one affection; That they would not onely perswade *Antiochus* to make warre vpon the *Romans*, as one to whom the *Romans* had long refused Peace; but that they would deale with the King of *Macedon* their ancient Enemie; and with *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, to ioyn all together in a new Confederacy: whose ioynt forces could not in all likelihood but farre surmount those of the *Romans*, *Achaians*, *Rhodiens*, and King *Eumenes*, with all that were of their Faction. This was a great enter- 50 prise, which the *Atolians* tooke in hand; and well becoming them, for they were great soldiers. They sent Embassadors to all these Kings, with persuasions, as they thought, most forcible. But *Philip* was irresolute; and *Antiochus* willing to try first all other courses. *Nabis* the *Lacedæmonian*, who neither (as *Philip*) had lost much, nor (as *Antiochus*) was in feare of any warre; yet shewed himselfe of all other the most forward: and not staying so much as to seeke any good pretence, beganne immediately to lay siege vnto *Gythium*, that had bene lately taken from him by the *Romans*. The *Achaians*, to whose care chiefly *Titus* at his departure had commended the affaires of *Peloponnesus*, were not slow to admonish *Nabis* of his dutie: neither would they haue staied long from repreffing his violence by open Warre; had not some of them thought it wisdome

to aske counsaile of the *Romans*, and particularly of *T. Quintius*, before they engaged themselves in a businesse of such importance. Whilste thus they spent time in sending Embassadors, and were aduised by *Quintius* to let all alone, and to waite for the coming of the *Roman* forces that would shortly be amongst them: *Nabis* was bold to giue them iuster cause of complaint, by waisting their owne Territorie.

Philopemen was then Prætor of the *Achaens*, who had long been absent in *Crete*, making war there for his mindes sake and recreation. Vnto him the *Achaens* referred themselves, giuing him leaue to order the warre at his pleasure; either staying till the *Romans* came, or doing otherwise, as he should thinke best. He made all haste to relieue *Gythium*, by Sea; for he left the Towne, and the *Achaen* Garrison within it, should be lost, if he vied any delay. But *Philopemen* was so bad a Sea-man, that hee knew not a strong Ship from a rotten. Hee made a Quadrireme Gallie his Admirall, that had fourescore yeres agoe beene counted a gallant vessell, in the Naue of *Antigonus Gonatas*. Neither was the rest of his Fleece so good, as might encounter with that of the *Lacedæmonians*. Onely it fell out well, that he committed himselfe to a light Pinnace or Brigandine, that fought better with her wings, than with her tallons. For his Admirall Gallie was stemed at the first; and being rotten with age, sprang so many leakes, and tooke in water so fast, that he was faine to yeeld without further resistance. Whenthe rest of the Fleece saw what was become of their Admirall, all were presently discouraged, and saved themselves with what speed they could. But *Philopemen* was not herewith danted. If hee had failed in Sea-seruice, which was none of his Occupation, He said, that he would make amends by Land. The Tyrant withdrew part of his Armie from the siege of *Gythium*, to stoppe the *Achaens* if they should invade his Countrey. But vpon these which were placed in guard of *Laconia*, *Philopemen* came inexpectid; fired their Camp, and put all, saue a very few of them, to the sword. Then marched hee with all his Armie towards *Lacedæmon*: within ten mile whereof he was, when the Tyrant met him that had already taken *Gythium*. It was not expected that *Nabis* would haue beene ready for them so soone. Or if hee should come from *Gythium*, with any part of his forces: yet was it thought that hee must ouertake them, and charge them in Rere. They marched therefore almost securely, in a long Troupe reaching some fve miles; hauing their Horse, and the greatest part of their Auxiliaries at their backs, to beare off any sudden impression. But *Nabis*, who formerly vnderstood, or at least suspected, what course they would take, appeared in the front of them with all his Armie; encamped there where they meant to haue lodged. It was the custome of *Philopemen*, when he walked or trauelled abroad with his friends, to make the situation of the Countrey about him; and to discourse, what might befall an Armie marching the same. He would suppose, That hauing with him there such a number of Souleiers, ordered and fortified in such manner, and marching towards such a place; he were vpon that ground encountered by a greater Armie, or better prepared to the fight. Then would hee put the question, whether it were meet for him to hold on his way, retire, or make a stand? what peece of ground it were meet for him to seize vpon? and in what manner he might best do it: in what fort he should order his men? where bestow his Carriages, and vnder what Gard? in what fort encampe himselfe: and which way march the day following? By such continual meditation, hee was growne so perfect, that hee did neuer meet with any difficultie, whence hee could not explicate himselfe and his followers. At this time hee made a stand: and hauing drawne vp his Rere, Hee encamped neere vnto the place where hee was; within halfe a mile of the Enemy. His baggage, with all thereto belonging, he bestowed on a Rocke; encompassing them round with his Souldiours. The ground was rough, the wayes bad, and the day almost quite spent; so as *Nabis* could not at the present greatly molest him. Both Armies wrote to water at one Brooke; whereto the *Achaens* lay the neerer. This watering therefore was like to minister the first occasion of skirmish. *Philopemen* vnderstood this; and layd an ambush in place conuenient; wherinto the Mercenaries of *Nabis* fell, and were slaughtered in great numbers. Presently after this, hee caused one of his owne Auxiliaries to goe to the Tyrant, as a fugitive, and tell him, that the *Achaens* had a purpose to get betwene him and *Lacedæmon*; whereby they would both debarre his returne into the Citie, and withall encourage the people to take Armes for the recovery of their freedome. The Tyrant hearing this, marched hastily away; and left his Campe, which hardly otherwise would haue bene forced.

Some

Some Companies he made to stay behinde, and flew themselves vpon the Rampart, thereby to concale his departure. But *Philomen* was not so to be ouerguiled. He easily wonne the Campe, and gaue chase to *Nabis*: whose followers being ouertaken, had no courage to turne about and make head. The enemies being thus disperfed, and fled into Woods, where they lay in couert all that day; *Philopemen* conceived a right, that their feare and necessitie would teach them to creepe homewards, and saue themselves, when it grew dark. Wherefore in the Evening, when he had gathered together all those of his Light-armature, which had followed the chase whilste it was day, He led forth the rest that had well refreshed themselves, and occupied the two most ordinary passages vnto *Lacedæmon*. So *Nabis* his men, when it was darke night, perceiving in *Philopemen* Campe great store of lights; thought that all had bene at rest: and therefore aduentured to make an escape home. But they were so way-laid, that hardly one quarter of them gorit into *Sparta*. Thirtie dayes together after this, did *Philopemen* waste the Countrey round about, whilste *Nabis* durst not issue forth of his Towne; and then returned home, leauing the Tyrant in a manner without forces.

The *Roman* Embassadors were then in *Greece*, and *T. Quintius* among them; labouring to make their partie strong against *Antiochus* and *Nabis*, whom they knew to be sollicitid by the *Ætolians*. Very faire countenance they also made vnto *Philip*; and with comfortable promises drew him to make shew, whatsoever hee thought, of good correspondence. They promised to restore vnto him his sonne: and were contented to let him hope, that he should receiue other fauours at their hands; and regaine possessions of many places, by them taken from him. Thus did the *Romans* prepare for warre against *Antiochus* in *Greece*, whilste their Embassadors that were with him in *Asia*, denied otherwise to grant him Peace, than if he would yeelde vnto one of the Conditions, by them so often propounded. The long absence of this King in *Syria*, where hee had accomplished the marriage betwene *Ptoleme* and his daughter, together with the death of yong *Antiochus* the Kings sonne, which happened during the Treatie, and hindered, or seemed to hinder the King, from giuing audience in person to the Embassadors, caused them to returne home to *Rome*; as vncertaine of their answers as at their setting forth. One thing that might haue bene, and partly was, beneficiall vnto them, they brought to passe during their abode at *Ephesus*; either by cunning, or (as *Linie* rather thinks) by chance. Finding *Hannibal* there, they discouered often with him, and blamed him for hauing thus fled vnto *Antiochus*, vpon a vaine and vaine suspicion wherein he held the *Romans*: that honoured his vertue, and intended him no harme. Many haue affirmed that *P. Scipio* was one of these Embassadors; and that he, among other discourses with *Hannibal*, demanded once, which of all the famous Captaines that had liued, *Hannibal* iudged the most worthy? So *Hannibal* gaue to *Alexander* of *Macedon* the first place: to *Pyrhus* the second: and the third he challenged vnto himselfe. But *Scipio* who thought his owne title better, than that it ought to be so forgotten: asked yet further, What wouldst thou haue said then, *Hannibal*, if thou hadst vanquished mee? To whom the *Carthaginian* replied, Then would not I haue giuen the first place to *Alexander*, but haue claimed it as due vnto my selfe. Now whether this were so, or otherwise: the often and friendly conference of *Hannibal* with the *Roman* Embassadors, made him suspected of *Antiochus*; who therefore did forbear a while to vse his counsell. Yet afterwards, when *Hannibal* perceived this change in the King: and plainly desiring him to tell the cause thereof, heard what it was; He easily recovered his former grace, and credit. For hee told how his Father had caused him to sweare at the Altars, when he was a little boy, That he neuer should be friend vnto the *Romans*. Wherefore he willed the King not to regard any vaine surmises: but to know thus much, That so long as hee thought vpon warre with *Rome*, so long would *Hannibal* doe him all good seruice: whereas contrariwise if he intended to make peace, then should it behooue him to vse the counsaile of some other man.

The *Ætolians*, and their friends, were no lesse busied all this while, in making their partie strong against the *Romans*, than were the *Romans*, in mustering vp their friends in *Greece*. They had so often dealt with *Antiochus*, vinting much of their owne forces, and arrogating to themselves the honour of the victory against *Philip*; that finally they prevailed with him; especially when the *Roman* Embassadors had left him without hope of peace, vnto which he would buy it at a deare rate. They dealt in like sort with the *Macedonian*.

But

But in vaine. He vnderstood the *Romans*, and himselfe, too well. Wherefore it concerned them to improve their owne forces to the vttermost: as knowing, that althebut then must lie vpon *Antiochus* and themselves, without helpe from any; saue onely from some few that were discontented in *Greece*. Whilst they were about this, and had with them an Embassador of the King *Antiochus* that animated them to resolution: the *Athenian* Embassadors, whom *Titus* had requested to be at their meeting, stayed their vehemencie a little; by exhorting them, not to conclude rashly, without first hearing the *Romans*, that lay neere at hand. For want of a ready answer hereto, they were contented to approve the motion. *Titus* hearing this, thought the businesse worthy of his presence. For since *Antiochus* had now declared himselfe against the *Romans*: it would be no small piece of seruice, to withdraw from his friendship, those by whose encouragement he had made the aduerture. Wherefore he came to their *Panatholium*, or great Assembly of the Nation; where he forgot nothing that might serue to appease them. He willed them to consider the weight of the enterprize which they tooke in hand; whereby *Greece* was like to become a Champaigne-field, on which, to the ruine of the Countrey, the *Romans*, and King *Antiochus*, that commanded no small part of the World, should fight for the Masterie: the *Ætolians*, as Masters in that kinde of Fence, setting them on, and becoming the *Sticklers*. As for those grievances which did thus exasperate them, and vrged them to such violent courses, Hee willed them to consider how slight they were, and how much better they might doe to send Embassadors to *Rome*, that should either pleade 20 their right in the Senate, or (if their right vnto the places which they claimed, were not good) make request to haue what they desired: than thus to set the world in an vprore, and be afterwards the first that should repent it. But what he said, or could say, it skiled not much. They had already done ill, to make the Embassador of the King, whose helpe they had sought, waite so long for an answer, and stay doubting what good end they should make with the *Romans*. Neither was it newes vnto them to heare those comfortable words, That, by sending to *Rome*, they might happen to obtaine what they desired, either as their right, or else by way of fauour. For with such termes had they bene treated once already: and were by the Senate reiected vnto *Titus*: who, hauing it in his owne power, gaue them no satisfaction; yet would now againe referre them to the Senate. This was onely losse of time, and might abate their credit with *Antiochus*. Wherefore without more adoe they made a Decree, That King *Antiochus the Great* should be entreated to come ouer into *Greece*, as well to set the Countrey at libertie, as also to decide the controuersies depending betwene the *Romans* and *Ætolians*. Such a Decree they would not haue made, had they not vnderstood the Kings minde before. Hauing made it; they forgot no point of brauery, whereby to vaunt themselves to the Kings Embassadors, and against the *Romans*. *Titus* desired of their Prætor, to let him see a Copie of this new Decree. The Prætor answered, That then he had other things to doe: but that this Decree, and their further answer, they would shortly let him know, if hee came to their campe in *Italy* vpon the riuer of *Tibris*. Gentler words would haue done better, as 40 the *Ætolians* are like to vnderstand hereafter. But hauing thus begun, they meant henceforth to goe roundly to worke. The care of the warre they referred vnto the more priuate Councell of their Nation; that no occasion might slip, in waiting for the Authoritie of a generall Assembly. The *Apocleti* (so were the Priuie Councell of *Ætolia* called) went as plots to worke as any of the yongest heads could haue done. They laid a plot, how to get into their hands at one time the Townes of *Chalcis*, *Demetrias*, and *Sparta*: to each of which they sent men for the purpose. *Demetrias* they tooke vpon the sudden, entering, some of them as friends to conduct home a principall man of the Citie: who for speaking words against *T. Quintius*, had bene driven to flee thence, but was, by intercession of those that loued him, againe recalled. His *Ætolian* companions, that were 50 not many, seized vpon a Gate; whereat they let in a Troupe which they had left not farr behinde them; and so fell to murdering the chiefe of the *Roman* Faction. At *Chalcis* they sped not so well. Thither also they had a banished man to bring home: but they came so strong, that their purpose was discovered, and the Towne prepared to defend it selfe against them. Being therefore demanded the cause of this hostilitie, they gaue a gentle answer, saying, That they came not thither as enemies, but onely to deliuer the Towne from the *Romans*; who more insolently dominated ouer it, than euer the *Macedonians* had done: By which Rhetorick they preuailed no more, than they could doe by plain force.

*Lini. l. 35. ad-
missu Aetoli,
force, lausit.

force. For the Townesmen replied, That they neither found any abridgement of their libertie, nor needed any Garrison to keepe them from the *Romans*, from whom they neither feared any danger, nor receiued iniurie. So this businesse was dashed. The attempt vpon *Sparta* was more strange and desperate. *Nabis*, their good friend, was Lord of the Towne, styling himselfe King: but, more truly by all men called Tyrant. He had wellnere lost all, by means of the ouerthrow which *Philopemen* had lately giuen him: since, he durst not stirre abroad; and daily expected the mischief, that on all sides threatened him. Wherefore he sent messengers, one after another, to the *Ætolians*, requesting them, That as He had not bene slow to stirre in their behalfe, but aduertured himselfe vpon the vtmost of danger, when all others were backward; so they would be pleased to send him what helpe they might, since his bad fortune had caused him presently to neede it. *Nabis* had bene often said, That the rauenous *Ætolians* were onely true to themselves, and regarded neither faith nor friendship otherwise than as it might conduce to their owne ends. And so dealt they now. For since *Nabis* his mercenarie forces, which upheld his Tyranny, were in a manner consumed: they thought it expedient for their Estate, to put him out of the way, and by so doing, to assure *Lacedæmon* vnto themselves. To this purpose, they lent thither *Alexamenus*, one whom they thought a man fit for such a worke. To him they gaue a thousand Foot, and thirtie Horse, chosen for the purpose. These thirtie were by *Damocritus* the Prætor brought into the Councell of the 20 *Apocleti*, where they were commanded to be no wiser than they should be, nor to thinke that they were sent to make warre with the *Achaens*, or to doe ought else, saue onely what *Alexamenus* should command them; which, were it neuer so desperate, and in seeming against all reason; yet must they vnderstand, that vnto they performed it, they should haue no good welcome home. So *Alexamenus* came to the Tyrant, whom he encouraged with braue words: telling him that *Antiochus* was already in *Europe*, and would be anon in *Greece*, meaning to couer all the Land and Sea with his mighty Armies; and that the *Romans* were like to finde other manner of worke, than of late with *Philip*: since the Elephants of this great King, without other helpe, would suffice to tread them downe. As for the *Ætolians*, He said, that if neede should so require, they would 30 presently send away to *Lacedæmon* all the forces that they should raise: But that they were very desirous at the present, to make as goodly a muster as they could before the great King; which caused them to send him thither afore with no greater companie. Hereupon he willed *Nabis* to take heart; bring forth his men, that had bene long pend vp in the Citie; and traine them without the wals: as if shortly he should employ them in worke of conquest, rather than defence. *Nabis* was glad of this: and daily exercised his men in the field; riding vp and downe with his *Alexamenus*, and no more than three or foure horse about him, from one point to another, to order and behold them. During this time of exercise, *Alexamenus* made it his fashion to step aside alone to his *Ætolians*, and say somewhat as he thought fit: which done, he still returned againe to *Nabis*. But when he 40 saw time for the great worke that he had in hand: He then went aside to his thirtie Horsemen, and bade them remember the taske enioyned them at their setting forth; telling them that they were all in case of banished men, vnto they would anyone come vp to him, and helpe him to finish that which they should see him take in hand. Herewith all the Tyrant beganne to draw neere them: and *Alexamenus* making towards him, charged him on the sudden, and strucke him downe. The thirtie *Ætolians* neuer stood to deliberate vpon the matter: but all flew in; and, before any seccour could arriue, had made an end of this wretched *Nabis*. Presently vpon the fact committed, the Tyrant his Mercenaries ranne vnto the dead body: where in stead of seeking reuenge, they stood foolishly gazing as beholders. *Alexamenus* with his *Ætolians* hastened into the Citie, and seized on the Palace: where he fell to ransacking the Treasure; and troubled himselfe with none other care, as though all were already done. Such of his followers 50 as were dispersed in the Towne, did also the like; with the greater indignation of the Citizens: who seeing themselves free by the death of the Tyrant, could not endure to see those that had slaine him, beginne to tyrannize anew. Wherefore all the Towne was shortly in Armes: and for lacke of another Capitaine, they tooke a little Boy of the Royall stocke, that had bene brought vp with *Nabis* his children; whom they mounted vpon a good Horse, and made him their Chiefe. So they fell vpon the *Ætolians* that were idly stragling about; and put them all to the sword. *Alexamenus* with

with not many of his Company, were slaine in keeping the Citadell: and those few that escaped thence into *Arcadia*, were taken by the Magistrates; who sold them all as bond-slaves. In this doubtfull Estate of things at *Lacedemon*, *Philopamen* came thither: who calling out the chiefe of the Citie, and speaking such words vnto them, as *Alexamenus* should haue done after he had slaine the Tyrant; easily perswaded them for their owne good and safetie, to incorporate themselves with the *Achaens*. Thus by the enterprise, no lesse dishonourable than difficult, of the *Aetolians*, and the small, but effectual, traualle of *Philopamen*, the *Achaens* made a notable purchase: and *Lacedemon*, that had hitherto bin gouerned either by Kings, or by Tyrants that called themselves Kings, became the member of a Common-wealth, whereof the name had scarce any reputation, when *Sparta* ruled ouer all *Greece*.

§. VII.

Antiochus, perswaded by *Thoas* the *Aetolian*, comes ouer into *Greece*, ill attended. Sundry passages betwene him, the *Aetolians*, *Chalcidians* and others. He wins *Chalcis*, and thereby the whole Ile of *Euboea*. The vanitie of the Kings Embassadors and the *Aetolians*, with the Ciuill answer of *Titus* to their discourse, before the *Achaens*. That it concerned the *Greekes* to haue desired peace, betwene the *Romans* and *Antiochus*; as the best assurance of their owne libertie. Of many petty Estates that fell to the King. Of *Aminander*; and amide vanitie, by which King *Philip* was lost. *Hannibal* gives good counsaile in vaine. Some Townes wonne in *Theffalie*. The King retires to *Chalcis*; Where hee marieth a young Wife, and reuells away the rest of Winter. Vpon the coming of the Roman Consul all for sake *Antiochus*. He with two thousand *Aetolians* keeps the Streights of *Thermopylae*. He is beaten, and flies into *Asia*: leauing all in *Greece* vnto the Victors.

Antiochus was troubled much in *Asia* with *Smyrna* and *Lampfacus*, that would not hearken to any Composition. He thought it neither safe nor honourable, to leaue them Enemies behinde him; and to winne them by force, was more than hitherto he was able. Yet was he desirous with all speede conuenient to shew himselfe in *Greece*; where he had bin told, that his presence would effect wonders. It was said, That in all the Countrie there was a very small number, which bore harie affection vnto the *Romans*: That *Nabis* was already vp in Armes: That *Philip* was like a Bandog in a chaine, desiring nothing more than to breake loose; and that the *Aetolians*, without whom the *Romans* had done nothing, nor nothing could haue done, were ready to conferre vpon him the greatnesse, which they had vnworthily bestowed vpon insolent *Barbarians*. Of all this the least part was true. Yet that which was true made such a noise as added credit vnto all the rest. Whilest therefore the King was thinking to send *Hannibal* into *Africke*, there to molest the *Romans*, and so giue him the better leisure of vsing his owne opportunities in *Greece*: *Thoas* the *Aetolian* came ouer to him, and bad him lay all other care aside; for that his Countreymen had already taken *Demetrius*; a Towne of maine importance, that should giue him entertainment, whence he might proceede as became the greatnesse of his vertue and fortune. This did serue to cut off all deliberation. As for *Hannibal*: *Thoas* was bold to tell the King, first, That it was not expedient for him to diuide his forces at such a time, when the very reputation of his numbers, brought into *Greece*, might serue to lay open vnto him all places, without neede of vsing violence: and secondly, That in any such great enterprise there could not be chosen a more vsuit man to be employed in the Kings seruice, than was that famous *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*. For he said, That the King should as greatly feeble the losse of a Fleet or Armie, perishing vnder such a notable Commander if his fortune were bad, as so if the same had miscarried vnder one of meaner qualitie: whereas neuertheless if *Hannibal* prevailed; *Hannibal* alone should haue all the honour, and not *Antiochus*. In this regard he was of opinion, That such a renowned Warriour should be alwayes neere vnto the Kings person, to giue aduice: which being followed as often as it was found commodious, the good successe would wholly redound vnto the honour of him that had the soueraigne Command, euen of the King himselfe. *Antiochus* gladly hearkned vnto this admonition; being iealous of the vertue, that shined brighter than the Maiestie of his owne fortune. And thereupon he laid aside the determination, which tended more to the aduancement of his desires, than did any thing else by him then or after thought vpon.

Presently

Presently after this He made ready for *Greece*. Before his setting forth, in a friuolous pompe of ceremony, he went vp from the Sea-side to *Ithum*; there to doe sacrifice to *Minerva* of *Troy*. Thence passing ouer the *Aegean* Sea, He came to *Demetrius*. *Eurylochus* the *Magnesian*, the same whom the *Aetolians* had lately waited on home, when by that pretext they won *Demetrius* was now the chiefe man and Ruler of his Nation. He therefore with his Countreymen, in great frequency, came to doe their duties to the King *Antiochus*, and bid him welcome. The King was glad of this: and tooke it as a signe of good lucke, to be so entertained at the beginning. But it may be suspected, that the *Magnesian* was not the like cause of ioy. For whereas they had expected a Fleet and Armie somewhat like to that of *Xerxes*: they saw three hundred ships; of which, no more than fortie were seruiceable for the Warres; with an Armie of ten thousand Foot, five hundred Horse, and sixe Elephants. The *Aetolians* no sooner heard of his coming, than they called a Parliament; and made a Decree, whereby they invited him into their Countrey. He knew before that they would so doe; and was therefore well on ward on his way towards them, when they met him that brought the Decree. At his coming to *Lamia*, the *Aetolians* gaue him as ioyfull entertainment as they could deuise. Being brought into their Countrell, He made an Oracion: wherein he desired them to hold him excused, that he came not followed with a greater Armie. This, he said, in true estimation a signe of his good will: in that he staid not to make all things ready; but hasted vnto their aide, euen whilest the season was vsuit for navigation. Yet it should not be long, ere the hope of all those which had expected him, would be satisfied vnto the full. For it was his meaning to fill all *Greece* with Armies, and all the Sea-coast with his Fleets. Neither would he spare for any charge, traualle, or danger, to follow the businesse which he had vndertaken: euen to driue the *Romans* and their authoritie out of *Greece*; leaving the Countrey free indeede, and the *Aetolians* therein the chiefe. Now as the Armies that were following him, should be very great: so was this his meaning, that all prouisions to them belonging should be correspondent; because hee would not be any way burdensome vnto his Confederates. But at the present he must needs entreat them, hauing thus hastily come ouer vnto their aide, vnprovided of many necessaries: that they would helpe him with Corne and other vsuals, whereof he stood in neede. So he left them to their consultation: the conclusion whereof was, after a litle dispute, (for a vaine motion was made by some, that the differences betwene the *Romans* and them, should be put by Compromise to the decision of *Antiochus*) That they would yeelde vnto the Kings desire, and assist him with all their forces. Here we may obserue, how vaine a thing it is for an absolute Prince to engage himselfe, as did *Antiochus* in a businesse of dangerous importance, vpon the promised assurance of a State that is merely popular. For if the vehemencie of *Thoas*, and some other of that Faction, had not prevailed in this Countrell: the *Aetolians*, for gaine of two or three Townes, yea for hope of such gaine that might haue deceived them; were like to haue abandoned this King their friend, vnto the discretion of the *Romans*. And what remedy had there been, if this had so fallen out? He could haue beanoed himselfe to *Thoas*, and complained of the wrong; but he must haue bene contented with this answer, That the fault was in those of the opposite side, whom *Thoas* would therefore haue pronounced to be very wicked men. It happened much better for the present; though in the future it proued much worse, both for him, and for the *Aetolians*. He was chosen Generall of all their forces: and thirrie Commissioners were appointed to be about him, as a Countrell of Warre for the Nation. These armed such as readily they could, whilest it was in dispute where they should beginne the Warre. *Chalcis* was thought the meetest place to be first vndertaken: whether if they came suddenly, they should not peradventure neede to vse much force. The King had brought with him into *Aetolia* but a thousand Foot, leauing the rest behinde him at *Demetrius*. With these he hasted away directly toward *Chalcis*; being overtaken by no great number of the *Aetolians*, which accompanied him thither. At his coming, the Magistrates, and some of the chiefe Citizens, issued forth to parle with him. There the *Aetolians* beganne, as they had lately done before, to tell, how the *Romans* had onely in words and false semblance, set *Greece* at libertie. But such libertie, as might be true and vsfull, they said would neuer be obtained; vntill by removing the necessitie of obeying their pleasure that were most mightie, euery seuerall Estate had where to finde redresse of any pssure. And to this end was the great *Antiochus* come thither; a King well

well able to counterpoise, yea to ouerweigh the *Romans*: who neuertheless desired them onely, so to ioyne with him in League, as that if either the *Romans* and Hee should offer them wrong, they might keepe it in their power, to seeke redresse at the other hands. The *Chalcidians* made hereto the same answer, which, to the like allegations, they had made not long before: That their freedome was not imaginarie, but absolute; for which they were to thank the *Romans*; without whose good liking, they would enter into no new confederacy. That which they spake of themselves, they could likewise affirme of all the *Greekes*: forasmuch as none of them payed any Tribute; was kept vnder, by any Garrison; or liued otherwise than by their owne *Lanes*, and without being tied vnto condition which displeased them. Wherefore they wondered, why the King should thus trouble himselfe, to deliuer Cities that were already free. But since hee, and the *Ætoliens*, requested their friendship: they besought both him, and the *Ætoliens*, to doe a friendly Office, in departing from them quietly, and leauing them in such good case as they were. With this answer the King departed: for he was not, as then, strong enough to force them. But very soone after, he brought thither a greater power; which terrified them, and made them yeelde: before all the succours could arrive, which *Titus* had sent for their defence.

The chiefe Citie of *Eubœa* being thus gotten; all the rest of the Iland shortly yeelded to *Antiochus*. Four or five hundred *Roman* Souldiers, that came ouer-late to haue defended *Chalcis*, reposed themselves at *Delium*, a little Towne of *Bœotia*, lying ouer against the Iland; where was a Temple and Grove, consecrated vnto *Apollo*, that had the privilege of an inuincible Sanctuary. In this place were some of them walking, and beholding the things there to be seene, whilst others were busied as they found cause: without feare of any danger; as being in such a place, and no warre hitherto proclaimed. But *Menippus*, one of *Antiochus* his Captains, that had wearied himselfe in many vaine Treaties of peace, tooke advantage of their carelesnesse, and vied them with all extremity of warre. Very few of them escaped: fiftie were taken; and the rest slaine. Heretofore *Quintus* was grieved: yet so, as it pleased him well to consider, that his *Romans* had now more iust cause than before, to make warre vpon the King.

Antiochus liked well these beginnings, and sent Embassadors into all quarters of *Greece*, in hope, that his reputation should perswade very many to take his part. The wisest returned such answer, as the *Cælidians* had done. Some referred themselves vntill he should come among them: knowing that either, if he came not, He must hold them excused for not daring to stirre, or, if he came, the *Romans* must pardon their iust feare, in yeelding to the stronger. None of those that lay farre off, ioynd with him in true meaning; save the *Elcians*, that alwayes fauoured the *Ætoliens*, and now feared the *Acheans*. Little reason there was, that he should thinke to draw the *Acheans* to his partie: Neuertheless he assayed them, vpon a vaine hope that the enuie, which *Titus* was said to beare vnto *Philopamens* vertue, had bred a secret dislike betwene that Nation and the *Romans*. Wherefore both Hee and the *Ætoliens* sent Embassadors to the Councell at *Ægium*; that spared not braue words, if the *Acheans* would haue bene so taken. The Kings Embassadors told of great Armies and Fleets that were coming; reckoning vp the *Dahans*, *Medians*, *Elimæans* and *Cadusiens*; names that were not eury day heard of, and therefore as he thought, the more terrible. Then told he them what notable men at Sea, the *Sydaniens*, *Tyrians*, *Arabians*, and *Pamphylians* were; such indeede as could not be resisted. Now concerning money and all warlike furniture: it was, he said, well knowne, that the Kingdomes of *Asia* had alwayes thereof great plenty. So as they were much deceived: who considering the late warre made against *Philip*, did thinke that this with *Antiochus* would proue the like: the case was too farre different. Yet this most powerfull King, that for the liberty of *Greece* was come from the vtmost parts of the East; requested no more of the *Acheans*, than that they would hold themselves as neutrall, and quietly looke on, whilst Hee tooke order with the *Romans*. To the same effect spake the *Ætolian* Embassador, and further added, That in the battell at *Cynosephale*, neither *Titus* had done the part of a Generall, nor the *Romans* of good Souldiers: but that both Hee and his Armie had bene there destroyed, had they not bene protected by vertue of the *Ætoliens*, which carried the day. *Titus* was present at the Councell, and heard all this: to which he made as fit answer, as could haue bene desired. He told the *Acheans*, That neither the Kings Embassadors, nor the *Ætolian*, did so greatly labour to perswade those vnto whom they addressed

addressed their Orations; as to vaunt themselves the one vnto the other. So as a man might well discern; what good correspondence in vanitie it was, that had thus linked the King and the *Ætoliens* together. For euen such bragges as here they made, before the *Acheans* who knew them to be liars; had the *Ætoliens* also made vnto King *Antiochus*: proclaiming the victory ouer *Philip* to be merily their Act: and the whole Countrey of *Greece* to be dependant on them. It changedeably had they bene feasted by the King, with such tales as his Embassadors told euen now; of *Dahans*, and *Aradians*, and *Elimæans*, and a many others: that were all but a company of *Syrians*, such as were wont to be sold about for bondslaves, and good for little else. These diuers names of rascall people were, he said, like to the diuersitie of Venison, wherewith a friend of his at *Chalcis* (no such venter as were these Embassadors) had sometime feasted him. For all that varietie, wherewith hee wondered, was none other, as his Host then merrily tolde him; than so many pieces of one tame swine, dressed after seuerall fashions with varietie of sauces. Setting therefore aside this vanity of idle pompe: it were good to make iudgment of the great King, by his present doings. He had, notwithstanding all this great noyle, no more than tenne thousand men about him: for which little Armie hee was faine in a manner, to begge victuals of the *Ætoliens*; and take vp money at vsurie, to defray his charges. And thus he ranne vp and downe the Countrey, from *Demetrias* to *Lama*, thence backe to *Chalcis*, and being there shut out, to *Demetrias* againe. These were the fruits of lies: wherewith since both *Antiochus* and the *Ætoliens* had each deluded others; meet it was that they should, as perhaps already they did, repent, whilst wiser mentooke heede by their example. To a fauourable Auditory much perswasion is needlesse. The *Acheans* did not loue so well the *Ætoliens*, as to desire that they should become Princes of *Greece*: but rather wished to see them, of all other, made the veriest obiects. Wherefore they stood not to harken after newes, what *Antiochus* did, how he sped in *Eubœa*, or what other Cities were like to take his part: but readily proclaimed warre against him, and against the *Ætoliens*.

How the hatred betwene these two Nations grew inueterate; sufficiently appears in the storie foregoing. Now haue they gotten each their Parons; the one, the *Romans*, the other, King *Antiochus*. Herin did each of them wisely: though farre the greater blame ought to be laid on the turbulent spirits of the *Ætoliens*. For when the *Romans* departed out of *Greece*, and left the Countrey at rest: there was nothing more greatly to haue bene desired, than that they might neuer finde occasion to retaine with an Armie thither againe. And in this respect ought the *Greekes* to haue fought, not how *Smyrna* and *Lampsacus* might recouer their liberty (which had neuer bene held a matter worth regarding, vntill now of late) but how the powers of the East and West, diuided and kept asunder by their Countrey, as two Seas by an *Isthmus* or necke of land, might be kept from ouerflowing the barre that parted them. Neither had the *Romans* any better pretence for their seeking to make free those base *Asiatiques*, which originally were *Greeks*; than the generall applause, wherewith all the Nation entertained this their louing offer. Yet were *Lysimachia*, and the Townes in *Thrace*, lately gotten by *Antiochus*, pretended as a very great cause of feare, that should moue them to take armes euen in their owne defence. But if all *Greece* would haue made intercession, and requested that things might continue as they were, promising ioyntly to assist the *Romans*, with their whole forces both by Land and Sea, whensoever King *Antiochus* should make the least offer to stirre against them: then had not onely this quarrell bene at an end; but the *Roman* Patronage ouer the Countrey, had bene farre from growing, as soone after it did, into a Lordly rule.

The *Acheans* were at this time, in a manner, the onely Nation of *Greece*, that freely and generously declared themselves altogether for the *Romans*, their friends and benefactors. All the rest gaue doubtfull answers of hope vnto both sides: or if some few, as did the *Thessalians*, were firme against *Antiochus*; yet helped they not one another in the quarrell, nor shewed themselves his enemies, till he pressed them with open force. The *Bœotians* willingly receiued him, as soone as he entered vpon their borders, not so much for feare of his power, as in haerd of *Titus* and the *Romans*, by whom they had bene somewhat hardly vied. *Aminander* the *Atthamianian*, besides his old friendship with the *Ætoliens*, was caught with a bait, which it may be doubted, whether he did more foolishly swallow, or *Antiochus* cast out. He had married the daughter of an *Arcadian*, that was an

idle-headed man, and vaunted himselfe to be defended from *Alexander the Great*: naming his two sonnes, in that regard, *Philip* and *Alexander*. *Philip*, the elder of these brethren, accompanied his sister to the poore Court of *Ashamania*: where hauing made his follie knowne, by talking of his Pedegree: He was iudged by *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*, a man fit for their turnes. They made him beleue, that in regard of his high parentage, and the famous memory of *Alexander* his forefather; it was their purpose, to doe their best for the conquest of *Macedon* to his behoofe: since no man had thereto good title as he. But for the enabling of them herunto; it behoued him to draw *Aminander* to their party, that so they might the sooner haue done with the *Romans*. *Philip* was highly pleased herewith; and by perswasions of himselfe, or of his sister, effected as much as they desired. But the first piece of seruice done by this imaginary King (whether it proceeded from his owne phrenzic, in hope to get loue of the *Macedonians* that should be his subiects, or whether from some vanity in King *Antiochus* that employed him) wrought more harme to his friends, than he and *Aminander* were able to doe good. There were two thousand men committed to his leading: with which he marched vnto *Cynosephale*, there to gather vp the bones of the slaughtered *Macedonians*; whom their King had suffered all this while to lie vnburied. The *Macedons* troubled not themselves to thinke on this charitable act, as if it were to them any benefit all: but King *Philip* tooke it in high indignation; as intended merely vnto his despight. Wherefore he presently sent vnto the *Romans*; and gaue them to vnderstand, that he was ready with all his power to aid them: wherein they should be pleased to vife him.

The *Ætolians*, *Magnicians*, *Eubœans*, *Boeotians*, and *Athamarians*, hauing now all ioyne with him; *Antiochus* tooke counsaile of them about the prosecution of the warre in hand. The chiefe question was, Whether it were meet for him to invade *Thessalie*, that would not hearken to his perswasions; or whether to let all alone vntill the Spring: because it was now mid-winter. Some thought one thing, and some another: confirming each his owne sentence, with the weightiest reasons which he could alledge, as in a matter of great importance. *Hannibal* was at this meeting: who had long bene cast aside, as a vessel of no use; but was now required to deliuer his opinion. He freely told the King, That what he should now utter, was even the same which he would haue spoken, had his counsaile at any time before bene asked since their comming into *Greece*. For the *Magnicians*, *Boeotians*, and other their good friends, which now so willingly tooke their parts: what were they else than so many poore Elaters, that, wanting force of their owne, did adioyne themselves for feare vnto him, that was strongest at the present; and would afterwards, when they saw it expedient, be as ready to fall to the contrary side, allcading the same feare for their excuse? Wherefore he thought most behoouefull, to win King *Philip* of *Macedon* vnto their partie: who (besides that being once engaged, he should not afterwards haue power to recoyle and forsake them at his pleasure) was a mighty Prince, and one that had meanes to sustaine the *Roman* Warre with his proper forces. Now that *Philip* might be easily perswaded to ioyne with them; the benefit likely to redound vnto himselfe, by their societie, was a very strong Argument: though indeede what neede wasthere, of prouing by inference the likelihood of this hope? For, said hee, These *Ætolians* here present; and namely, this *Thoon*, being lately Embassadour from them into *Asia*, among other Motiues which he then vsed to excite the King vnto this Expedition, insisted mainly on the same point. He told vs that *Philip* was moued beyond all patience, with the Lordly insulence of the *Romans*: likening that King to some wilde beast, that was chained or lockt up within some grate and would faine breake loose. If this be so: let vs breake his chaine, and pull downe the grate, that he may regaine his libertie, and satisfie his angry stomack, vpon those that are common Enemies to vs and him. But if it proue otherwise, and that his feare be greater than his indignation: then shall it behoue vs to looke vnto him; that he may not seeke to please his good masters the *Romans*, by offending vs. Your some Seleucus is now at *Lysimachia*, with part of your Armie: if *Philip* will not hearken to your Embassage, let Seleucus be in readinesse, to fall vpon *Macedon*, and finde him worke to defend his owne on the other side, without passing vs here to trouble. Thus much concerning *Philip*, and the present War in *Greece*. But more generally, for the managing of this great enterprise, wherein now you are embroiled against the *Romans*, I told you my opinion at the beginning: Wherein had you then giuen care, the *Romans* by this time should haue heard other news, than that *Chalcis* in *Eubœa* was become ours. *Italie* & *Gaulle* should haue been on fire with war; and

little to their comfort, they should haue vnderstood, that *Hannibal* was againe come into *Italie*. Neither doe I see what should hinder vs euen now from taking the same course. Send for all your Fleet & Armie hither (but in any case let Ships of burden come along with them, laden with store of victuals: For as the case now stands, we haue here too few hands, and too many mouths. Wherefore let the one halfe be employed against *Italie*, whilst you in person with the other halfe, tarrying on this side the *Ionian* Sea, may both take order for the affaires of *Greece*, and therewithall make countenance, as if you were euen ready to follow vs into *Italie*: yet, and be ready to follow vs indeede, if it shall be requisite. This is my aduice, who though perhaps I am not very skilfull in all sorts of warre, yet bow to war with the *Romans*, I haue been instructed by long experience, both to their cost and mine owne. Of this counsaile which I giue, I promise you my faithfull and diligent seruice for the execution: but what counsaile soeuer you please to follow, I wish it may be prosperous. Many were pleased with the great spirit of the man, and said he had spoken brauely: but of all this was nothing done; saue only that one was sent into *Asia*, to make all things ready there. In the meane while they went in hand with *Thessalie*; about which they had before disputed. There when they had won one Towne by force, many other places, doubting their owne strength, were glad to make submission. But *Larissa*, that was chiefe of the Countrey, stood out: not regarding any terrible threats of the King, that lay before the wals with his whole Armie. This his faith and courage was rewarded by good fortune. For *M. Babius*, a *Roman* Proprætor did send helpe thither. Likewise *Philip* of *Macedon* professed himselfe Enemy vnto *Antiochus*; whereby the lame of the succour comming to *Larissa*, grew such, as wrought more: than the succour could haue done, had it arrived. For *Antiochus* perceiuing many fires on the Mountaines toppes as farre off; thought that a great Armie of *Romans* and *Macedonians* had bene comming vpon him. Therefore excusing himselfe by the time of the yeere; He brake vp his sieges, and marched away to *Chalcis*. At *Chalcis* he fell in loue with a yong Maiden, daughter vnto a Citizen of the Towne whom, without regard of the much disproportion that was betwene them, both in yeeres and fortune, He shortly married; and so spent the Winter following, as delightfully as hee could, without thinking vpon the war in hand. His great men and Captaines followed his example; and the souldiours as readily imitated their Captains: in such wise that when heooke the field, he might evidently perceiue in what loose manner of discipline his Armie had passed the Winter. But *M. Atilius Glabrio*, the *Roman* Consul, shall meet him very shortly, and helpe him to reclaime them from this loose, neede of nuptiall Reuels; by setting them to hauder exercise.

M. Atilius was chosen Consul with *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica*. The war against *Antiochus* fell to him by lot; whereas otherwise H. e. was no way so honourable, as *Nasica* his Colleague: vnto whom fell a charge, of far less credit and importance. *Nasica*, besides the great Nobility of his Family, had been long since, in time of the *Punicke* Warre, crowned with the title of *The best man in Rome*: when the Senate, for very feare and respect, durst not haue so pronounced him, had they not so thought him; as being commanded by Oracle, That none other man than the very best, should entertaine an old stone, which the *Diuell* then taught them to call *The Mother of the gods*. But no prerogative of Birth, Vertue, or good Opinion, gaue such aduantage to the better man, as to make choice of his owne Prouince; or arrogate more vnto himselfe, than his lot should afford him. This vnpartiall distribution of employments, helped well to maintaine peace and concord. *P. Scipio* therefore was appointed to make warre against the *Bojans*; wherein hee purchased the honour of a Triumph, nothing so glorious as was that of his Colleague; though purchased with harder seruice, requiring the more abilitie in matter of war. But *M. Atilius* went ouer into *Greece*, with ten thousand Foot, two thousand Horse, & fiftene Elephants. *Ptolemie* King of *Egypte*, notwithstanding his late Alliance with King *Antiochus*; and *Philip* King of *Macedon*; had lately sent Embassadours to *Rome*, making offer to come each of them in person with all his forces into *Italie*, there to assist the Consul in this warre. *Ptolemie* sent also gold and silver, toward the defraying of charges; as one that meant none other than good earnest. But he wastoo yong, and dwelt too farre off. So his mony was returned vnto him with thanks; and his louing offer as being refused. Vnto *Philip*s Embassadours answer was made, that this his friendly offer was gratefully accepted: and that the Senate and People of *Rome* would thinke themselves beholding to him, for the assistance that hee should giue to *Atilius* the Consul.

Consul. *Massinissa* likewise, and the *Carthaginians*, did stricke, which of them should be most forward in gratifying the *Romans*. Each of them promised a great quantitie of graine; which they would fend partly to *Rome*, partly to the Armie in *Greece*. And here in *Massinissa* farre out-went the poore Citie of *Carthage*, as also, in that he offered to lend the Consul five hundred Horle, and twenty Elephants. On the other side, the *Carthaginians* vndertook to fet out a Fleet at their owne charges: and to bring in at one payment all the Tribute-mony, which was behinde, and ought to be discharged by many yeerely pensions. But the *Romans* did neither thinke it good, to let them arme a Fleet; nor would let them redeeme themselves out of Tribute, by paying all at once. As for the Come; it was accepted with Condition, That they should be contented to receive the price of it. 10

The haſtie and ridiculous iſſue of this war, that began with ſuch noyſe and preparations, were hardly credible: were not the difference exceeding great, betweene the *Roman* and the *Aſiatick* ſouldior. *Antiochus* had gotten this Spring a few townes of *Acarnania*, after the ſame manner as he had prevailed in other parts of *Greece*; partly by faire words, and treaſon of the Rulers; partly by terror, that was like to proue their excuſe, when they ſhould againe forſake him. But King *Philip* and *Babius*, having recovered many places, and the *Roman* Consul being arrived, againſt whom none made reſiſtance; hee was glad to withdraw himſelfe. *Aminander* fled out of his *Abamania*: which the *Macedonian* tooke and enioyed; as in recompence of his good ſervice to the *Romans*. *Philip*, the brother of *Aminander*s wife, was taken by the Consul; made a mocking ſtocke, and ſent a-20 way priſoner to *Rome*. The *Theſſalians* vied much more diligence in returning to their old friends, than they had done in yielding to the King. All their Cities, one after other, gave vp themſelves: the Garrifons of *Antiochus*, compounding onely for their owne lives, and departing vnarmed: yet ſo, that a thouſand of them ſtayed behinde, and tooke pay of the *Romans*. This did wonderfully perplex *Antiochus*; who having withdrawn himſelfe to *Chalcis*, and hearing how things went, cried out vpon his friends: and ſaid, That they had betrayed him. He had taken a great deale of foyle during one halfe of a Winter, and ſpent the other halfe in ſuch Nuptials, as were little to his honour: after which, in time of neede, hee could all the promiſes of the *Aſiatics* merely verball: and himſelfe reduced into rearmes of great extremitie. He therefore admired *Hannibal* 30 as a wiſe man, yea a very Prophet, that had fore-ſcene all this long before. Neuertheleſſe he ſent word to the *Aſiatics*, that they ſhould now make ready all their forces: as conſidering their owne neede to be no leſſe than his. But the *Aſiatics* had cauſe to thinke, that they themſelves were ſhamefully diſappointed by *Antiochus*: who having promiſed to doe great wonders, was in all this while ſeconded by no greater numbers out of *Aſia*, than ſo many as would fill vp the ſame ten thouſand which he firſt brought over. Yet came there ſome of them, though fewer than at any time before, which ioyned with him. Hereat the King was angry: and could get no better ſatisfaction, then that *Thous* and his fellowes had done their beſt, in vaine, to haue made all the Nation take armes. Since therefore neither his owne men came over to him out of *Aſia*, nor his friends of *Greece* would appeare in this time of danger: hee ſeized vpon the Streights of *Thermopylae*; as meaning to defend them againſt the *Romans*, vntill more helpe ſhould come. 40

12. 3. 4. 6. 5. 3. Of the Streights of *Thermopylae* there hath bene ſpoken enough * before, vpon many occasions: and then chiefly, when they were defended by *Leonidas* againſt the huge Armie of *Xerxes*. Wherefore it may eaſily be conceiued, how the *Romans*, that landed about *Apollonia*, and ſo came onwards into *Theſſalie*, were vnable to paſſe that Ledge of Mountaines, diuiding the one halfe of *Greece*; vnleſſe they could winne this difficult entrance. But there was great difference betweene *Leonidas* and *Antiochus*. The former of theſe, with an handfull of men, defended this paſſage two or three dayes together, againſt ſo a World of men comming to invade the Countrey. The latter, hauing taken vpon him to doe great miracles, and effect what he liſted himſelfe in *Greece*: did commit himſelfe vnto the ſafety of this place, when he was charged by no many more than hee had in his owne Armie. There whileſt he lay, he ſent earneſt meſſengers one after another to the *Aſiatics*, entreating them not to forſake him thus; but at leaſt wiſe now to helpe, and keepe the toppes of the Mountaines, leſt the *Romans* finding any by-path, ſhould come downe vpon him. By this importunity, he got of them two thouſand, that vndertook to make good the ſe paſſages: by which onely, and not without extreme difficulty, it was poſſible for the Enemy to aſcend. The *Roman* Consul in like ſort, prepared to force the

the Streights: without ſtaying to expect King *Philip*: that was hindered by ſickenneſſe from accompanying him. He had with him *M. Porcius Cato*, and *L. Valerius Flaccus*, that had both of them bene Conſuls. Theſe he ſent forth by night with two thouſand men, to try whether by any means they could get vp to the *Aſiatics*. He himſelfe encouraged his Armie: not onely by telling them, with what baſe conditioned enemies they had to deale: but what rich Kingdomes *Antiochus* held, that ſhould bountifully ſeward them if they were victors. This was on the day before the battaile. All that night *Cato* had a fore-iourney (for what happened vnto *L. Valerius* it is vncertaine, ſaue onely that he failed in his intent) and ſo much the worſe, for that he had no ſkillfull guide. Seeing therefore his men exceedingly tired, with climbing vp ſteepe Rocks and crooked wayes: he commanded them to reſpoſe themſelves; whileſt hee, being a very able man of body, tooke in hand the diſcovery, accompanied with no more than one of like mettle to himſelfe. After a great deale of trouble, he found at length a path: which he tooke to be, as indeede it was, the beaſt way leading vnto the Enemies. So thither he brought his men; and held on the ſame path till toward breake of day. It was a place not haunted, becauſe in time of peace there was a faire way through the Streights below, that required no ſuch trouble of climbing; neither had this entrance of the *Thermopylae* bene ſo often the Seat of Warre, as might cauſe any traauilers to ſearch out the paſſages of theſe deſolate Mountaines. Wherefore the way that *Cato* followed, though it were the beſt: yet did it lead 20 him to a bogge at the end, which would ſuffer him to paſſe no further. So he ſtaid there vntill day-light: by which hee diſcouered both the Campe of the *Greekes* vnderneath him; and ſome of the *Aſiatics* very neer vnto him, that were keeping watch. He therefore ſet forth a luſtie Cruc of his men, whom he thought fitteſt for that ſervice; and willed them by any meanes to get him ſome priſoners. This was effected: and hee thereby vnderſtood, that theſe *Aſiatics* were no more than fixe hundred; as alſo that King *Antiochus* lay beneath in the Valley. So hee preſently ſet vpon the *Aſiatics*; overthrow them; ſlue a great part of them; and chased the reſt, that by flying to their Campe, guided him vnto it. The fight was already begun betwene the Armies below: and the *Romans*, that had eaſily repelled the Kings men, and driuen them into their Campe, found 30 it in a manner a deſperate peece of worke to aſſault the Campe it ſelfe; which occupied the whole bredth of the Streights; was notably fortified; and not onely defended by *Antiochus* his long Pikes, which were beſt at that kinde of ſeruiſe; but by Archers and ſlingers that were placed ouer them on the Hill-side, and powred downe a ſhowre of weapons on their heads. But *Cato* his approach determined the matter. It was thought at firſt that the *Aſiatics* had bene comming to helpe the Kings men: but when the *Romane* armes and enſignes were diſcouered, ſuch was the terror, that none made offer of reſiſtance; but all of them forſooke the Campe, and fled. The ſlaughter was not great: for that the badneſſe of the way did hinder the *Romane* Army from making purſuit. Yet this dayes loſſe draue *Antiochus* out of *Greece*, who directly fled to *Chalcis*; and from thence 40 with the firſt opportunitie, got him backe into *Aſia*.

All the Cities that had embraced the friendship of *Antiochus*, prepared forthwith to entertaine the *Romans*, and entreat for pardon: letting open their gates; and preſenting themſelves vnto the Consul, in manner of ſuppliants. Briefly, in few dayes all was recovered that *Antiochus* had gained: the *Aſiatics* onely ſtanding out, becauſe they knew not what elſe to doe. Neither did the Consul giue them any reſpite. At his returne from *Chalcis* he met with King *Philip*, that having recovered health, came to ioine with him againſt *Antiochus*: ouer whom ſince the victory was already gotten, hee did congratulate vnto the *Romans* their good ſucceſſe; and offered to take part with them in the *Aſiatick* Warre. So it was agreed, That the Consul ſhould beſiege *Heraclea*, and *Philip*, *Lamia*; 50 at the ſame time. Each of them plied his worke hard; eſpecially *Philip*, who ſaue would haue gotten *Lamia* before the Consul ſhould come to helpe him. But it could not be. For his *Macedonians* that vied to worke by Myne, were ouermuch hindered by the ſtonie ground. Yet was *Lamia* euen ready to be taken, when the Consul, hauing won *Heraclea*, came thither, and told *Philip*, that the ſpoyle of theſe Townes was a reward vnto thoſe that had fought at *Thermopylae*. Herewith *Philip* muſt be contented; and therefore went his way quietly. But *Acilius*, that could ſoill endure to ſee *Philip* in likelihood of ſtriving by the *Romans* victory, got not *Lamia* himſelfe: vntill ſuch time as another Consul was ready to eaſe him of his charge.

The losse of *Heracles* did so affright the *Aetolians*, that they thought no way faster than to desire peace. Yet had they sent vnto King *Antiochus* presently after his flight: entreating him not to forsake them utterly, but either to returne with all those forces which he had purposed to bring into *Greece*, or if any thing withheld him from coming in person, at leastwise to helpe them with money and other aide. They prayed him to consider, that this did not onely concerne him in honour, but appertained vnto his owne life: since it would be much to his hurt, if the *Aetolians* being wholly subdued, the *Romans*, without any Enemies at their backes, might set vpon him in *Asia*. He considered well of this; and found their words true. Therefore He deliuered vnto *Nicanor*, one of their Embassadors, a summe of money, that might serue to defray the charges of this Warre: promising that ere long he would send them strong aide, both by Land and Sea. *Thonis*, another of their Embassadors, Hee retained with him: who willingly stayed; that he might vrge the King to make this word good. But when *Heracles* was taken from them: then did the *Aetolians* lay aside all hope of amending their fortune by the helpe of *Antiochus*; and made suite vnto the Consul to obtaine peace, vpon any reasonable Condition. The Consul would scarce vouchsafe to giue them audience, but said He had other businesse in hand; onely He granted them tenne dayes of Truce, and sent *Valerius Flaccus* with them to *Hypata*; willing them to make him acquainted with as much, as they would haue deliuered vnto himselfe. At their coming to *Hypata*; they began, as men fauouring their owne cause, to alleadge how well they had deserved of the *Romans*. Whereto *Flaccus* would not hearken. He told them plainly, That the memory of all such good Offices past, was quite obliterated by the malice which they had shewed of late. Wherefore he willed them to acknowledge their fault, and to entreat pardon. Better they thought to doe so euentimes, than to stay till they were reduced vnto termes of more extremity. Hereupon they agreed to commit themselues vnto the faith of the *Romans*; and to that effect sent Embassadors to the Consul. This phrase of committing vnto the faith, signified, in their vse of it, little else, than the acknowledgement of a fault done, and the craving of pardon. But the *Romans* vsed those words in another sense; and counted them all one, as *yielding to discretion*. Wherefore when the Consul heard them speake in this manner: He asked them whether their meaning were agreeable to their words. They answered that it was: and shewed him the Decree of their Nation, lately made to this purpose. Then said Hee, I command you first of all, That none of yee presume to goe into *Asia*, vpon any businesse priuate or publike: then, That yee deliuer vp vnto me *Dicaearchus* the *Aetolian*, *Menestratus* the *Epirot*, *Aminander* the *Athamanian*, and such of his Countreimen as haue followed him in reuolting from vs. Whilest he was yet speaking: *Phameas* the Embassador interrupted him; and prayed him not to mistake the Custome of the *Greekes*, who had yielded themselues vnto his faith; not vnto slavery. What? (said the Consul) Doe ye stand to plead Custome with me, being now at my discretion? Bring hither a chaine. With that, chaines were brought, and an iron collar by his appointment fitted vnto euery one of their neckes. This did so affright them, that they stood dumbe and knew not what to say. But *Valerius* and some others entreated the Consul, not to deale thus hardly with them, since they came as Embassadors; though since, their Condition was altered. *Phameas* also spake for himselfe: and said, That neither He nor yet the *Apoletis* or ordinarie Council of the Nation, were able to fulfill these iniunctions, without approbation of the generall Assembly. For which cause He entreated yet further ten dayes respite; and had granted vnto him Truce for so long.

This surcease of warre, during ten and other ten dayes together, began presently after the taking of *Heracles*; when *Philip* had bene commanded away from *Lamia*, that else he might haue wonne. Now because of the indignitie herein offered vnto that King, and to the end that he might not returne home with his Armie, like one that could not be trusted in employment: especially the *Romans* being like hereafter to haue further neede of him, in the continuance of this Warre: He was desired to set vpon the *Athamanians*, and some other petty Nations their borderers, whilest the Consul was busie with the *Aetolians*; taking for his reward, all that He could get. And Hee got in that space all *Athamanta*, *Perrhebia*, *Aperantia*, and *Dolopia*. For the *Aetolians*, hearing what had befallen their Embassadors, were so enraged, That although they were very ill provided for Warre; yet they could not endure to heare more talke of peace. And it happened, that

that *Nicanor* about the same time was come backe from *Antiochia*, with money and hopefull promises: the *Romans* abiding still about *Heracles*, and *Philip* having lately risen from before *Lamia*, yet not being farre gone thence. His monie *Nicanor* conueighed into *Lamia*, by very vnusuall dexteritie. But he himselfe being to passe further to the Assembly of the *Aetolians*, there to make report of his Embassage, was very much perplexed about this iourney, which lay betwene the *Roman* and *Macedonian* Campes. Yet he made the adventure: and keeping as faire as they could from the *Roman* side, fell vpon a Station of *Macedonians*; by whom he was taken, and led vnto their King. He expected no good; but either to be deliuered vnto the *Romans*, or vled ill enough by *Philip*. But it seemed, that the King had not hitherto concocted well the indignitie, of his being sent away from *Lamia*. For He commanded his tribunes to entreat *Nicanor* friendly: and he himselfe being then at supper, did visit him as soone as he rose vp: giuing him to vnderstand; That the *Aetolians* did now reape the fruits of their owne madnesse, forasmuch as they could neuer hold themselues contented, but would needes be calling strangers into *Greece*. They had pleased themselues well in their acquaintance first with the *Romans*, and then with King *Antiochus*; but himselfe, being their neighbour, they could neuer well endure. It was now therefore, He said, high time for them to haue regard vnto his friendship, whereof hitherto they had neuer made any triall: for surely their good affection, vnto the other, would be much more auailable vnto each of them; than their mutual catching of advantages; wherby they had wrought themselues much displeasure. Thus much the King willed *Nicanor* to signifie vnto his Countreimen; and privately to hold in minde the courtisie which he then did him, in sending him safe home. So giuing him a Conuoy to gard him to *Hypata*; He louingly dismissed him. For this benefite, *Nicanor* was alwaies after dutifully affected to the Crowne of *Macedon*: so as in the war of *Perseus* he made himselfe suspected vnto the *Romans*, and therefore was had away to *Rome*, where he ended his life.

When the Consul vnderstood, that the *Aetolians* refused to make their submission, in such wise as he required it: hee forthwith meant to prosecute the warre against them, without any longer forbearance. They were preparing to make head against him at *Naupactus*: whether hee therefore directly marched, to try what they could or durst. The siege of *Naupactus* was of greater length, than the *Romans* had preconceiued it: for it was a strong Citie, and well manned. But *Acilius* stood vpon point of honour; wherein he thought that he should haue bene a loser, by rising from before it without Victory. So He staid there welcure all the following time of his Consulship; whilest the *Macedonian* King and the *Achaens* made farre better vse of the *Roman* Victory. *Philip*, as is said before, being allowed to take in such places as had reuoluted vnto *Antiochus*, and were not hitherto reclaimed, won the strong Citie of *Demetrias*, and with an hastie course of Victory, subdued the *Athamanians* and others: The *Achaens* called to accompt the *Eleans* and *Messenians*: which had long bene addicted to the *Aetolian* side, and followed it, in taking part with *Antiochus*. The *Eleans* gaue good words, wherby they saued themselues from trouble awhile. The *Messenians* being more stout, before they were invaded, had none other helpe when the *Achaean* Prator wasted their Country, than to offer themselues vnto the *Romans*. *Titus* was then at *Corinth*: to whom they sent word, That at his Commandement their gates should be opened; but that vnto the *Achaens* it was not their meaning to yeelde. A message from *Titus* to the *Achaean* Prator, did suffice to call home the Armie, and finish the Warre: as also the peremptorie Command of the same *Titus* caused the *Messenians* to annex themselves vnto the *Achaens*, and become part of their Common-weale. Such was now the Miestie of a *Roman* Embassador. *Titus* did fauour the *Achaens*; yet could not like it well, that either they or any other should take too much vpon them. He thought it enough, that they had their libertie, and were strong enough to defend it against any of their neighbours. That they should make themselves great Lords, and able to dispute with the *Romans* vpon euent termes; it was no part of his desire. They had lately bought the Ile of *Zacynthus* which had once bene *Philips*, and was afterward giuen by him to *Aminander* who sent a Gouernor thither. But when *Aminander* in this present Warre, was driuen out of his owne Kingdome by *Philip*: then did the Gouernour of *Zacynthus* offer to sell the Iland to the *Achaens*; whom hee found ready Chapmen. *Titus* liked not of this: but plainly told them, That the *Romans* would be their owne Caruers, and take what they thought good, of the Lands belonging to their

their Enemies; as a reward of the victorie which they had obtained. It was bootlesse to dispute. Wherefore the *Achaens* referred themselves vnto his discretion. So hee told them, that their Common-wealth was like a Tortoyse, wherof *Peloponnesus* was the shell: and that holding themselves within that compasse, they were out of danger; but if they would needs bee looking abroad, they should lie open to blowes, which might greatly hurt them. Having said things thus in *Peloponnesus*, hee went ouer to *Naupactus*: where *Glaborio* the Consul had laine two moneths, that might haue benee farre better spent. There, whether out of compassion which hee had vpon the *Aetolians*, or out of dislike of King *Philips* thriuing to fast: He perswaded the Consul to grant vnto the besieged, and to the whole Nation, so long Truce, that they might send Embassadors to Rome; and submitting themselves, craue pardon of the Senate. Most like it is, that *Naupactus* was in great danger: else would not the *Aetolians* haue made such earnest suit as they did vnto *Titus*, for procuring of this fauour. But if *Glaborio* had benee sure to carrie it, in any short space: it may well be thought hee would not haue gone away without it; since the winning of that Towne, wherein was then the whole floure of the Nation, would haue made the promised submission much more humble and sincere. When they came vnto Rome, no entreaty could helpe them to better Conditions, than one of these two; That either they should wholly permit themselves to the good pleasure of the Senate; Or else pay a thousand Talents, and make neither Peace nor Warre with any, further than as the *Romans* should giue approbation. They had not so much money: neither could they wel hope to bee gently dealt withall, if they should giue themselves away vnto discretion; which what it signified, they now vnderstood. Wherefore they desired to haue it set downe, in what points, and how farre forth, they should yeeld vnto the good pleasure of the Senate. But hereof they could get no certaine answer: so that they were dismissed as enemies, after long and vaine attendance.

Whilst the *Aetolians* were pursuing their hopes of peace, the Consul had little to doe in Greece; and therefore tooke vpon him grauely to set things in order among the tractable *Achaens*. Hee would haue had them to restore the banished *Lacedaemonians* home into their Countrey; and to take the *Elcans* into the fellowship of their Common-wealth. This the *Achaens* liked well enough: but they did not like it, that the *Romans* should be meddling in all occurrences. Wherefore they deferred the restitution of the banished *Lacedaemonians*: intending to make it an Act of their owne meere grace. As for the *Elcans*: they were loth to be beholding to the *Romans*; and thereby to disparage the *Achaens*: into whose Corporation they were desirous to be admitted; and saw that they should haue their desire, without such compulsiue mediation.

The *Roman* Admirall *C. Linius*, much about the same time, fought a battaile at Sea with *Polyxenidas*, Admirall to the King *Antiochus*. King *Eumenes* brought helpe to the *Romans*; though it was not great: and five and twenty saile of *Rhodian*s came after the battaile, when they were following the Chace. The Kings Fleet was the better offsaile; but that of the *Romans* the better manned. Wherefore *Polyxenidas* being vanquished in fight, was yet out of danger; as soone as he betooke himselfe to a speedie retreat.

And such end had the first yeeres warre, betwene King *Antiochus* and the *Romans*. After this, as many of the *Greekes* as had followed the vaine hopes of the *Aetolians*, were glad to excuse themselves by feare, thinking themselves happy when by Embassadors they had obtained pardon. On the contrarie side, *Philip* of *Macedon*, Arch-enemie of late vnto the *Romans*, did now send to gratulate this their Victorie: and, in recompence of his good affection, had restored vnto him *Demetrius* his younger sonne; whom some few yeeres they had kept as an hostage. Also King *Ptolemy* of *Egypt*, gratulating the *Roman* Victorie, sent word how greatly all *Asia* and *Syria* were thereby terrified. In which regard hee desired the Senate not to forellow time; but to send an Armie, as soone as might be, into *Asia*: promising, that his assistance, wherein soeuer it pleased them to vie it, should not bee wanting. This *Ptolemy* was the sonne-in-law of King *Antiochus*: but he was the friend of Fortune. He vnderstood long before, as did all that were indifferent beholders of the Contention, that the *Romans* were like to haue the vpper hand. The same did *Antiochus* now begin to suspect, who had thought himselfe a while as safe at *Ephesus*, as if he had bin in another world: but was told by *Hannibal*, That it was not so far out of Greece into *Asia*, as out of *Italie* into Greece; and that there was no doubt but the *Romans* would soon be there, and make him try the chance of a battell for his Kingdome.

§. VIII.

§. VIII.

Lucius Scipio, hauing with him Publius the African his elder brother, for his Lieutenant, is sent into Greece. He grants long Truce to the *Aetolians*, that so hee might as leisure passe into *Asia*. Much troublesome businesse by Sea; and diuers fights. An inuasion vpon Eumenes his Kingdome; with the siege of Pergamus, raysed by an handfull of the *Achaens*. L. Scipio the Consul comes into *Asia*: where *Antiochus* most earnestly desireth peace, and is denied it. The battaile of Magnesia: wherein *Antiochus* being vanquished, yeeldeth to the *Romans* good pleasure. The Conditions of the peace. In what sort the *Romans* used their victorie. L. Cornelius Scipio, after a most sumptuous triumph ouer *Antiochus*, is Iurned the *Asiaticke*, as his brother was stiled The African.

Lucius Cornelius Scipio, the brother of P. Scipio the African, was chosen Consul at Rome with C. Lelius. Lelius was very gracious in the Senate: and therefore being desirous (as generally all Consuls were) of the more honourable employment, offered to referre to the arbitrement of the Senate, if L. Cornelius would be so pleased, the disposition of their Prouinces; without putting it to the hazard of a Lotterie. Lucius hauing talked with his brother Publius, approoued well of the motion. Such a question had not of long time been put vnto the Fathers: who therefore were the more desirous to make an vnblameable Decree. But the matter being otherwise somewhat indifferent; P. Scipio the African said openly thus much, That if the Senate would appoint his brother to the warre against *Antiochus*, He himselfe would follow his brother in that war, as his Lieutenant. These words were heard with such approbation, that the controuersie was forthwith at an end. For if *Antiochus* relied vpon *Hannibal*, & should happen to be directed wholly by that great Captaine: what better man could they oppose, than Scipio; that had benee victorious against that same Great Worthy? But indeed a worse man might haue serued well enough the turne. For *Hannibal* had no absolute Command, nor scarce any trust of great importance: excepting now and then in consultation; where his wisdom was much approoued, but his libertie and high spirit as much disliked. It is worthy of remembrance; as a signe of the freedom that hee vied in his censures, even whilst hee liued in such a Court. *Antiochus* mustered his Armie in presence of this famous Captaine: thinking, as may seeme, to haue made him wish, that he had benee serued by such braue men in *Italie*. For they were gallantly decked, both Men, Horses, and Elephants, with such costly furniture of Gold, Silver, and Purple; as glittered with a terrible bravery on a Sun-shine day. Whereupon the King, well pleasing himselfe with that goodly spectacle, asked *Hannibal* what he thought, and whether all this were not enough for the *Romans*. Enough (said *Hannibal*) were the *Romans* the most courteous men in all the world: meaning, that all this Cost vpon the backs of Cowardly *Asiaticques*, was no better than a spoyle to animate good Souldiers. How little this answer pleased the King, it is easie to ghesse. The little vfe that he made of this *Carthaginian*, testifies that his dislike of the man, caused him to lose the vfe of his seruice; when he stood in greatest need thereof.

The Scipio's made all haste away from Rome as soone as they could. They carried with them, besides other Souldiers newly prest to the warre, about five thousand Voluntaries, that had serued vnder P. Africanus. There was also a Fleet of thirty Quinquereme Gallies, and twenty Triremes newly built, appointed vnto L. Amilius Regillus, that was chosen Admirall the same yeere for that voyage. At their coming into Greece, they found the old Consul *Glaborio* besieging *Amphissa* Citie of the *Aetolians*. The *Aetolians* after that they were denied peace, had expected him once againe at *Naupactus*. Wherefore they not only fortified that Towne: but kept all the passages thereto leading; which heedlesly, as in a time of confusion, they had left vnregarded the last yeere. *Glaborio* knowing this, deceiued their expectation, and fell vpon *Lamia*: which being not long since much weakened by *Philip*, and now by him attempted on the sudden; was carried at the second assault. Thence went He to *Amphissa*: which he had almost gotten; when L. Scipio, his successor, came with thirteene thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse, and tooke charge of the Armie. The Towne of *Amphissa* was presently forsaken by the inhabitants, but they had a Castle, or higher Towne, that was impregnable; whereinto they all retired. The *Athenian* Embassadors had dealt with P. Scipio, in behaue of the *Aetolians*:

lians: entreating him to stand their friend, and helpe them in obtaining some tolerable Condition of peace. He gaue them gentle words: and willed them to perswade the *Ætolians*, that they should faithfully and with true meaning desire it. This was gladly taken. But many messages passing to and fro: though *Publius* continued to put them in good hope; yet the Consul made still the same answer, with which they had been chased from *Rome*. The conclusion was, That they should sue for a longer time of respite from warre: whereby at more leisure they might attend some better disposition of the Senate; or any helpfull commoditie which time should afford. So they obtained halfe a yeres truce: after which, the Winter was like to afford them another halfe yeres leisure of breathing. Hereof were they not more glad, than was *P. Scipio*: who thought it all time lost, which withheld the Warre from passing ouer into *Asia*.

The businesse of *Ætolia* being thus laide aside: and the old Consul *Glabrio* sent home into *Italie*: the *Scipio* marched into *Thessalie*; intending thence to take their way by Land, through *Macedon* & *Thrace* vnto the *Hellaspont*. Yet they considered, That hereby they must commit themselves vnto the loyalty of King *Philip*: who might either doe them some mischiet by the way, if he were disposed to watch a notable aduantage: or at the least, would be vnfaithfull; though he were not so couragious, yet might hee take such order with the *Torians*, that euen for want of victuals, if by no greater inconvenience, they should be disgracefully forced to returne. Hee had promised them the vnmolest of his furtherance: wherein, whether hee meant sincerely, they thought to make too some triall; by causing a Gentleman to ride Post vnto him, and obserue his doings as he should take them on the sudden. The King was merry at a feast, and drinking, when the Messenger came: whom hee louingly bade welcome; and shewed him the next day, not only what prouision of victuals he had made for the Armie, but how hee had made bridges ouer the riuers, and mended the badde wayes by which they were to passe. With these good newes *Gracchus* returned backe in haste vnto the *Scipio*: who entering into *Macedon*, found all things in a readinesse, that might helpe to aduance their iourney. The King entertained them royally; and brought them on their way, euen to the *Hellaspont*: where they stayed a good while, vntill their Naue was in readinesse to transport them into *Asia*.

Much was done at Sea in the beginning of this yere; though, for the most part, little of importance. *Polyxenidas*, the Admirall of *Antiochus*, was a banished *Rhodian*: true to the King; and desirous of reuenge vpon his Countrymen that had expelled him. Hee, hearing that the *Rhodian* Fleet was at *Samos*, the *Romans* and *Eumenes* hauing not as yet put to Sea; thought to doe some what vpon those that were so early in their diligence, before their followers should arrive to helpe them. Yet went hee craftily to worke; and sent word, as in great secret, to the *Rhodian* Admirall, That if the sentence of his banishment might be repealed, He would, in requittall thereof, betray all the Kings Fleet. After many passages to and fro, this was beleued: and the *Rhodian* Admirall grew so carelesse, expecting still when he should receive a warch-word from *Polyxenidas*, that hee himselfe was taken by *Polyxenidas* in his owne Hauē. The Kings Fleet set forth from *Ephesus* by night; and, for feare of being discovered, resting one day in a harbour by the way; came the second night to *Samos*: where, by morning, it was ready to enter the Hauē. *Pausistratus* the *Rhodian* Admirall seeing this, thought it his best way of resistance, to bestow his men on the two head-lands or points of the Hauē; so to guard the mouth of it: for that he saw no likelihood of defending himselfe by Sea. But *Polyxenidas* had already landed some Companies, in another part of the Island: which falling vpon the backe of *Pausistratus*, compelled him to alter his directions, and command his men aboord. This could not be without great confusion: so as the enemies tooke him out of all order; and sunke or boorded all his Naue, siue excepted, that by a sudden deuice made shift to escape. Each of them hung out a burning Cresse vpon two poles, at the Brake-head: and then rowed forwards directly vpon the Enemy: who hauing not bethought himselfe what shift to make against such vnexpected danger of firing, was content to giue way vnto these desperate Gallies; for feare lest they should burne together with themselves, a part of the Kings Fleet.

Not long after this, the *Romans* had some losse by tempest: wherof *Polyxenidas* could not take such aduantage as hee had hoped; because, putting to Sea for that purpose, Hee was driven backe againe by the like foule weather. But the *Rhodians*, to shew that they

they were not discouraged, set forth twentie other Gallies: the *Romans* also with King *Eumenes* repaired their Fleet; and all of them together, in great brauerie, presented battaile to *Polyxenidas* before the Hauē of *Ephesus*. When hee durst not accept it: they went from place to place, attempting many things, as cyther they were entreated by the *Rhodians*, or perswaded by some appearing hopes of doing good. Yet performed they little or nothing: for that one while they were hindred by stormes at Sea; and another while by strong resistance, made against them at Land.

Eumenes with his Fleet was compelled to forsake them; and returne home to the defence of his owne Kingdome. For *Antiochus* waited all the grounds about *Elea* & *Pergamus*: and leaving his sonne *Seleucus* to besiege the royall Citie of *Pergamus*; did with the rest of his Armie spoyle the whole Countrey therabout. *Attalus*, the brother of King *Eumenes*, was then in *Pergamus*; hauing with him no better men to defend the Citie, than were they that lay against it. Wherefore he had reason to stand in feare; being too much inferior in number. These came to his aid a thousand Foot, and an hundred Horse of the *Acheans*: old souldiers all, and trayned vp vnder *Philopamen*, whose Scholler, in the Art of warre, *Diophanes* their Commander was. This *Diophanes*, beholding from the walls of *Pergamus*, which was an high Towne, the demeanour of the Enemy; began to disdain that such men as they should hold them besieged. For *Seleucus* his Armie which was encamped at the hill foot, seeing that none durst fallie forth vpon them, grew so carelesse: as oth'wise, than by spoyling all behind their backs, they seemed to forget that they were in an Enemies Countrey. *Diophanes* therefore spake with *Attalus*: and told them that he would goe forth, encamped not farre from the Enemy. They of *Pergamus* thought him little better than mad. As for the besiegers, they wondered at first what his meaning was: but when they saw that he held himselfe quiet, they made a iest of his boldnesse; and laughed to see with what an handfull of men he looked so stoutly. So they returned vnto their former negligence and disorders. Which *Diophanes* perceiving, He commanded all his men to follow him, euen as fast as they well might: and hee himselfe, with the hundred Horse, brake out on the sudden vpon the Station that was next at hand. Very few of the enemies had their Horses readie saddled, but more few, or none, had the hearts to make resistance: so as He draue them all out of their Campe; and chased them as fure as he might safely aduantage, with great slaughter of them, and no losse of his owne. Hereat all the Citizens of *Pergamus* (who had couered the wals of the Towne, men and women, to behold this spectacle) were very ioyfull; and highly magnified the vertue of these *Acheans*. Yet would they not therefore issue forth of their gates, to helpe the *Acheans* in doing what remained to be done. The next day *Seleucus* encamped halfe a mile further from the Towne, than he had done before: and against him went forth *Diophanes* the second time; who quietly rested a while in his old Station. When they had staid many houres, looking who should begin: *Seleucus*, in faire order as he came, withdrew himselfe toward his lodging that was further off. *Diophanes* moved not while the Enemy was in sight: but as soone as the ground betwene them hindred the prospect, hee followed them in all haste, and soone ouertaking them with his Horse, charged them in Rere; so as hee brake them, and with all his forces pursued them at the heels, to their very Trenches. This boldnesse of the *Acheans*, and the bolenesse of his owne men, caused *Seleucus* to quit the siege, little to this honour. Such being the qualitie of these *Asiatiques*; *Philopamen* had cause to tell the *Romans*, That hee envied their victorie. For when *Antiochus* lay scaling at *Chalcis* after his marriage, and his souldiers beooke themselves to Riot, as it had beene in a time of great security: a good man of warre might haue cut all their throates, euen as they were tipling in their victualling houses; which *Philopamen* said that he would haue done, had He beene Generall of the *Asians*, and not, as he then was, a priuate man.

Antiochus was full of busines: and turning his care from one thing to another, with a great deale of trouble, brought almost nothing to passe. Hee had beene at *Pergamus*: into which *Eumenes*, leaving the *Romans*, did put himselfe with a few of his Horse and light armature. Before *Pergamus* he left his sonne as before hath beene shewed, & went to *Elea*: whether he heard that *Amphilus* the *Roman* Admirall was come, bringing succour to *Eumenes*. There hee made an Ouerture of peace: about which to consult, *Eumenes* was sent for by *Amphilus*, and came from *Pergamus*. But when it was considered, that no conclusion could be made without the Consul; this Treatie brake off. Then followed the

the Overthrow newly mentioned; which caused *Selenus* to give over the siege of *Per-gamus*. Afterwards, foure or fife Townes of scarce any worth or note were taken by the King: and the *Syrian* Fleet, being offencen and thirty Sayle, was beaten by the *Rhodian* which was of like number. But of this victorie the *Rhodians* had no great cause to reioyce: for that *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*, who together with *Apollonius* a Countrey of *Antiochus*, was Admirall of the *Syrians*, did them in manner as great hurt as they could doe to *Apollonius*; and hauing the victory taken out of his hand by *Apollonius* his flight, yet made such a retreat, that the *Rhodians* durst not faire aduenture vpon him. Now of these Actions which were but as Prefaces vnto the warre; the last and greatest was a victorie of the *Romans* by Sea, against *Polyxenides* the Kings Admirall: The battaile was fought by *Myonessus* a Promontorie in *Asia*: where *Polyxenides* had with him foure score and nine Gallies; and fife of them greater, than any of the *Romans*. This being all the strength which he could make by Sea: we may note the vanity of those brags, where with *Antiochus* wanted the last yeere, That his Armada should couer all the shores of *Greece*. The *Romans* had eight and fiftie Gallies; the *Rhodians*, two and twenty: the *Roman* being the stronger built, and more stoutly manned; the *Rhodian* more light-timberd and thin plankt, hauing all aduantage of speede, and good Sea-men. Neither forgot they to helpe themselves by the same deuice; with which, fife of their Gallies had lately escaped from *Samos*. For with fire in their prowes they ran vpon the Enemy: who declining them for feare, laid open his side: and was thereby in greater danger of being stemmed. After no long fight, the Kings Nauie hoysed saile: and hauing a faire winde, bore away toward *Ephesus* as fast as they could. Yet fortie of their Gallies they left behinde them: whereof thirtene were taken: all the rest burnt or sunke. The *Romans* and their fellows lost only two or three shippes: but got hereby the absolute Masterie of the Sea.

The report of this misadventure, may seeme to haue taken from *Antiochus* all vie of reason. For as if no hope had bene remaining, to defend those places that hee held in *Europe*: He presently with-drew his Garrisons from *Lysimachia*: which might easily haue bene kept, euen till the end of Winter following, and haue reduced the besiegers (if the siege had bene continued obstinately) vnto termes of great extremity. He also gaue ouer the siege of *Colophon*: and laying aside all thought saue onely of defence, drew together all his Armie; and sent for helpe to his father-in-law, King *Ariarathes* the *Cappadocian*.

Thus the *Roman* Consul, without impediment, not onely cameto the *Hellepont*, but had yeelded vnto him all places there, belonging to *Antiochus* on *Europe* side. The Fleet was then also in readinesse, to transport him ouer into *Asia*: where *Eumenes* had taken such care before, that Hee landed quickly at his owne good ease; euen as if the Countrey had bene his already. The first newes that he heard of the Enemy, was by an Embassador that came to sue for peace. This Embassador declared in his Masters name, That the same things which had hindered him from obtaining peace of the *Romans* heretofore, did now perswade him, that he should easily come to good agreement with them. For in all disputations heretofore, *Smyrna*, *Lampsacus*, and *Lysimachia*, had bene the places about which they varied. Seeing therefore the King had now already giuen ouer *Lysimachia*; and was further purposed, not to strue with the *Romans* about *Lampsacus* and *Smyrna*: what reason was there, why they should need to trouble him with warre? If it was their desire, that any other Townes vpon the Coast of *Asia*, not mentioned by them in any former Treaties, should bee also set at libertie, or otherwise deliuered into their hands: the King would not refuse to gratifie them therein. Briefly, let them take some part of *Asia*: so as the bounds, diuiding them from the King, might not be vncertaine; and it should bee quickly put into their hands. If all this were not enough: the King would likewise beare halfe the Charges, whereat they had bene in this warre. So praying the *Romans* to hold themselves content with these good offers, and not to bee too insolent vpon confidence of their fortune, He expected their answer. These offers which to the Embassador seemed to great, were iudged by the *Romans* to be very little. For they thought it reasonable, that the King should beare all the charges of the warre, since it began through his owne fault: and that He should not onely depart out of these few Townes, which he held in *Asia* and *Ionis*; but quite out of *Asia* the lesse, and keep himselfe on the other side of Mount *Taurus*. Whenthe Embassadors therefore said

that no better bargain could be made, He dealt with *P. Scipio* in priuate: and to him he promised a great quantitie of gold, together with the free restitution of his sonne; who (it is vncertaine by what mischance) was taken prisoner, and most honourably entertained by the King. *Scipio* would not hearken to the offer of gold: nor otherwise to the restitution of his sonne, than vpon Condition, That it might bee with making such amends for the benefit, as became a priuate man. As for the publicke businesse: He onely said thus much, That since *Antiochus* had already forsaken *Lysimachia*, and suffered the warre to take hold on his owne Kingdome; there was now none other way for him, than either to fight, or yeeld to that which was required at his hands. Wherefore, said to He, tell your King in my name, that I would aduise him to refuse no Condition whereby he may haue peace.

The King was not any whit moued with this aduice. For seeing that the Consul demanded of him no lesse, than if he had bene already subdued: little reason there was that he should feare to come to battaile; wherein he could lose, as he thought, no more, than by seeking to auoid it he must giue away. Hee had with him threecore and tenne thousand Foot, and twelve thousand Horse; besides two and fifty *Indian* Elephants, and many Chariots armed with hookes or sythes, according to the manner of the Easterne Countreies. Yet was he nothing pleased, to heare that the Consul drew neere him apace as on chasting to fight. But howsoeuer he was affected, He made fol little shew of feare, so that hearing *P. Scipio* to lie sicke at *Elea*, He sent thither vnto him his sonne without ransom: as one both desirous to comfort this noble Warriour in his sickenesse, and without not desirous to retaine the yong Gentleman for a pledge of his owne safetie. Thus ought his bountie to be constant. Otherwise it might be suspected, That herein hee dealt craftily. For since he could haue none other ransom of *Scipio*, than such as an honourable man, that had no great store of wealth, might pay: better it was to doe such a courtesie before the battell, as would afterwards haue bene little worth; than to stay vntill the *Romans*, perhaps victorious, should exact it at his hands. *P. Scipio* was greatly comforted with the recouerie of his sonne: so as the ioy thereof was thought, to haue bene much auailable vnto his health. In recompence of the Kings humanity, Hee said onely thus much vnto those that brought him this acceptable Present, *I am now able to make your King none other amends, than by aduising him not to fight vntill hee shall heare that I am in the Campe*. What he meant by this, it is hard to coniecture. *Antiochus* refused to follow his counsaile: and therefore withdrew himselfe from about *Thyatira*, beyond the Riuer of *Phrygius* or *Hyllus* vnto *Magnesia* by *Sipylus*: where encamping, Hee fortified himselfe as strongly as hee could. Thither followed him *L. Scipio* the Consul; and fate downe within foure miles of him. About a thousand of the Kings Horse, most of them *Gallo-Greekes*, came to bid the *Romans* welcome: of whom at first they slew some; and were anon, with some losse driuen backe ouer the Riuer. Two daies were quietly spent; whilst neither the King nor the *Romans* would passe the water. The third day the *Romans* made the aduerture: wherein they found no disturbance; nor were at all opposed, vntill they came within two miles and a halfe of *Antiochus* his Campe. There as they were taking vp their lodging, they were charged by three thousand Horse and Foote: whom their ordinarie Corps *de gard* repelled. Foure dayes together after this, each of them brought forth their Armies; and set them in order before the Trenches, without aduancing any further. The fift day the *Romans* came halfe way forward, and presented battaile; which the King would not accept. Thereupon the Consul tooke aduice what was to be done. For either they must fight vpon whatsoever disadvantage, or else resolve to abide by it all Winter, farre from any Countrey of their friends, and therefore subiect vnto many difficulties: vntill they would staine their honour by returninge farre backe, to winter in a more convenient place; and so defer the warre vntill the next Spring. The *Roman* souldier was throughly perswaded of that Enemies base temper. Wherefore it was the generall Crie, That this great Armie should be assayed, euen in the Campe where it lay: as if rather there were so many beasts to be slaughtered, than men to bee fought with. Yet a day or two passed, in discouering the fortifications of *Antiochus*, and the safest way to set vpon him. All this while *P. Scipio* came not. Wherefore the King, being very loth to dishearten his men, by seeming to stand in feare of the Enemy, resolved to put the matter to triall. So when the *Romans* tooke the field againe, and ordered their Battells:

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Hee also did the like; and advanced so farre, that they might vnderstand his meaning to fight.

The *Roman* Armie consisted of foure Legions, two *Roman* and two *Latine*: in each of which were five thousand and foure hundred men. The *Latines*, as usually, were in the points, the *Romans*, in the maine battell. All of them, according to their wonted form, were diuided into Maniples. The *Hastati* had the leading: after them follow the *Principes*, at such distance as was vsuall; and last of all, the *Triarij*. Now beside these, there were about three thousand Auxiliaries; partly *Acheans*; and partly such as belonged to *Eumenes*: which were placed in an equall Front beyond the *Latines* in the right wing. Vmoost of all (saue some five hundred *Cretians*, and of the *Trallians*) were almost three thousand Horse: of which, *Eumenes* had brought thither eight hundred; the rest being *Roman*. The left wing was fenced by the banke of the riuer: yet foure Troupes of horse were placed there, though such helpe seemed in a manner needlesse. Two thousand Voluntaries, *Macedonians* and *Thracians*, were left to guard the Campe. The Consul had with him sixteene *African* Elephants, which he bestowed in his Rere: forasmuch as had they come to fight with those of *Antiochus*, they onely would haue feared to discourage his men; as being sure to be beaten: the *Indian* being farre the greater, and more courageous beasts: whereof *Antiochus* had likewise much aduantage in number.

The Kings Armie being compounded of many Nations, diuerly appointed, and not so accustomed to one manner of fight, was ordered according to the severall kindes, in such wise as each might be of most vse. The maine strength of his Foote consisted in sixteene thousand, armed all *Macedonian*-like, and called *Phalangiers*. These hee placed in the midst, and diuided into tenne Battalions: euery one hauing two and thirty in File, and fiftie in Front. Betweene euery Battalion were two Elephants, goodly beasts, and such as being adorned with Frontals, high Crests, Towers on their backs, and besides him that gouerned the Elephant, foure men in cury Tower, made agallant and terrible shew. On the right hand of these were sixteene hundred Horse of the *Gallo-Greekes*: then, three thousand Barbd Horse: and a Regiment of almost a thousand Horse, called the *Agema*, that were all *Medians*, the choice of the Countrie, and accompanied by some others. All which Troupes of Horse, diuided in their severall kindes, doe seeme to haue followed one another in depth, rather than to haue bin stretched out in Front. Adioynning vnto these, were sixteene Elephants together in one flocke. A little further to the right hand, was the Kings owne Regiment; called the *Argyraspides*, or *Siluer shields*, by a name borrowed from their furniture, but nothing like so valiant as those of the same name, that had served vnder Great *Alexander*: then, twelue hundred Archers on horsebacke, threethousand light-armed Footce, two thousand and five hundred Archers of *Mysia*; with foure thousand slingers and Archers of the *Cirtians*, & *Elymaans*. On the left hand of the *Phalangiers*, were placed the like numbers of *Gallo-Greekes*, and Barbd Horse: as also two thousand Horse that were sent from *Ariarathes*, with two thousand and seven hundred of diuers Nations; and a Regiment of a thousand Horse more lightly armed, that were called the *Kings Troup*, being *Syrians*, *Phrygians*, and *Lydians*. In front of all these Horse were the Chariots armed with hooks or sythes, and the *Dromedaries*, whereon sat *Arabians* with long Rapiers, that would serue to reach from those high Camels. Beyond these were, as in the right wing, a rabble of many Nations, *Carians*, *Cilicians*, *Pamphylians*, *Pisidians*, *Cyrtians*, *Elymaans*, and manie others, hauing all with them sixteene Elephants. *Antiochus* himselfe commanded in the right wing: *Seleucus* in the left: and three of his principall Captains commanded over the *Phalangiers*.

The first on-set was giuen by the *Dromedaries*, and armed Chariots: of which the one, being like to terrifie the Horse: the other, to breake the Squadrons of the Foote; *Eumenes* with a few light-armed *Cretians*, Archers, Darters, and Slingers, easily made frustrate the danger threatened by them both. For with showtings, and noyses, and some wounds, they were driuen out of the fild; and running backe vpon their owne men, did the same harme which they had intended to the Enemies. Wherefore the *Roman* Horse following this aduantage, charged vpon the left wing: whereas they found no resistance; some being out of order, others being without courage. It is shamefull to rehearse, and so strange, that it may hardly seeme credible: that the *Phalangiers*, with

with such varieties of Auxiliaries, made little or no resistance; but all of them fledde, in a manner, as loone as they were charged. Onely the King, *Antiochus* himselfe, being in the left wing of his owne battaile: and seeing the *Latines*, that stood opposite vnto him, weakly flanked with Horse: gaue vpon them courageously, and forced them to retire. But *M. Amilius*, that had the Guard of the *Roman* Campe, issued forth with all his power to helpe his fellowes: and, what by perswasion, what by threates made them renew the fight. Succour also came from the right wing, where the *Romans* were already victorious: whereof when *Antiochus* discovered the approach; Hee not onely turned his Horse about, but ranne away vpon the spur without further tarrance. The Campe was defended a little while: and with no great valour; though by a great multitude that were fled into it. *Antiochus* is said to haue lost in this battaile fiftie thousand Foot, and foure thousand Horse; besides those that were taken. Of the *Romans*, there were not flaine above three hundred Foot, and foure and twenty Horse: of *Eumenes* his followers five and twenty.

Antiochus fled to *Sardes*, and from thence to *Apamea*, the same night; hearing that *Seleucus* was gone thither before. He left the custodie of *Sardes*, and the Caste there, to one whom he thought faithfull. But the Townesmen and Souldiers were so dismayed with the greatnesse of the Ouerthrow, that one mans faith was worth nothing. All the Townes in those parts, without expecting summons, yielded vp themselves by Embassadors: whom they sent to the *Romans*, whilst they were on the way. Neither were many daies spent, ere *Antiochus* his Embassador was in the Campe: hauing none other errand, than to know what it would please the *Romans* to impose vpon the King his Master. *P. Scipio* was now come to his brother, who obtained leaue to make the answer, because that it should be gentle. They required no more than they had lately done: which was, that he should quite abandon his Dominions on this side *Taurus*. For their charges in that Waite, they required sixteene thousand Talents: five hundred in hand; two thousand and five hundred, when the Senate and People of *Rome* should haue confirmed the peace; and the other twelue thousand, in twelue yeeres next ensuing by euen portions. Likewise they demanded foure hundred Talents for *Eumenes*; and some store of Corne, that was due to him vpon a reckoning. Now besides twentie hostages which they required, very earnest they were to haue *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*; and *Thous* the *Atolian*, with some others who had stirred vp the King to this warre, deliuered into their hands. But any wise man might so easily haue perceived, that it would be their purpose to make this one of their principall demands; as no great art was needfull to beguile their malice. The Kings Embassador had full commission, to refuse nothing that should be enioyned. Wherefore there was no more to doe, than to send immediately to *Rome* for the ratification of the Peace.

There were new Consuls chosen in the meane while at *Rome*, *M. Fulvius*, and *Cn. Manlius Vulso*. The *Atolians* desired peace, but could not obtaine it: because they would accept neither of the two Conditions to them before propounded. So it was decreed, That one of the Consuls should make warre vpon the *Atolians*; the other, vpon *Antiochus* in *Asia*. Now though shortly there came newes that *Antiochus* was already vanquished in battaile, and had submitted himselfe vnto all that could be required at his hands: yet since the State of *Asia* was not like to bee so thoroughly settled by one Victory, but that many things might fall out worthy of the *Romans* care; *Cn. Manlius*, to whom *Asia* fell by lot, had not his Province changed.

Soone after this, came the Embassadors of King *Antiochus* to *Rome*, accompanied with the *Rhodians* and some others: yet by King *Eumenes* in person; whose presence added a goodly lustre to the businesse in hand. Concerning the peace to bee made with King *Antiochus*, there was no dilputation: it was generally approued. All the trouble was, about the distribution of the purchase. King *Eumenes* reckoned vp his own deserts; and comparing himselfe with *Masaniassa*, hoped that the *Romans* would be more bountifull to him than they had beene to the *Nemidian*, since they had found him a King indeed, whereas *Masaniassa* was onely such in title; and since both hee and his Father had alwaies beene their friends, even in the very worst of the *Romane* fortune. Yet was there much ado to make him tell what hee would haue: He still referring himselfe to their courtesie; and they desiring him to speake plaine. At the length hee craued they would bestow vpon him, as much of the Country by them taken from *Antiochus*, as they

had no purpose to keepe in their owne hands. Neither thought he it needfull, that they should trouble themselves with the care of giuing liberty to many of the *Greeke* Towns, that were on *Asia* side. For since the most of those Townes had bene partakers with the King in his Warre; it was no reason that they should be gainers by his ouerthrow. The *Rhodians* did not like of this. They desired the Senate to be true to the *Grecian* libertie; and to call to minde, that no small part of *Greece* it selfe had bin subiect vnto *Philip*, and serued him in his Warre: which was not alledged against him as a cause why they should not be made free, after that *Philip* was overcome. But the maine point wherein they insisted, was this, That the Victory of the *Romans* against King *Antiochus* was so great, as easily might satisfie the desires of all their friends. The Senate was glad to heare of this; and very bountifullly gaue away so much, that euerie one had to cause to be well pleased.

Such end had the Warre against King *Antiochus*: after which, *L. Cornelius Scipio*, returning home, had granted vnto him the honour of a Triumph: the pompe whereof exceeded in riches, not onely that of *Titus Quintius Flaminius*, but of any ten that *Rome* had beheld vntill that day. Now forasmuch as the surname of *The African* had bene giuen vnto *P. Scipio*, it was thought convenient by some, to reward *L. Scipio* with the title of *The Asiatick*: which the fortune of his Victory had no less deferred; though the vertue, requisite to the purchase thereof, was no way correspondent.

§. IX.

The Aetolians, and the Gallogreekes, vanquished by the Roman Consuls Fulvius and Manlius. Manlius hardly obtains a Triumph: being charged (among other objections) with attempting to haue passed the bounds appointed as fatal to the Romans by Sibyl. Of Sibyls Prophecies; the Bookes of Heims; and that Inscription, Simoni Deo Sancto. The ingratitude of Rome to the two Scipio's: and that beginning and faction among the Romans Nobilitie.

MARCUS Fulvius and Cn. Manlius had the same charge diuided between them, so which *L. Cornelius Scipio*, now styled *Asiaticus*, had lately undergone. It was found more than one mans worke, to looke at once to *Greece* and to *Asia*. And for this reason was it apparent, that *L. Scipio* had granted so long a Truce to the *Aetolians*. But since, in this long Interim of Truce, that haughtie little Nation had not fought to humble it selfe to the *Romane* Maiesie, it was now to bee brought vnto more lowlie termes than any other of the *Greekes*. The best was, that so great a storme fell not vnexpected vpon the *Aetolians*. They had foreseene the danger, when their Embassadors were utterly denied peace at *Rome*: and they had provided the last remedie, which was, to entreat the *Rhodians* and *Athenians* to become intercessors for them. Neyther were they so dejected, with any terrible apprehensions, that they could not well deale, euen vpon helping themselves, by repurchase of Countries lost, where they spied advantage.

Poorer King *Aminander* liued in exile among them, whilest *Philip* of *Macedon* kept for him, possession of his Lands and Castles. But the *Athamanians* (besides that manie of them bore a naturall affection to their owne Prince) hauing bene long accustomed to serue a Mountaine Lord, that conuerfed with them after an homely manner; could not endure the proud and insolent manner of command, vsed by the Captaines of *Philip* his Garrisons. They lent therefore some few of them to their King, and offered their seruice toward his restitution. At the first there were onely foure of them; neither grew they, at length, to more than two and fiftie, which vnderooke the worke. Yet assistance, that all the rest would follow, made *Aminander* willing to trie his fortune. Hee was at the borders with a thousand *Aetolians*, vpon the day appointed: at what time his two and fiftie aduenturers hauing diuided themselves into foure parts, occupied, by the readie assistance of the multitude, foure of the chiefe Townes in the Countrey to his vse. The same of this good successe at first, with diuers letters running from placeto place, whereby men were exhorted to doe their best in helping forward the Action, made the Lieutenants of *Philip* vnable to thinke vpon resistance. One of them held the Towne of *Theium* a few dayes; giuing thereby some leasure vnto his King to

prouide for the rescue. But when he had done his best, he was forced thence; and could onely tell *Philip*, whom he met on the way, that all was lost. *Philip* had brought from home fixe thousand men; of whom, when the greater part could not hold out, in such a running march, hee left all saue two thousand behinde him, and so came to *Athenium*, a little *Athamanian* Castle, that still was his, as being on the frontier of *Macedon*. Thence he sent *Zeno*, who had kept *Theium* a while, to take a place lying ouer *Argitheia*, that was chiefe of the Countrey. *Zeno* did as he was appointed: yet neither hee, nor the King had the boldnesse to defend vpon *Argitheia*; for that they might perceiue the *Athamanians*, all along the hill sides, ready to come downe vpon them, when they should be busie. Wherefore nothing was thought more honourable than a safe retreat: especially when *Aminander* came in sight with his thousand *Aetolians*. The *Macedonians* were called back, from wards *Argitheia*, and presently withdrawn by their King towards his owne borders. But they were not suffered to depart in quiet at their pleasure. The *Athamanians* and *Aetolians* way-laid them, and pursued them so closely, that their retreat was in manner of a plaine flight, with great losse of men and armes; few of those escaping, that were left behinde, as to make a countenance of holding somewhat in the Countrey, vntill *Philip* his returne.

The *Aetolians* hauing found the businesse of *Athamanian* so easie, made an attempt in their owne behalfe, vpon the *Amphilochians* and *Sperantians*. These had belonged vnto their Nation, and were lately taken by *Philip*, from whom they diligently rescued, and became *Aetolians* againe. The *Dolopians* lay next; that had bene euer belonging to the *Macedonians*, and so did still purpose to continue. These tooke Armes at first: but soone layed them away; seeing their neighbors ready to fight with them in the *Aetolian* quarrell, and seeing their owne King so hastily gone, as if he meant not to returne.

Of these victories the ioy was the lesse, for that now came of *Antiochus* his last ouerthrow, and of *M. Fulvius* the new Consul his halting with an armie into *Greece*. *Aminander* sent his excuse to *Rome*, praying the Senate, not to take it in despite, that hee had recovered his owne from *Philip* with such helpe as he could get. Neither seemed it that the *Romans* were much offended to heare of *Philip* his losses: for of this fault they neither were sharpe correctors, nor earnest reprovers. *Fulvius* went in hand with the businesse, about which he came, and layed siege to *Ambracia*, a goodly Citie, that had bene the chiefe seat of *Pyrrhus* his Kingdome. With this he began; for that it was of too great importance to be abandoned by the *Aetolians*: yet could not by them be relieved, vnlesse they would aduenture to fight vpon equal ground. To helpe the *Ambraciens*, it was not in the *Aetolians* power: for they were, at the same time, vexed by the *Thyrians* at sea, and ready to be driuen from their new conquest, by *Perseus* the sonne of *Philip*, who invaded the Countries of the *Amphilochians* and *Dolopians*. They were vnable to deale with so many at once; and therefore as earnestly sought peace with the *Romans*, as they stoutly made head against the rest. In the meane while the *Athenian* and *Rhodian* Embassadors came; who besought the Consul to grant them peace. It helped well that *Ambracia* made strong resistance, and would not bee terrified, by any violence of the assaillants, or danger that might seeme to threaten. The Consul had no desire to spend halfe his time about one Citie, and to bee driuen to leaue vnto his succellour the honour of finishing the Warre. Wherefore hee gladly hearkened vnto the *Aetolians*, and bad them seeke peace with faithfull intent, without thinking it ouer-deare, at a reasonable price; considering with how great a part of his Kingdome their friend *Antiochus* had made the same purchase. Hee also gaue leaue to *Aminander*, offering his seruice as a mediatur, to put himselfe into *Ambracia*, and trie what good his persuasions might doe with the Citizens. So, after many demands and excuses, the conclusion was such as was grieuous to the weaker, but not vnufferable. The same Embassadors of the *Athenians* and *Rhodians*, accompanied those of the *Aetolians* to *Rome*, for procuring the confirmation of Peace. Their eloquence and credit was the more needfull in this intercession, for that *Philip* had made a verie grieuous complaint about the losse of those Countries, which they had lately taken from him. Hereof the Senate could not but take notice; though it did not hinder the peace, which those good Mediatours of *Rhodes* and *Athens* did earnestly sollicite. The *Aetolians* were bound to vphold the Maiesie of the people of *Rome*; and to obserue diuers Articles, which made them the lesse free, and more obnoxious to the *Romans*, than

any people of *Greece*; they hauing beene the first that called these their Masters into the Countrey. The Ile of *Cephalenia* was taken from them by the *Romans*: who kept it for themselves (as not long since they had gotten *Zacinthus* from the *Acheans*, by stiffly pressing their owne right) that so they might haue possession along the coast of *Greece*, whilst they seemed to forbeare the Countrey. But concerning those places, whereto *Philop.* or others, might lay claime, there was set down an Order so perplexed, as would necessarily require to haue the *Romans* Iudges of their controuersies, when they should arise. And heere of good vse we see shortly made: when want of employment else where, shall cause a more Lordly Inquisition to be held, vpon the affaires of *Macedon* and *Greece*.

Cn. *Manlius*, the other Consul, had at the same time warre in *Asia*, with the *Gall-Greekes* and others. His Armie was the same that had followed *L. Scipio*, of whose victorie, his acts were the consummation. He visited those Countreies on the hither side of *Taurus*, that had scarce heard of the *Romans*; to whom they were abandoned by *Antiochus*. Among these were some petty Lords, or Tyrants, some free Cities, and some that were together at Warres, without regard of the great alteration happened in *Asia*. From enery of these hee got somewhat; and by their quarrells found occasion to visite those Prouinces, into which hee should else haue wanted an errand. Hee was euen laden with bootie, when, hauing fetcht a compass about *Asia*, he came at length vpon the *Gall-greekes*. These had long domineered ouer the Countrey: though of late times, it was rather the fame and terror of their fore-past acts, than any present vertue of theirs, which held them vp in reputation. Of the *Romans* they had lately such triall, when they did serue vnder King *Antiochus*, as made them to acknowledge themselves farre the worse men. Wherefore they thought it no small part of their lateitie, that they dwelt vpon the Riuer *Halys*, in an In-land Countrey, where those enemies were not very like to search them out. But when such hopes failed; and when some Princes of their owne Nation, that had bene friends of *Eumenes*, exhorted the rest to yield: then there was no counsaile thought so good, as to forsake their houses and Countrey, and, with all that they could carrie or drine, to betake themselves vnto the high mountaines of *Olympus* and *Margana*. These mountaines were exceeding hard of ascent, though none should vnder take the custodie. Being therefore well manned and victualled for a long time; as also the natural strength being helpt, by such fortification as promised greatest assurance: it was thought, that the Consul would either forbeare the attempt of forcing them, or easily bee repelled; and that finally, when hee had stayed there a while, winter, and much want, should force him to dislodge. Yet all this auailed not. For whereas the *Gall-greekes* had bene carelesse of furnishing themselves with casting weapons, as if stones would haue serued well enough for that purpose: the *Romans*, who came farre otherwise appointed, found greater aduantage in the difference of Armes, than impediment in disadvantage of ground. Archers and Slingers did easily preuaile against casters of stones; especially being such as were these *Gall-greekes*, neither exercised in that manner of fight, nor hauing prepared their stones before-hand, but catching vp what lay next, the too great, and the too little, oftner than those of a fit size. Finally, the *Barbarians*, wanting defensiu Armes, could not hold out against the Arrowes and weapons of the *Roman* light armature: but were driuen from a piece of ground, which they had vnder taken to make good, vp into their Campe on the top of the mountaine; and being forced out of their Campe, had none other way left, than to cast themselves headlong downe the steeperockes. Few of their men did escape aliue: all their wiues, children, and goods became a prey vnto the *Romans*. In the very like manner, were the rest of that Nation overcome soone after, at the other mountaine: onely more of them saved themselves by flight, as hauing fairer way at their backs.

These warres being ended: *Fulvius* and *Manlius* were appointed by the Senate, each of them to retaine as Proconsul, his Prouince for another yeere. *Fulvius*, in his second yeere, did little or nothing. *Manlius* gaue peace to those whom he had vanquished; as likewise to *Ariarathes* the *Cappadocian*, and some others, not by him vanquished, but submitting themselves for feare of the *Roman* Armes. He drew from them all, what profit he could: and laid vpon them such conditions, as he thought expedient. He also did finish the league of peace with *Antiochus*; whereto hee swore, and receiued the Kings

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oath by Embassadors, whom he sent for that purpose. Finally, hauing set in order the matters of *Asia*, he tooke his way toward the *Hellepont*, laden with spoile, as carrying with him (besides other treasures) all that the *Gall-greekes* had in so many yeeres extorted, from the wealthy Prouinces that lay round about them. Neither did this Armie of *Manlius* returne home, rich in money alone, or cattell, or things of needefull vse, which the *Roman* souldier had bene wont to take as the onely good purchase; but furnished with sumptuous household stuffe, and slaues of price, excellent Cookes, and Musicians for banquets, and in a word, with the seedes of that luxurie, which finally ouer-grew and choked the *Roman* vertue.

The Countrey of *Thrace* lay between *Hellepont* and the Kingdome of *Macedon*, which way *Manlius* was to take his journey homeward. *L. Scipio* had found no impediment among the *Thracians*: either for that hee passed through them, without any such bootie as might prouoke them; or perhaps rather, because *Philip* of *Macedon* had taken order, that the *Barbarians* should not stirre. But when *Manlius* came along with a huge traine of baggage, the *Thracians* could not so well containe themselves. Neither was it thought, that *Philop.* tooke it otherwise than very pleasantly, to haue this *Roman* Armie robbed, and well beaten on the way. Hee had cause to be angry, seeing how little himselfe was regarded, and what great rewards were given to *Eumenes*. For hee vnderstood, and afterwards gaue the *Romans* to vnderstand, that *Eumenes* could not haue abidden in his owne Kingdome, if the People of *Rome* had not made warre in *Asia*: whereas contrariwise, *Antiochus* had offered vnto himselfe three thousand talents, and fiftie ships of warre, to take part with him and the *Asolians*; promising moreover to restore vnto him all the *Greece* Cities, that had been taken from him by the *Romans*. Such being the difference between him and *Eumenes*, when the warre began: he thought it no euen dealing of the *Romans*, after their victory, to giue away not onely the halfe of *Asia*, but *Chersonesus* and *Lysimachia* in *Europe*, to *Eumenes*; whereas vpon himselfe they bestowed not any one Towne. It agreed not indeede with his Nobilitie to goe to *Rome* and begge Prouinces in the Senate, as *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians* had lately done. Hee had entertained louingly the two *Scipios*, which he thought the most honourable men in *Rome*; and was growne into neere acquaintance with *Publius*, holding correspondence with him by letters, whereby hee made himselfe acquainted with the warres in *Spain* and *Affricke*. This perhaps hee deemed sufficient, to breed in the *Romans* a due respect of him. But *Eumenes* tooke a surer way. For the *Scipios* had not a disposing of that which they wonne from *Antiochus*: as neither indeede had *Manlius*, nor the ten Delegates assisting him; but the Senate of *Rome*, by which those Delegates were chosen, and instructed how to proceede. When *Philip* therefore saw these vpstart Kings of *Pergamus*, whom he accounted as base companions, aduanced so highly, and made greater than himselfe; yea himselfe vnregarded, contemned, and exposed to many wrongs: then found hee great cause to wish, that hee had not so hastily declared himselfe against *Antiochus*, or rather that hee had ioyned with *Antiochus* and the *Asolians*, by whom he might haue bene freed from his insolent Masters. But what great argument of such discontentednesse the *Macedonian* had, we shall very shortly be virged to discourse more at large. At the present it was beleueed, that the *Thracians* were by him set on, to assaile the *Romans* passing through their Countrey. They knew all aduantages; and they fell, vnexpected, vpon the carriages, that were bestowed in the midst of the Armie; whereof part had already passed a dangerous wood, through which the baggage followed; part was not yet so farre aduanced. There was enough to get, and enough to leaue behinde: though both the getting, and the sauing, did cost many liues, as well of the *Barbarians* as of the *Romans*. They fought vntill it grew to night: and then the *Thracians* withdrew themselves; not without as much of the bootie, as was to their full content. And of such trouble there was more, though lesse dangerous, before the Armie could get out of *Thrace* into *Macedon*. Through the Kingdome they had a faire march into *Epirus*, and so to *Apollonia*, which was their handle of *Greece*.

To *Manlius*, and to *Fulvius*, when each of them returned to the Citie, was granted the honour of Triumph. Yet not without contradiction: especially to *Manlius*, whom some of the ten Delegates, appointed to assist him, did very bitterly tax, as an unworthy Commander. Touching the rest of their accusation; it sufficeth that hee made good answer, and was approved by the chiefe of the Senate. One clause is worthy of more particular consideration. Reprehending his desire to haue hindered the peace with *Antiochus*, they

they

Liu. 4. 38.

they said, *That with much ado he was kept from leading his Armie over Taurus, and aduancing upon the calamitie threatened by Sibyls verses, vnto those that should passe the fall bonnds.* What calamitie or ouerthrow this was, wherewith Sibyls prophetic threatened the Roman Captaine or Armie, that should passe ouer *Taurus*, I do not conceiue. Pompey was the first, that marched with an Armie beyond those limits: though the victories of *Lucullus* had opened vnto him the way, and had before-hand won, in a fort, the Countries on the other side of the Mount; which *Lucullus* gaue to one of *Antiochus* his race, though Pompey occupied them for the Romans. But we finde not, that either *Lucullus* or Pompey suffered any losse, in presuming to neglect the bounds appointed by Sibyl. Indeede the accomplishment of this prophetic, fell out neere about one time, with the restitution of *Ptolemie* King of *Egypt*; that was forbidden vnto the Romans by the same Sibyl. It may therefore seeme to haue had reference vnto the same things, that were denounced, as like to happen vpon the reduction of the *Egyptian* King. Whether the Oracles of Sibyl had in them any truth, and were not, as *Tullie* noteth, *owned at randome in the large field of Time*, there to take root, and get credit by euent; I will not here dispute. But I hold this more probable, than that the restitution of *Ptolemie* to his Kingdome by *Gabinus* the Roman, should haue any way betokened the comming of our Saviour: as some both ancient and moderne Christian Writers haue bene well pleased to interpret Sibyl in that prophetic. Of the Sibylline predictions I haue sometimes thought reuerently: though not knowing what they were (as I thinke, few men know) yet following the common beleefe, and good authority. But obseruation of the shamefull Idolatry, that vpon all occasions was aduanced in Rome by the bookes of Sibyl, had well preailled vpon my credulitie, and made me suspect, though not the faith and pious meaning, yet the iudgement of *Eusebius*: when that learned and excellent worke of Master *Casaubon* vpon the *Annales* of Cardinall *Baronius*, did altogether free me from mine error; making it apparent, That not onely those prophesies of Sibyl, wherein *Christ* so plainly was shewed, but euen the bookes of *Hermes*, which haue borne such reputation, were no better than counterfeited pieces, and at first entertained (who soeuer deuised them) by the vndiscreet zeale of such, as delighted in seeing the Christian Religion strengthened with forcine proofes. And in the same ranke, I thinke, we ought to place that notable Historie, so reported by *Eusebius* from no meane Authors Of the honour which was done to *Simon Magus* in Rome; namely, of an Altar to him erected, with an inscription, *Simoni Deo Sancto*, that is, *To Simon the holy god*. For what can be more strange, than that a thing so memorable, and so publike, should haue bene quite omitted by *Tacitus*, by *Suetonius*, by *Dion*, and by all which wrote of those times? Phylosophers and Poets would not haue suffered the matter to escape in silence, had it bene true; neither can it be thought that *Seneca*, who then lived and flourished, would haue abstained from speaking any word of an Argument so famous. Wherefore I am perswaded, that this inscription, *Simoni Deo Sancto*, was, by some bad Criticisme, taken amisse in place of *Simoni Sango*: a title foure hundred yeeres older than the time of *Simon Magus*. For the goods of one *Vitruuius* a Rebelle, had many ages before bene consecrated *Simoni Sango*, that is, *To the Spirit or Demi-god Sango*, in whose Chappell they were bestowed. So as either by the ill shape of the old Roman letters, or by some spoile that Time had wrought vpon them; it might easily come to passe, that the words should be misse-read, *Simoni Sancto*, and that some Christian who had heard of *Simon Magus*, but not of *Sango*, thereupon should frame the coniecture, which now passeth for a true Historie. Such coniectures, being entertained without examination, finde credit by Tradition, whereby also, many times, their fashion is amended, and made more Histori-call, than was conceiued by the Authour. But it cannot be safe, to let our faith (which ought to stand firme vpon a sure foundation) leane ouer-hardly on a well painted, yet rotten post.

Now concerning the Triumph of *Cn. Manlius*, it may be numbred among a few of the richest, which euer the Citie beheld. Out of that which he brought into the Treasurie, was made the last payment of those monies which the Common-wealth had borrowed from private men, in the second *Punicke warre*. So long was it, that Rome had still some feeling of *Hannibal*: which being past, there was remaining neither care, nor memorie, of any danger. This Triumph of *Manlius* was deferred by him, euen so long as hee well could: for that he thought it not safe, to make his entrance into the Citie, vntill the

the heat of an Inquisition, then raging therein, should be allayed. The two *Scipio's* were called one after other, into iudgement, by two Tribunes of the people; men, onely by this accusation, knowne to Polteritic. *P. Scipio* the African, with whom they beganne, could not endure that such unworthy men should question him, of purloining from the Common Treasurie, or of being hired with bribes by *Antiochus*, to make an ill bargain for his Countrey. When therefore his day of answer came; hee appeared before the Tribunes, not humbly as one accused, but followed by a great traine of his friends and Clients, with which he passed through the middle of the Assembly, and offered himselfe to speake. Hauing audience, he told the People, That vpon the same day of the 10 yeere he had fought a great battell with *Hannibal*, and finished the *Punike warre*, by a signall victory. In memory whereof, he thought it no fit season to brabble at the Law; but intended to visit the *Capitol*, and there giue thanks to *Iupiter*, and the rest of the gods, by whose grace, both on that day and at other times, he had well and happily discharged the most weighty businesse of the Common-wealth. And hereto he inuited with him all the Citizens: requesting them, That if euer since the seventeenth yeere of his life, vntill he now grew old, the honourable places by them conferred vpon him, had prevented the capacitee of his age, and yet his deserts had exceeded the greatness of those honourable places: then would they pray, that the Princes and great ones of their Citie might still be like to him. These words were heard with great approbation: so as all the people, euen the Officers of the 10 Court, followed *Scipio*, leauing the Tribune alone, with none about them, excepting their owne slaves and a Crier, by whom ridiculously they cited him to iudgement, vntill for very shame, as not knowing what else to doe, they granted him, vantage. A fourth day, after this, when the African perceived that the Tribunes would not let fill their thirst, but enforce him to submit himselfe to a disgracefull triall: he willingly relinquished the Citie, and his vnthankfull Romans; that could suffer him to vndergoe so much indignitie. The rest of his time he spent at *Literum*: quietly with a few of his inward friends, and without any desire of seeing Rome againe. How many yeeres he liued, or whether he liued one whole yeere, in this voluntarie banishment; it is vncertaine. The report of his dying in the same yeere, with *Hannibal* and *Philopemen*, as also of his private behaviour 30 at *Literum*, render it probable, that he out-lived the Tribuneship of his accusers; who meant to haue drawn him backe to his answer, if one of their Colleagues (as one of them had power to hinder all the rest from proceeding) had not caused them to desist. Howsoever it was, the same Tribunes went more sharply to worke with *L. Scipio* the Asiaticke. They propounded a Decree vnto the People, touching money recieued of *Antiochus*, and not brought into the common Treasurie; That the Senate should giue charge vnto one of the Prætors, to inquire, and iudicially determine thereof. In fauour of this Decree, an Oration was made by *Cato*, the supposed author of these contentions, and infligator of the Tribunes. He was a man of great, but not perfect, vertue; temperate, valiant, and of singular industrie; frugal also, both of the publike, and of his owne; so as in this kinde 40 he was euen faultie: for though he would not be corrupted with bribes, yet was hee vnmerciful and vnconscionable, in seeking to increase his owne wealth, by such means as the Law did warrant. Ambition was his vice; which being poisoned with enuie, troubled both himselfe and the whole Citie, whilst he liued. His mane birth caused him to hate the Nobilitie, especially those that were in chiefe estimation. Neither did he care to bite at such as were of his owne ranke, men raised by desert, if their advancement were like to hinder his: but lately before this, when *Glubrio*, whole Lieutenant he had bene at *Thermopyle*, was his Competitor for the Censorship, and likly to carry it, hee tooke an Oath against him, which was counted as no better than malicious perurie. That hee had not brought into the common Treasurie some vessels of gold and silver, gotten in the 50 Campe of *Antiochus*. Now the hatred which he bare vnto the *Scipios* grew partly, (besides his generall spite at the Nobility) from his owne first rising, wherein he was countenanced by *Fabius Maximus*, who brooked not the African; partly from some checke, that was giuen vnto himselfe, in the African voyage, by *P. Scipio*, whose Treasurer he then was. For when *Cato* did utter his dislike of the Consuls bad husbandry (judging Magnificence to be no better) in some peremptory manner; *Scipio* plainly told him, That hee had no neede of such double diligence in his Treasurer. Wherefore, either not caring what lies he published, or for want of iudgement, thinking vnworthily of the vertue that was fauourable him, *Cato* filled Rome with vntrue reports against his Generall; whose noble

Idem. Casaub.
Exercit. 1. ad
Annal. Bar. n.
10. 21.

Euseb. Eccl.
hist. 4. 13.

noble deedes confuted sufficiently the author of such false tales. And thus began the hatred: which being not regarded nor thought vpon by the *Scipios*, whilest it was nourished by their enemy, brake out vpon aduantage, especially against *L. Scipio*, his brother being dead, or out of the way. A seuerer inquirie and iudgement being appointed of purpose against *Scipio*, matters were so carried, that he was scene condemned in a sum of money, far exceeding his ability to pay. For non payment, his body should haue bene laid vp in prison: but from this rigour of the Law he was freed by *Tiberius Gracchus*, the same Tribune who had caused the suite against the *African* to be let fall. In his estate, which was confiscated to the vse of the Citie, when there neither appeared any signe of his haueing bene beholding to *Antiochus*, nor was found so much as what he had bene condemned to pay; then fell his accusers, and all whose hands had bene against him, into the indignation of the People. But for this was *L. Scipio* no whit the better. His kinsred, friends, and Clients made such a collection for him, as would haue set him in better estate than before, if he had accepted it. Hee tooke no more than such of his owne goods, as were of necessity vsed, being redeemed for him by his neereff friends.

And thus began the ciuill waire of the *Tongue*, in the *Roman* pleadings: which had either not bene, or not bene much regardable, vntill now, since the *Punicke* Warre. Security of danger from abroad, and some want of sufficient employment, were especial helpe to the kindling of this fire; which first caught hold vpon that great Worthy, to whose vertue *Rome* was indebted, for changing into so great security her extreme danger. But these fictitious contentions did no long while containe themselves within heat of words, and cunning practice. For when the Art of leading the multitude, in such quarrellsome businesse, grew to perfection, they that found themselves ouer-matched by their aduersaries, at this kinde of weapon, began to make opposition, first with clubs & stones, afterward with swords; and finally, proceeded from frayes and murders in the streets, vnto battaile in the open field. *Cornelia*, daughter of *Scipio the African*, a Lady of rare vertue, that in honour of her two sonnes was more commonly named *Mother of the Gracchi*, saw those her two sonnes, whilest they were but yong, slaughtered in *Rome*, together with some of their friends, by those whom they opposed, and their death not reuenged by order of Law, but rather approved by the Senate. At these times the Senators began to take vpon them authoritie, more than was to them belonging. They conferred vpon the Consuls all the whole power of the Citie, vnder this forme, *Let the Consuls provide, that the Commonweale receiue no detriment*. By this Decree of theirs, and by their proclaiming any Citizen *enemie to the State*, they thought to haue wonne a great aduantage ouer the multitude. But after the death of *C. Gracchus*, and of *Saturninus* a popular man, whom by such authority they did put out of the way, it was not long ere *Marius*, a famous Captaine of theirs, was so condemned, who by force of armes returned into the Citie, and murdered all the principall Senators: whereupon began the ciuill warres; which giuing vnto *Sylla*, who prevailed therein, meanes to make himselfe absolute Lord of *Rome*, taught *Cesar*, a man of higher spirit, to affect and obtaine the like soueraine power, when by the like Decree of the Senate he was prouoked. It is true, that neuer any Consul had finally cause to reioyce, of his hauing put in execution such authoritie to him committed by the Senate. But as the furie of the multitude, in passing their Lawes, by hurling of stones, and other violence, made the Citie stand in neede of a Soueraine Lord: so the vehemency of the Senate, in condemning as enemies those that would not submit themselves, when they were ouer-topped by voyces in the House, did compell *Cesar*, or giue him at least pretence, to right himselfe by armes: wherewith preuailling against his aduersaries, hee tooke such order, that neither Senate, nor People, should thenceforth be able to doe him wrong. So by intestine discord, the *Romans* consuming all or most of their principall Citizens, lost their owne freedom, and became subiects vnto the arbitrary gouernment of One: suffering this change in three generations, after this beginning of their insolent rule, wherein they tooke vpon them as the highest Lords on Earth, to doe even what they listed. Yet had not *Rome* indeede attained hitherto vnto compleat greatnesse, nor beleueed of her selfe as if shee had, whilest a Kingdome crowned on the Throne of *Alexander*, continuing and vpholding the reputation of a former Empire. Wherefore this consummation of her honour was thought vpon betimes. How it was effected, the sequelle will discouer.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The second Macedonian Warre.

§. I.

The Condition wherein these Princes and Estates remained, which were associates of the *Romans*, when the warre with *Antiochus* was finished. The *Romans* quarrell with *Philip*. They deale insolently with the *Acheans*. The *Macedonian*, being overready for warre, obtains peace at *Rome*, by his sonne *Demetrius*; of whom thenceforth hee becomes zealous.



After the ouerthrow of *Antiochus*, although *Philip* of *Macedon*, *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus*, the Commonweale of the *Acheans*, and all other the States of *Greece*, were gouerned by the same Lawes and Magistrates, as they formerly had bene, before the arriuall of the *Romans* in those parts: yet in very truth (the publike declaration excepted) they were none other than absolute vassals to the People of *Rome*. For of those five Prerogatiues belonging to a Monarch, or vnto Soueraine power, in whomsoever it rest; namely, To make Lawes, To create Magistrates, To arbitrate Peace and Warre, To beate Monie, and to relesse (as the French call it) the dernier resort, or the last Appeales, the *Romans* had assumed foure; and the greatest of them so absolutely, that is, The Appeale, or last resort, as euery petty iniurie offered to each other by the fore-named Kings or States, was heard and determined either by the *Roman* Embassadors, or Commissioners, in those places whence the Complaint came, or otherwise by the Senators themselves within *Rome*: from whose arbitrement, or direction, if either King, or Common-weale, declined, He or they were beaten, and enforced to obedience; or had their Estates and Regalities vterly dissolved. Neerthelesse it is true, that they had their owne Lawes, and Offices of their owne ordaining: yet so, as neither their Lawes were of force, when the *Romans* interposed their will to the contrary; neither was their election of Magistrates so free, as that they had not therein especiall regard vnto the good pleasure of these their Masters.

And to such degree of seruitude the seuerall Estates of *Greece* did bow very gently: either as being thankfull for their deliuerance from a yoke more sensibly gricuous; or, as being skillfull in the Art of flattery, and therein taking delight, since therein consisted their chiete hope of thriving; or, as being more fearfull of displeasing the strongest, than mindfull of their owne honour. But *Eumenes* liuing further off, and being most obsequious vnto the *Romans*, was not, of long time, questioned about any of his doings: his conformity vnto them in matter of warre and peace, together with the diuerfion of their thoughts another way, giuing him leaue to vse his owne cūen as he listed, vntill they should otherwise dispose of him. Neither was it a little auailable to him, that his Kingdome bordered vpon the Nations, by them not thoroughly subdued. For vpon the same reason (as well as vpon his owne high deserts) were they very louing vnto *Masaniissa*, and to his House, vntill *Carthage* was ruined, and their Dominion seated in *Affricke*: as likewise afterwards to the Kings of *Mauritania*, *Cappadocia*, and others: holding people in subiection vnto themselves, by the ministry of Kings; especially of such Kings, as were victual and obsequious vnto them.

Now the *Macedonian* was of a more noble temper, and shewed himselfe not forgetfull of his owne former greatnesse, the honour of his race, or the high reputation of his Kingdome. But such magnanimity was none otherwise constituted by the *Romans*, than as want of due reuerence to their Estate, and a valuation of himselfe against them: which, in the pride of their fortune, they could not endure. Wherefore, notwithstanding that he had lately giuen passage to their Armies through his Country, prepared the wayes for them, and furnished them both with victuals, and other things needefull, to transport them over the *Hellefpont* into *Asia*, against *Antiochus*: yet vpon the complaint of *Eumenes*, and the *Sources of the Hellespont* and *Thrace*, he was commanded to abandon the Cities of *Amus* and *Maroneia*.

Maronea, with all Pieces and Places demanded by any of his neighbours; whereof many of them he had lately conquered, by direction, or licence, even from the *Romans* themselves.

These Townes of *Enus* and *Maronea* had bene part of *Lysimachus* his Kingdome: who from *Thrace* Northwards, and to the Northwest, extended his dominion very far. He is thought to have made himselfe Lord of *Transluania*: in which Prouince it is said,

*Hist. of
Greece by Mart.
Emace, lib. 5.

That innumerable Medals of gold haue bene found, in theage of our grandfathers, each of them weighing two or three crownes, and stamped with his Image on the one side, on the other side with *Victorie*. Of all these Lordships, the possession, or rather the title (for he liued not to settle his estate in *Europe*) tell to *Seleucus Nicator* by right of war, in wherein he vanquished and slue *Lysimachus*: as also, by the like right, *Ptoleme Ceraunus* thought them his owne, when he had murdered *Seleucus*. But the inundation of the *Gauls*, which the Kingdome of *Macedon* could not sustaine, did shortly and easily wash away from that Crowne, together with the more part of *Thrace*, all those heapes of land newly thereto annexed. Somewhat of this was afterwards regained by *Antigonus* the sonne of *Demetrius*, and his successours: though not much; for they were otherwile busied. The furie of the *Gauls* being ouer-past, those Countreies which lately had bene oppressed by them, recoverd their libertie; and not onely held it, but learned, some of them, especially the *Dardanians* and wilde *Thracians*, to finde their advantages, and make vse of them, even vpon *Macedon*. Against the mischiefs commonly done by these, King *Philip* did prouide the most conuenient remedies: by shutting vp the wayes, whereby the *Dardanians* might enter into his Kingdome; and by occupying *Lysimachia*, with some other Townes in *Thrace*, which he fortified, as Bulwarkes of his owne Countrey, against the *Barbarians*. Now, although it behoued him thus to doe, for the defence of his owne estate: yet forasmuch as these Townes were, in a manner, at absolute libertie, his possession of them was thought to partake more of violence than of iustice. And in this respect he was formerly accused by the *Asolians*, of wrongfull vsurpation and oppression, in his hauing occupied *Lysimachia*. Hereunto hee made a good answer, That his Garrison did onely saue it from the *Thracians*: who, as soone as he thence withdrew his men, did seize vpon the Towne, and ruine it. The like perhaps he might haue said, touching *Enus* and *Maronea*. That they were places vnable to defend themselves, and Gates, by which the *Barbarians* might haue entrance into his Kingdome. But this Plea had not auayled him, in the disputation about *Lysimachia*; and in the present question, the *Romans* were not without their owne title; since *Antiochus* had gotten all the Countrey thereabout, whilst *Philip* was busied in his former warre: and since they, by their victory had gotten vnto themselves all the title, which *Antiochus* thereto could pretend. Wherefore he onely submitted his right vnto the good pleasure of the Senate: referring it vnto their disposition. Whether *Enus* and *Maronea* should be set at libertie: whether left in his hand, or whether bestowed vpon *Eumenes*, who begged them, as an appendix to *Lysimachia* and *Chersonesus*, that were already by their gift. What they would determine, he might easily perceiue, by the demeanor of their Embassadors towards him: who sitting as Iudges betweene him and all that made complaint vpon him, gaue sentence against him in euery controuersie. Neuerthelesse, he sent Embassadors to *Rome*, there to maintaine his right vnto these Townes; wherein he thought, that equitie (if it might preuaile) was wholly on his side. For he had holpen their Consuls in the warre against *Antiochus* and the *Asolians*: wherein whatsoever hee had gotten for himselfe, was now taken from him by their Embassadors: and would they now deprive him of those two Townes, lying so fitly for the guard of his Kingdome, which hee had gotten to himselfe out of the ruines of *Antiochus*, like as out of his owne ruines *Antiochus* had gotten in those quarters a great deale more. By such allegations either he was likely to preuaile, or at least wile to gaine time, wherein he might bebinke himselfe what he had to doe. It was not long ere he had word from *Rome*, That the Senate were no more equall to him, than had bene their Embassadors. Wherefore, considering how insolently the *Maronites* had behaued themselves, in pleading against him for their liberty, hee tooke counsell of his owne passions; and (as by nature he was very cruel) gaue order to *Onomastus*, that was Warden of the Sea-coasts, to handle these *Maronites* in such sort, as they might haue little ioy of the libertie by them so earnestly desired. *Onomastus* employed *Cassander*, one of the Kings men dwelling in *Maronea*, and willed him to let in the *Thracians*

cians by night, that they might sacke the Towne, and vse all cruelties of warre. This was done: but to all taken by the *Roman* Embassadors, who had better notice, than could haue bene feared, of these proceedings; that the King was by them directly charged with the crime, and called more strictly, than became his Maestie, to an accompt. He would haue remoued the blame from himselfe, and layed it euenvpon the *Maronites*; affirming, That they, in heat of their Factions, being some inclinable to him, other some to *Eumenes*, had fallen into such outrage, that they had cut one anothers throates. And hereof he willed the Embassadors to enquire, among the *Maronites* themselves: as well knowing, that they who suruiued, were either his owne friends; or so terrified and amazed by the late execution of his vengeance among them, that they durst not utter an offensive word. But he found the *Romans* more seuerer, and more thoroughly informed in the businesse, than to rest contented with such an answer. He was plainly told, that if he would discharge himselfe of the crime objected; he must send *Onomastus* and *Cassander* to *Rome*, there to be examined as the Senate should thinke fit. This did not a little trouble him. Yet he collected his spirits, and said, that *Cassander* should be at their disposition: but concerning *Onomastus*, who had not bene at *Maronea*, nor neere to it, hee requested them not to prisse him; since it stood not with his honour, so lightly to giue away his friends. As for *Cassander*, because hee should tell no tales; hee tooke order to haue him paysoned by the way. By this wee see, that the doctrine, which *Machi-*

and taught vnto *Cesar Borgia*, to employ men in mischieuous actions, and afterwards to destroy them when they haue performed the mischiefe, was not of his owne inuention. All ages haue giuen vs examples of this goodly policie, the later hauing bene apt schoolers in this lesson to the more ancient: as the reigne of *Henry* the eighth here in *England*, can beare good witness; and therein especially the Lord *Cromwell*, who perished by the same vniust Law that himselfe had devised, for the taking away of another mans life.

Such actions of *Philip* made an vnpleasant noise at *Rome*, and were like to haue brought vpon him the warre which he feared, before hee was ready to entertaine it. Wherefore he employed his yonger sonne *Demetrius* as Embassador vnto the Senate: giuing him instructions, how to make answer to all complaints, and wishall to deliuer his owne grievances, in such wise that if ought were amisse, yet might it appeare that hee had bene strongly wrged to take such courses. The summe of his Embassage was, to pacifie the *Romans*, and make all euen for the present. *Demetrius* himselfe was knowne to be very acceptable vnto the Senate; as hauing bene well approued by them, when he was hostage in *Rome*: and therefore seemed the more likely, to preuaile somewhat where it onely in regard that would be borne vnto his person.

Whilst this businesse with the *Macedonian* hung in suspense, and whilst hee, by his readinesse to make submission, seemed likely to diuert from himselfe some other way the *Roman* armes: the same Embassadors, that had bene Iudges betweene him and his neighbours, made their progresse through the rest of *Greece*, and tooke notice of the controuersies, which they found betweene some Estates in the Countrey. The greatest cause that was heard before them, was the complaint of the banished *Lacedemonians* against the *Achaens*. It was objected vnto the *Achaens*, That they had committed a grievous slaughter vpon many Citizens of *Lacedemon*: That vnto this cruelty they had added a greater, in throwing downe the wallles of the Citie: as also further, in changing the Lawes, and abrogating the famous Institutions of *Lycurgus*. Hereto *Lycortas*, then Praetor of the *Achaens*, made answer, That these banished *Lacedemonians*, who now tooke vpon them to accuse the Nation that had once protected them; were notoriously known to be the men, who had themselves committed that murder, whereof shamefully they so laid the blame vpon others: the *Achaens* hauing onely called those vnto iudgement, they were supposed to be chief authors of a Rebellion against both them and the *Romans*; and these plaintifes hauing slaine them, vpon priuate, though iust hatred, as they were coming to make answer for themselves. Concerning their throwing downe the wallles of *Lacedemon*, hee said it was most agreeable to *Lycurgus* his ordinance: who, hauing perswaded his Citizens to defend their Towne and libertie by their proper vertue, did inhibit vnto them all kindes of fortifications: as the Retreats and Nests either of Cowards, or (whereof *Lacedemon* had wofull experience) of Tyrants and Vsurers. Further he shewed, how the same Tyrants that had built the wals

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and hemmed in the *Spartans*, had also quite abolished *Lycurgus* his ordinances; and governed the Citie by their owne lawlesse will. As for the *Achaens*; they communicated their owne Lawes, which they held for the best, or else would soone change them and take better, vnto the *Lacedemonians*; whom they found without Lawes, or any tolerable forme of policie. For conclusion, *Lycortas* plainly tolde *App. Claudius* the chiefe of the Embassadours, That hee and his Countreimen held it strange, being friends and faithfull Allies of the *Romans*, to see themselves thus constrained, to answere and giue account of their actions, as vassals and slaves to the *People of Rome*. For if they were indeede at libertie: why might not the *Achaens* as well require to be satisfied about that which the *Romans* had done at *Capua*, as the *Romans* did busie themselves, to take account how things went at *Lacedemon*? For if the *Romans* would stand vpon their greatnesse, to and intimate as they beganne, that the libertie of their friends was nothing worth, longer than should please themselves to ratifie it: then must the *Achaens* haue recourse vnto those Agreements, that were confirmed by oath, and which without perurie could not be violated; as reuencening, and indeede fearing the *Romans*, but much more, the immortall gods. To this bold answere of *Lycortas*, *Appius* found little to reply. Yet taking state vpon him, he pronounced more like a Master than a Iudge, That if the *Achaens* would not be ruled by faire meanes, and earne thanks whilst they might; they should be compelled with a mischief, to doe what was required at their hands, whether they would or no. This altercation was in the Parliament of the *Achaens*; which agreed to heare the Lordly words of *Appius*. Yet Feare preuailed aboue Indignation: and it was permitted vnto the *Romans* to doe as they listed. Hereupon the Embassadours restored some banished and condemned men: but the *Roman Senate*, verie soone after, did make voide all Iudgements of death or banishment, that had beene laid by the *Achaens* vpon any Citizen of *Lacedemon*; as likewise they made it a matter of disputation, whether or no the Citie and Territory of *Lacedemon*, should be suffered to continue a member of the *Achaean* Common-wealth; or taken from them, and made as it had beene an Estate by it selfe. By bringing such a matter into question, the *Romans* well declared, That they held it to depend vpon their owne will, how much or how little any of their confederates should be suffered to enioy: though by contributing *Sparta* to the Councell of *Achaia*, they discovered no lesse, as to them seemed, the loue which they bare vnto the *Achaians*, than the power which they had ouer them.

Into such slavery had the *Greekes*, and all Kings and Common-wealths whatsoever, bordering vpon any part of the *Mediterranean* Seas, reduced themselves, by calling in the *Romans* to their succour. They wanted not the good counsaile and perswasion of many wise and temperate men among them; They had also the examples of the *Italians*, *Spaniards*, *Gauls* and *Africans*, all subdued by the *Romans*; and, by seeking Patronage, made meere vassals; to instruct them, what in the like case they should expect: yet could not the true reasons of Estate and Policie so preuaile with them, but their private passions, and neighbouring hatred, which hath euermore bought reuenge at the price of selfe-maine, brought them from the honour which they enioyed, of being free Princes and Citie, into most bale and fearefull seruilitie.

All this made well for *Philip of Macedon*: who though he saw the *Greekes* very farre from daring to stirre against those, by whom both hee and they were kept in awe; yet was he not without hope, that (few of them excepted, whom the *Romans* by freeing from his subiection had made his implacable enemies) in heartie affection all the Countrey would be his, whensoever he should take armes, as shortly he was like to doe. Young *Demetrius*, coming home from *Rome*, brought with him the desired ratification of peace; though qualified with much indignitie soone following. Hee had beene loquaciously vied at *Rome*, and heard with great fauour in the Senate. There being confounded with the multitude of obiections, whereto his youth, vnkilfull in the Art of wrangling, could not readily make answere: it was permitted vnto him, to reade such briefe mores as hee had receiued from his Father, and out of those the Senate were contented to gather satisfaction; more for *Demetrius* his owne sake, as they then said and wrote into *Macedon*, than for any goodnesse in the defence. Such pride of theirs, in remitting his faults at the entreatie of his sonne, together with some insolence of his sonne, growing (as appeared) from this fauour of the *Romans*; did increase in *Philip* his

his hatred vnto *Rome*, and breed in him a ieaousie of his too forward sonne. To set him forward in these passions, there came daily new Embassadours from *Rome*; some bringing one commendement; some another; and some requiring him to fulfill those things, which had beene imposed vpon him by their fore-goes. Neither were there wanting that observed his countenance: and when hee had fulfilled all that was required at his hands; yet laid it to his charge that he had done things vnwillingly; and would be obedient, no longer than hee needs must. With these Embassadours young *Demetrius* was contentant: rather perhaps out of simplicitie, and for that they made much of him, than for any ambitious respect; yet a great deal more than was pleasing to his father. So the rumour grew current through all *Macedon*, That *Perseus*, the elder son of the King, should not succeede vnto his father, but that the Diademe should be conferred vpon *Demetrius*, if not by some other pretence, yet by meere fauour of the *Romans*. This he did not onely *Perseus*, but *Philip* himselfe: who suspected his younger sonne, as more *Roman* than his owne; and accordingly misconstrued all his doings. But ere we proceede vnto the bitter fruits of this ieaousie, it will not be amisse, to speake of some memorable accidents that were in the meane time.

§. II.

The death of Philopemen, Hannibal, and Scipio. That the Militarie profession is of all other the most vnhappy: notwithstanding some examples, which may seeme to proue the contrary.

THE *Romans*, wanting other matter of quarrell in the Continent of *Greece*, had of late beene so peremptoric with the *Achaens*; that they seemed not vnlikely to take part against them, in any controuersie that should be moued. Hereupon the *Messeniens*, who against their will were annexed vnto the *Achaean* Common-wealth, hauing long beene of a contrary Faction thereto; grew bold to withdraw themselves from that Societie, with purpose to set vp againe an Estate of their owne, seuered from communion with any other: This was the deuiſe of some that were powerful in their Citie: who finding the multitude onely inclinable to their purpose, and not ouer-strongly affected in the businesse; were careful to seeke occasion of reducing things to such passe, that all their Citizens might be entangled in a necessitie of standing out, and of not returning to the *Achaean* League. And hereupon they began to doe some acts of hostilitie; whereby it was probable that blood should bee drawne, and either side so farre exasperated, that little hope of agreement would be left. Vpon the same of their commotion and proceedings; *Philopemen*, then Prator of the *Achaens*, leuied such forces as hee could in haste, and went against them. Many principall Gentlemen of the *Achaens*, especially of the *Megalopolitans*, were soone in a readinesse to wait vpon him. Besides these, which were all, or for the most part, Horse; hee had some Auxiliaries out of *Thrace* and *Crete*, that usually were kept in pay. Thus accompanied, he met with *Dinocrates*, Captaine of the *Messeniens*; whom hee charged, and forced to battle. But whilst his horsemen were too earnest in following the chace, there arrived, by chance, a supply of five hundred from *Messene*, which gave new courage vnto those that were fled. So the Enemies began to make head againe; and with the helpe of those, who very seasonably came to their aide, compelled *Philopemen* Horsemen to turne backe. *Philopemen* himselfe had long beene sicke of an Ague, and was then very weake: yet the greatnesse of his courage would not suffer him, to be negligent of their safety, which had so willingly aduentured themselves vnder his conduct. Hee tooke vpon him to make the Retreat: and suffering his Horsemen to passe along by him in a narrow line, hee oftentimes about against the *Messeniens*; whom his reputation, and the knowledge of his great worth, did terrifie from approaching ouer-neere to him. But it fell out vnhappy, that being cast to ground by a fall of his Horse, and being with all in very weake plight of body, he was vnable to get vp againe. So the Enemies came vpon him, and took him; yet scarce beleueed their fortune to be so good, although their eyes were witness. The first messenger that brought these newsto *Messene*, was so farre from being beleueed, that he was hardly thought to be in his right wits. But when the truth was affirmed by many reports, all the Citie ranne forth to meet him,

him, and behold the spectacle seeming so incredible. They caused him to be brought into the Theatre, that there they might satisfie themselves with beholding him. The greatest part of them had compassion on his misfortune: and in commemoration both of his vertue, and of the singular benefits by him done vnto them, especially in deliuering them from *Nabis* the Tyrant, began to manifest their good will for his deliuerie. Contrariwise, *Democrates* and his Faction were desirous hastily to take away his life: because they held him a man implacable, and one that would neuer leave any disgrace, or iniurie, done to him, vnruegenced. They durst not one trust another with the keeping of him: but committed him into a strong vault vnder ground, that had beene made for the custody of their Treasure. So thither they let him downe fast bound, and with an engine laid an heauie stone vpon the mouth of the vault. There hee had not stayed long, ere his enemies had concluded his present death. The Hangman of the Citie was let downe vnto him, with a cuppe of poyson, which *Philopemen* tooke in his hand: and asking no more than whether the Horsemen were escaped, and particularly whether *Lycortas* was safe; when he heard an answer to his minde, he said it was well: and so with a cheerefull countenance, dranke his last draught. He was seuentie yeeres old, and weakened with long sicknesse, whereby the poyson wrought the sooner, and easily tooke away his life. The *Acheans*, when they missed him in their flight, were marvellously offended with themselves, for that they had beene more mindefull to preserve their owne liues, than to looke vnto the sacrifice of so excellent a Commander. Whilest they were 20 devising what to doe in such a case: they got advertisement of his being taken. All *Achaia* was by this report vehemently afflicted: so as Embassadors were forthwith dispatched vnto *Messene*, craning his enlargement: and yet preparation made withall, to obtaine it by force, in case that faire means would not serue. *Lycortas* was chosen General of the Armie against *Messene*: who comming thither, and laying siege to the Towne, enforced it in short space to yeelde. Then *Democrates*, knowing what he was expected, laid hands vpon himselfe, and made an end of his owne life. The rest of those that had beene partakers in the murder, were compelled to wait in bonds vpon the althes of *Philopemen* that were carried home in solemne pompe to *Megalopolis*; where they were all of them slaine at his funeral, as sacrifices to his Ghost whom they had offended. 30 *Q. Martius*, a Roman Embassador, was then in *Greece*; whence, vpon one occasion or other, the Roman Embassadors were seldom absent. Hee would haue entemedled in this businesse of *Messene*, had not *Lycortas* made short worke, and left him nothing to doe.

About the same time was *T. Quintius Flaminius* sent Embassador to *Prusias* King of *Bithynia*: not so much to withdraw him from prosecuting the warre against *Eumenes*, as to entreat him, that he would deliuer *Hannibal*, the most spightfull enemy in all the world vnto the Senate and People of *Rome*, into his hands. *Prusias* (therein vnworthy of the Crowne he wore) did readily condescend: or rather (as *Lauie* thinks) to gratifie the *Romans*, he determined either to kill *Hannibal*, or to deliuer him alieue to *Flaminius*. For vpon the first conference betweene the King and *Flaminius*, a troupe of Souldiers were directed to guard and enquire on the lodging where *Hannibal* lay. That famous Captaine hauing found cause before this to suspect the faith of *Prusias*, had deuised some secret subtilties vnder-ground to saue himselfe from any treasonable and sudden assault. But finding now that all parts about him were fore-closed, he had recourse to his last remedy: which he then was constrained to practise, as well to frustrate his enemies of their triumphing ouer him, as to saue himselfe from their torture and mercilesse hands; who, as he well knew, would neither respect his famous enterprises, his honour, nor his age. When therefore he saw no way of escape, nor counsell to resort vnto, hee tooke the poyson into his hand, which he alwaies preferred for a sure Antidote against the sharpest diseases of aduerser fortune; which being ready to swallow downe, he vttered these words: *I will now* (said he) *deliuer the Romans of that feare, which hath so many yeeres possesse them; that feare, which makes them impatient to attend the death of an old man. This victory of Flaminius ouer me, which am disarmed, and betrayed into his hands, shall neuer be numbred among the rest of his heroicall decdes: No; it shall make it manifest to all the Nations of the world, how farre the ancient Roman vertue is degenerate and corrupted. For such was the noblesse of their forefathers; as, when Pyrrhus invaded them in Italie, and was ready to gree them betraile at their owne dores, they gaue him knowledge of the treason intended against him by pyrrhus*.

son; whereas these of a later race haue employed Flaminius, a man who hath heretofore bene one of their Consuls, so practise with *Prusias*, contrary to the honour of a King, contrary to his Faith giuen, and contrary to the Lawes of Hospitality, to slaughter or deliuer up his owne Ghost. He then cursing the person of *Prusias*, and all his, and desiring the immortall gods to reuenge his infidelitie, dranke off the poyson, and died.

In this yeere also (as good Authors haue reported) to accompanie *Philopemen* and *Hannibal*, died *Scipio the African*: these being all of them, as great Capitaines as euer the world had; but not more famous, than vnfortunate. Certainly for *Hannibal*, whose Tragedie we haue now finished, had hee bene Prince of the *Carthaginians*, and one who by his authority might haue commanded such supplies, as the Warre which he vnderooke, required; it is probable, that he had torne vp the Roman Empire by the roots. But he was so strongly crost by a cowardly and enuious Faction at home, as his proper vertue, wanting publike force to sustaine it, did lastly dissolue it selfe in his owne, and in the common miserie of his Countrey and Commonweale.

Hence it comes, to wit, from the enuie of our equals, and ieaousie of our Masters, be they Kings, or Commonweales, That there is no Profession more vnprosperous than that of Men of Warre, and great Capitaines, being no Kings. For besides the enuie and ieaousie of men, the spoyles, rapes, famine, slaughter of the innocent, vastation, and burnings, with a world of miseries laid on the labouring man, are so hateful to God, as with 20 good reason did *Monluc* the Marshall of *France* confesse, That were not the mercies of God infinite, and without restriction, it were inuaine for those of his profession to hope for a portion of them: seeing the cruelties, by them permitted and committed, were also infinite. Howsoeuer, this is true, That the victories, which are obtained by many of the greatest Commanders, are commonly either ascribed to those that serue vnder them, to Fortune, or to the cowardise of the Nation against whom they serue. For the most of others, whose vertues haue raised them about the leuell of their inferiours, and haue furnished their enuie: yet haue they bene rewarded in the end, either with disgrace, banishment, or death. Among the *Romans* we finde many examples hereof, as *Coriolanus*, *M. Lainius*, 30 *L. Amylius*, and this our *Scipio*, whom we haue lately buried. Among the *Greekes* we reade of not many, that escaped these rewards. Yea, long before these times, it was a Legacie that *Dauid* bequeathed vnto his victorious Captaine *Ioab*. With this fare *Alexander* feasted *Parmenio*, *Philotas*, and others; and prepared it for *Antipater* and *Cassander*. Hereto *Valentinian* the Emperour inuited *Attius*: who, after many other victories, ouerthrew *Attila* of the *Hunnes*, in the greatest battaile, for the well fighting and resolution of both Armies, that euer was stricken in the world; for there fell of those that fought beside runne-aways, an hundred and fourescore thousand. Hereupon it was well and boldly told vnto the Emperour by *Proximus*, That in killing of *Attius*, hee had cut off his owne right hand with his left: for it was not long after that *Maximus* (by whose perswasion *Valentinian* slue *Attius*) murdered the Emperour, which 40 hee neuer durst attempt, *Attius* liuing. And, besides the losse of that Emperour, it is true, That with *Attius*, the glory of the Westerne Empire was rather dissolued then obscured. The same vnworthy destinie, or farrer worse, had *Bellisarius*; whose vnder takings and victories were so difficult and glorious, as after-ages suspected them for fabulous. For he had his eyes torne out of his head by *Iustinian*: and hee died a blinde begger. *Narses* also, to the great preiudice of Christian Religion, was disgrac'd by *Iustine*. That rule of *Cato* against *Scipio*, hath bene well obserued in euery age since then; to wit, That the Common-weale cannot be accounted free, which standeth in awe of any one man. And hence hath the *Turkes* drawne another Principle, and indeed a Turkish one, That euery warlike Prince should rather destroy his greatest men of Warre, than 50 suffer his owne glory to be obscured by them. For this cause did *Baiazet* the second dispatch *Bassa Acomar*; *Selim* strangle *Bassa Mustapha*; and most of those Princes bring to ruine the most of their *Vissiers*. Of the *Spanish* Nation, the great *Gonsaluo*, who drave the *French* out of *Naples*; and *Ferdinando* *Corsete*, who conquered *Mexico*, were crowned with nettles, not with Lawrell. The Earles of *Egmond* and *Horn*, had no heads left them to weare garlands on. And that the great Capitaines of all Nations haue bene paid with this copper Coine; there are examples more than too many. On the contrary, it may be said, That many haue acquired the State of Princes, Kings, and Emperours, by their great abilitie in matter of warre. This I confesse. Yet must it be had withall

in consideration, that these high places have beene given, or offered, vnto very few, as rewards of their militarie vertue; though many haue vsurped them, by the helpe and fauour of those Armies which they commanded. Neither is it vnregardable, That the Tyrants which haue oppressed the liberty of free Cities: and the Lieutenants of Kings or Emperours, which haue traitorously cast downe their Masters, and stepped vp into their seats; were not all of them good men of warre: but haue vsed the advantage of some commotion, or many of them by base and cowardly practices, haue obtained those dignities, which vnderstandedly were ascribed to their personall worth. So that the number of those, that haue purchased absolute greatnesse by the greatnesse of their warlike vertue, is farre more in seeming, than in deed. *Phocas* was a Souldiour, and by helpe of the Souldiours he got the Empire from his Lord *Mauritius*: but he was a coward; and with a barbarous cruelty, seldome found in any other than cowards, he slew first the children of *Mauritius*, a Prince that neuer had done him wrong, before his face, and after them *Mauritius* himselfe. This his bloody aspiring was but as a debt, which was paid vnto him againe by *Heraclius*: who tooke from him the Imperiall Crowne, vniuently gotten; and set it on his owne head. *Leontius* laid hold vpon the Emperour *Iusline*, cut off his nose and eares, and sent him into banishment: But Gods vengeance rewarded him with the same punishment, by the hands of *Tiberius*; to whose charge hee had left his owne men of warre. *Iusline*, hauing recovered forces, lighted on *Tiberius*, and barbed him after the same fashion. *Philippicus*, commanding the forces of *Iusline*, murdered both the Emperour and his sonne. *Anastasius*, the vassall of this new Tyrant, surprised his Master *Philippicus*, and thrust out both his eyes. But with *Anastasius*, *Theodosius* dealt more gently: for hauing wrested the Scepter out of his hands, he enforced him to become a Priest. It were an endlessse, and a needlesse worke to tell, how *Leo* rewarded this *Theodosius*; how many others haue beene repayed with their owne cruelty, by men alike ambitious and cruell; or how many hundreds, or rather thousands, hoping of Capitaines to make themselves Kings, haue by Gods iustice miserably perished in the attempt. The ordinarie, and perhaps the best way of thriving, by the practice of Armes, is to take what may be gotten by the spoile of Enemies, and the liberalitie of those Princes and Cities, in whose seruice one hath well deserved. But scarce one of a thousand haue prospered by this course. For that obseruation, made by *Salomon*, of vnthankfulnessse in this kinde, hath beene found belonging to all Countries and Ages: A little Citie, and few men in it, and a great King came against it, and compassed it about, and builded Forts against it: And there was found a poore and wise man therein, and he deliuered the Citie by his wisdom: but none remembered this poore man. Great Monarchs are vnwilling to pay great thanks, lest thereby they should acknowledge themselves to haue beene indebted for great benefits: which the vnwiser sort of them thinke to fauour of some impotency in themselves. But in this respect they are oftentimes coozened and abused; which proues that weaknesse to be in them: in dedde, whereof they so gladly thinke the opinion. Contrariwise, free Estates are bountifull in giuing thanks; yet so, as those thanks are not of long endurance. But concerning other profit which their Capitaines haue made, by enriching themselves with the spoyle of the enemy, they are very inquisitiue to search into it, and to strip the well-deservers out of their gettings: yea most iniuriouly to rob them of their owne, vpon a false supposition: that euen they whose hands are most cleane from such offences, haue purloyned somewhat from the common Treasure. Hereof I neede not to produce examples: that of the two *Scipios* being solatly recited.

In my late Soueraigntie, although for the warres, which for her owne safetie, she was constrained to vndertake, her Maiestie had no lesse cause to vse the seruice of Martiall men both by Sea and Land, than any of her Predecessors for many yeeres had; yet, according to the destiny of that profession, I doe not remember, that any of hers, the Lord Admirall excepted, her eldest and most prosperous Commander, were either enriched, or otherwise honoured, for any seruice by them performed. And that her Maiestie had many aduised, valiant, and faithfull men, the prosperitie of her affaires did well witness, who in all her dayes neuer received dishonor, by the cowardise or infidelity of any Commander, by her selfe chosen and employed.

For as all her old Capitaines by Land died poore men, as *Malbey*, *Randol*, *Drenke*, *Read*, *Wyldford*, *Layton*, *Pellam*, *Gilbert*, *Cunstable*, *Beuchier*, *Barkley*, *Bingham*, and others:

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to those of a later and more dangerous employment, whereof *Norris* and *Pere* were the most famous, & who haue done as great honor to our Nation (for the meanes they had) as euer any did: those (I say) with many other braue Colonels, haue left behinde them (besides the reputation which they purchased with many trauels and wounds) no little estate to their posteritie. As for the L. *Thomas Burrough*, and *Peregrine Bertie* L. *Wylloughby* of *Bresby*, two very worthy and exceeding valiant Commanders, they brought with them into the world their Titles and Estates.

That her Maiestie in the aduancement of her Men of warre did sooner beleeue other men than herselfe, a discafe vnto which many wise Princes, besides her selfe, haue bene subiect, I say that such a confidence, although it may seeme altogether to excuse her Noble Nature, yet can it not but in some sort accuse her of weakenesse. And exceeding strange it were, were not the cause manifest enough, that where the prosperous actions are so exceedingly prized, the Actions are so vnprosperous and so generally neglected. The cause, I say, which hath wrought one and the same effect in all times, and among all Nations, is this, that those which are nearest the person of Princes (which Martiall men seldome are) can with no good grace commend, or at least magnifie a profession farre more noble than their owne, seeing therein they should only minde their Masters of the wrong they did vnto others, in giuing lesse honour and reward to men of farre greater deserting, and of farre greater vertue than themselves.

But his Maiestie hath already payed the greatest part of that debt. For besides the relieuing by Pensions all the poorer sort, hee hath honoured more Martiall men, than all the Kings of England haue done for this hundred yeeres.

He hath giuen a Coronet to the Lord *Thomas Howard* for his chargeable and remarkable seruice, as well in the yere 1588, as in *Calizo*, the Islands, and in our owne Sea; hauing first commanded as a Captaine, twice Admirall of a Squadron, and twice Admirall in chiefe. His Maiestie hath changed the Baronies of *Monim* and *Burley* into Earldomes, and created *Sidney* Vicount, *Knollys*, *Ruffell*, *Carew*, *Danners*, *Arundel* of Warder, *Gerald*, and *Chichester*, Barons, for their gouernments and seruices in the *Netherland*, *France*, *Ireland*, and elsewhere.

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§. III.

Philip making provision for warre against the Romans, deales hardly with many of his owne subiects. His negotiation with the Bassarane. His cruelty. Hee suspecteth his sonne Demetrius. Demetrius accused by his brother Perseus; and shortly after slaine, by his fathers appointment. Philip repenteth him of his sonnes death; whom hee findeth to haue bene innocent: and intending to reuenge it on Perseus, he dieth.

Phileas Martius the Roman Embassador, who travelled vp and downe, seeking what worke might bee found about Greece, had receiued instruction from the Senate, to vse the most of his diligence in looking into the Estate of Macedonia. At his returne home, that he might not seeme to haue discovered nothing, hee told the Fathers, That Philip had done whatsoever they enioyned him; yet so, as it might appear, that such his obedience would last no longer, than mere necessity should enforce him thereunto. He added further, That all the doings and sayings of that King did wholly tend vnto rebellion, about which hee was deuising. Now it was so indeed, that Philip much repented him of his faithfull obsequiousnesse to the Romans, and foresaw their intent, which was, to get his Kingdome into their owne hands, with safety of their honour, if they could finde conuenient meanes; or otherwise (as to him seemed apparent) by what meanes soeuer. Hee was in an ill case: as hauing bene already vanquished by them, hauing lost exceedingly both in strength and reputation; hauing subiects that abhorred to heare of Warre with Rome; and hauing neither neighbour nor friend, that, if he were thereto vrged, would aduenture to take his part: yet he provided as well as hee could desuise, against the necessitie which he daily feared. Such of his owne people as dwelt in the maritime Townes, and gaue him cause to suspect, that they would doe but bad seruice against the Romans, he compelled to forsake their dwellings, and remooued them all into *Emathia*. The Cities and Countrey, whence they were transplanted, hee filled with a multitude of Thracians, whose faith he thought a great deale more assured against

against

against those enemies that were terrible to the *Macedonians*. Further, hee devised vpon alluring the *Bastarne*, a strong and hardie Nation, that dwelt beyond the river of *Danubius*, to abandon their fear, and come to him with all their multitude: who, besides other great rewards, would helpe them to roote out the *Dardaniens*, and take possession of their Country. These were like to do him notable service against the *Romans*: being not onely stout fighting men; but such as being planted in those quarters by him, would beare respect vnto him alone. The least benefit that could bee hoped by their arrival, must be the vetter extirpation of the *Dardaniens*; a People alwaies troublesome to the Kingdome of *Macedon*, whensoever they found aduantage. Neither was it iudged any hard matter, to perswade those *Bastarne*, by hope of spoyle, and other incitements, vnto a more desperate Expedition, through *Illyria*, and the Countries vpon the *Adriaticke* Sea, into *Italie* it selfe. It was not knowne who should withstand them vpon the way: Rather it was thought, that the *Scordisci*, and peradventure some others, through whose Countries they were to passe, would accompanie them against the *Romans*, were it onely in hope of spoyle. Now to facilitate the remoue of these *Bastarne* from their owne habitations, into the Land of the *Dardaniens*, vpon the border of *Macedon*; a long and tedious iourney vnto them, that carried with them their wiues and children: *Philip* with gifts did purchase the good will of some *Thracian* Princes, Lords of the Countries through which they were to passe. And thus hee sought meanes to strengthen himselfe, with helpe of the wilde Nations, which neither knew the *Romans*, nor were knowne vnto them; since he was not like to finde assistance from any ciuill Nation, about the whole compasse of the *Mediterranean* Seas. But these deuises were long ere they rooke effect: so as the *Bastarne* came not before such time as hee was dead; his death being the ouerthrow of that purpose. In the meane time he neglected not the training of his men to Warre, and the exercise of them in some small Expeditions, against those wilde people that bordered vpon him, and stood worst affected toward him.

But these his counsailes and proceedings were miserably disturbed by the calamities that fell vpon him, both in his Kingdome, and in his owne house. The Families and whole Towneships, which hee had caused much against their wils to forsake their ancient dwellings, & betake themselves to such new habitations, as he in his discretion thought meetest for them, were vehemently offended at the change. Yet their anger at first contained it selfe within words: hee hauing done them no great wrong in that alteration, otherwise than by neglecting their affection to the places wherein they had long liued: which also hee did unwillingly, being himselfe ouer-ruled by necessity, that seemed apparent. This euill therefore would loone haue bene determined, had not his cruell and vindicative nature made it worse. Hee could not pardon words proceeding from iust sorrow: but imputed all to traitorous malice; and accordingly did seeke reuenge where it was needlesse. In his rage he caused many to die: among whom were some eminent men; and few or none of them deferredly. This encreased the hatred of the people, and turned their former exclamations into bitter curses. Which grew the more generall; when the King in a most barbarous and base fury, mistrusting all alike whom hee had injured, thought himselfe vnlike to be safe, vntill hee should haue massacred all the children of those parents, whom tyrannically hee had put to death. In the execution of this his vnmanly pleasure, some accidents, more tragically then perhaps hee could haue desired, gaue men cause to thinke (as they could not in reason thinke otherwise) that, not without vengeance powred on him from Heauen, hee felt the like miserie in his owne children. It is hard to say what the *Romans* intended, in the extraordinary fauour which they shewed vnto *Demetrius*, the Kings younger sonne. It may well bee (though it may be also suspected) that they had no purpose to make and nouerth difference on betwene the brethren, but onely to cherish the vertue and towardineesse of *Demetrius*; like as we finde it in their Histories. But their notable fauour towards this young Prince, and his mutuall respect of them, bred extreame ialousie in the fathers head. If any custome of the *Romans*, the manner of their life, the fashion of their apparell, or the vnfighly contriuing and building (as then it was) of the Towne of *Rome*, were inserted in ordinarie discourse and table-talk, *Demetrius* was sure to be presently on fire, defending and praying them, even in such points as rather needed excuse. This, and his daily conuersation with their Embassadors, as often as they came, gaue his father cause

cause to thinke, that he was no fit partaker of any counsaile held against them. Wherefore he communicated all his deuises with his elder sonne *Perseus*: who fearing so much lest his brother should step betwene him and the succession, converted wholly vnto his destruction, that grace which he had with his father. *Perseus* was then thirty yeres old; of a stirring spirit, though much defective in valour. *Demetrius* was younger by five yeres, more open and vnswarie in his actions, yet thought olde and crafty enough, to entertaine more dangerous practises, than his free speeches discouered. The ialous head of the King hauing entertained such suspitions, that were much increased by the cunning practice of his elder sonne, a slight occasion made the fire breake out, that had long layne smothered. A Muster, and ceremonious lustration of the Armie, was wont to be made at certaine times with great solemnitie. The manner of it at the present was thus: They cleft in twaine a bitch; and threw the head and fore-part, with the entrailles, on the right hand, and the hinder part on the left hand of the way which the Armie was to passe. This done, the Armes of all the Kings of *Macedon*, from the very first original, were borne before the Armie. Then followed the King between his two sonnes: after him came his owne band, and they of his guard; whom all the rest of the *Macedonians* followed. Hauing performed other ceremonies, the Armie was diuided into two parts: which, vnder the Kings two sonnes, charged each other in manner of a true fight, vring poles, and the like, in stead of their pikes and accustomed weapons. But in this present skirmish there appeared some extraordinary contention for the victorie: whether happening by chance, or whether the two Captaines did ouer-earnestly seeke each to get the vpper hand, as a betokening of their good successe in a greater triall. Some small hurt there was done, and wounds given, even with those flakes, vntill *Perseus* his side at length recoyled. *Perseus* himselfe was sorry for this, as it had beene some bad preface: but his friends were glad, and thought, that hereof might be made good vse. They were of the craftier sort: who perceiuing which way the Kings fauour bent, and how all the courtes of *Demetrius* led vnto his owne ruine, addressed their seruises to the more malicious and crafty head. And now they said, that this victory of *Demetrius* would afford matter of complaint against him; as if the heate of his ambition had carried him beyond the rules of that solemn pastime. Each of the brethren was that day to feast his owne companions, and each of them had spies in the others lodging, to obserue what was said and done. One of *Perseus* his Intelligencers behaued himselfe so indifferently, that he was taken & well beaten by three or foure of *Demetrius* his men, who turned him out of dores. After some store of wine, *Demetrius* told his companions, that he would goe visit his brother, and see what cheare he kept. They agreed to his motion, excepting such of them as had ill handled his brothers man: yet hee would leaue none of his traine behinde, but forced them all to beare him company. They, fearing to bee ill rewarded for their late diligence, armed themselves secretly to preuent all danger. Yet wasthere such good espial kept, that this their coming armed was forthwith made knowne to *Perseus*: who thereupon tumultuously locked vp his dores, as if he stood in feare to be assaulted in his house. *Demetrius* wondered to see himselfe excluded, and feared very angrily with his brother. But *Perseus* bidding him be gone as an enemy, and one whose murderous purpose was detected, sent him away with entertainment no better than defiance. The next day the matter was brought before the King. The elder brother accused the younger vnto the father of them both. Much there was alleged, and in effect the same hath bene here recited, saue that by misconstruction all was made worse. But the maine point of the accusation, and which did aggravate all the rest, was, That *Demetrius* had vnderaken this murder, and would perhaps also dare to vnderake a greater, vpon confidence of the *Romans*; by whom hee knew that hee should be defended and borne out. For *Perseus* made shew, as if the *Romans* did hate him; because hee bore a due respect vnto his father, and was forrie to see him spoyle, and daily robbed of somewhat by them. And for this cause hee said it was, that they did animate his brother against him: as also that they sought how to winne vnto *Demetrius* the loue of the *Macedonians*. For prooffe hereof hee cited a letter, sent of late from *T. Quintus* to the King himselfe: whereof the contents were, That hee had done wisely in sending *Demetrius* to *Rome*; and that he should yet further doe well to send him thither againe, accompanied with a greater and more honourable traine of *Macedonian* Lords. Hence hee enforced, That this counsell was giuen by *Them*, of purpose to shake the allegiance of those; that should

should wait vpon his brother to Rome; and make them, forgetting their duties to their old King, become seruants to this yong Traytor *Demetrius*. Hetero *Demetrius* made answer, by rehearsing all passages of the day and night foregoing, in such manner as he remembered them, and had conceived of them: bitterly reprehending *Perseus*, that converted matters of Pastime, and what was done or spoken in wine, to such an accusation, whereby he sought his innocent brothers death. As for the loue which the *Romans* did beare him; He said that it grew, if not from his owne vertue, at least wife from their opinion thereof: so as by any impious practice, He were more like to lose it wholly, than to encrease it. In this wretched pleading there wanted not such passions, as are incident to fathers, children, and brethren; besides those that are common to all Plaintiffs and Defendants, before ordinarie Iudges. The King pronounced like a father, though a jealous father, That he would conclude nothing vpon the excessse or error, whatsoeuer it were, of one day and night, nor vpon one houres audience of the matter, but vpon better obseruation of their liues, manners, and whole carriage of themselves both in word and deed. And herein he may seeme to haue dealt both iustly and compassionately. But from this time forward he gaue himself ouer wholly to *Perseus*: vnto so little conference with his yonger sonne, that when hee had matters of weight in hand, such especially as concerned the *Romans*, He liked neither to haue him present, nor nere vnto him. About all, he had especiall care, to learne out what had passed betwene *Demetrius* and *T. Quintus*, or any other of the *Roman* great ones. And to this purpose he sent Embassadors to 20 *Rome*, *Philocles* and *Apelles*; men whom hee thought no way interessed in the quarrells betwene the brethren, though indeed they altogether depended on the elder, whom they saw the more in grace. These brought home with them a letter, said to bee written by *Titus* (whose seale they had counterfeited) vnto the King. The contents whereof were, A deprecation for the yong Prince; with an intimation, as by way of granting it, That his youthfull and ambitious desires had caused him to enter into practices vnusurable, against his elder brother; which yet should neuer take effect, for that *Titus* himselfe would not be author, or abettor, of any impious deuice. This manner of excuse did forcibly perswade the King, to thinke his sonne a dangerous traytor. To strengthen him in this opinion, one *Didas*, to whom he gaue *Demetrius* in custodie, made shew as if hee had pittied the estate of the vnhappy Prince; and fowring out of him his secret intentions, which he shortly discouered vnto *Philip*. It was the purpose of *Demetrius* to flye secretly to Rome; where he might hope not only to liue in safety, from his father and brother, but in greater likelihood, than hee could finde at home, of bettering such claime as he had in reuerfion vnto the Crowne of *Macedon*. Whatsoeuer his hopes & meanings were, all came to nought through the fallhood of *Didas*; who playing on both hands, offered vnto the Prince his helpe for making the escape, and in the meane while revealed the whole matter to the King. So *Philip* resolved to put his sonne to death, without further expence of time. It was thought behouefull to make him away priuily, for fear lest the *Romans* should take the matter to heart, and hold it as a prooffe sufficient, at least, of the Kings despight against them, if not of his meaning to renew the warre. *Didas* therefore was commanded to rid the vnhappy Prince out of his life. This accused Minister of his Kings vnadvised sentence, first gaue payson to *Demetrius*: which wrought neither so hastily, nor so secretly, as was desired. Heereupon hee sent a couple of Rusticks, to finish the tragedie: who villanously accomplished their work by smothering that Prince, in whose life consisted the greatest hope of *Macedon*.

In all the race of *Antigonus* there had not beene found a King, that had thus cruellie dealt with any Prince of his owne bloud. The houses of *Lysimachus* and *Cassander* fell either with themselves, or euen vpon their heeles; by intestine discord and iealousies, so grounded on desire of soueraigne rule, or feare of losing it. By the like vnnatural hatred, had almost bene cut off the lines of *Ptoleme* and *Seleucus*: which though narrowlie they escaped the danger, yet were their kingdomes thereby grievously disordered. Contrariwise, it was worthy of extraordinary note, how that vsitant family of the Kings of *Perseus* had raised it selfe to marvellous greatnesse, in very short space, from the condition of meere slavery: whereof a principall cause was, the brotherly loue maintained by them, with singular commendation of their pietie. Neither was *Philip* ignorant of these examples; but is said to haue propounded the last of them, to his owne children, as a pattern for them to imitate. Certainly hee had reason so to doe: not more

more in regard of the benefit which his enemies reaped by their concord, than in remembrance of the tender fosterage, wherewith King *Antigonus* his Tutor had faithfully cherisht him in his minoritie. But He was himselfe of an vnmercifull nature; & therefore vnnert to be a good perswader vnto kindly affection. The murders by him done vpon many of his friends, together with the barbarous outrages, which for the satiating of his bloud-thirsty appetite, he delightfully had committed vpon many innocents, both strangers, and subiects of his owne; did now procure vengeance downe from Heauen, that rewarded Him with a draught of his owne Poyson. After the death of his sonne, Hetoo late began to examine the crimes that had bene objected; and to weigh them in a more equall ballance. Then found he nothing that could giue him satisfaction, or by good probabilitie induce him to thinke, that malice had not bin contriuer of the whole processe. His onely remaining Son *Perseus* could so ill dissemble the pleasure which he tooke, in being freed from all danger of competition; as there might easily be perceived in him a notable change, proceeding from some other cause, than the remouee of those dangers, which he had lately pretended. The *Romans* were now no lesse to bee feared than at other times, when he, as hauing accomplished the most of his desires, left off his vnwill trouble of minde, and carelesse of making prouision against them. Hee was more diligently courted, than in former times; by those that well vnderstood the difference, betwene a rising and a setting Sunne. As for old *Philip*, he was left in a manner 20 desolate, some expecting his death; and some scarce enduring the tediousnesse of such expectation. This bred in the King a deepe melancholy, and filled his head with suspicious imaginations; the like whereof hee had neuer bene flow to apprehend. Hee was much vexed: and so much the more, for that hee knew, neither well to whom, nor perfectly whereof to complaine. One honourable man, a Cousin of his, named *Antigonus*, continued so true to *Philip*, that hee grew thereby hateful to *Perseus*: and thus becoming subiect vnto the same iealous impression which troubled the King, became also prater of his secrets. This counsaillour, when hee found that the anger conceived against *Perseus* would not vent it selfe, and giue ease to the King, vntill the truth were knowne whether *Demetrius* were guilty or no of the treason objected; as also that *Philocles* and *Apelles*, (the Embassadors which had brought from Rome that Epistle of *Flaminius*, that serued as the greatest euidence against *Demetrius*) were suspected of forgery in the businesse: made diligent inquirie after the truth. In thus doing, he found one *Xebus*, a man most likely to haue vnderstood what false dealing was vied by those Embassadors. Him he apprehended, brought to the Court, and presented vnto the King: saying, that this fellow knew all, and must therefore be made to vtter what he knew. *Xebus* for feare of torture, vttered as much as was before suspected: confessing against himselfe, that he had bene employed by the Embassadors in that wicked piece of businesse. No maruell, if the Fathers passions were extreme, when he vnderstood that by the vnnatural practice of one sonne, he had so wretchedly cast away another, farre more vertuous and 40 innocent. Hee raged exceedingly against himselfe, and withall against the authors of the mischief. Vpon the first newes of this discouerie, *Apelles* fled away, and got into *Italie*, *Philocles* was taken: and either so farre as hee could not denie it when *Xebus* confronted him, yielded himselfe guilty, or else was put to torture. *Perseus* was now growne stronger, than that he should need to flye the Countrey: yet not so stout as to adventure himselfe into his fathers presence. Hee kept on the borders of the Kingdome, towards *Thrace*, whilst his father wintred at *Demetrias*. *Philip* therefore, not hoping to get into his power this his vngracious sonne; tooke a resolution, to attaine the Kingdome from him, and confer it vpon *Antigonus*. But his weak body, and excessive grieffe of minde, so disabled him in the trauell thereto belonging; that ere hee could bring his purpose to 50 effect, hee was constrained to yeeld to nature: Hee had reigned about two and forty yeeres: alwaies full of trouble; as vexed by others, and vexed himselfe with continuall warres; of which that with the *Romans* was most vnhappy, and few or none of the rest found the conclusion, which a wise Prince would haue desired, of bringing forth together, both honour and profit. But for all the euill that befell him, hee might thanke his own peruerse condition: since his Vncle, King *Antigonus*, had left vnto him an estate, so great, and so well settled, as made it ease for him, to accomplish any moderate desires, if he had not abhorred all good counsell. Wherefore he was iustly punished by feeling the difference betwene the imaginary happinesse of a Tyrant, which he affected; and the

the life of a King, whereof he little cared to performe the durie. His death, euen whilst yet he was onely drawing neere, was fore-signified vnto *Perseus*, by *Calligenes* the Physician; who also concealed it a while from those that were about the Court. So *Perseus* came thither on the suddaine, and tooke possession of the kingdome: which in fine hee no lesse improuidently lost, than he had wickedly gotten.

§. IIII.

How the Bastarna fell vpon Dardania. The behavior of Perseus in the beginning of his reigne. Some warres of the Romans: and how they suffered Masaniissa cruelly to oppress the Carthaginians. They quarrell with Perseus. They allow not their Confederates to make war without their leave obtained. The Treason of Callicrates; whereby all Greece became more obnoxious to Rome, than in former times. Further quarrels to Perseus. He seeks friendship of the Achaeans, and is withstood by Callicrates. The Romans discover their intent of warring vpon him.

IMmediately vpon the death of *Philip*, came the *Bastarna* into *Thrace*: where order had been taken, long before, both for the free passage, and for the indemnitie of the Countrie. This compact was friendly obserued, as long as no other was knowne than that *Philip* did liue, to recompence all that should be done, or sustained, for his seruice. But when it was heard, that a new King reigned in *Macedon*; and not heard withall, that he tooke any care what became of the enterprize: then was all dash and confounded. The *Thracians* would no longer afford so good markets vnto these strangers, as formerly they had done. On the other side, the *Bastarna* would not be contented with reason, but became their owne caruers. Thus each part having lost the rich hopes reposed in *Philip*, grew carefull of thriving in the present; with little regard of right or wrong. Within a while they fell to blowes; and the *Bastarna* had the vpper hand, so as they chased the *Thracians* out of the plaine Countries. But the victors made little vse of their good fortune. For whether by reason of some ouerthrow, receiued by them in assaulting a place of strength; or whether because of extreme bad weather, which is said to haue afflicted them as it were miraculously: all of them returned home, fawthirty thousand, which pierced on into *Dardania*. How these thirty thousand sped in their voyage, I doe not finde. It seemes that by the carelesse vsing of some victories, they drew losse vpon themselves: and finally tooke that occasion, to follow their companions backe into their owne Countrey.

As for *Perseus* he thought it not expedient, in the noueltie of his Reigne, to embroyle himselfe in a warre so dangerous, as that with the *Romans* was likely to proue. Wherefore he wholly gaue his minde to the setting of his Estate: which well done, hee might afterwards accommodate himselfe, as the condition of his affaires should require, eyther for warre or peace. To prevent all danger of rebellion, he quickly tooke a way the life of *Antigonus*. To winne loue of his people; hee saue personally to heare their causes in iudgement (though herein he was fo ouer-diligent and curious, that one might haue perceived this his vertue of iustice to be no better than fained) as also he gratified them with many delightfull spectacles, magnificently by him set forth. Aboueall, hee had care to auoid all necessitie of warre with *Rome*: and therefore made it his first worke, to send Embassadors thither, to renew the league, which he obtained, and was by the Senate saluted King, and friend vnto the State. Neither was hee negligent in seeking to purchase good will of the *Greekes*, and other his neighbours: but was rather herein too excessively bountifull, that it may seeme a wonder how in few yeeres, to his vtter ruine, hee became so griping and tenacious. His feare was indeede the maistring passion, which ouer-ruled so him, and changed him into so many shapcs, as made it hard to discern which of his other qualities were naturally his owne. For prooue of this, there is requisite no more, than the relation of his actions past and following.

The *Romans* continued, as they had long, busie in warres against the *Spaniards* and *Ligurians*; people often vanquished, and as often breaking forth into new rebellion. They also conquered *Hisria*; subdued the rebelling *Sardinians*; and had some quarrells, though to little effect, with the *Illyrians* and others. Over the *Carthaginians* they bore (as euer since the victory) a heauy hand: and suffered *Masaniissa* to take from them what hee

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lifted. The *Carthaginians*, like obedient vassals to *Rome*, were afraid, though in defence of their owne, to take Armes: from which they were bound by an Article of peace, except it were with leaue of the *Romans*. *Masaniissa* therefore had great aduantage over them, and was not ignorant how to vse it. He could get possession by force, of whatsoever he desired, ere their complaining Embassadors could be at *Rome*: and then were the *Romans* not hardly entreated, to leaue things as they found them.

So had hee once dealt before, in taking from them the Countrie of *Emporia*: and so did he vse them againe and againe; with pretence of title, where he had any; otherwise, without it. *Gala* the Father of *Masaniissa* had wonne some land from the *Carthaginians*; who afterwarde *Syphax* wanne from *Gala*, and within awhile, restored to the right owners, for loue of his Wife *Sophoniba*, and of *Asdrubal* his Father-in-law: This did *Masaniissa* take from them by force: and by the *Romans*, to whose iudgement the case was referred, was permitted quietly to hold it. The *Carthaginians* had now good experience, how beneficiall it was for their Estate, to vse all manner of submissiue obedience to *Rome*. They had scarcely digested this injury, when *Masaniissa* came vpon them againe, and tooke from them about seuentie Townes and Castles, without any colour of right. Hereof by their Embassadors they made lamentable complaint vnto the *Roman* Senate. They shewed how grievously they were oppressed by reason of two Articles in their League: That they should not make warre, out of their owne Lands; nor with any Confederates of the *Romans*. Now although it were so, that they might lawfully withstand the violence of *Masaniissa*, invading their Countrey, howsoever hee was pleased to call it his: yet since he was confederate with the *Romans*, they durst not presume to beare defenseu armes against him, but suffered themselves to be beaten vp, for feare of incurring the *Romans* indignation. Wherefore they entreated, that either they might haue fairer iustice; or be suffered to defend their owne by strong hand; or at least, if right must wholly giue place to fauor, that the *Romans* yet would be pleased to determine, how farre forth *Masaniissa* should be allowed, to proceed in these outrages. If none of these petitions could be obtained, then desired they, that the *Romans* would let them vnderstand, wherein they had offended since the time that *Scipio* gaue them peace; and vouchsafe to inflict on them such punishment, as they themselves in honour should thinke meete: for that better and more to their comfort it were, to suffer at once what should be appointed by such Iudges; than continually to liue in feare, and none otherwise draw breath, than at the mercy of this *Numidian* Hangman. And here withall the Embassadors threw themselves prostrate on the ground, weeping in hope to moue compassion.

Here may we behold, the fruits of their enuy to that valiant house of the *Barchines*, of their irresolution, in prosecuting a war so important, as *Hannibal* made for them in *Italy*; and of their half-penny worthing, in matter of expence, when they had aduentured their whole estate, in the purchase of a great Empire. Now are they seruants, euen to the seruants of those men, whose fathers they had oft chased, slaine, taken, & sold as bondslaves in the streets of *Carthage*, & in all Cities of *Africa* & *Greece*. Now haue they enough of that *Roman* peace, which *Hanno* so often & so earnestly desired. Onely they want peace with *Masaniissa*, once their mercinarie, and now their master, or rather their tormentor; out of whose cruell hands, they beseech their masters to take the office of correcting them. In such case are they, and adore the *Romans*, whom they see flourishing in such prosperitie as might haue beene their owne. But the *Romans* had farre better entreated *Varro*, who lost the battell at *Canna*; than *Hannibal* that won it was vied by the *Carthaginians*: they had freely bestowed, euery man of them, all his priuate riches, vpon the Commonwealth; and employed their labours for the publike, without craving recompence: as also they had not thought it much, though being in extreme want, to set out an Armie into *Spain*, at what time the enemy lay vnder their owne walls. These were no *Carthaginian* vertues: and therefore the *Carthaginians* hauing fought against their betters, must patiently endure the miseries belonging vnto the vanquished. Their pittifull behaviour bredde peraduenture some commiseration, yet their teares may seeme to haue beene mistrusted, as proceeding no lesse from enuie vnto the *Romans*, than from any feeling of their owne calamitie. They thought themselves able to fight with *Masaniissa*: which estimation of their forces was able to makethem, after a little while, enter into comparisons with *Rome*. Wherefore they obtained no such leaue as they sought;

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of defending their owne right by armes : but contrariwise, when without leave obtained they presumed to farre, the destruction of *Carthage* was thought an easie punishment of that offence. At the present, they received a gentle answer; though they had otherwise little amends. *Gulussa* the sonne of *Masanissa* was then in *Rome*; and had not as yet craved audience. He was therefore called before the Senate; where he was demanded the reason of his coming; and had related vnto him the complaint made by the *Carthaginians* against his Father. He answered, That his Father not being thoroughly aware of any Embassadours thither sent from *Carthage*, had therefore not given him instructions, how to deale in that businesse. Only it was knowne, that the *Carthaginians* had beleied unskill diuers nights, in the Temple of *Aesculapius*: whereupon he himselfe was dispatched away to *Rome*, therto entreat the Senate, that these common enemies of the *Romanes* and of his Father might not be ouermuch trusted; especially against his Father, whom they hated most maliciously, for his constant faith to the people of *Rome*. This answer gaue little satisfaction. Wherefore the Senate replied, that for *Masanissa* his sake, they had done, and would doe, whatsoever was reasonable; but that it stood not with their iustice, to allow of this his violence, in taking from the *Carthaginians* those lands, which by the covenants of the league, were granted vnto them freely to enioy. With this milde rebuke they dismissed *Gulussa*, bestowing on him friendly presents (as also they did on the *Carthaginians*) and willed him to tell his Father, that he should doe well to send Embassadours, more fully instructed in this matter. This happened when 20 the *Macedonian* warre was euen ready to begin: at which time the *Romanes* were not willing, too much to offend, either the *Carthaginians*, (for feare of vrging them vnseasonably to rebellion) or *Masanissa*, at whose hands they expected no little helpe. So were they aided both by the *Carthaginians*, and *Masanissa*: by the *Carthaginians*, partly for feare, partly for hope of better vsage in the future; by *Masanissa*, in way of thankfulness; though if it had happened (which was vnlkely) that they should be vanquished, he made none other account, than that all *Africke* round about him, and *Carthage* therewithall, should be his owne.

In the midst of all these cares, the *Romanes* had not been vnmindfull of *Persus*. They visited him daily with Embassadours; that is, with honourable spies to obserue his behaviour. These he entertained kindly at first, vntill (which fell out ere long) he perceived whereto their diligence tended. First they quarrelled with him about the troubles in *Dardania*: neither would they take any satisfaction, vntill the *Bassarne* were thence gone; though he protested, that hee had not sent for them. Afterward they pried narrowly into his doings; and were no lesse ill contented with good offices, by him done; to sundry of his neighbours, than with those wrongs, which (they said) that he did vnto other some. Where hee did harme to any; they called it, making warre vpon their friends: Where hee did good; they called such his bounty, seeking friends to take his part against them. The *Dolopians*, his subiects, (vpon what occasion it is vn certaine) rebelled, and with exquisite torments slue *Euphranor*, whom hee had appointed their gouernour. It seemes that *Euphranor* had played the Tyrant among them. For they were a people without strength to resist the *Macedonian*: and therefore vnlkely to haue presumed to farre, vnlesse either they had bene extremely prouoked; or else were secretly animated by the *Romanes*. Whatsoever it was that bred this courage in them: *Persus* did soon assay it, and reclaime them by strong hand. But the *Romanes* took very angrily this presumption of the King: euen as if hee had inuaded some Countrey of their *Italian* confederates, & not corrected his owne Rebels at home. Faine they would haue had him to draw in the same yoke with the *Carthaginians*; whereunto had hee humbled once his necke, they could themselves haue done the part of *Masanissa*, though *Eumenes*, 50 or some other fit for that purpose, had been wanting. And to this effect, they told him, That conditions of the league betweene them were such, as made it vnlawfull, both to his father heretofore, and now to him, to take armes without their licence first obtained.

To the same passe they would also faine haue reduced the *Greekes*; & generally all their adherents, euen such as had entred into league with them vpon equal termes: whom vnto they rewarded with a frowne, whensoever they presumed to right themselves by force of Armes, without seeking first the Oracle at *Rome*. Hereof the *Acheans* had good experience: whose confidence in their proper strength made them otherwise bold to be their owne caruers, and whose hope of extraordinary fauour at *Rome* caused them

them the more willingly to referre their causes to arbitrement. For when they went about to haue chastised the *Messenians* by warre; *T. Quinius* rebuked them, as too arrogant, intaking such a worke in hand, without his authoritie: yet by his authoritie he ended the matter, wholly to their good liking. Scemably at other times were they reprehended, euen with Lordly threats, when theyooke vpon them to carry any businesse of importance, by their owne power, without standing vnto the good grace of the *Romanes*. Who neuerthelesse, vpon submission, were apt enough to doe them right. Thus were they tamed by little and little, and taught to forget their absolute libertie, as by which they were not like to thrive; especially in vsurping the practice of Armes, which 10 belonged onely to the Imperiall Citie. In learning this hard lesson, they were such vnto toward Schollers, that they needed, and not long after felt, very sharpe correction. Yet was there no small part of blame to be imputed vnto their Masters. For the *Roman* Senate, being desirous to humble the *Acheans*, refused not onely to giue them such aide as they requested, and as they challenged by the tenour of the League betweene them; but further, with a carelesse insolencie, rejected this honest and reasonable petition, That the Enemy might not be supplied from *Italie*, with victualls or armes. Herewith not content, The Fathers, as wearied with dealing in the affaires of *Greece*, pronounced openly, That if the *Argiues*, *Lacedaemonians*, or *Corinthians*, would revolt from the *Acheans*; they themselves would thinke it a businesse no way concerning them.

This was presently after the death of *Philopamen*: at what time it was beleued, that 20 the Common-wealth of *Achaia* was like to fall into much distresse; were it not vpheld by countenance of the *Romanes*. All this notwithstanding; when *Lycartas* Prator of the *Acheans* had vnterly subdued the *Messenians* farre sooner than was expected; and when as not only no Town rebelled from the *Acheans*, but many entred into their corporation: then did the *Romanes* with an ill-favoured grace, tell the same Embassadours, to whose petition they had made such bad answer (and who as yet were not gone out of the Citie) That they had strictly forbidden all manner of succour to be carried to *Messene*. Thus thinking, by a faigned grauitie, to haue serued their owne turnes; they manifested their condition; both to set on the weaker, against the stronger and more 30 suspected; and also to assume vnto themselves a Soueraine power, in directing all matters of Warre, which dissemblingly they would haue seemed to neglect. In like manner dealt they with all their confederates: not permitting any of them to make Warre, whether offensive or defensive; though it were against mere strangers; without interposing the authoritie of the Senate and People of *Rome*: vnlesse peraduenture sometimes they winked at such violence, as did helpe towards the accomplishment of their owne secret malice. Now these *Roman* Arts howsoever many (for gainefull or timorous respects) would seeme to vnderstand them; yet were generally displeasing vnto all men endued with free spirits. Only the *Athenians*, once the most turbulent Citie in *Greece*, hauing neither subiects of their owne that might rebell, nor power where- 40 with to bring any into subiection, for want of more noble argument wherewith to practice their eloquence that was become the whole remainder of their ancient commendations, were much delighted in flattering the most mighty. So they kept themselves in grace with the *Romanes*, remained free from all trouble, vntill the warre of *Mitridates*: being men vnfit for action, and thereby innocent; yet bearing a part in many great actions, as Gratulators of the *Roman* victories, and Pardon-craters for the vanquished. Such were the *Athenians* become. As for those other Common-wealths and Kingdomes, that with ouer-nice diligence stroue to preserve their libertie and lands, from consuming by piece-meale: they were to be deuoured whole, and swallowed vp at once. Especially the *Macedonian*, as the most vnplaine, and wherein many of the *Greekes* began to haue 50 assistance, was necessarily to be made an example, how much better it were to bow than to breake.

Neither *Persus* nor the *Romanes* were ignorant, how the *Greekes* at this time stood affected. *Persus*, by reason of his neere neighbourhood, and of the daily commerce betweene them and his subiects, could not want good information, of all that might concerne him, in their affaires. He well knew, that all of them now apprehended the danger which *Philopamen* had long since foretold, of the miserable subiection, wherinto *Greece* was likely to bee reduced, by the *Roman* patronage. Indeede they not onely perceived the approaching danger: but as being tenderly sensible of their liberty, felt themselves

themselves grieved with the present subjection, whereto already they were become obnoxious: Wherefore though none of them had the courage, in matters of the publike to fall out with the *Romans*: yet all of them had the care, to chooſe among themſelves none other Magiſtrates, than ſuch as affected the good of their Countrey, and would for no ambition, or other ſeruiſe reſpect, bee flatterers of the greateſt which kept all in feare. Thus it ſeemed likely, that all domeſtick conſpiracies would ſoone be at an end, when honeſtie and loue of the Common weale, became the faireſt way to preferment. Of this carefull promiſion for the ſafety of *Greece*, the *Romans* were not thoroughly aduerted: eyther becauſe things were diligently concealed from their Embaſſadours, whom all men knew to bee little better than Spies; or becauſe little account was made of that intelligence, which was brought in by ſuch Traytors (of whom euery Citie in *Greece* had too many) as were men vt regarded among their owne people, and therefore more like to ſpeake maliciously than truly; or perhaps becauſe the Embaſſadours themſelves, being all Senators, and capable of the greateſt Office or charge, had no will to finde out other matter of trouble, then was fitting to their owne deſires of employment. But it was hard to conſeale that which many know, from theſe that are feared or flattered by many. The *Acheans* being to ſend Embaſſadors to *Rome*, that ſhould both excuſe them, as touching ſome point wherein they reſuſed to obey the Senate; and informe the Senate better in the ſame buſineſſe: choſe one *Calliſtates*, among others, to go in that Embaſſage. By their making choiſe of ſuch a man; one may perceiue the aduantage, which miſchievous wretches, who commonly are forward in purſuing their vile deſires, haue againſt the plaine ſort of honeſt men; that leaſt eaſtly thruſt themſelves into the troubleſome buſineſſe of the weale publike. For this *Calliſtates* was in ſuch wiſe transported with ambition; that he choſe much rather to betray his Countrey, than to let any other bee of more authoritie than himſelfe therein. Wherefore in ſtead of well diſcharging his credence; and alleading what was meeteſt in iuſtification of his people: he ventred a quite contrary tale; and ſtrongly encouraged the *Romans*, to oppreſſe both the *Acheans* and all the reſt of *Greece*, with a ſarre more heauy hand. He told the Senate, that it was high time for them, to looke vnto the ſetting of their authority, among his froward Countreymen; if they meant not wholly to forgoe it. For now there was taken vp a cuſtome, to ſtand vpon points of confederacie; and lawes: as if theſe were principally to bee regarded; any inuention from *Rome* notwithstanding.

Hence grew it, that the *Acheans* both now, and at other times, did what beſt pleaſed themſelves, and answered the *Romans* with excuſes: as if it were enough to ſay, That by ſome condition of League, or by force of ſome Law, they were diſcharged, or hindered, from obeying the decrees of the Senate. This would not be ſo, if hee, and ſome other of his opinion, might haue their wills: who ceaſed not to affirme, That no Columes or Monument erected, nor no ſolemne oath of the whole Nation, to ratifie the obſeruance of Confederacie or ſtatute, ought to be of force, when the *Romans* willed the contrarie. But it was euen the fault of the *Romans* themſelves, That the multitude reſuſed to giue care vnto ſuch perſwaſions. For howſoeuer in popular Eſtates, the ſound of libertie vſed to be more pleaſable, than any diſcourſe tending againſt it: yet if they which vnderooke the maintenance of an argument, ſeeming neuer ſo bad, were ſure by their fo doing, to procure their owne good; the number of them would increaſe apace, & they became the preuaient faction. It was therefore ſtrange how the *Fathers* could ſo neglect the aduancement of thoſe, that ſought wholly to enlarge the amplitude of the *Roman* maiesty. More wiſely, though with ſeditious and rebellious purpoſe, did the *Greekes*: who many times, yea and ordinarily, conferred great honours, vpon men otherwiſe of little account or deſert, only for hauing vttered ſome braue words againſt the *Romans*. The *Fathers* hearing theſe and the like reaſons, wherewith he exhorted them to handle roughlie thoſe that were obſtinate, and by cheriſhing their friends, to make their partie ſtrong; reſoluſed to follow this good counſaile, in euery point; yea to depreſſe all thoſe that held with the right, and to ſer vp their owne followers, were it by right or by wrong. And to this end, they not onely dealt thenceforth more preſumptuouſly with the *Acheans*, then had bene their manner in former times; but wrote at the preſent vnto all Citieſ of *Greece*; requiring them to ſee that their mandate (which was concerning the reſtitution of thoſe that were baniſhed out of *Lacedaemon*) ſhould be fulfilled. Particularly in behaile of *Calliſtates*; they aduiſed all men, to beſich,

and ſo affected, as hee was, in their ſeueral common-weales. With this diſpatch, *Calliſtates* returned home a ioyfull man: hauing brought his Countrey into the way of ruine, but himſelfe into the way of preferment. Neuertheleſſe hee forbore to vant himſelfe, of his eloquence vſed in the Senate. Onely hee fo reported his Embaſſage, that all men became fearefull of the danger; wherewith hee threatned thoſe that ſhould preſume to oppoſe the *Romans*. By ſuch arts he obtained to be made Pretor of the *Acheans*: in which Magiſtracie, as in all his courſes following, hee omitted nothing, that might ſerue to manifeſt his ready obſequiouſneſſe vnto thoſe whom he had made his Patrons.

Now as the *Romans* by threatening termes wonne many flatterers, and loſt as many true friends: ſo *Perſeus* on the other ſide, thinking by liberal gifts, and hopeful promiſes, to aſſure vnto himſelfe thoſe that ill could brooke his enemies; got indeed a multitude of partakers, though little honeſter than his enemies had. Thus were all the Citieſ of *Greece* diſtracted with factions: ſome holding with the *Romans*; ſome with the *Macedonian*; and ſome few, reſpecting onely the good of the Eſtates, wherein they liued. Hereat the Lords of the Senate were highly offended; and thought it an indignitie not ſufferable, That a King, no better than their vaſſall, ſhould dare to become head of a faction againſt them. This therefore muſt be reckoned in the number of his treſpaſſes: wherof if not any one alone, yet all of them together, ſhall afford them iuſt occaſion to make warre vpon him. *Perſeus* hauing finiſhed his buſineſſe among the *Dolopians*, made a iourney to *Apollo* his temple at *Delphi*. He tooke his Arme along with him; yet went, and returned in ſuch peaceable and friendly wiſe, that no place was the worſe for his iourney, but the good affection towards him generally increaſed thereby. With theſe that were in his way, he dealt himſelfe; to ſuch as lay further off, he ſent Embaſſadors or letters: praying them, That the memory of all wrongs whatſoeuer, done by his father, might be buried with his father; ſince his owne meaning was to hold friendſhip ſincerely with all his neighbours. The *Romans* perhaps could haue bene pleaſed better, if hee had behaued himſelfe after a contrary faſhion, and done ſome acts of hoſtilitie in his paſſage. Yet as if he ought not to haue taken ſuch a iourney, without their licence; this alſo was made a valuable matter, and caſt into the heape of his faults. He laboured greatly to recouer the ſoule of the *Acheans*: which his father had loſt; that by a ſolemne decree, they forbade any *Macedonian* to enter their territories. It was iealouſie perhaps, no leſſe than hatred, which cauſed them, at the firſt, to make ſuch a decree. For howſoeuer *Philip* had by manie vile acts, eſpecially by the death of the two *Aradii*, giuen them cauſe to abhorre him: yet in the publike adminiſtration of their eſtate, he had, for the more part, bene to them ſo beneficiall, that not without much adoe and at length, without any generall conſent, they reſoluſed to forſake him. Wherefore it was needfull, euen for preferation of concord among them, to vſe all circumſpection; that he might not, by his agents, negotiats, and hold intelligence with any, in a country, towards him ſo doubtfully affected: eſpecially when by hearkening to his meſſages, they might make themſelves ſuſpected by their new friends. But the continuance of this decree, beyond the time of Wayre, and when all danger of innouation was paſt; was vnciuill, if not inhumane, as noſtthing deadly hated, without leauing means of reconciliation. And hereof the *Acheans* reaped no good fruit. For although they were not, in like ſort, forbidden the Kingdom of *Macedon*: yet vnderſtanding what would be due to them, if they ſhould adventure thither, none of them durſt ſet foot therein. Hence it came to paſſe, that their bondmen, knowing a ſafe harbour, out of which their maſters could not fetch them, ranne daily away, in great numbers: exceedingly to the loſſe of ſuch, as made of their ſlaues very profitable vſe. But *Perſeus* tooke hold vpon this occaſion: as ſitly ſeruing to pacifie thoſe, whoſe enmitie ſaine he would haue changed into loue. Hee therefore apprehended all theſe fugitiues, to ſend them home againe: and wrote vnto the *Acheans*, That as for good will vnto them, hee had taken paines to reſtore back their ſeruants; ſo ſhould they do very well to take order for keeping them, th: hereafter they might not runne away againe. His meaning was readily vnderſtood, & his letters kindly accepted by the greater part; being openly rehearſed by the Pretor, before the Councell. But *Calliſtates* took the matter very angrily; and bade them be aduiſed what they did: for that this was none other, than a plaine deuice, to make them depart from the friendſhip of the *Romans*. Heerewithall hee tooke vpon him, ſomewhat liberally, to make the *Acheans* before-hand acquainted with the Warre, that was coming vpon *Perſeus* from *Rome*. Hee told

told them, how *Philip* had made preparations for the same warre; how *Demetrius* had beene made away, because of his good affection to the *Romans*; and how *Perseus* had, since his being King, done many things, tending to the breach of peace. Briefly *Heere* heard all those matters, which were afterwards alleged by the *Romans*; the invasion of the *Bastarne*, vpon the *Dardaniens*; the Kings iourney against the *Dolopians*; his voyage to *Delphi*; and finally, his peaceable behaviour, which was (he said) a dangerous temptation of men to his party. Wherefore he aduised them, to expect the event of things, and not ouer-hastily to enter into any degree of friendship with the *Macedonians*. *Heere* too good answer was made by the Prators brother: That *Calliocrates* was too earnest, in so light a matter; and that, being neither one of the Kings cabinet, nor of the *Roman Senate*, he made himselfe too well acquainted with all that had passed, or was like to follow. For it was well knowne, that *Perseus* had renewed his league with the *Romans*; that he was by them saluted King, and friend to the Estate; and that *Hee* had louingly entertained their Embassadors. This beeing so: why might not the *Achaens*, as well as the *Atolians*, *Thessalians*, *Epirians*, and all the *Greekes*, hold with him (such correspondence, as common humanity required? Neuertheless *Calliocrates* was growne a man so terrible, by his *Roman* acquaintance, that they durst not ouer-stiffly gainsay him. Therefore the matter was referred vnto further deliberation: and answer made the whilest, That since the King had onely sent a letter without an Embassadour; they knew not how to resolue. Better it was to say thus, than that they were afraid to doe as they thought most reasonable and conuenient. But when *Perseus*, herewith not contented, would needes vige them further, and send Embassadors: then were they faine, without any good pretence, to put on a countenance of anger, and deny to giue audience: which was prooffe sufficient (to one that could vnderstand) of the condition wherein they liued. For harkening to this aduice of *Calliocrates*; they were soone after highly commended by a *Roman* Embassadour: whereby it became apparent, that the *Romans* intended warre vpon the *Macedonians*; though hitherto no cause of warre was giuen.

S. V.

How *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus* was busied with *Pharnaces*, the *Rhodiens* and others. His hatred to the *Macedonian*: whom he accuseth to the *Roman Senate*. The Senate honours him greatly, and condemnes his enemies the *Rhodiens*; with the causes thereof. The vnusuall stoutnesse of the *Macedonian* Embassadors. *Perseus* his attempt vpon *Eumenes*. The brotherly love betwene *Eumenes* and *Attalus*. *Perseus* his deuice to poison some of the *Roman Senators*: whereupon they decree warre against him, and send him defiance. Other things, concerning the iustice of this warre.

E*umenes* King of *Pergamus* had bene troubled, about these times, by the Kings *Pharnaces* and *Mithridates* his neighbours. *Hee* had taken the right course; in making first his complaint to the *Romans*: by whom *hee* was animated with comfortable words, and promise. That they, by their authority, would end the businesse, to his content. But in conclusion, by the helpe of the Kings *Prusias* and *Ariarathes*, he ended the warre himselfe; and brought the Enemies to seeke and accept peace, on such conditions as pleased him to giue them. After this being at good leisure; he began to consider, how the affaires of *Macedonia* stood vnder *Perseus*. His hatred to *Perseus* was very great: and therefore *hee* was glad to vnderstand, that the hatred of the *Romans*, to the same his Enemy, was as great, and withall notorious. Now besides his ancient and hereditarie quarrell with the *Macedonians*; it vexed him exceedingly, That his owne honours (whereof the *Greekes*, prodigall in that kinde, had heaped immoderate store on his father and him) began to waxe euery where stale: whilest *Perseus*, either by his currying fauour, or by the enuie borne to the *Romans*, had gotten their best liking and wishes. For despite of this indignitie, *Hee* stirred vp the *Zycians* against the *Rhodiens* his old friends: and in helping the rebels was so violent, that he proceeded, in a manner, to open warre. But small pleasure found he, in these poore & indirect courses of reuenge. The *Zycians* could not bee saued by his patronage, from seuerer and cruell chastisement, giuen to them by the *Rhodiens*. This rendered him contemptible: as likewise, his acts of hostilitie, little different from robberies, made him hateful to the which loued him before. As for his honours in the Cities of *Greece*; they not onely continued falling

Polyp. Legat.
56. cap. 19.

Polyp. Legat.
74.

falling into neglect; but were abrogated by a Decree of the *Achaens*, as too vniuersally misbecoming them to giue, and affected by him beyond the proportion of his deservings. All this (which he needed not to haue regarded, had hee not bene too vainly ambitious) befell him, especially for his being ouer-seruiceable to the *Romans*, and for his malice to that noble Kingdome, which if it fell, the libertie of *Greece* was not like to stand. Now for the redresse hereof; *hee* thought it in vaine to strive any longer with bounty, against such an aduersarie, as by hopefull promises alone, without any great performance, had ouer-topped him in the generall fauor. And therefore *hee* resolved euery to ouerturne the foundations of this popularity, by inducing the *Romans* vnto to take away from the eyes of men, this Idol, The *Macedonian* Kingdome, which all so vainly worshipped. Neither would it proue a difficult matter, to perswade those that were already desirous: rather he was like to be highly thanked, for setting forward their wishes, and perhaps to be recompenced with some piece of the Kingdome, as he had bene rewarded, for the like seruice, when *Antiochus* was vanquished.

To this end *hee* made a second voyage to *Rome*: where though *hee* had little to say which they knew not before; yet his words were heard with such attention, as if they had contained some strange noueltie, and so pondered by the Fathers, as if the weight of them were to turne the ballance, that before was equall. The death of *Demetrius*, the expedition of the *Bastarne* into *Dardania*; that of *Perseus* himselfe against the *Dolopians*, and to *Delphi*; the great estimation of the *Macedonian* in *Greece*; his intermeddling in businesse of neighbours; his riches, and his great prouisions: were all the material points of *Eumenes* his discourse. Onely he defended into particulars, hauing searched into all (as he professed) like vnto a Spie. *Hee* said, That *Perseus* had thirty thousand foot, and five thousand Horse, of his owne; money in a readinesse to entertaine tenthousand Mercenaries for ten yeeres; armes, to furnish a number thrice as great. The *Thracians* his friends at hand, ready, at a call, to bring him Soldiours as many as *hee* should require; and that he prepared victuals for ten yeeres, because he would not be driuen; either to liue vpon spoyle, or to take from his owne Subiects. Herewithall *Hee* prayed them to consider, that King *Seleucus* the sonne and successour of *Antiochus* the Great, had giuen his daughter *Laodice* in marriage to *Perseus*; *Perseus* not wooing, but *Seleucus* offering the match; That King *Prusias* of *Bithynia*, by earnest suite, had gotten to wife the sister of *Perseus*; and that these marriages were solemnized with great concourse of Embassadors from all quarters. Neither spared *Hee* to tell them, (though seeming loth to vtter it plainly) That euery the enuie of their Estate was the cause, why many that could not endure to heare of amitie with *Philip*, were now growne maruellously well affected to his sonne. All this, and some facts of *Perseus*, which might either be denied, or iustified (as that he had procured the death of some which were friends to the *Romans*; & that he had expelled *Abrypolis* the *Illyrian*, who invaded *Macedonia*, out of his Kingdome or Lordship) *Eumenes* failed not to amplify vnto the most: saying that he thought it his dutie to fore-warne them; since it would be to Himselfe a great shame, if *Perseus* got the start of him, and were in *Italie* making warre vpon the *Romans*, ere *Eumenes* could come thither to tell them of the danger.

It were too great folly, to beleuee that the *Romans* stood in feare of *Perseus*; lest *hee* should set vpon them in *Italie*. Neuertheless so far as they loued not to make war without faire pretence, not onely of wrong done to them or their associates, but of further hurt intended: great thanks were giuen to *Eumenes*, who had euery way furnished them with such goodly colour, to beautifie their intendment. Now though it were so that *Hee* told them little else than what they knew before: yet his person, and the manner of his comming, made all seeme greater. For if vpon any relation made by their owne Embassadors, or vpon tales deuised by their flatterers and spies, they had warred against *Perseus*, ere *Hee* had committed any open act of hostilitie against them; their iniustice, and oppression, would haue bene most manifest. But when the wrongs to them done were so notorious, and the danger threatening them so terrible; that such a Prince as *Eumenes*, came out of his owne Kingdome, as farre as from *Asia*, to bid them looke to themselves: who could blame them, if they tooke the speediest order to obtaine their owne right and securitie? Toward this iustificacion of the warre, and magnifying the necessity that enforced them thereto; their more then vniuersall consensie, in concealing what *Eumenes* had vttered in the Senate, when they could not but vnderstand that his end

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was well knowne; helped not a little. The *Macedonian* and *Rhodian* Embassadours were at *Rome*, prouided of answers to the words, which they knew before-hand that he would speake; and with matter of reprimination. The vanity, either of Him, or of some about him, seemes to haue disclosed all: when the warinesse of the *Fathers*, in hiding that which all men knew, made a notable shew of some fearefull apprehension; against which, it behoued their wisdom to neglect no possible remedy. Wherefore carelesse audience was giuen to the *Rhodian* Embassadours; who accused *Eumenes*, as one more troublefome to *Asia*, than *Antiochus* had euer beene, and a prouoker of the *Lycians* to rebellion. The *Rhodians* had with great pompe, conueighed by Sea vnto *Perseus*, his bride *Laodice*; which friendly office as the *Macedonian* bountifullly required, so the *Romans* despihtfully accepted. Hence it grew, that when the *Lycians*, as already vanquished, were setting themselves in their obedience to the people of *Rhodes*: Embassidours came from *Rome* with strange newes, which gaue new life to the rebellion: For the Senate pronounced, That it stood not with the manner of the *Romans*, to aliene quite from their owne protection any people or Nation by them vanquished; and that the *Lycians* were by them assigned vnto those of *Rhodes*, not as meeke vassals, but as dependants and associates. For prooffe hereof, they referred themselves vnto the commentaries of the tenne Embassadours, whom they had sent to dispose of things in *Asia*, after the victory against King *Antiochus*. Hereat *Eumenes*, *Masinissa*, The *Atolians*, and all other Kings or Estats, that were beholding to *Rome* for increasing the number of their subiects, had cause to zo finde themselves agrieved if they well considered the matter: since by force of this or the like decree, those their subiects might easily be made their fellows, wheneouer it should please the Senate: though it were so, that all men knew the present meaning of the Senate, which was onely to plague the *Rhodians*, for their good will to *Perseus*, by letting them and the *Lycians* together by the eares. The *Fathers* could there fore see no reason to dislike *Eumenes*, vpon this complaint made by the *Rhodian* Embassadours; which indeed more neerely touched themselves. Rather they honoured the King so much the more: for that others (as they would needes take it) conspired against him, because of his loue to *Rome*.

But the *Macedonian* Embassage they heard not so carelesly as angrily: though perad-³⁰ uenture it well contented them to finde cause of anger. For whereas at other times all cares had beene taken, to pacifie them with gentle words and excuses: now heard they plainer language, and were told, That King *Perseus* desired much to giue them satisfaction, concerning any deede or word of his, that might fauour of hostility; but that, if his trouble in this kinde piousd vaine, then would he be ready to defend himselfe by armes, and stand to the chance of warre, which often fals out contrary to expectation. These bigge words may seeme to haue proceeded from the vehemencie of *Harpalus*, that was chiefe of the Embassadours; rather than from instruction giuen by the King, with whose faint heart they agreed not. Yet were there good reason, why *Perseus* himselfe might, at⁴⁰ this time, thinke to speede better by a shew of daring, than he was like to doe by any submission. For the eyes of all *Greece* being now cast vpon him, as on the greatest hope of deliuerance from the *Roman* seruitude; it was not expedient, that he should lessen, or perhaps vterly cut off, the generall expectation, and the good affection borne to him, which theron depended, by discovering his too much weakenesse of spirit, vnanswerable to a worke of such importance. Wherefore He, or his Embassador for him, was bold to set a good countenance on a game not very bad, but subiect (in appearance) to Fortune, which might haue bene his, had he knowne how to vie it.

Now that this brauery (as better it may be termed than courage) proceeded from the Kings owne heart; it appears by his daring to aduenture soone after, on a practice that more iustly might anger the *Romans*, and giue them fairer shew of reason to make warre vpon him. It was knowne that *Eumenes*, inturning home, would take *Delphi* in his way, and there doe sacrifice to *Apollo*. *Perseus* deadly hating him, and thirsting after his blood, resolved to way-lay him, and by making there of him a sacrifice, to rid his owne hands of a most mischievous enemy. So there were appointed three or foure stout ruffians to doe the murder: who placing themselves behinde a broken mud wall, on the side of a very narrow path leading vp from the Sea to the Temple; did thence assault the King; whom they sorely builed with great stones, and left for dead. They might haue finished their worke; such was the opportunitie of the place which they had chosen; but feare of being

being apprehended, made them, without staying to see all sure, flie in such haste, that they killed one of their owne companions, who could not hold pace with them, because he should not discouer them. *Eumenes* was conueighed away to the little Ile of *Agina*, where he was cured: being all the while kept so secretly, that the fame of his death was current in *Asia*. Hence it came, that his brother *Attalus* tooke vpon him as King, and either tooke or would haue taken to wife (supposing it belike a matter of State) *Stratonice* the daughter of King *Antiochus*, whom he then thought the widow of *Eumenes*. It may well be numbred among the rare examples of brotherly loue; That when the King returned aliue home, *Attalus* going forth to meet him and doe his dutie, as in former times, received none other checke, than, that *Hee* should forbear to marrie with the *Queen*, until *Hee* were *tell assured of the Kings death*. More than this, *Eumenes* neuer spake of these matters; but bequeathed at his death, vnto the same brother, both his wife and Kingdome. As likewise *Attalus* forbore to attempt any thing to the prejudice of the King his brother: though the *Romans* (with whom he continued and grew in especiall fauour, when *Eumenes* fell into their hatred) were in good readinesse, to haue transferred the Kingdome from his brother to him. By such concord of brethren, was the Kingdome of *Pergamus* raised and vpheld: as might also that of *Macedon* haue bene, if *Demetrius* had liued and employed his grace with the *Romans*, to the benefit of *Perseus*.

It is likely that *Perseus* was very glad when he vnderstood, that his ministers had both accomplished his will, and had saved all from discouerie. But as he was deceived in the maine point, and heard shortly after, that *Eumenes* liued: so was *Hee* beguiled in that other hope, of the concealment; which he vainly esteemed the lesse materiall. For *Hee* had written to one *Praxe* a Gentlewoman of *Delphi*, to entertaine the men whom he sent about this businesse: and in, being apprehended by *C. Valerius* a *Roman* Embassadour then attending vpon the matters of *Greece*, was carried to *Rome*. Thus all came to light. *Valerius* also brought with him to *Rome*, out of *Greece*, one *Rammius* a Citizen of *Brundisium*: who coming newly from the Court of *Macedon*, loaded with a dangerous secret, had presently sought out the Embassadour, and thereof discharged himselfe. *Brundisium* was the ordinary Port, for ships passing betwene *Italy* and *Greece*. There had *Rammius* a faire house; wherein he gaue entertainment, being a wealthy man, to Embassadours, and other honourable personages, both *Romans* and *Macedonians*, iourning to and fro. By occasion of such his hospitalitie, he was commended to *Perseus*, and invited into *Macedon* with friendly letters; as one, whose many courties to his Embassadours, the King was studious to requite. At his comming he was much made of; and shortly, with more familiarity than he expected or desired, made partaker of the Kings secrets. The summe of all was, That he must needes doe a turne, in giuing to such of the *Romans* as the King should hereafter name, a poyson of rare qualitie; sure in operation, yet not to be perceived either in the taking or afterward. He durst not refuse to accept this employment: for feare lest the vertue of this medicine should be tryed vpon himselfe. But being once at libertie; he discouered all. *Rammius* was but one man, and one whom the King had neuer scene before, nor was like to see againe: and therefore, besides that the Kings deniall ought to be as good as such a fellows affirmation, the acclamation was improbable. Thus did *Perseus*, in time shortly following, answer for himselfe, and in like sort concerning the attempt vpon *Eumenes*: denying to haue had any hand, either in the one or other: yet withall protesting, That such objections were not to be made vnto a King, to proue the rightfulnessse of making warre vpon him; but rather vnto a subiect pleading for his life in iudgement. But howsoeuer the *Romans* neglected the getting of stronger prooffe (which might haue bene easie) than any that wee finde by them produced: yet the base and cowardly temper of *Perseus* was very fiteable to these practices. Neither did the Senate greatly stand to dispute the matter with him: these his treacheries being held inexcusable. And as for his Royall Estate, wherein he supposed that they ought not to touch him for such priuate offences, it gaue him no priuiledge: they iudging him to haue offended in the nature of a King. Herein surely they wanted not good reason. For if he might not lawfully make warre vpon *Eumenes* their confederate; that is, if *Hee* might not send men, to waste the Kingdome of *Pergamus*, or to besiege the Townes: might he send Ruffians to murder the King? If it were no lesse breach of the league to destroy the Senators by fire or famine, than by violence of the sword: was it lawfull for him to doe

it by poison? Wherefore they presently decreed warre against him; and sent Embassadors to denounce it vnto him, vnlesse he would yeelde to make such amends as they should require. He seemed at this time to haue bene so confident in the generall fauour of Greece, and other comfortable appearances; that if he desired not warre, yet he did not feare it: or at least he thought by shew of courage, to make his enemies more calme. Hee caused the Embassadors to dance attendance, till being weary, they departed without audience. Then called he them backe; and bade them doe their errand. They made a tedious rehearsal of all matters, which they had long bene collecting against him, and wherewith *Eumenes* had charged him: adding thereto, that Hee had entertained long and secret conference in the Ile of *Samos* with Embassadors sent to him out of *Asia*, about some ill purpose. In regard of all which they peremptorily required satisfaction; as was their manner when they intended to giue defiance. Better they might haue stood vpon the euidence, brought against him by *Rammius* and *Praxo*. For if those accusations could be verified, then wanted they not good ground whereon to build: of which otherwise they were destitute; it being no fault in a King, to be strong, well-beloued, and well friended. *Perseus* answered, for the present, in a rage; calling the *Romans*, Greedy, Proud, Insolent, and vnderminers of him by their daily Embassadors, that were no better then meere spies. Finally, he promised to giue them in writing their full answer: which was to this effect; That he would no longer stand to the league, made betwene them and his father, and renewed by himselfe indeede onely for feare: but wished them to defend to more equal conditions, whereupon he, for his part, would aduise, as they might also doe for theirs.

Polyb. Legat. 9 In the forme of the league betwene *Philip* and the *Romans*, as it is set downe by *Polybius*, we finde no condition, binding the *Macedonian* to any inconuenience in the future; excepting those which he immediately performed. But *Liuie* inserts a clause, whereby he was expressly forbidden, to make any war abroad, without leaue of the *Romans*. It is most likely, that all the *Roman* confederates were included in this peace: whereby euery one of the neighbours round about *Macedon*, entring shortly into league with *Rome*, did so binde the Kings hands, that he could no more make warre abroad, than if he had bene restrained by plaine couenant. And thus might that seeme an Article of the peace, which so neuer was agreed vpon, but onely was inferred by consequence. Now if the *Romans* would vige this point further, and say, that the *Macedonian* might not beare defensive armes, without their permission: then had *Perseus* very iust reason to finde himselfe aggriued. For since they had allowed his father, without controule, to make warre in *Thrace*, (whilest they themselves were vnacquainted with the *Thracians*) and elsewhere abroad, though he asked not their licence: why should they now interpret the bargain after another fashion? Was it now become vnlawfull for him to chastise his owne Rebels, or to repay an *Illyrian* that invaded *Macedon*? By such allegations he maintained the right of his cause, in very milde sort; when it was too late. At the present, by disclaiming the league as vnjust; he ministred occasion vnto the Embassadors, to giue him defiance. *40* Having heard the worst of their message, he commanded them to be gone out of his kingdom in three dayes. But either he should haue bene lesse vehement, or more constant in his resolution. For if his heart could serue him to vndertake the warre; he should courageously haue managed it, and haue fallen to worke immediately, whilest the Enemy was vnprepared: not haue lost opportunitie, as now and often he did, in hope of obtaining a worse peace than the former.

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6. VI.

S. VI.

The Romans sollicit the Greekes, to ioyne with them in the Warre against Perseus. How the Greekes stood affected in this warre. The timorositie of Perseus. Matius a Roman Embassador deludes him with hope of Peace. His forces. He takes the field, and mines part of Thessalie. The forces of Licinius the Roman Consul: and what assistants the Romans had in this warre. Of Tempe in Thessalie; and what advantages the Macedonian had, or might haue had: but lost by his feare. Perseus braues the Romans; fights with them, knowes not how to vse his victorie; sues for Peace: and is denied it by the vanquished. Perseus hauing the worse in a skirmish, forsakes all the Countrey lying without Tempe. The Beotians rebell against the Romans, and are rigorously punished. The Roman Commanders unfortunate in the warre against Perseus. They vex the Greekes their friends; for whose ease the Senate makes provision, hauing heard their complaints. The flattering Alabandors.

SO long had the *Romans* bene seeking occasion to take in hand this *Macedonian* war, that well might they haue bene ready for it, when it came; and not (as they were) behinde hand in provisions. But it was on a sudden that they met with a confluence of good pretences to make the warre: whereof, if no one alone had weight enough, yet all of them together seemed more than sufficient. This opportunitie of mixing their cause honestly in common opinion, was not to be neglected: though otherwise they were vnprepared for the action. Wherefore knowing, or hauing reason to beleue, that their owne strength was such as would preuaile in the end; they hastily embraced the faire occasion of beginning, and referred other cares to the diligence of Time. Neither was this their vnreadinesse a small helpe, towards examining the disposition of the *Greekes*, and others, whomust afterwards dearly pay for any backwardnesse found in their good will. There was not indeede any cause to feare, that all of the *Greekes* or other Easterne people should conspire together, and take part with the *Macedonian*: such was the distinction betwene their seuerall Estates; howsoeuer the generalitie of them were inclined the same way. Neuerthelesse Embassadors were sent to deale with them all; and to craue their helpe against *Perseus*, or rather to demand it, in no lesse ample manner, than heretofore they had yeelded it against *Philip* and *Antiochus*, in waies pretending the liberty of Greece. The Embassadors vsed as gentle words for fashions sake, as if they had stood in doubt, that their request might happen to be denied: "But the *Greekes* were now growne well acquainted with such *Roman* courtesie: and vnderstood, that not only such as made refusall, but euen they who might seeme to haue granted halfe vnwillingly, were like to heare other manner of words, when once this businesse was ended. Wherefore none of them were scrupulous in promising the best of their helpe to the *Romans*: the *Acheans* and *Rhodians*, which were chiefe among them; being rather *40* doubtfull, euen when they had done their best, lest it should be allaken; as if they had halted in some part of their duetie. It is strange, that men could be so earnest to see vp the side, whereof they gladly would haue scene the ruine. The vulgar sort was euenly where addicted to *Perseus*; of the Nobles and Rulers, if some were vehemently *Romans*; they wanted not opposers, that were wholly *Macedonian*; yea, the wisest and most honest, who regarded onely the benefit of their Countrey, wished better to *Perseus* than to the *Romans*. And of this number, *Polybius* the chiefe of Historians was one: who though Hee * iudged the victory of *Perseus*, like to proue hurtfull vnto Greece; yet wished hee the *Romans* ill to thrive, that so the *Greekes* might recouer perfect libertie: for his en- *77* deuours in which course, he was at length tyrannically handled, as shall be shewed here-
after. This considered, it appeares, that an extraordinary feare, and not onely reuerence of the Imperiall Citie, made the *Acheans* and other Estates of Greece, thus conformable to the *Romans*. The occasion of this their feare, may be iustly imputed vnto the timorous demanour of *Perseus* himselfe. He had vnderaken a warre, whereof the benefit should redound, not onely to his owne Kingdom, but vnto all that were oppressed by the *Romans*. Yet no sooner were some few companies brought ouer-sea, to make a countenance of meaning somewhat against him; than he began to speake the enemie faire, and sue for Peace at *Rome*. Since therefore it was knowne, that euery small thing would serue to terrifie him; and consequently, that it should at all times be in the *Romans* power, by

* *Polyb. Legat. 72. 73. 6. 50.** *Polyb. Legat. 77.*

by giuing him any tolerable conditions of peace, to take reuenge at leisure vpon those which had assisted him: little cause was there, why any should adventure to partake with him. He made indeede a great noise, leading about his armie; taking by force or composition, some few Townes; and soliciting all to ioyne with him. But wise men could not be so beguiled. For at the same time, he sought all means of pacification: and to that end, made humble suit vnto the *Roman* Embassadours. *Q. Martius*, the chiefe of those Embassadours, and a man of more finenesse in cunning than was vsuall among the *Romans*; made shew of inclination to the King desire: and gaue out such comfortable words, that the King inuited, and obtained a meeting at the Riuer *Penus*. There did *Martius* very gently rebuke the King, and charge him with those crimes that are before mentioned. Whereto though *Perseus* made none other answer, than the same which they could haue made for him; yet the Embassadours, and especially *Martius*, took it in good part, as therewith fauished; and aduised him to giue the like satisfaction to the Senate. That this might conueniently be done; a truce was agreed vpon. Thus had *Martius* his desire; which was, to make the King lose time. For *Perseus* had all things then in readinesse, and might haue done much, ere the *Roman* Armie could haue bene in *Greece*. But by the interposition of this truce, he no way increased his forces; hee suffered a most conuenient season, of winning vpon the enemy, to slip away; and obtained in recompence nothing else, than leisure and vaine hope. Yet was he pleased herewith, as it had bene with some victory: publishing a copie of the disputation betwixt him and the *Romans*, whereby he gaue men to vnderstand, how much he had the better, and what hope there was of Peace. He sent Embassadours also to the *Rhodians*, of whose good will to him he was best perswaded; not onely to let them know how much he was superior in cause; but to intreat them, that they would take vpon them, as moderators, to compound the difference betwixt him and the *Romans*, if perhaps, notwithstanding the goodnesse of his cause, he should be denied peace. These were poore helpees. For hereby it appeared, that his late standing vpon point of Honour, was no better than meere vanity: his owne safety being the utmost of his ambition. This his scarcenesse might seeme excusable, and the blame thereof to appertaine vnto the *Greekes*; who deceived his expectation, by being wanting to him in time of a necessity, that was partly their owne: had it not bin his office, who took vpon him as their Champion, to giue such a manly beginning to the warre, as might encourage all others to follow him. But his timorous quality being found, men grew daily more and more averse from him; and were carefull, not to put their shoulders to a falling wall. The *Rhodians*, among whom he had many stout partizans, desired him not to craue any thing at their hands, in which they might seeme to doe against the good liking of the *Romans*. The *Bevians* also, who had entred of late into a strict societie with the *Macedonian*; renounced it now, and made the like with the *Romans*: to whom further, in a sort, they yielded themselves as vassals. Neither was *Martius* contented to accept their submission vnder a generall forme; but caused their severall Townes to make couenant apart, each for it selfe; to the end, that being thus distracted into many little Common-weales, they might not (were they neuer so desirous to rebel) haue such force to doe hurt, as when they agreed, and were incorporated in one, vnder the Citie of *Thebes*. This worke, of separating the *Bevians* from *Thebes* their head; was more than *Agesilaus* could effect, or *Epaminondas* would suffer, then when all *Greece* followed the *Lacedaemonians*. So far more available to *Thebes*, being destitute of helpe from abroad, was the vertue of *Epaminondas* and a few braue Citizens; than was the societie with King *Perseus*, against a number not so great as followed the *Lacedaemonians*.

Martius brought this to effect, whilst the King sat still, as being bound by the truce: and hauing done this, he returned to the Citie, where vaunting what he had wrought by his craft, he was commended, and (though some reprooued it as dishonestly) employed againe by the Senate, with commission to deale as he should thinke expedient. Touching the Embassadours which *Perseus* had sent; audience was giuen to them, for that they should not plainly see how their Master was deluded: but neither excuse, nor intreatie, would serue their turne, the Senate being reioiced before-hand what to doe. It was enough that they were admitted into the Citie, and had thirty daies respite allowed them to depart out of *Italy*: whereas they, who came last on the same errand, did their message without the wals, in the Temple of *Bellona* (the vsuall place of giuing audience to

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open enemies, or to such Commanders, as might not, by reason of some custome, enter the Citie) and had onely the short warning of cleuen dayes, to be gone out of *Italy*. Neither did this poore courtesie serue onely to hide the craft of *Martius*, as if he had meant none other than good earnest: but it was a likely meane, both to keepe a long while from *Perseus* the knowledge of his businesse, and to stagger his resolution, when hee should neede it most firme.

And accordingly it fell out. For *Licinius*, the *Roman* Consul, was at *Apollonia*, in a manner as soone, as the *Macedonian* Embassadours were with their King at *Pella*. Which, though it were enough to haue roused *Perseus*, and haue made him lay aside all cowardly hope of getting pardon: yet was he contented to deliberate awhile, Whether it were better to offer himselfe tributary to the *Romans*, and to redeeme their good will with some part of his Kingdome, that so he might enioy the rest; than to put all at once to hazard. But finally, the stoutest counsel preuailed; which also was the wisest, and so would haue proued, had it bene stoutly and wisely followed. He now beganne, as if the warre had not begunne vntill now, to doe what should haue bin done long afore. Hee caused all his forces to be drawne together; and appointed their Rendenous at *Cittium*, a Towne in *Macedon*. All being in readinesse, he did royall sacrifice, with an hundred beasts, to know not what *Minerva*, that was peculiarly honored in his Country: and then with all his Courtiers, and those of his guard, set forward to *Cittium*. His armie he found consisting of nine and thirtie thousand foot, and foure thousand horse: whereof about twelue thousand foot, and a thousand horse, were strangers, of sundry Nations, most part *Thracians*; the rest of his owne *Macedonians*. These hee animated with liuely speeches, laying before them, the glory of their ancestors, the insolencie of the *Romans*, the godnesse of his cause, the greatnesse of his provisions, and the many aduantages which they had of the Enemy, especially in numbers. They answered him cheerfully, with loud acclamations, and bade him be of good courage. From all Cities of *Macedon* there came likewise messengers, offering to helpe him with money and victuals, according to their severall abilities. He gaue them thanks: but answered, That his owne provisions would abundantly suffice, willing them onely to furnish him with carts, for his engines and munition.

Out of his owne kingdome he issued forth into *Thessalie*: knowing that the *Romans* were to passe through that Countrey, in their iourney towards him. Some Townes of *Thessalie* opened their gates vnto him, without making offer to defend themselves; some he balked, thinking them too strong or well manned; and some he wonne by force. Of these last was *Myle*; a Towne thought impregnable, and therefore not more stoutly than proudly defended by the Inhabitants, who gaue contumelious language to the assailants. It was taken by reason of a fallie; which the Townsmen rashly made, and being driuen backe, receiued the *Macedonians*, that entred pell mell with them at the gate. All cruelty of warre was practised here: to the greater terror of the obstinate. So *Relatie* and *Conanus* (townes of much importance, especially *Conanus*, which stood in the streights of *Ossa*, leading into *Tempe*) yielded at the first. Hauing well fortified this passage, the King marched on wards to *Sycorium*, a Towne seated on the foot of mount *Ossa*; where he rested a while, expecting newes of the Enemy.

Licinius the Consul brought with him onely two *Roman* Legions: being promised other strength of auxiliaries, which was thought sufficient. *Eumenes* and *Attalus* his brother came to him in *Thessalie*, with foure thousand foot, and a thousand horse. Thither also came, from euery part of *Greece*, such aide as the severall Estates could afford, or thought expedient to send: which from the most of them was very little. Of the Kings abroad; *Masaniissa* sent thither his sonne *Misagenes*, with a thousand foot, as many horse, and two and twentie Elephants. *Ariarathes* the *Cappadocian*, by reason of his affinitie with *Eumenes*, was friend to the *Romans*, and had sent to Rome his young sonne, there to be brought vp: yet he did little or nothing in this warre, perhaps because *Eumenes* himselfe beganne within a while, but when it was too late, to be otherwise aduised than he had bene in the beginning. *Prusias* was content to be a looker on: as being allied to *Perseus*, and yet fearing the *Romans*. *Antiochus* and *Ptolemie* (though *Ptolemie* was then young, and vnder Tutors) had businesse of their owne; the *Syrian* meaning to invade the *Egyptian*: yet each of them promised helpe to the *Romans*, which they cared not to performe. *Gentius* the *Illyrian* was inclinable to the *Macedonians*;

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yet

yet made good countenance to the *Romans*, for feare. It was a prettie trick, wherewith *M. Lucretius*, the *Roman* Admirals brother, serued him, for this his counterfet good will. This king had foure and fiftie ships, riding in the hauen of *Dyrrachium*, vnccertain to what purpose: all which *Lucretius* tooke away, after a very kind fort, making shew to beleue, That for none other end then to serue the *Romans*, their good friend *Gentius* had sent thither this fleet. But whatsoeuer *Gentius* thought in the beginning; he foolishly lost both his kingdome and himselfe, in the end of this warre; by offering, rather then giuing, his helpe to *Perseus*.

With none other company than what hee brought ouer the sea, *Licinius* came into *Thessalie*: so tyred with a painefull iourney, through the mountainous Countrey of *Athamania*, which stood in his way from *Epirus*; that if *Perseus* had bene ready, attending to his descent into the Plaines, the *Romans* must needs haue taken a great ouerthrow. He refreshed himselfe and his wearied armie, by the riuer *Peneus*; where he encamped, attending his auxiliaries, that came in as fast as they could. It was not any slender helpe, that could enable him to deale with *Perseus*. Therefore he resolved, to abide where he then was, and keepe his trenches, vntill his numbers were sufficiently increased: contenting himselfe in the meane while, to haue gotten quiet entrance into the Countrey. The land of *Thessalie*, in which these two armies lay, was better affected to the *Romans*, than any part of *Greece* besides: as hauing bene freed by them from a more heauie yoke of bondage to the *Macedonian*, when there was little hope or expectation of such a benefit. It was generally rich, fruitfull, and abounding in all things needfull to mans life. In the midst of it, but somewhat more to the East, was that beautifull valley of *Tempe*, so exceedingly full of all delights, that the name was often vsed at large, to signifie the most pleasant and goodly places. This valley of it selfe was not great: but adding to it those huge mountaines, *Ossa* and *Olympus* (famous in Poesie) with their Spurtes or branches, by which it was on all sides enclosed; it occupied the better part of *Thessalie*. And as way were the *Romans* to enter into *Macedon*; vnlesse they would make an hungrie iourney, thorow the countrey of the *Dassareians*, as in the former warre with *Philip*, they had long, in vaine, attempted to doe. *Perseus* therefore had no small aduantage, by being master of the streights leading into *Tempe*: though farre greater he might haue had, if by mispending of time he had not lost it. For if in defending the ragged passages of these mountaines, he were able to put the *Romans* often to the worse, yea to winne vpon them (for a while) euery yeere more than other, both in strength and reputation: questionlesse he might haue done farre greater things, had he seized vpon the streights of *Aous*, which his father once kept, and defended all the Countrey behinde the Mountaines of *Pindus*. Surely not without extreme difficultie, must the *Romans* haue either trauelled by land, with all their carriages and impediments, through places wherein was no reliefe to be found; or else haue committed their armies, and all things thereto needfull, vnto the mercie of seas that were very dangerous; if hee would haue sought other way into *Macedon*, than through the heart of *Greece*: vpon neither of which courses⁴⁰ they once demed, notwithstanding any trouble which they found in this present warre. It may perhaps be said, that the *Greekes*, and others, whom the King must haue left on his backe, would haue made him vnable to defend any places too farre from his owne home. But they were all, excepting the *Thessalians*, better affected now to him, than they had bin to his father in the former warre. The *Aetolians*, vpon whom the *Athamanians* depended, grew into suspition with the *Romans* (as we shall finde anon) euen as soone as they met with *Perseus*. The *Boeotians*, how politickly soeuer *Martius* had wrought with them, aduertured themselves desperately in the *Macedonian* quarrell: what would they haue done, if hee at first had done his best? The *Rhodians*, *Ilyrians*, yea and *Eumenes* himselfe, after awhile began to wauer, when they saw⁵⁰ things goe better with *Perseus*, then they had expected. So that if in stead of discouraging his friends, by suing basely for peace; he had raised their hopes, by any braue performance in the beginnings and encreased the number of his well-willers, yea and bought downe with money (as he might haue done) some of his enemies, and among them, *Eumenes*, who offered for good recompence, to forget his broken head: then might the *Romans* perhaps haue bin compelled to forsake their imperious patronage ouer *Greece*, & to render the liberty, by them giuen, entire; which otherwise was but imaginarie. Such benefit of this war, since it was hoped for afterwards, might with greater reason haue bene expected

expected at first, from greater aduantages. But as a fearfull companie running from their enemies, till some riuer stay their flight; are there compelled by meere desperation to doe such acts, as done, while the battell lasted, would haue won the victory: so fell it out with *Perseus*. In seeking to auoid the danger of that warre, whereof he should haue sought the honour, he left his friends that would haue stood by him, and gaue them cause to provide for their owne safetie: yet being ouertaken by necessity, he chose rather to set his backe to the mountaines of *Tempe*, and defend himselfe with his proper forces; than to be driuen into such milerie, as was ineuitable, if he gaue a little further ground. What was performed by him or the *Romans*, all the while that he kept his footing in *Thessalie*, is so hard to shew particularly, for that the history of those things is much perished. Wherefore we must be contented with the summe.

The Consul hauing no desire to fight, vntill such time as all his forces were arrived; kept within his trenches and lay still encamped by the Riuer of *Peneus*, about three miles from *Larissa*. That which, if he would the Consul to protract the time, did contrariwise incite the King, to put the matter vnto a hasty triall. Wherefore he incited the *Romans* into the field; by wasting the land of the *Phereans* their confederates. Finding them patient of this indignitie; he grew bold to aduerture euen vnto their trenches: out of which if they issued, it was likely, that his aduantage in horse would make the victory his owne. At his coming they were troubled; for that it was sudden: yet no way terrified; as knowing themselves to be safely lodged. They sent out a few of King *Eumenes* his horse, and with them some light armed foot, to entertaine skirmish. The Capitaine, and some other of these were slaine: but no matter of importance done; for that neither *Licinius*, nor *Eumenes*, found it reasonable to hazzard battell. Thus day after day, awhile together, *Perseus* continued offering battaile: which they still refused. Hereby his boldness much increased; and much more his reputation: to the griefe of those who being so farre come to make a Conquest, could ill digest the shame, that fell vpon them by their enduring these brauadoes. The Towne of *Sycyrium*, where *Perseus* then lay, was twelues miles from the *Romans*: neither was there any conuenient watering in that long march, which vsed to take vp foure houres of the morning; but hee was faine to bring water along with him in carts, that his men might not be both weary and thirsty when they came to fight. For remedy of these inconueniences, he found out a lodging, seauen miles neerer to the enemy: whom hee visited the next day by the Sunne rising. His coming at such an vnusuall houre, filled the Campe with tumult: in so much as though he brought with him onely his horse and light armature, that were vnfit to assaile the trenches, yet the Consul thought it necessary, and resolved to giue checke to his pride. Wherefore hee sent forth his brother *C. Licinius*, King *Eumenes*, *Attalus*, and many braue Capitaines, with all his power of horse, his Velites, and all the rest of his light armature to trie their fortune: hee himselfe remaining in the Campe, with his Legions in readinesse. The honour of this morning, was the *Macedonian* Kings; for he obtained the victory in a manner entire (though the *Thessalians* made a good retreat) with little losse of his owne. But hee discovered his weakenesse ere night, by hearkening, as Princes commonly doe, to counsaile giuen by one of his owne temper. For whereas the *Romans* were in great feare lest he should assaile their Campe; and to that purpose, vpon the first newes of his successe, his Phalanx was brought vnto him by the Capitaines, though vnfit for: he neuertheless tooke it for sound aduice, which indeede was timorous and base. To worke warily, and moderate his victory; by which meanes it was said, that either he should geue honest conditions of peace, or at leastwise many companions of his fortune. Certainly it was like, that his good fortune would exalt the hope and courage of his friends. Yet had it bene greater, and had hee wonne the *Roman* Campe, his friends would haue bene the more, and the bolder. But ouer-great was his folly, in hoping then for peace: and in suing for it, euen when he had the victory, what else did hee, than proclaime vnto all which would become his partakers, that neither good nor bad fortune should keepe him from yielding to the *Romans*, whensoever they would be pleased to accept him? At this time the ioy of his victory would admit none of these considerations. Hee had slaine of the *Roman* horse two hundred, and taken of them prisoners the like number. Of their foot hee had slaine about two thousand: losing of his owne no more than twentie horse and fortie foot. The *Roman* Campe, after this disaster, was full of heauinesse and feare: it being much doubted that

the enemy would set vpon it. *Eumenes* gaue counsaile to dislodge by night, and remoue to a furer place beyond the Riuer *Peneus*. The Consul, though ashamed to professe, by so doing, in what feare he stood; yet thought it better to acknowledge the losse past, than by standing on proud teermes, to draw vpon himselfe a greater calamitie. So hee passed the Riuer in the dead of the night, and encamped more strongly on the further side. The *Asolians* were sorely blamed for this losse: as if rather a trayterous meaning, than any true feare, had occasioned their flight, wherein the rest of the *Greekes* followed them. Five of them, that were men of especiall marke, had bene obserued to be the first which turned their backs: an obseruation likely to cost them deare, at a time of better leisure. As for the *Thessalians*, their vertue was honoured with reward: so as the *Greekes* might learne, by examples of either kinde, that if they would shunne indignation, or incurre fauour, then must they adventure no lesse for their Lords the *Romans*, than gladly they would doe for their owne libertie. Thus fared it with the Consul and his Armie. *Perseus* came the next day to correct the former dayes error; which how great it was, he not vntill then found. The *Romans* were gotten into a place of safetie; which they could neuer haue attained, if the King had either pressed his victory, or giuen better heede to them that night: his light armature alone being sufficient to haue routed them whilst they were conuoying themselves to the other side of *Peneus*. But it was vaine to tell what might haue bene done, since there was no remedie. The *Romans* were beaten, euen the flower of their Citie, the Gentlemen of *Rome*; out of whom were chosen their Senators, and consequently the Generals themselves, Prætors, Consuls, and all that bore office or command among them; yea, they were beaten so shamefully, that they stole away by night, and suffered him to gather vp the spoiles of them without resistance, as yielding themselves ouercome. With such braue words did the King set out the glory of his action; diuiding the spoiles among his followers. But there was much wanting within him, to haue made his honor found. He came neerer to the *Romans*, and encamped at *Mopselus*, a place in the mid-way betwene *Tempe* and *Larissa*: as if it were his meaning to presse them somewhat harder. Neuerthelesse he was easily persuaded to the occasion, which he seemed to haue, of obtaining peace. Therefore he went vnto the Consul, and offered to yield vnto the same Conditions, wherein his Father had bene bound to the *Romans*; if the warre might so take end. It were needefull here againe to shew the folly of this his course. Towards the accomplishment of this desired peace, there was in the Consul no greater power than to grant a truce, whilst Embassadours might goe to *Rome*: it resting in the Senate and People to approve the conditions and ratifie the league. And of such a truce granted by *Martius*, he had lately found no small discommoditie redounding. But *Licinius* dealt plainly, and returned answer, That other hope of peace there was none; saue that *Perseus* would yeeld both his Kingdome and person, simply and absolutely, to discretion of the Senate. A manly part it was of *Licinius*, to be so resolute in aduersitie. On the other side, it argued a faint heart in *Perseus*, that hauing received an answer so peremptory, he still persisted, making vaine offers of great tribute. Finding that the peace, which he so much desired, could not be purchased with money, the King withdrew himselfe backe to *Sycurium*. There he lay hearkening what the Enemy did; whose forces were well repaired by the coming of *Misagenes* the sonne of *Maianissa*, with the aide before mentioned. This distance betwene the King and them, caused the *Romans* to waxe the more bold in making their haruest: about which businesse they ranged all ouer the fields. Their carelesse demeanour gaue him hope to doe some notable exploit: which he attempted, both vpon their Campe, and vpon those that were abroad. The Campe he thought to haue fired on the sudden: but the alarme being taken in good season, he failed in the enterprise. As for the forragers; he had a good hand vpon them, if he could haue withdrawn it, and giuen out in time. But whilst he strooue to force a guard, he was visited by the Consul; by whom either in a skirmish of horse, or (for the report is diuers) in a great battell, he was ouercome. This misadventure, whether great or small, caused *Perseus*, after a few dayes, to fall backe into *Macedon*; as being naturally giuen to feare danger, euen where none was; whereby what losse he felt, will appeare hereafter. He left all behinde him, saue onely *Tempe*, weakly guarded: and consequently an easie prey to the *Romans*.

After the Kings departure, *Licinius* went straight vnto *Comus*; hoping to haue taken it,

it, and so to haue gotten corraunce into *Tempe*. But finding the worke too hard, he returned backe vnto the *Perrhians* and others; from whom he won some townes; & among the rest, *Larissa*. There were sundry townes thereabout, bearing the same name of *Larissa*: so that this which the Consul tooke, may seeme not to haue belonged vnto the *Thessalians*; vntlesse, perhaps, after his victory, *Perseus* did greater Acts than we finde recorded; and got some part of *Thessalie*.

Of matters happening in *Greece* at this time, it is hard to giue a precise account; for that the histories of them are greatly defective. One may thinke it strange, that the *Bœotians*, whom a *Roman* Embassadour could terrifie, and bring altogether to his owne will, should not be afraid of a *Roman* Armie, then on foot in *Greece*; and a Naue on their coast. But more strange it is, that the *Thebans*, from whom their dependants were taken by the Art of *Martius*, were more true to *Rome*, than other pæric Townes, which by that same distraction of the *Bœotians*, became within themselves more absolute, than formerly they had bene. The causes hereof were to haue bene sought among the changes happening in their variable factions: whereof the knowledge is now lost. Some of them rebelled, and were thoroughly punished by *Lucerius* the *Roman* Admirall: who got so much by spoyling them, that hee would haue brought others to rebell in like sort, if by extreame oppression he could haue driven them to faue. Neither was *Licinius* the Consul vndiligent in the same kinde. What his doings were, after such time as he was at leisure from *Perseus*, I finde no where mentioned. Onely this is said in general; That in the warre which hee made, hee cruelly and couetously demeaned himselfe.

After the same fashion dealt they, that commanded in the yeere following; *Hestilius* the Consul, and *Hortensius* the Admirall, or Prætor of the Fleet. *Hestilius* shewed more of his indastrie, in picking quarrels with the confederates of *Rome*, than in prosecuting the warre against the *Macedonians*. For concerning the *Roman* warre vpon his Kingdome, after that the Consul had fought a passage in vaine ouer certaine mountaines, *Perseus* seemed, in a manner, free from it. He was troubled in dede on that side which looked towards *Illyria*, by *Ap. Claudius*, whom the Consul sent thither with an Armie of 30 thousand, and who, by leaues made vpon the Confederates, doubled this his Armie. But *Claudius* thinking to haue taken *Viciana*, a border Towne of *Illyria*, by treason, came thither in such carelesse order, that the inhabitants which had made shew of treason, with purpose onely to traine him into danger; sallied forth vpon him, ouerthrew him, and chased him so farre, that hardly he escaped with the fourth part of his company. Yet this Towne of *Viciana* shortly after became *Roman*: which how soeuer it happened, *Perseus* very soone recooned it, and many other places therewithall: *Cotrys*, a *Thracian* King, securing him on the one side of *Macedon*; and *Cephalus* an *Epirote*, reuolted from the *Romans*, on the other. *Perseus* likewise made a painefull iourney into *Ætolia*: where he was promised to be admitted into *Siratus*, that was the strongest Citie in that Region. Of this hope though he were disappointed by those of the *Roman* faction; yet in his returne home, hee tooke in *Aperantia*; and shortly heard good newes, That *Ap. Claudius* was againe thoroughly beaten by *Cleus*, one of his Lieutenants. Such successe had the *Macedonian* warre vnder *Hestilius*. The same Consul offended much the *Greekes*, by the strict inquisition which his Embassadours made into mens affection towards *Rome*. For these Embassadours travelling thorow all the Cities of *Peloponnesus*, gaue out speeches tending to shew, That they liked no better of those who fought not by might and maine to aduance their businesse, than of those which were of the *Macedonian* faction. Their meaning was, to haue accused by name, in the Parliament of *Achaia*, *Lycortas* that worthy Commander, who nobly followed the steps of *Philopemen*; and together with him, his sonne *Polybius*, who soone after was Generall of the *Achaean* horde, but more notable by that excellent historie which he wrote, than by his great employments, which he well and honourably discharged. The summe of the accusation should haue bene; That these were not heartie friends vnto the *Romans*, but such as obtained from raising troubles, more for lacke of opportunitie, than for any loue to the common quiet. But since no color of truth could be found, that might giue countenance to such a tale; it was thought better, for the present, to let it alone, and giue gentle words, as if all were well. In like manner dealt they among the *Asolians*: They demanded hostages; and found some in the Councell that approved the motion: as also among

the *Acarnanians*, there were that entreated to haue *Roman* garriſons beſtowed in their Townes. But neither the one nor the other of theſe propoſitions tooke effect. They of the *Roman* faction, accuſed not onely ſuch as were inclinable to the *Macedonian*, but alſo the good *Patriotes*; making it no leſſe than a matter of treaſon, to be a *Grecian* in *Greece*. On the contrary ſide, there wanted not ſome, who roundly told theſe pick-thanks of their baſe flattery; rating them openly in ſuch fort, that one of them hardly eſcaped being ſtoned, even in preſence of the Embaſſadours. Thus was all full of accuſations and excuſes: among which the Embaſſadors carried themſelves, as men that could beleue none ill; though it were well enough knowne what they thought. The beſt was, that an order from the Senate was brought into *Greece*, and publiſhed, to this effect: That it ſhould be free for all men, to reſuſe obedience to any *Roman* Magiſtrate, im-¹⁰poſing any burthen for the preſent warre, vnleſſe it were ſuch, as the Senate had likewiſe thought meete. Of this decree the whole Country was glad: for it was, or ſeemed, a good remedy of many inconueniences. But they that ſtanding on priuiledge hereof, reſuſed to fill euery commandement, were numbred among the *Patriotes*; which in the end of this warre, proued little better, if not worſe, than to haue bene Traytours. The Senate was driuen to ſet downe this order, by reaſon of the many and vehement complaints brought to *Rome*, concerning the wrongs done by *Roman* Magiſtrates, and eſpecially by the Admirals, *Lucretius* and *Horatius*. *Lucretius* was condemned in a great ſum of money, for the wrongs by him done: highly to the commendation of the *Romans*; in that they lo-²⁰ued not to haue their ſubiect oppreſſed. *Hortenſius* being ſtill in office, had warning to amend.

Among the great number of Embaſſages that came to *Rome* about this time, either to ſeek redreſſe of iniuries, or to offer their ſeruices: it is note-worthy, that from *Alabanda*, a Towne of the leſſer *Aſia*, there was preſented vnto the Senate, and well accepted, a moſt baſe piece of flattery. Theſe *Alabanders* brought three hundred horſemens targets, and a crowne of gold, to beſtow vpon *Iupiter* in the Capitol. But hauing a deſire to gratifie the *Romans* with ſome exquisite token of their dutifull obedience, wherein they would be ſingular; and being not able to reach vnto any great performance: they build a Temple, vnto the Towne *Rome*, and appointed anniuſſary games to be celebra-³⁰ted among them, in honour of that goddeſſe. Now who can wonder at the arrogant folly of *Alexander*, *Antigonus*, *Ptoleme*, and the like vaine men, that would be thought gods; or at the ſhamleſſe flattery of ſuch as beſtowed vpon men, and not the moſt vertuous of men, diuine honors; when hee ſees a Towne of houſes, wherein powerfull men dwell, worſhipped as a goddeſſe, and receiued (without ſcorne of the giuers, or ſhame of the preſent) the title of *Deiſie*, at the gift of ſuch a rascall Citie as *Alabanda*?

§. VII.

Q. Martius the Roman Conſul, with extreme difficultie and danger, enters into Tempe. The cowardize of Perſeus in abandoning Tempe. The ſonne of Diuſi quitted by Martius; repaired and fortified by the King. The Romans attempt many places, with ill ſucceſſe. Their affaires in hard eſtate. Martius a cunning and a bad man. Polybius ſent Embaſſadour to Martius from the Achæans. Polybius his honeſt wiſdome beneficiall to the Achæans. King Eumenes grows auerſe from the Romans. Perſeus negotiates with Antiochus and Eumenes. His falſe dealing with Gentius King of Illyria, whom he drawes into the Roman warre. He ſends Embaſſadors to the Rhodians; who vainly take vpon them to be arbitrators betwene him and the Romans. Perſeus loſeth a mightie ſuccour of the Baſtarnæ, by his wretched paſſion.

AFTER two yeeres of the *Macedonian* warre, things were further out of tune in *Greece*, than when the warre began; which had bene thought likely to reforme all thoſe Countries, and bring them to what paſſe the *Romans* deſired; as it did in the end. *Perſeus* had hitherto the better, and was ſtronger now, than when he liued in peace. Hee had enlarged his borders on the *Illyrian* ſide; his friends, in all parts of *Greece*, tooke courage daily; and his reputation grew ſuch, as cauſed thoſe that were before wholly *Roman*, ſo ſuſpect what the iſſue of the warre might proue, and thereupon to be-⁵⁰come wife for themſelves. Contrariwiſe, *Licinius* and *Hoſtilius* the Conſuls, had one after the

the other ſpent their time in vaine, ſeeking way into *Macedon*; and defaced the glorious enterprize of conqueſt, by very many loſſes received. The *Romane* Admirals had ſo demeneed themſelves, that many Townes, euen of the beſt affected to *Rome*, kept them out by force. Generally, the feare was great on the *Romans* ſide; and the Armie much leſſened, not onely by casualties of warre, but by the facilitie of the Tribunes or Colonels, or elſe of the Conſull himſelfe (for they laid the blame one vpon the other) in licencing the ſouldiers to depart. *Quintus Martius* the new Conſul, who ſucceeded vnto *Hoſtilius*, was to amend all this: which neuertheleſſe was more then he knew how to doe: though he brought with him a ſtrong ſupply of men. Hee began hotly to ſet the warre on foot, which a long time had ſlept. And hee began the right way: not ſeeking to force the ſtreights that were ſurely guarded, but taking paines to cline the mountaines which were thought able to forbid all paſſage ouer them, without helpe or need of any cuſtodie. The King heard of his approach; and being vn certaine what way hee meant to take, diſtributed his owne forces, to the defence of all places which might giue entrance, or permiſſent. But the Conſul proceeded in his journey: with hope, either not to be diſcouered by the Enemy; or to breake through all oppoſition, or at leaſt wiſe, to fight on as conuenient ground, as they ſhould haue that lay to ſtop him, and at length; if all failed to make a ſafe retreat. He ſent before him foure thouſand of his moſt expedient foot, to diſcouer the waies. Two daies was this company troubled, in ouercoming the difficultie of no more than fifteene miles: after which they had fight of the Enemy, that lay to denie their paſſage. They occupied therefore a ſafe peece of ground; and ſent becke word to the Conſul, where they were; intreating him to haſten vnto them: which he did. The *Macedonians* were not a whit diſmayed at his arriual, but met him, and fought with him, two or three daies together; each returning to their owne Camp at night, with little loſſe on either ſide. This bickering was on the narrow ridge of a mountaine, which gaue ſcarcely roome vnto three to march in front. So that very few hands came to be employed: all the reſt were beholders. In this caſe, it was impoſſible to get forwards: yet a ſhame to returne. Wherefore *Martius* took the onely courſe remaining; and indeed the beſt: Part of his men hee left with *Popilius*, to attend ³⁰ vpon the *Macedonians*: whileſt hee, with the reſt, ſeitch a compaſſe about, and fought out wayes that neuer had bene troden. Herein hee found extreame difficultie: which notwithstanding hee ouercame. Beſides the troubles commonly incident to ſuch journeyes, through places vnfit for habitation: hee was compelled, by labour of hand, to make paths where none were, yea where Nature might ſeeme to haue intended, that none ſhould be. So ſteepe he found the deſcent of the mountaines, in this way which he tooke: that of ſuen miles, which they trauelled the firſt day, his men were compelled, for the more part, to rowle themſelves downe; as not daring to truſt their feet. Neither was this the worſt. For they met with rocks, that ſtood one ouer another, ſo vpright, and cumberſome to get downe; that their Elephants were afraid of the giddy proſpect, and caſting their gouernours, made a terrible noyſe, which affrighted the horſes, and bredde great confuſion. Hauing therefore gone, or wallowed, foure miles of this grieuous journey: there was nothing more deſired by the ſouldiers, than that they might be ſuffered to creep backe againe, the ſame way which they had come. But ſhift was made to let downe the Elephants, by a kind of bridges, like vnto falling draw-bridges: where- of the one end was ioyned to the edge of the cliſſe; the other ſuſtained by two long poſtes, ſtained in the ground below. Vpon theſe two poſtes, or poles, which indeede (not being very ſtrong, ſince it was intended that they ſhould be either cut or broken) were ſtained two rafters, anſwerable in length to the diſtance, betwene the higher and the lower fall: ſo as the end of one bridge might reach vnto the beginning of another. ⁵⁰ Theſe were couered with plincks and turfe; that they might ſeeme continent with the ground; ſo to make the beaſts aduenturous to goe vpon them. If there were a plaine of any good extent from the foot of a rocke, to the next downefall, then might the bridge be ſhorter. When an Elephant was gone a pretty way, vpon one of theſe; the poſts vpholding the frame were cut aſunder; thereby cauſing him to ſinke downe vnto the next bridge; whence he was conueyed in like manner, to the third, and onward ſtill to the verie bottoome. Thus went they downe ſliding, ſome on their feet, others on their buttocks, till they came to an euen valley. By this it appeares, how thoroughly prouided the *Romans* vſed to be in their journeyes, of things needfull in all occaſions: as alſo what inef-
ineſti-

inestimable paines they tooke in this descent, about the conueyance of themselves and all their carriages downe the mountaines. The next day they rested; staying for *Popilius* and his company, who hardly or perhaps neuer, should haue ouertaken them, if the *Enemie* had followed, and let vpon him from aloft. The third and fourth daies journeyes were like vnto the first: saue that custom, and the nearenesse to their waies end without meeting *enemie*, caused them the better to endure the labour.

Perseus could not be ignorant of the *Romans* coming towards him: since they fought with him vpon the passage, three daies together; he lying so nigh, that he might well haue heard the noyse. Yet was he so possessed with feare; that he neither stirred to helpe his owne men, or to hinder the Consul, nor made any provision for that which might fall out; but as one void of counsaile, fate hearkening after the event. Four-¹⁰ eonly passages there were, leading into *Tempe*: the first by *Connus*; which the *Romans* were unable to force: the second and third were the same which *Martius* had attempted in vaine, and another like vnto it: the last, by the Citie of *Dium* out of *Macedon*. All these were sufficiently guarded: and whosoever would seeke any other way, must bee saue to take such paines as *Martius* had vndergone. The entrance by *Dium* was fairer than any of the rest: whereof only the King had benefit; for that his *enemies* could not get thither, saue through the valley it selfe, into which they must first pierce another way. *Dium* stood vpon the foote of the huge mountaine *Olympus*, about a mile from the sea: of which mile, the riuer *Helicon* becoming there a lake, and called *Baphy-²⁰* ras,ooke vp the one halfe; the rest being such as might easily haue bene fortified. Besides all this, there was in the middle of *Tempe*, a passage which ten men might easily keepe; where the spurs of the mountaines, reaching farre into the valley, drew neere to the wet banks of *Peneus*, a goodly and deepe riuer which ran thorow it. Wherefore nothing had bene more easie, than to make the Consul repent him of his troublesome iourney: if *Perseus* could haue seene his owne advantages. For the *Romane* Ar-³⁰ mie was not onely in ill case to fight, after the vexation of that miserable trauell: but must needs haue either perished for want of victuals, or bin enforced to returne the same way that it came, if the King had made good the sight of *Dium*. To haue returned, and climbed vp with their Elephants and carriages, against those rocks, from which, with extreame labour, they could hardly get downe, it seemes a matter of impossibilitie: especially considering, how the enemy from about their heads, would haue beaten vpon them, being now aware of the path which they had taken, though hee knew it not when they stole away from him. It may therefore be thought strange, that the *Romans* did not rather take their iourney into *Macedon*, from the side of *Illyria*, whence that kingdom had often bene invaded, as lying open on that part: than put themselves to the trouble of breaking into *Tempe*; whence, after that they were arriued, there was no meanes to escape, without enforcing one of those passages, which they despaired to winne. For hee no sooner heard that the *Enemie* was come ouer the mountaines into *Tempe*; then hee fared like one out of his wittes; saying, That hee was vanquished, and had lost all without battaile. Heerewithall he began to take out of *Dium*, what hee could carry a-⁴⁰ way in haste; and straight wayes abandoned the Towne. In the same vehemencie of amazement, hee sent a trait commandement to *Thessalonica*, that the Arsenall there should be set on fire; and to *Pella*, that his treasures there should be cast into the sea: as if the *Romans* were like presently to be masters of these two Cities. *Niceas*, who was appointed to drowne the treasure, performed it hastily as well as he could: though soone after, his master grew sorie for the losse; and it was all, in a manner, recovered by Di-⁵⁰ uers from vnder the water. But *Andronicus*, who had charge to set fire on the Kings Arsenall, deferred the execution; foreseeing that repentance might follow: and so hee prevented the damage. Whether *Niceas*, for his absolute and blinde obedience, or *Andronicus*, for his careful providence, merited the greater commendation, or more easie pardon; it rested in the King to interpret. The reward of their seruice was this. *Perseus* growing ashamed of his mad cowardize, that appeared in this hasty direction; caused them both to be slaine. Also those poore men, which had fetcht his treasure out of the Sea by their diuing, were payd their wages after the same sort: that so there might be no witness of the Kings base folly. Such end must they feare, who are priuie to dishonourable actions of great Princes. If *Perseus* would haue gone surely to

worke,

worke, for the hiding of his fault; then must he so royally haue behaued himselfe, that no man might beleue him to be the author of any vnworthy act or counsaile. But his vertue was of no such capacite. Hee thought it enough to lay the blame vpon others. And therefore, hauing called *Hippias* away (the Captaine which had stopped the Consul on the top of the mountaine) and *Alepiodatus*, from defence of the passages, where-¹⁰ to they were by him appointed: he rated them openly; saying, that they had betrayed vn- to the *Enemie* the gates and barres of *Macedon*. Of this reproach, if they would discharge themselves, by laying it vpon him, to whom of right it belonged: then might they haue sped as did *Nicias* and *Andronicus*.

¹⁰ The Consul *Martius* had great cause to reioyce, for that the King so hastily relinquish- ed his possession of *Tempe*, and all the passages leading thereinto: since the *Roman* Ar- mie, this notwithstanding was hardly able to subsist, for want of victuals. He took *Dium* without resistance, and thence went forward into *Macedon*: wherein hauing travelled about a daies iourney, and gotten one towne that yielded, hee was compelled by mere lacke of food for his men, to returne backe towards *Thessalie*. His fleet came to him, in this time of necessitie, well appointed to haue holpen him in the warre: but hauing left behinde, at *Magnefia*, the ships of burthen, which carried the provisions. Wherefore it fell out happily, that one of his Lieutenants had bene careful to occupy one of the Ca-²⁰ stles about *Tempe*, which were forsaken by the *Macedonians*: for by those waies onely might come be brought into the Army. To meet the sooner with this come, which was most desiriously expected; hee forooke *Dium*, and went to *Phila*; by which foolish iour- ney (if not worse then foolish) hee lost more, than a little the longer fasting had bene worth. It is probable that his carts, with all or the most of his store, were lost among the mountaines: for otherwise it had bene madnesse to put himselfe on such an enterprise, so slenderly provided; as that without enforcement, or sight of the *Enemie*, hee should besaine to quite it. Howsoever it was: men thought him a coward, or at least a badde man of warre; since he thus recoyled and gaue off, when it most behooued him to haue prosecuted the action.

By vnderstanding the folly, or cowardize of *Martius*; the King recollected himselfe; ³⁰ vnderstood his owne error; sought to hide it by such poore meanes as haue been shew- ed, and laboured to make what amends he could. He quickly repossessed the towne of *Dium*, which hee hastily repaired, finding it dis- mantled by the *Romans*. This done, he encamped strongly by the riuer of *Enipeus*: meaning thereto stop the *Enemies* proceed- ing all that Summer. Lesse diligence, more timely vfed, would haue bene enough, not onely to haue deliuered *Martius* into his hand, who had beguiled him with an idle hope of peace: but to haue giuen him such a noble victory, as might cause the *Romans* to seek a good end of the warre vpon faire conditions, and not to begin againe in haste. Yet this recovery and fortification of *Dium*, was to the Consul an exceeding hindrance. For lit-⁴⁰ tle or nothing could afterward be done toward the conquest in hand, in all the continu-⁴⁰ ance of his office. Onely the towne of *Heraclea*, standing on the riuer of *Peneus*, five miles from *Dium*, was taken by force, or rather by a trick of climbing vpon mens heads, somewhat after the manner of our tumblers. But it made such defence as it could; and was not giuen vp for feare. After this *Martius* did let a bold face towards *Dium*; as if he would haue taken it againe, and haue driuen the King further off: although his intent or hope was nothing like so great: his chiefe care, being to provide for his wintering. Hee sent the Admirall to make attempt vpon the Sea-Townes, *Thessalonica*, *Cassandrea*, *Demetrias*, and others. All these were assailed: but in vaine. The fildes about *Thessalonica* were wasted; and some companies, that sundry times aduentured forth of the Towne; were still put to the worse. As for the towne it selfe; there was danger in coming nere ⁵⁰ it, either by land or sea; by reason of the engines, which shot from the wals, and reached vnto the fleet. Wherefore the Admirall setting saile from thence, ran along by *Enia*, and *Antigonea*, (landing neere to each of them, and both doing and receiving hurt) vntill he came to *Pallene* in the territory of *Cassandrea*. There King *Eumenes* ioyned with him, bringing twenty shippes of Warre: and five other were sent thither from King *Prusias*. With this access of strength, the Admirall was bold to trie his fortune at *Cassandrea*: which was bad. There was a new ditch lately cast by *Perseus*, before the towne: which while the *Romans* were filling vp, question was made, what became of the earth taken thence, for that it lay not vpon the banke. By this occasion, it was learned, that these

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were arches in the towne-wall filled vp with that earth, and covered with one single row of bricke. Hence the Admirall gathered hope of making way into the towne, by fapping the walls. To this worke he appointed such as he thought meetest: giving an alarme to the other side of the Towne, thereby to shadow his attempt, the breach was soon made. But whilst the *Romanes* were shewing for ioy, and ordering themselves for the assault: the Capitaines within the towne perceived what was done; and falyng forth vnexpected, gaue a fierce charge on the companies that were betwene the ditch and the wall, of whom they slew about fixe hundred, and suffered few to escape vnwounded. This disaster, and the want of good successe on that part of the towne which King *Eumenes* assailed (a supply in the meane while entering the towne by sea) caused the siege to breake vp. 10
Torone was the next place which the Admirall thought meete to attempt: and thence likewise he was repelled. Finding this too well manned; he made way towards *Demetrias*: wherinto *Euphranor*, a *Macedonian* Capitaine, was gotten before his coming, with such forces, as were not onely sufficient to haue defended the Towne, if the Admirall had layed siege to it, but to keepe the land about it from spoyle, or at least (as they did) to make the enemy pay deare for all that he there got. This *Euphranor* had taken his journey to *Demetrias*, by *Melibus*; whither the Consul (that he might not be quite without worke) had sent his Lieutenant to besiege it: and by the terror of his appearing suddenly ouer their heads, caused the besiegers to dilodge in all haste, setting their Campe on fire.

Such fortune attended on the *Romans*; or rather, so farre was their abilitie short of their Enterprises; euer since their Consul (whether dastardly, or carelessly) most vnlike a good Commander, had let goe his hold of *Macedon*, by forsaking *Dium*: Yea, it is to be suspected, that some greater harme befell them, or at least, that they were in some greater danger, then is expressed in the broken remaining Historie of this Warre. For *Martius* perswaded the *Rhodians* by *Agessipolis* their Embassadour, who came to him at *Heraclea* about other businesse of lesse importance, That they should doe well to interpose themselves as mediators, and seek to finish the Warre. Now, although *Polybius* doe most probably coniecture, that this was rather a malicious device of *Martius*, craftily seeking to bring the *Rhodians* in danger (as anon it fell out) by their opposing the resolution of the Senate; than that it proceeded from any true feare in him, either of *Perseus*, or of *Antiochus*, who had then an armie on foot: yet since he made shew of feare, it is like withall, that somewhat had happened, which might make his feare seeme not counterfeit. And so were the *Rhodians* moued to thinke of him; not onely for that the extraordinary courtesie, both of him and of the Admirall, towards their Embassadour, coming from proud natures, did argue diffidence, where there was no ambition to cause it; but much more, for that shortly after the Embassadours of *Perseus*, and of *Genius* the *Illyrian*, did set out their businesse at *Rhodes*, not more with the strength of a good flecte, which the *Macedonian* had gotten, than with the honor of some victory, wherein he had lately slaine great numbers of the *Roman* horse. Thus much we finde intimated: though the time, place, or other circumstances of the fight, be not specified. And hereto may be referred, the report of those that were sent from *Rome* to view the estate of *Martius* his armie. For they found the Consul wanting meat; the Admirall wanting men; and, for those few that he had, wanting both money and clothes: and *Ap. Claudius* the Prætor, who lay on the frontier of *Illyria*, so vnable to invade *Macedon*, that contrariwise, he was in extreme danger, so as either he must quickly be sent for thence, or a new armie be sent thither to him. Wherefore it may seeme, that some blow had bin taken on the *Illyrian* side, which made all to halt; or at least, that the *Romans* with greater losse, than is before spoken of, had beene driven from some of the Townes which they besieged.

Now although it were so, that *Martius* in very few of his actions, behaued himselfe like a man of warre: yet in exercise of Cunning, which one hath most aptly termed, a crooked or sinister kinde of wisdom, he dealt as a craftie master, with a restless working diligence. This indeede neither proued his sufficiency, nor commended his honestie: since thereby he effected nothing to his owne benefit; and neuertheless, out of enuie, vaine-glory, or such delight as weak and busie-headed men take, in creating inexplicable troubles, he directly made opposition to the good of his Countrey. At such time as *Perseus*, by the successe of his doings against *Hoitinius*, had gotten much reputation, and

was thought likely to invade *Thessalie*; *Archo*, *Lycortas*, and other good Patriotes among the *Achaens*, iudged it expedient for their Nation to helpe the *Romanes*, as in a time of aduersitie, whom in prosperity they loued not to flatter. Wherefore *Archo* proposed a decree which passed: That the *Achaens* should send their whole power into *Thessalie*; and participate with the *Romans* in all danger. So the Armie was leued, and *Polybius*, *poly. Legat.* with others, sent Embassadours vnto *Martius*, to certifie him thereof, and know his pleasure. *Polybius* found the Consul busie in finding passage through *Tempe* into *Macedon*. He went along with the Armie; and awaited the Consuls leisure till they came to *Heraclea*; where finding the time convenient, he presented the Decree, and offered the seruice of his Nation, wherein soeuer it should be commanded. *Martius* tooke this very kindly; but said, that he needed now no manner of helpe. Forthwith *Polybius* dispatched home his companions, to signifie thus much: tarrying himselfe behinde in the Campe. After a while, word was brought to *Martius*, that *Ap. Claudius* desired, or rather imperiously required, of the *Achaens*, fixe thousand men, to be sent him into *Epirus*. It was manifest, that *Appius* had need of these men; and that if he were strong in fildes, he might doe notable seruice, by distracting the forces of *Perseus*. But the Labyrinthian head of *Martius* could not allow of such plaine reason. He called vnto him *Polybius*, to whom he declared, that *Appius* had no need of such aide, and therefore willed him to returne home, and in any wise take order that the men might not be sent, nor the *Achaens* be put to such needlesse charges. Away went *Polybius*, musing and vnable to resolve whether it were for loue to the *Achaens*, that the Consul was so earnest in this businesse; or rather for enuie, and to hinder *Ap. Claudius* from doing any thing, since himselfe could doe nothing. But when *Polybius* was to deliuer his opinion in the Councell touching this matter: then found hee a new doubt, that more neerely concerned his owne selfe, and those of his partie. For as he was sure to incur the great indignation of the Consul, if he should neglect what was giuen him in charge; so was it manifest on the other side, that the words by *Martius* vttered to him in priuate, would proue no good warrant for him and his friends, if openly they should refuse to helpe *Claudius*, alleging that he had no need: In this case therefore, hee had recourse vnto the decree of the Senate: which exempted men from necessitie of doing what the *Roman* Commanders should require, vnlesse by special order from the Senate, the same were likewise appointed. So for lacke of warrant from the Senate, this demand of *Appius* was referred vnto the aduice of the Consul: by whom it was sure to be made frustrate. Hereby the *Achaens* were fauours, of more then an hundred and twenty talents: though *Polybius* himselfe ranne into danger of *Appius* his displeasure; and for such honest dealing in his Countreys behalfe, was afterwards rewarded by the *Romanes* with many a long yeares imprisonment.

Whether it were by the like policie of *Martius*, that King *Eumenes* grew cold in his affection to the *Romans*; or whether this King began when it was too late, to stand in feare lest the fire, which he himselfe had helped to kindle, would shortly take hold on his own lodging; or whether the regard of money were able to ouerway all other passions; it is hard to determine: since they that had better means to know the truth, haue not precisely affirmed any certainty. One reports it, that *Eumenes* did not so much as giue any helpe to *Martius*; but comming to haue ioyned with him, in such friendly manner as hee did with the former Consuls, was not entertained according to his liking, and thereupon returned home in such anger, that hee refused to leaue behinde him certaine horse of the *Gallies*, being requested to haue done it. If this were true; and that his brother *Attalus* tarrying behinde with the Consul, did the *Romanes* good seruice: then is the reason apparent, of the hatred, borne afterwards by the Senate to *Eumenes*, and the Ioue to *Attalus*. But it is more generally receiued, that *Eumenes* gaue a willing eare to *Perseus* his desire of accord, for meere desire of gaine. And it might well be, that couetousnesse drew him on, in the course, wherinto indignation first led him. Howsoeuer it befall; *Perseus* caused *Eumenes* to be founded, and found him so tractable, that hee was bold to sollicite him by an Embassage. The tenour of his aduertisements, both to *Eumenes* & *Antiochus*, was: That there could be no perfect loue betwene a King and a free Citie: That the *Romanes* had quarrell alike to all Kings, though they dealt with no more than one at a time, and vsed the helpe of one against another; That *Philip* was oppressed by them, with the helpe of *Attalus*; *Antiochus*, with the helpe of *Philip*; and *Eumenes*; and now *Perseus* assailed,

assailed, with helpe of *Eumenes* and *Prusias*. Heere with he willed *Eumenes* to consider, that when *Macedon* was taken out of their way, they would be doing with him in *Asia*, which lay next at hand; yea, that already they began to thinke better of *Prusias*, than of him. In like sort hee admonished *Antiochus*, not to looke for any good conclusion of his warre with the *Egyptian*, so long as the *Romans* could make him giue ouer, by denouncing their will and pleasure. Finally, hee requested both of them, either to compell the *Romans* to surcease from their war vpon *Macedon*; or else to hold them as common enemies vnto all Kings. *Antiochus* lay farre out of the *Romans* way: and therefore was little troubled with such remonstrances. *Eumenes* was more nearely toucht; and as hee felt part of this to be true, so had he reason to stand in doubt of the rest. Yet when he should giue answer, he began to offer a bargain of peace for money. He thought the *Romans* to be no lesse weary, then *Perseus* was afraid. Wherefore he promised, for his own part, that if he might haue fiftene hundred Talents for withdrawing his hand from this war, then would he remaine a Neuter therein: and that for some greater quantitie of money (how much I find not) he would also bring the *Romans* to condescend vnto peace: and for assurance of his true meaning herein, he offered to giue hostages. *Perseus* liked well to receive the hostages: but not to lay out the money; especially before hand, as was required. He would faine haue peace with *Rome*, and not with *Eumenes* onely. For procuring of this, he promised to be at any reasonable cost: but he would lay down the money in the Temple at *Samothrace*; whence it should be deliuered vnto *Eumenes*, after that the peace was fully concluded & ratified. The Isle of *Samothrace* was *Perseus* his owne: and therefore *Eumenes* thought the money no neerer to him, being there, than if it remained in *Pella*. Besides, his labour deferred somewhat, howeouer the businesse might happen to succeed: so that needes he would haue part of his wages in *present*. Thus the two Kings did no more, than lose time; and *Eumenes* grew suspected of the *Romans*, as a Traytor.

After the same manner dealt *Perseus* with King *Gentius* the *Illyrian*. He had attempted this *Illyrian* before; who dealt plainly, and said, That without money he could not stirre. Heereunto *Perseus* loued not to hearken; thinking, that his Treasures would seme at the last cast, to deliuer him from all his feares. But when the *Romans* had gotten with-³⁰ in *Tempe*, then did his feare vige him to prodigalitie; so as hee agreed to pay three hundred Talents, which *Gentius* demanded for a recompence. So the bargain was soone made, and pledges on both sides deliuered for performance. This was openly done by *Perseus*; to the end that all his Armie might haue comfort, by such access of strength to their partie. Presently vpon the bargain made, Embassadors were sent to *Rhodes*, from both *Perseus* and *Gentius*: who desired the *Rhodians* to take vpon them, as arbitrators, betweene *Perseus* and the *Romans*, and to bring the Warre to an end. The *Rhodians* thinking that *Martius* the Consul was no lesse desirous of peace than the *Macedonian*, arrogantly promised, that they, by their authority, would make peace, wishing the Kings to shew themselves conformable. But the *Romane* Senate, hearing proud words to the⁴⁰ same effect, from the *Rhodian* Embassadors; gaue an answer as disdainfull, angry, and menacing, as they could deuise: so as this vaine glory of the *Rhodians* was thoroughly chastised; and more thoroughly so should haue bene, if their submission had not been as humble, as their follie was proud. Such vse of *Gentius* his friendship, made *Perseus*; without laying out one ounce of Silver. Now faine he would haue hastened this young and rash *Illyrian* to enter with all speed into the Warre: but then must the money be hastened away. *Pantauchus* the *Macedonian* Embassador, who remained with *Gentius*, exhorted him daily to begin the Warre by land and sea, whilst the *Romans* were vnprouided. But finding what it was that made all to stay; he sent word to *Perseus*. Heereupon tenne Talents were sent to *Pantauchus*; who deliuered it to the young King, as earnest of that which followed. More followed indeede; and sealed vp with the seale of the *Illyrians*; but carried by *Macedonians*, and not too fast. Before this money came into *Illyria*, *Gentius* had layed hands vpon two *Romane* Embassadors, and cast them into prison. Which *Perseus* no sooner heard, than he recalled his Treasure-bearers, and sent them with their load to *Pella*; for that now the *Illyrian* was of necessitie to make warre with the *Romans*, whether he were hired thereto or not.

There came about the same time, through *Illyria*, to the aid of *Perseus*, vnder one *Clondicus* a petty King, tenne thousand horse and tenne thousand foot, of the *Gauls*, which were

See lib. 4.
Plutar. in vit.
Emil.

were (as *Plutarch* hath it) the *Bastarne*. These had before-hand made their bargain, and were to receiue present pay at the first. At their entry into the Kingdome, *Perseus* sent one to them; desiring their Capitaines to come visit him, whom he promised to gratifie with goodly rewards; hoping that the multitude would take good words for payment. But the first question that their Generall asked, was, Whether the King had sent money to giue the souldiers their pay in hand, according to his bargain? Heere to the messenger had not what to answer. Why then (said *Clondicus*) tell thy master, That the *Gauls* will not stirre one foote further, vntill they haue gold; as was agreed, and hostages. *Perseus* heereupon tooke counsaile: if to vtter his owne opinion, before men so¹⁰ against the inuicilitie and avarice of the *Bastarne*: who came with such numbers, as could not but be dangerous to him and to his Kingdome. Fie thousand horse of them, hee said would bee as manie as he should need to vse; and not so manie, that hee should need to feare them. It had bene well done, if any of his counsailors would haue told him, That there wanted not employment for the whole Armie of them, since without anie danger to the Kingdome, they might be let out, by the way of *Perrabia*, into *Thessalie*: where wasting the Country, and filling themselves with spoile, they should make the *Romans* glad to forsake *Tempe*, euen for hunger and all manner of want; therein doing the King notable service, whether they wonne any victorie, or not. This, and a great²⁰ deale more, might haue bene alledged, if any man had dared to giue aduice freely. In conclusion, *Antigonus*, the same messenger that had bene with them before, was sent againe, to let them know the Kings minde. He did his errand: vpon which followed a great murmur of those many thousands that had bene drawne so farre to no purpose. But *Clondicus* asked him now againe, Whether hee had brought the money along with him, to pay those five thousand, whom the King would entertaine. Heere to, when it was perceived, that *Antigonus* could make no better answer, than shuffling excuses; the *Bastarne* returned presently towards *Danubius*, wasting the neighbour parts of *Thrace*; yet suffering this craftie messenger to escape unhurt: which was more than hee could haue well expected.

³⁰ Thus dealt *Perseus*, like a carefull Treasurer, and one that would preferue his money for the *Romans*, without diminishing the summe. But of this painful Office he was very soone discharged by *L. Aemilius Paulus* the new Consul: who in fiftene dayes after his setting forth from *Italie*, brought the Kingdome of *Macedon* to that end, for which God had appointed ouer it a King so foolish and so cowardly.

§. VIII.

Of *L. Aemilius Paulus* the Consul. His journey. He forceth *Perseus* to discompe: He will not hazard battaile with anie disadvantage. Of an Eclipse of the Moone. *Aemilius* his superstition. The Battaille of *Pydna*. *Perseus* his flight. He forsakes his Kingdome: which hastily yields to *Aemilius*. *Perseus* at *Samothrace*. He yeelds himselfe to the *Romane* Admirall, and is sent prisoner to *Aemilius*.

BY the Warre of *Macedon*, the *Romans* hitherto had gotten much dishonour. Which, though it were not accompanied with any danger, yet the indignity so⁵⁰ moued them, that either they decreed that Prouince to *L. Aemilius Paulus*, *Plutar. in vit. Emil.* without putting it, as was otherwise their manner, to the chance of lot, betweene him and his fellow Consul; or at least were gladder that the lot had cast it vpon him, than that so worthy a man was aduanced to the dignitie of a second Consulship. Hee refused to propound vnto the Senate any thing that concerned his Prouince; vntill by his Embassadors, thither sent to view the estate of the Warre, it was perfectly vnderstood, in what condition both the *Romane* forces, and the *Macedonian*, at the present remained. This being thoroughly knowento be such, as hath bene already told; the Senate appointed a strong supply, not onely to the Consul, but vnto the Naue; and likewise to the Armie that lay betweene *Illyria* and *Epirus*; from which *App. Clondicus* was remooued, and *L. Aemilius* sent thither in his place. *Aemilius*, before his departure from *Rome*, making an Oration to the People, as was the custome, spake with much grauitie and authoritie. Hee requested those that did thinke themselves wise enough

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enough to manage this Warre, either to accompany him into *Macedon*, and there assist him with their aduice; or else to gouern their tongues at home, and not take vpon them to giue directions by hearefay, and censure by idle reports: for hee told them plainly, That he would frame his doings to occasions; not to the expectation of the multitude. The like speech of his father *L. Amilius*, who did valiantly in the Battaille of *Canna*, might well be liuing in some of their memories: which was enough to make them conform themselves the more gladly vnto the instructions giuen by a wife and resolute Consul.

All his businesse within the Citie being dispatched, *Amilius* was honourably attended, at his setting forth on his iourney; with an especiall hope of men, that hee should finish the Warre: though that he should finish it so soone and happily, was more then it could haue bene hoped or imagined. He came to *Brundisium*: whence, when the wind came faire, he set saile at break of day, and arrived safely at the Isle of *Cercyra* before night. Thence passed he to *Delphi*: where, hauing done sacrifice to *Apollo*, after the fifth day he set forwards to the Campe; and was there in five dayes more. So are there our five of the fifteene dayes remaining, in which he finished the Warre.

Perseus by strongly encamped at *Dium*; hauing spared no labor of men and of women to fortifie the banks of *Empus*, wherein was fordable in drie weather: So as there was little hope, or none, to force him; and consequently, as little possibilitie to enter that way into *Macedon*. One great inconuenience troubling the *Romans*, and much disabling them to make attempt vpon *Dium*; was lacke of fresh water. For there were ten miles betwene *Dium* and *Tempe*; all the way lying betwene the Sea shore and the foote of *Olympus*, without any Brooke or Spring breaking forth on that side. But *Amilius* found present remedie for this, by digging Wells on the shoare; where he found sweet Springs: as commonly there is no shoare that wants them, though they rise not about the ground. Want of this knowledge was enough to hinder *Martius* from taking vp his lodging any neerer to the enemy, than the Towne of *Heraclea*, on the riuer of *Peneus*; where hee had warred at pleasure, but could performe no seruice of any worth. Yet while the *Romane* Campe had such meanes to lye close to the *Macedonian*, as it presently did; the passage onward being defended as hath bene already shewed, seemed no lesse difficult than before. Wherefore it was necessarie to search another way: which by equirie was soone found out. There was a narrow passage ouer *Olympus*, leading into *Perrabia*; hard of ascent, but slenderly guarded, and therefore promising a faire iourney. *Martius* cyther had not bene informed heretof; or durst not attempt it: or perhaps could not get his Souldiers to make the aduerture; they fearing lest it would proue such a peece of worke as had bene their march our *Offa* into *Tempe*. But *Paulus* was a man of greater industry, courage, and abilitie, to command. Hee had reformed, euen at his first coming, many disorders in the *Romane* Campe: reaching the souldiers among many other good lessons, to bee obedient and ready in execution; without troubling themselves, as had bene their manner, to examine the doings and purposes of their Generall. And now hee appointed about five thousand men to this Enterprise: whereof he committed the charge vnto *Scipio* *Emilianus* and *Q. Fabius Maximus*, his owne sonnes by nature, but adopted; the one of them, by a sonne of *Scipio* the *African*; the other, by one of the *Fabij*. *Scipio* tooke with him some light-armed *Thracians* and *Cretans*; but his maine strength was of *Legionaries*. For the Kings guard, vpon the mountaine, consisted in a manner, wholly of Archers and Slingers: who, though, at some distance, they might doe notable seruice against those that should climbe vp vnto them; yet when the darknesse tooke away their ayme, they were like to make a bad nights worke, being to deale with those that were armed to fight at hand. To conceale the businesse about which they went, *Scipio* and *Fabius* tooke a wrong way, towards the Fleet; where victuals were provided for their iourney: it being noyed, that they were to runne along the coast of *Macedon* by sea, and waste the Countrey. All the while that they were passing the Mountaines (which was about three dayes) the Consul made shew of a meaning to set vpon *Perseus* where he lay, rather to diuert the Kings attention from that which was his maine Enterprise, than vpon any hope to doe good, in seeking to get ouer *Enipeus*. The Channell of *Enipeus*, which receiued in Winter time a great fall of waters from the Mountaines, was exceeding deepe and broad; and the ground of it was such, as though at the present it lay well-

well-neare all drie, yet it serued not for those that were weightily armed to fight vpon. Wherefore *Emilius* employed none save his *Velites*; of whom the Kings light armature had advantage at farre distance, though the *Romans* were better appointed for the close. The Engines from off the Tower which *Perseus* had rayled on his owne banke, did also beat vpon the *Romans*, and gaue them to vnderstand, that their labour was in vaine. Yet *Emilius* persisted as hee had begunne; and continued his assault, such as it could be, the second day. This might haue serued to reach the *Macedonians*, that some greater worke was in hand: since otherwise a good Captaine, as *Amilius* was knowne to bee, would not haue troubled himselfe with making such brauadoes, that were somewhat costly. But *Perseus* looked onely vnto that which was before his eyes: vntill his men, that came running fearefully down the Mountaine, brought word into the Campe, That the *Romans* were following at their backes. Then was all full of tumult; and the King himselfe no lesse (if not more) amazed then any of the rest. Order was forthwith giuento to dislodge: or rather without order, in all tumultuous haste, the Campe was broken vp, and a speedy retreat madeto *Pydna*. Whether it were so, that they which had custodie of the passage were taken sleeping, or whether they were beaten by plain force; *Scipio* and *Fabius* had very good successe in their iourney. It may well be, that they slept vntill the *Romans* came somewhat neere to them; and then taking alarme, when their arrowes and slings could doe little seruice, were beaten at handie-strokes: so as the different relations that are cited by *Plutarch* out of *Polybius*, & an Epistle of *Scipio*, may each of them haue bene true. Thus was an open way cleered into *Macedon*: which had bin effected by *Martius* in the yeere fore-going; but was closed vp againe, through his not prosecuting for such an opportunitie.

Perseus was in an extreame doubt what course to take, after this vnhappy beginning. Some gaue aduice, to manne his Townes, and so to linger out the Warre; hauing bene taught by the last yeeres example, how resolute the people were in making defence. But faire worse counsaile preuailed: as generally it doth in turbulent and fearefull deliberations. The King relucd to put all at once to hazard of battaile: fearing belike to put himselfe into any one Towne, lest that should be first of all besieged; and hee therein (as cowardly natures alwaies are icalous) not ouer-carefully relieved. This was euen the same that *Amilius*, or anie inuader, should haue desired. So a place was chosen neere vnto *Pydna*, that serued well for the *Phalanx*, and had likewise on the sides of it some peeces of higher ground, fit for the Archers and light armature. There hee abode the comming of the enemy, who stayed not long behind him. As soone as the *Romans* had sight of the Kings Armie; which, with greater feare than discretion, had hastied away from them, forsaking the Campe that was so notably well fortified: they desired nothing more, than to giue battaile immediately: doubting lest otherwise the King should change his minde, and get further off. And to this effect *Scipio* brake with the Consul, praying him not to lose occasion by delay. But *Amilius* told him, That he spake like a young man; and therefore willed him to haue patience. The *Romans* were tyred with their iourney; had no Campe wherein to rest themselves; nor any thing there, save onely the bare ground whereon they trode. For these, and the like respects, the Consul made a stand: and shewing himselfe vnto the *Macedonian*, who did the like, in order of battaile; gaue charge to haue the Campe measured out & entrenched behinde the Armie; wherein, at good leysure, hee fell backe, without any manner of trouble. After a nights rest, it was hoped, both by the *Romans* and by the *Macedonians*, that the matter should be determined; each part thinking their owne Generall too blame, for that they had not fought the same day. As for the King, hee excused himselfe by the backwardnesse of the enemy, who aduanced no further, but kept vpon ground seruing ill for the *Phalanx*: as on the other side, the Consul had the reasons before shewed, which he communicated to those about him the next day.

That euening (which followed the third of September, by the *Roman* account) *C. Sulpicius Gallus*, a Colonel, or Tribune of a Legion, who had the former yeere bene *Prætor*, foretold vnto the Consul, and (with his good liking) vnto the Armie, an Eclipse of the Moone, which was to bee the same night: willing the souldiers not to bee troubled therewith, for that it was naturall, and might bee knowne long before it was sene. It was the manner of the *Romans*, in such Eclipses, to beat Pannes of Brasse and Basons, as wee doe in following a swarme of Bees; thinking, that thereby they did the Moone great

great ease, and helped her in her labour. But this prognostication of *Sulpicius* converted their superstition into admiration of his deepe skill, wherein they saw it verified. Contrariwise, the *Macedonians* howled and made a great noyse, as long as the Eclipse lasted: rather perhaps because it was their fashion, than for that they were terrified therewith, as with a prodigie betokening their losse; since their desire to fight was no whit lessened by it. I will not heere stand to dispute, Whether such Eclipses doe signifie, or cause any alteration in ciuill affaires, and matters that haue small dependance on naturall complexion: for the argument is too large. More worthy of obseruation it is, how superstition captiuates the vnderstanding of the wisest, where the helpe of true religion is wanting. *Amilius*, though hee were sufficiently instructed concerning this defect of the Moone, that it was no supernaturall thing, nor about the reach of humane vnderstanding, so as he should need to trouble himselfe with any deuout regard therof: yet could he not refrain from doing his dutie to this Moone, and congratulating with sacrifice her deliuerie, as soone as she shone out bright againe: for which, hee is commended euen by *Plutarch*, a sage Philosopher, as a godly and religious man. If *Sulpicius* perhaps did not afflit him in this foolish deuotion; yet is it like, that he, being a Senator, and one of the Councell for Warre, was partaker the next morning in a sacrifice done to *Hercules*; which was no lesse foolish. For a great part of the day was vainly consumed, ere *Hercules* could be pleased with any Sacrifice, and vouchsafe to shew tokens of good lucke in the entrails of the beafts. At length, in the bellie of the one and twentieth sacrifice, was so found a promise of victorie to *Amilius*; but with condition. That hee should not giue the oncke. *Hercules* was a Greeke, and partiall, as neerer in alliance to the *Macedonian* than to the *Romane*. Wherefore it had bene better to call vpon the new goddesse, lately canonized at *Alabanda*; or vpon *Romulus*, founder of their Cite, on whom the *Romans* had bestowed his Deitie; or (if a God of elder date were more authentically) vpon *Mars* the Father of *Romulus*, to whom belonged the guidance of militarie affaires; and who therefore would haue limited his fauour, with no injunctions contrarie to the rules of Warre.

Now concerning the Battaille; *Amilius* was throughly perswaded, that the King meant to abide it: for that otherwise he would not haue stayed at *Pydna*, when, as a little before, his leysure serued to retire whither hee listed, the *Romans* being further off. In regard of this, and perhaps of the tokens appearing in the Sacrifices, the Consul thought that he might wait vpon aduantage, without making any great haste. Neither was it to bee neglected, that the morning Sunne was full in the *Romanes* faces: which would bee much to their hindrance all the forenoone. Since therefore *Perseus* kept his ground, that was commodious for the *Phalanx*, and *Amilius* sent forth part of his men to bring in Wood and Fodder; there was no likely hood of fighting that day. But about ten of the clocke in the morning, a small occasion brought to passe that, which whereto neither of the Generalls had ouer-earnest desire.

A Horse brake loose at watering: which two or three of the *Romane* souldiers followed into the riuer, wading after him vpon to the knees. The Kings men lay on the further banke; whence a couple of *Thracians* ranne into the Water, to draw this horse ouer to their owne side. These felto blowes, as in a priuate quarrell; and one of the *Thracians* was slaine. His Countymen seeing this, hastied to reuenge their fellows death, and followed those that had slaine him ouer the riuer. Heere vpon company came in, to helpe on each part, vntill the number grew such, as made it past a fray, and caused both the Armies to be careful of the euent. In fine, each of the Generalls placed his men in order of battaille, accordingly as the manner of his Country, and the Armes, wherewith they serued, did require. The ground was a flatte leuell, saue that on the sides a few hillockes were raised heere and there; whereof each part might take what aduantage it could. The *Macedonians* were the greater number, the *Romans* the better souldiers, and better appointed. Both the King and the Consul encouraged their men with lively words: which the present condition could bountifullly afford. But the King hauing finished his Oration, and sent on his men, withdrew himselfe into *Pydna*: there to doe sacrifice, as hee pretended, vnto *Hercules*. It is the lesse maruaile, that hee durst aduventure battaille, since hee had bethought himselfe of such a stratageme, whereby to saue his owne person. As for *Hercules*, hee liked not the sacrifice of a Coward: whole vnreasonable deuotion could bee no better than hypocritic. For hee that will pray for a good

good Haruest, ought also to Plow, Sowe, and Weede his Ground. When therefore the King returned to the battaille, hee found it no better than lost: and he, in looking to his owne safetie, caused it to be lost altogether, by beginning the flight.

The acts of this day, such as wee find recorded, are, That the *Roman* Elephants could doe no manner of good; That the *Macedonian Phalanx* did so stoutly presse onwards; and beat off all which came before it, as *Amilius* was thereat much astonished; That the *Pelagians* rushing desperately on the *Phalanx*, were ouer-borne, many of them slaine, and the squadrons following them so discouraged herewith as they retired apacetowards an hill. These were the things that fell out aduerse to the *Romans*; and which the Consul beholding, is said to haue rent his coat-armor for grieue. If the King with all his power of horse, had in like manner done his deuoyre, the victorie might haue bene his owne. That which turned the fortune of the battaille, was the same which doubtlesse the Consul expected, euen from the beginning: the difficultie, or almost the impossibilitie, of holding the *Phalanx* long in order. For whilst some of the *Romans* small battallions pressed hard vpon one part of it, and others recoyled from it; it was necessary: (if the *Macedonians* would follow vpon those which were put to the worse) that some files should use open way before them, should aduance themselves beyond the rest that were held at a stand. This coming so to passe, admonished the Consul, what was to be done. The long pikes of the *Macedonians* were of little vse, when they were charged in flanke by the *Roman* Targettiers; according to the direction giuen by *Amilius*, when hee saw the front of the Enemies great battaille become vnequall, and the ranks in some places open; by reason of the vnequall resistance which they found. Thus was the vse of the *Phalanx* proued vnauailable against many small squadrons, as had bene formerly in the battaille of *Cynoscephale*: yea, this forme of embattailing was found vnseruicable against the other, by reason, that being not euery where alike distressed, it would breake of it selfe; though heere were little such incommenience of ground, as had bene at *Cynoscephale*.

Perseus, when hee saw his battaille begin to rouse, turned his bridle presently, and ranne amaine towards *Pella*. All his horse escaped, in a manner, vntouched, and a great number followed him; the little harme which they had taken, witnessing the little good seruice which they had done. As for the poore foote; they were left to the mercy of the Enemie: who slew about twenty thousand of them; though hauing little cause to beforious, as hauing lost, in that battaille, onely some fourescore, or sixescore men at the most. Some of the foote, escaping from the execution, ouertooke the King and his company in a wood; where they fell to rayling at the horsemen, calling them cowards, traitors, and such other names, till at length they fell to blows. The King was in doubt lest they had ill meaning to himselfe: and therefore turned out of the common way, being followed by such as thought it good. The rest of the company dispersed themselves: euery one as his owne occasions guided him. Of those that kept along with their King, the number began within a while to lessen. For hee fell to deuising vpon whom he might lay the blame of that daies misfortune, which was most due to himselfe: thereby causing those that knew his nature, to shrinke away from him, how they could. At his coming to *Pella*; hee found his Pages and household seruants, ready to attend him, as they had bene wont. But of his great men that had escaped from the battaille, there was none appearing in the Court. In this melancholike time, there were two of his Treasurers that had the boldnesse to come to him, and tell him roundly of his faults: But in reward of their vnseasonable admonitions, hee stabbed them both to death. After this, none whom he sent for would come at him. This boded no good. Wherefore standing in feare, lest they that refused to come at his call, would shortly dare some greater mischief: he stole out of *Pella* by night. Of his friends hee had with him only *Euander* (who had bin employed to kill *Ennius* at *Delphi*) and two other. These followed him likewise about 500. *Cretians*; more for loue of his money than of him. To these hee gaue of his plate, as much as was worth about fiftie Talents, though shortly hee coozened them of some part thereof; making them as if hee would haue redeemed it; but neuer paying the money. The third day after the battaille hee came to *Amphipolis*; where hee exhorted the Towne-men to fidelitie, with teares; and his owne speech being hindered by teares, appointed *Euander* to speake what himselfe would haue uttered. But the *Amphipolians* made it their chiefe care, to looke well to themselves.

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Vpon

Vpon the first fame of the ouerthrow, they had emptied their towne of two thousand *Thracians* that lay there in garrison: sending them forth vnder color of a iust employment, and shutting the gates after them. And now to be ridde of the King; they plainly bad *Euander* to be gone. The King hearing this, had no minde to tarry: but embarking himselfe and the treasure which hee had there, in certaine vessels that hee found in the riuer *Strymon*; passed ouerto the Ile of *Samosbrace*: where he hoped to liue safe, by priuiledge of the religious Sanctuarie therein.

These miserable shifts of the King make it the lesse doubtfull, how all the Kingdome fell into the power of *Amilius*, within a few dayes after his victorie. *Pydna* which was neere at hand, was the last that yielded. About sixe thousand of the souldiours, 10 that were of sundry Nations, fledde out of the battaile into that Towne; and prepared for defence: the confused rabble of so many strangers hindering all deliberation and consent. *Hippius* who had kept the passage ouer *Ossa* against *Martius*, with *Pantauchus*, who had bene sent Embassadour to *Gentius* the *Ilyrian*, were the first that came in: yielding themselves and the Towne of *Bereas*, whither they had retired out of the battell. With the like mesage came others from *Thessalonica*, from *Pella*, and from all the Townes of *Macedon*, within two dayes: the losse of the head bereauing the whole body of all sense and strength. Neyther did they of *Pydna* stand out any longer, when they knew that the King had forsaken his Countrey: but opened their gates vpon such termes, that the sacke of it was granted to the *Romane* Armie. *Amilius* sent abroad into the Countrey, such 20 as he thought meetest, to take charge of other Cities: hee himselfe marching towards *Pella*. Hee found in *Pella* no more than three hundred Talents; the same whereof *Perseus* had lately defrauded the *Ilyrian*. But within a very little while hee shall haue more.

It was soone vnderstood, that *Perseus* had taken Sanctuarie, in the Temple at *Samosbrace*: his owne letters to the Consul, confirming the report. Hee sent these letters by person of such meane condition; that his case was pitied, for that hee wanted the seruice of better men. The scope of his writing was, to desire fauour: which though hee begged in termes ill becoming a King; yet since the inscription of his Epistle was, *King Perseus to the Consul Paulus*; the Consul, who had taken from him his Kingdome, and 30 would not allow him to retaine the Title, refused to make any answer thereunto. So there came other letters, as humble as could be expected: whereby hee craued and obtained, that some might bee sent to confere with him about matters of his present estate. Neuerthelesse, in this conference, hee was marvellous earnest, that hee might bee allowed still to retaine the name of King. And to this end it was perhaps, that hee had so carefully preferred his treasure, vnto the very last: flattering himselfe with such vaine hopes as these; That the *Romans* would neither violate a Sanctuarie, nor yet neglect those great riches in his possession; but compound with him for money, letting him haue his desire to liue at ease, and to bee called King. 40 Yea it seemes that hee had indeede, euens from the beginning, a desire to liue in this Ile of *Samosbrace*: both for that in one of his consultations about the Warre, hee was dehorted by his friends, from seeking to exchange his Kingdome of *Macedon*, for such a paltry Iland; and for that hee offered to lay vp the money which *Eumenes* demanded, in the holy Temple that was there. But hee findes it otherwise. Theyurge him to giue place vnto necessity, and without more adoe, to yeeld to the discretion and mercie of the people of *Rome*. This is so farre against his minde, that the conference breakes off without effect. Presently there arrives at *Samosbrace* Cn. *Octavius* the *Romane* Admirall, with his fleet: who assyes, as well by terrible threats, as by faire language, to draw the King out of his lurking hole; wherein, for feare of imprisonment, 50 hee had now already imprisoned himselfe. When all would not serue, a question was moued to the *Samosbracians*: How they durst pollute their Temple, by receiving into it one that had violated the like priuiledge of Sanctuarie, by attempting the murder of King *Eumenes* at *Delphi*? This went to the quicke. The *Samosbracians*, being now in the power of the *Romans*, take this matter to heart; and send word to the King, That *Euander*, who liues with him in the Temple, is accused of an impious fact, committed at *Delphi*, whereof vnlesse he can cleare himselfe in iudgement, hee must nor be suffer'd to prophane that holy place, by his abiding in it. The reuerence borne to his Maestie, now past, makes them forbear to say, that *Perseus* himselfe is charged with

Lin. 46. 47.

with the same crime. But what will this auile, when the minister of the fact being brought into iudgement, shall (as is to be feared) appeach the author? *Perseus* therefore 10 willd *Euander* to haue consideration of the little fauour that can be expected at the *Romans* hand; who are like to be preiudents and ouerscers of this iudgement: so as it were better to dye valiantly, since none other hope remains, than hope to make good any cause; where, though he had a good plea, yet it could not helpe him. Of this motion *Euander* seemes to like well: and either kils himselfe; or hoping to escape thence, by deferring the time as it were to get poison wherewith to end his life, is killed by the Kings commandment. The death of this man, who had stucke to *Perseus* in all times of 10 needs, makes all the Kings friends that remained hitherto, to forsake him: so as none are left with him, save his wife and children, with his Pages. It is much to be suspected, that they which leaue him vpon this occasion, will tell perillous tales, and say, That the King hath lost the priuiledge of this holy Sanctuarie, by murdering *Euander* therein. Or if the *Romans* will affirme so much, who shall dare to gainesay them? Since therefore there is nothing but a point of formalitie, and euen that also lyable to dispute, which preserues him from captiuitie; he purposeth to make an escape, and flye, with his Treasures, vnto 20 *Cory*: his good friend, into *Thrace*. *Oroandes*, a *Cretian*, lay at *Samosbrace* with one ship; who easily was perswaded to wist the King thence. With all secrecie the Kings money, as much as could be so conueyed, was carried aboard by night; and the King himselfe, 30 with his wife and children (if rather it were not true, that he had with him onely * *Philip* his elder sonne, who was onely by adoption his sonne, being his * brother by nature) with much adoe got out at a window by ropes, and ouer a muddle wall. At his coming to the Sea-side, he found no *Oroandes* there: the *Cretians* had played a *Cretian* trick, and he was gone with the money to his owne home. So it began to waxe cleare day, whilst *Perseus* was searching all along the shoare: who had stayed so long about this, that he might feare to be intercepted ere he could recover the Temple. He ranne therefore amaine towards his lodging: and thinking it not safe to enter it the common way, lest he should be taken; he hid himselfe in an obscure corner. His Pages missing him, ranne vp and downe making enquire; till *Octavius* made Proclamation, That all 40 the Kings Pages, and *Macedonians* whatsoever, abiding with their master in *Samosbrace*, should haue their liues and libertie, with all to them belonging, which they had either in that Ile, or at home in *Macedon*, conditionally, That they should presently yeeld themselves to the *Romans*. Hereupon they all came in. Likewise *Ion*, a *Thessalonian*, to whom the King had giuen the custodie of his children, deliuered them vp to *Octavius*. Lastly, *Perseus* himselfe, with his sonne *Philip*, accusing the gods of *Samosbrace* that had no better protected him; rendered himselfe, and made the *Roman* victory compleate. If he had not trusted in those gods of *Samosbrace*, but employed his whole care in the defence of *Macedon*, without other hope of liuing, than of reigning therein; he might well haue brought this Warre to an happier end. Now, by diuiding his cogitations, and pursuing, 50 at once, those contrary hopes of sauing his Kingdome by armes, and himselfe by flight; he is become a spectacle of misery, and one among the number of those Princes; that haue bene wretched by their owne default. He was presently sent away to *Amilius*; before whom he fell to the ground so basely, that he seemed thereby to dishonour the victory ouer himselfe, as gotten vpon one of abiect qualitie, and therefore the lesse to be esteemed. *Amilius* vsed to him the language of a gentle Victor: blaming him, though mildly, for hauing, with so hostile a minde, made Warre vpon the *Romans*. Hereto good answer might haue bene returned by one of better spirit. As for *Perseus*, he answered all with a fearful silence. He was comforted with hope of life, or (as the Consul feared it) almost assurance; for that such was the mercie of the people of *Rome*. After these 10 good words, being inuited to the Consuls Table, and respectfully entreated, he was committed prisoner to *Q. Aelius*.

Such end had this *Macedonian* War, after foure yeers continuance: and such end therewithall had the Kingdome of *Macedon*; the glory whereof, that had sometime filled all parts of the World then knowne, was now translated vnto *Rome*.

§. IX.

Genius, King of the Illyrians, taken by the Romans.

ABout the same time, and with like celeritie, *Anicius* the Roman Prætor, who succeeded vnto *App. Claudius*; had the like successe against King *Genius* the *Illyrian*. *Genius* had an Armie of fifteene thousand, with which hee was at *Lissus*, ready to assist King *Perseus* as soone as the money should come, whereof he had receiued onely ten Talents. But *Anicius* arrested him on the way; fought with him, ouercame him, and draue him into * *Scodra*. This Towne was very defensible by nature, besides the helpe of fortification, and strongly manned with all the force of *Illyria*; which, 10 assisted with the Kings presence, made it seeme vnpossible to be wonne, in any not a very long time. Yet *Anicius* was confident in his late victory; and therefore persecuted his Armie before the walles, making countenance to giue an assault. The *Illyrians*, that might easily haue defended themselves within the Towne, would needes issue forth and fight. They were, it seemes, rather passionate than courageous: for they were beaten; and thereupon forthwith began amazedly to treat about yielding. The King sent Embassadours, by whom, at first, he desired truce for three dayes, that he might deliberate concerning his estate. It ill became him, who had layed violent hand on the Roman Embassadours, to haue recourse to such mediation. But he thought his owne fault pardonable, in as much as hitherto there was no greater harme done by him, than the casting of those Embassadours into prison; where they were still alieue. Having obtained three dayes respite, he passed vp a Riuer, within halfe a myle of the Roman Campe, into the Lake of *Scodra*, as it were to consult the more privately; though indeede, to hearken whether the report were true, that his brother *Carauantius* was coming to his rescue. Finding that no such helpe was toward, it is wonder, that he was so foolish as to returne into *Scodra*. He sent Messengers crauing access vnto the Prætor: before whom hauing lamented his folly past (which, excepting the dishonestie, was not so great as his folly present) he fell downe humbly, and yielded himselfe to discretion. All the Townes of his Kingdome, together with his wife, children, brother, friends, were presently giuen vp. 30 So this Warre ended in thirte dayes: the People of *Rome* not knowing that it was begun, vntill *Perenna*, one of the Embassadours that had bene imprisoned, brought word from *Anicius*; how all had passed.

* Called now
Sparta.

§. X.

How the Romans behaued themselves in Greece and Macedon after their victory ouer Perseus.

NOW began the Romans to swell with the pride of their fortune; and to look tyrannically vpon those that had bene vnmanly toward them before, whilst the Warre with *Perseus* seemed full of danger. The *Rhodian* Embassadours were still at *Rome*, when the tidings of these victories were brought thither. Wherefore it was thought good to call them into the Senate, and bid them doe their errand againe. This they performed with a bad grace; saying, that they were sent from *Rhodes* to make an ouerture of peace; forasmuch as it was thought, that this Warre was no lesse grievous to the Romans themselves, than to the *Macedonians* and many others: but that now they were very glad, and in behalfe of the *Rhodians* did congratulate with the Senate and People of *Rome*, that it was ended much more happily than had bene expected. Hereto the Senate made answer, That the *Rhodians* had sent this Embassage to *Rome*, not for loue of *Rome*, but in fauour of the *Macedonian*; whose partizans they were, and should so be taken. By these threats, and the desire of some (courageous of the charge) to haue Warre proclaimed against *Rhodes*; the Embassadours were so affrighted, that in mourning apparel, as humble suppliants, they went about the Citie; beseeching all men, especially the great ones, to pardon their indiscretion, and not to prosecute them with vengeance for some foolish words. This danger of Warre from *Rome* being knowne at *Rhodes*, all that had bene any

any whit auerle from the Romans in the late Warre of *Macedon*, were either taken and condemned, or sent prisoners to *Rome*; excepting some that sue themselves for feare, whose goods also were confiscated. Yet this procured little grace; and lesse would haue done, if olde *M. Cato*, a man by nature vehement, had not vntied a milde sentence, and aduersified the Senate, That in decreeing Warre against *Rhodes*, they should much dishonour themselves, and make it thought, that * rather the wealth of that Citie, which they were greedy to ransacke, than any iust cause, had moued them thereto. This consideration, together with their good desires in the Warres of *Philip* and *Antiochus*, helped well the *Rhodians*: among whom, none of any marke remained alieue, saue those that had 10 bene of the Roman Faction. All which notwithstanding, many yeeres passed, ere by importunate suit, they could be admitted into the societie of the Romans: a fauour which till now, they had not esteemed, but thought themselves better without it, as equall friends.

With the like, or greater seueritie, did the Romans make themselves terrible in all parts of *Greece*. *Æmilius* himselfe made progresse through the Countrey; visiting all the famous places therein, as for his pleasure: yet not forgetting to make them vnderstand what power he had ouer them. More than six hundred of the chiefe Citizens in *Demetrius* were slaine at one time by those of the Roman faction; and with helpe of the Roman soldiours. Others fled, or were banished, and their goods confiscated. Of which things, 20 when complaint was made to the Consul, the redresse was such, as required not the paines of making supplication. His friends, that is to say, those which betrayed vnto the Romans the liberty of their Countrey, he cast like a King, with excessive cheere, yet so, that he had all things very cheape in his Campe: an easie matter, since no man durst be backward in sending provisions, nor set on them the due price. Embassadours likewise were sent from *Rome*, some to giue order for settling the estate of *Macedon*, towards which they had more particular instruction from the Senate than was vsuall in such cases; and some, to visit the affaires of *Greece*. The Kingdome of *Macedon* was set at liberty by *Æmilius* and the Embassadours, his assistants, who had order therefore from the Senate. But this liberty was such as the Romans vsed to bestow. The best part of it was, That the 30 Tribute which had bene payed vnto the Kings, was lessened by halfe. As for the rest; the Countrey was diuided into foure parts, and they forbidden commerce one with the other. All the Nobilitie were sent captiue into *Italy*, with their wiues and children, as many as were about fifteene yeeres old. The ancient Lawes of the Countrey were abrogated; and new giuen by *Æmilius*. Such mischiefe the Senate thought it better to doe, at the first alteration of things in this Prouince, and in the time of Conquest, than otherwise to leaue any unconuenience that should be worse in the future. But concerning the *Greekes*, that were not subiects to *Rome*; the things done to them could deferre no better name than meere tyrannie, yea and shamelesse perjury; were it not so, that the familiar custome, among Princes and great Estates, of violating Leagues, doth make the 40 Oathes of confederation seeme of no validitie. The Embassadours that were sent to visit the *Greekes*, called before them all such men of note, from euery quarter, as had any way discovered an vnseruiceable disposition towards the Romans. These they sent to *Rome*; where they were made sure enough. Some of these had sent letters to *Perseus*, which fell at length into the Romans hands: and in that respect, though they were no subiects, yet wanted there no colour, for visting them as traitors, or at least as enemies. But since onely two men were beheaded, for hauing bene openly on the *Macedonian* side; and since it is confessed, that the good *Patriotes* were no lesse afflicted in this inquisition, than they that had sold themselves to the King: this manner of proceeding was inexcusable Tyrannie. With the *Achaens* these Embassadours were to deale more formally; 50 not so much because that Common-wealth was strong (though this were to be regarded by them, hauing no Commission to make or denounce Warre) and like to proue vntenable, if manifest wrong were offered; as for that there appeared no manner of signe, by letters, or otherwise, whereby any one of the *Achaens* could be suspiciously charged to haue held correspondence with the *Macedonian*. It was also so, that neither *Callistratus*, nor any of his adherents, had bene employed by the Nation, in doing or offering their seruice to the Romans, but onely such as were the best *Patriotes*. Yet would not therefore the Embassadours neglect to vse the benefit of the time: wherein, since all men trembled for feare of *Rome*, the season serued fitly to ranke the *Achaens* with the rest.

And

Caes. inuicte.
Apud Salust. de
Conuict. Ca-
tilinae.

And hereto *Calliocrates* was very vrgent: fearing, and procuring them to feare in behalfe of him and his friends, that if some sharpe order were not now taken, he and his fellows should be made to pay for their mischieuous deuices, ere long time passed. So the Embassadours came among the *Achaens*: where one of them, in open assembly of the Nation, spake as *Calliocrates* had before instructed him. Hee said, that some of the chiefe among them, had with money and other meanes befriended *Perseus*. This being so; he desired that all such men might be condemned, whom, after sentence giuen, hee would name vnto them. After sentence giuen (cried out the whole assembly) what iustice were this? Name them first, and let them answere; which if they cannot well doe, wee will soone condemne them. Then said the *Roman* boldly, that all their Prators, as many as 10 had led their armies, were guiltie of this crime. If this were true, said *Xenon*, a temperate man, and confident in his innocence; then should I likewise haue beene friend to *Perseus*: whereof, if any man can accuse me, I shall thoroughly answere him, either here presently, or before the Senate at *Rome*. Vpon these words of *Xenon* the Embassadour laid hold, and said that euens so it were the best way, for him and the rest to purge themselves before the Senate at *Rome*. Then began he to name others, and left not well he had cited about a thousand; willing them to appeare and answere before the Senate. This might euen be tearmed the captiuitie of *Greece*; wherein so many of the honestest and worthiest men were carried from home, for none other cause than their loue vnto their Countrey; to be punished according to the will of those, who could not endure, 20 that vertue, and regard of the publike libertie, should dwell together in any of the *Greekes*. At their coming to *Rome*, they were all cast into prison, as men already condemned by the *Achaens*. Many Embassages were sent from *Achaia* (where it is to be wondred, that any such honest care of these innocent men could be remaining: since honestie had been thus punished as a vice, in so many of the worthiest among them) to informe the Senate, that these men were neither condemned by the *Achaens*, nor yet held to be offenders. But in stead of better answere it was pronounced; That the Senate thought it not expedient for the Countrey, that these men should returne into *Achaia*. Neither could any solicitation of the *Achaens*, who neuer ceased to importune the Senate for their libertie, preuaile at all; vntill after seuentene yeeres, fewer than thirtie of them were enlarged, of whom 30 that wife and vertuous man *Polybius*, the great Historian was one. All the rest were either dead in prison; or hauing made offer to scape, whether vpon the way before they came to *Rome*; or whether out of stayle, after that they were committed thereto, suffered death as malefactors.

This was a gentle correction, in regard of what was done vpon the *Epirots*. For the Senate being desirous to preferue the *Macedonian* Treasure whole; yet withall, to gratifie the Souldiours, gaue order, That the whole Countrey of *Epirus* should be put to sacke. This was a barbarous and horrible cruelty; as also it was performed by *Amphilus* with mischieuous subtiltie. Having taken leaue of the *Greekes*, and of the *Macedonians*, with 40 bidding them well to vse the libertie bestowed vpon them by the people of *Rome*; he sent vnto the *Epirots* for ten of the principall men out of euery Citie. These he commanded to deliuer vp all the Gold and Silver which they had; and sent along with them, into euery of their Townes, what companies of men he thought convenient, as it were to fetch the money. But he gaue secret instruction to the Captaines, that vpon a certaine day by him appointed, they should fall to sacke, euery one the Towne wherein he was sent. Thus in one day were threecore and tenne Cities, all confederate with the *Romans*, spoyled by the *Roman* Souldiours; and besides other acts of hostility in a time of peace, a hundred and fiftie thousand of that Nation made slaues. It may be granted, that some of the *Epirots* deserved punishment, as hauing fauoured *Perseus*. 50 But since they, among this people, that were thought guilty of this offence, yea, or but coldly affected to the *Romans*, had beene already sent into *Italie*, thre to receiue their due; and since this Nation, in general, was not onely at the present in good obedience, but had euen in this warre, done good seruice to the *Romans*: I hold this act so wicked, that I should not beleue it, had any one Writer deliuered the contrary. But the truth being manifest by consent of all; it is the lesse marueilous, that *God* was pleased to make *Amphilus* childlesse, euen in the glory of his triumph, how great soeuer otherwise his vertues were.

In such manner dealt the *Romans*, after their victory, with the *Greekes* and *Macedonians*.

ans. How terrible they were to other Kingdomes abroad; it will appeare by the efficacye of an Embassage sent from them to *Antiochus*; whereof before we speake, we must speake somewhat of *Antiochus* his foregoers, of himselfe, and of his affaires about which these Embassadours came.

§. XI.

The Warre of *Antiochus* vpon *Agypt*, brought to end by the *Roman* Embassadours.

Antiochus the Great, after his peace with the *Romans*, did nothing that was memorable in the short time following of his raigne and life. He died the sixe and thirtieth yeere after he had worne a Crowne, and in the seuenteenth or eighteenth of *Ptolemie Epiphanes*: while he attempted to rob the Temple of *Bel*, (according to *Iustine*) of *Iupiter*. He left behinde him three sonnes, *Seleucus Philopator*, *Antiochus Epiphanes*, *Demetrius Soter*; and one daughter, *Cleopatra*, whom hee had giuen in marriage to *Ptolemie Epiphanes*, King of *Agypt*. *Seleucus* the fourth of that name, and the eldest of *Antiochus* his sonnes; reigned in *Syria* twelue yeeres, according to *Eusebius*, *Appian*, and *Sulpicius*: though *Iosephus* giue him but seuen. A Prince, who as hee was flourishfull by nature; so the great losse which his father *Antiochus* had received, tooke from him the meanes of managing any great affaire. Of him, about three hundred yeeres before his birth, *Daniel* gaue this iudgement, *Et stabit in loco eius vilissimus & indigenus decore regio*. And in his place (speaking of *Antiochus*, the Father of this man) shall start vp a wilde person, unworthy the honour of a King. Vnder this *Seleucus*, those things were done which are spoken of *Onias* the high Priest, in these words, and other to the same effect: What time as the holy Citie was inhabited with all Peace, because of the godlinesse of *Onias* the Priest, it came to passe, that euen the King did honour the place, and garnished the Temple with great gifts. And all that is written in the third Chapter of the second of *Maccabees*, of *Simon* of *Beniamin*, who by *Apollonius* betrayed the Treasures of the Temple: and of *Heliodorus* sent by the King to leize them; of his miraculous striking by *God*, and his recovery at the prayers of *Onias*; of the Kings death, and of his successor *Antiochus Epiphanes*. It is therefore from the raigne of this King, that the bookes of the *Maccabees* take beginning. Which bookes seeme not to be deliuered by one and the same hand. For the first booke, although it touch vpon *Alexander* the Great, yett hath nothing else of his storie, nor of the acts of his successours, till the time of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, the brother and successor of this *Seleucus*; from whom downward to the death of *Simon Maccabaeus* (who died in the hundred threecore and leueneenth yeere of the *Greekes* in *Syria*) that first booke treateth. The Author of the second booke, although he take the storie somewhat further off, by way of a Proeme, yett he endeth with the hundred and one and fiftieth yeere of the *Grecian* raigne, and with the death of *Nicanor*, slaine by *Judas*: remembring in the fourth Chapter the practice of *Iason* the brother of 40 *Onias*, who after the death of *Seleucus*, preuailed with *Antiochus Epiphanes*, his successor, for the Priesthood. It is also held by *Iansenius* and other graue Writers, that it was in the time of this *Onias*, that *Arius* King of the *Spartans* sent Embassadours to the *Zewes*, as to their brothers and kinsmen. Which intelligence betwene them and the *Greekes*, *Jonathan* the brother and successor of *Judas*, remembreth in the Preamble of that Epistle, which he himselfe directed to the people of *Sparta* by *Namenius* and *Antipater* his Embassadours, whom he employed at the same time to the Senate of *Rome*; repeating also the former Letters word by word, which *Arius* had sent to *Onias* the high Priest, whereof *Iosephus* addes, that the name of the *Lacedaemonian* Embassadour was *Demoteles*, and that the Letters had a square Volume, and were sealed with an Eagle holding 50 a Dragon in her claws.

Now to this *Seleucus*, the fourth of that name, succeeded *Antiochus Epiphanes*, in the hundred and seuen and thirtieth yeere of the *Greekes* in *Syria*. He was the second sonne of the Great *Antiochus*: and he obtained his Kingdom by procuring the death of the King his brother; which also he usurped from his brothers sonne.

Ptolemie Philometor, his Nephew by his sister *Cleopatra*, being then very young, had beene about seuen yeeres King of *Agypt*.

Ptolemie Epiphanes, the Father of this King *Philometor*, had reigned in *Agypt* foure and twenty yeeres; in great quiet, but doing little or nothing that was memorable. Philip

of Macedon, and the great *Antiochus*, had agreed to diuide his Kingdome betwene them, whilst he was a child. But they found such other businesse, ere long, with the *Romans*, as made them giue ouer their vniuit purpose; especially *Antiochus*, who gaue, with his daughter in marriage, vnto this *Ptolemie*, the Prouinces of *Calestria*, *Phenice*, and *Iudea*, which he had won by his victory ouer *Scopas*, that was Generall of the *Egyptian* forces in those parts. Neuerthelesse, *Ptolemie* adhered to the *Romans*: whereby hee liued in the greater securitie. He left behinde him two sons; this *Ptolemie Philometor*, and *Ptolemie Physcon*, with a daughter, *Cleopatra*. *Cleopatra* was wife to the elder of her brethren, and after his death to the younger, by whom shee was cast off, and her daughter taken in her stead. Such were the marriages of these *Egyptian* Kings.

Ptolemie Philometor, so called (that is, the lower of his mother) by a bitter nickname, because he slew her, fell into hatred with his subiects, and was like to be chased out of his Kingdome, his younger brother being set vp against him. *Physcon* hauing a strong party, got possession of *Alexandria*; and *Philometor* held himselfe in *Memphis*, craving succour of King *Antiochus* his vncle. Hereof *Antiochus* was glad: who vnder colour to take vp on him the protection of the young Prince, fought by all means possible to possess himselfe of that Kingdome. He sent *Apollonius* the sonne of *Mnesthemus* Embassadour into *Egypt*, and vnder colour to assist the Kings Coronation, hee gaue him instructions to perswade the Gouernours of the young King *Philometor*, to deliuer the King his Nephew with the principall places of that Kingdome into his hands; pretending an extraordinary care and desire of his Nephews safety and well doing. And the better to answer all argument to the contrary, he prepared a forcible armie to attend him. Thus came hee alongst the coast of *Syria* to *Toppe*, and from thence on the sudden he turned himselfe towards *Ierusalem*, where, by *Iason* the Priest (a Chaplin fit for such a Patron) he was with all pompe and solemnitie receiued into the Citie. For though lately, in the time of *Seleucus*, the brother and predecessour of *Epiphanes*, that impious Traitour *Simon* of the Tribe of *Beniamin*, Ruler of the Temple, when he would haue deliuered the treasures thereof to *Apollonius* Gouernour of *Calestria* and *Phenicia*, was disappointed of his wicked purpose by miracle from heauen; the said *Apollonius* being stricken by the Angell of God, and recouering againe at the prayer of *Onias*: yet sufficed not this example 30 to terrifie others from the like vngodly practices. Presently vpon the death of *Seleucus*, this *Iason*, the brother of *Onias*, seeking to supplant his brother, and to obtaine the Priesthood for himselfe, offered vnto the King three hundred and threecore talents of siluer, with other rents and summes of money. So he got his desire, though he not long enjoyed it.

This naughty dealing of *Iason*, and his being ouer-reached by another in the same kinde, calls to minde a by-word taken vp among the *Achaens*, when as that mischieuous *Callistates*, who had bene too hard for all worthy and vertuous men, was beaten at his owne weapon, by one of his owne condition. It went thus:

One fire than other burnes more forcibly,
One Wolfe than other Wolues does bite more sore;
One Hawke than other Hawkes more swift does fly.
So one most mischieuous of men before,
Callistates, false knaue as knaue might be,
Met with Menelidas more false than he.

And euen thus fell it out with *Iason*: who within three yeeres after, was betrayed, and ouerbidden by *Menelaus* the brother of *Simon*, that for three hundred talents more obtained the Priesthood for himselfe: *Iason* thereupon being forced to flye from *Ierusalem*, 50 and to hide himselfe among the *Ammonites*.

From *Ierusalem*, *Antiochus* marched into *Phenicia*, to augment the numbers of his men of warre, and to prepare a Fleet for his expedition into *Egypt*; with which, and with a mighty armie of land-forces, He went about to raigne ouer *Egypt*, that he might haue the dominion of two Realmes, and entered *Egypt* with a mighty company with, *Chariots* and *Elephants*, with *Horsmen*, and with a great Nauie, and moued warre against *Ptolemæus* King of *Egypt*: but *Ptolemæus* was afraid of him, and fled, or many were wounded to death. *Ver* 12. 13. 20. He won many strong Cities, and tooke away the spoiles of the Land of *Egypt*. Thus was fulfilled

Prophecie of *Daniel*: He shall enter into the quiet and plentifull Prouinces, and he shall doe that which his Fathers haue not done, nor his Fathers Fathers. Neuer indeede had any of the Kings of *Syria* to great a victory ouer the *Egyptians*, nor tooke from them so great riches. For he gaue a notable ouerthrow to the Captaines of *Ptolemie*, betwene *Pellus*. Hier. in Dan. sum and the hill *Cassius*, after which he entered, and sackt the greatest and richest of all the Cities of *Egypt*, *Alexandria* excepted, which he could not force. In conclusion, after that *Antiochus* had snitten *Egypt*, he turned againe, and went vp towards *Israel* and *Ierusalem* with a mighty people, and entered proudly into the Sanctuary, and tooke away the golden Altar, and the Candlestick for the light, and all the instruments thereof, and the table of the Shew-bread, and the Pouring Vessels, and the Rolles, and the golden Basins, and the Vails and the Crowns, and the golden Apparell. He tooke also the Siluer and the Gold, and the precious Jewels, and the secret Treasures: and when hee had taken away all, hee departed into his owne Land, after he had murdered many men.

It was about the beginning of the Macedonian warre, that *Antiochus* tooke in hand this *Egyptian* businesse. At what time he first laid claime to *Calestria*, iustifying his title by the same allegations which his father had made; and thirstily auctring, that this Prouince had not bene consigned ouer to the *Egyptian*, or giuen in dowrie with *Cleopatra*. Easie it was to approue his right vnto that which he had already gotten, when he was in a faire way to get all *Egypt*. The *Achaens*, *Rhodiens*, *Athenians*, and other of the 20 *Greekes*, pressed him, by seuerall Embassages, to some good conclusion. But his answer was, that if the *Alexandrians* could be contented to receive their King his Nephew *Philometor*, the elder brother of the *Ptolemies*, then should the warre be presently at an end; otherwise not. Yet when he saw, that it was an hard piece of worke to take *Alexandria* by force: he thought it better to let the two brothers consume themselves with intestine warre, than by the terror of his armes, threatening destruction vnto both of them, to put into them any desire of coming to agreement. He therefore withdrew his forces for the present; leaving the *Ptolemies* in very weak estate, the younger almost ruined by his inuasion; the elder hated and forsaken by his people.

But how weak soeuer these *Egyptians* were, their hatred was thought to be so strong, 30 that *Antiochus* might leaue them to the prosecution thereof; and follow, at good leisure, his other businesse at *Ierusalem* or elsewhere. So after the sacke of *Ierusalem*, he rested him awhile at *Antioch*, and then made a iourney into *Cilicia*, to suppress the Rebellion of the *Thracians* and other in those parts, who had bin giuen as it were, by way of dowry, to a Concubine of the Kings, called *Antiochus*. For Gouernour of *Syria* in his absence, he left one *Andronicus*, a man of great authority about him. In the meane while *Menelaus* the brother of *Simon*, the same who had thrust *Iason* out of the Priesthood, and promised the King three hundred talents for an Income, committing the charge of the Priesthood to his brother *Lysimachus*, stole certaine vessels of gold out of the Temple: whereof hee presented a part to *Andronicus* the Kings Lieutenant, and 40 sold the rest at *Tyre*, and other Cities adioyning. This hee did, as it seemeth, to aduance the payment of the three hundred talents promised; the same being now by *Stratus* eagerly demanded. Hereof when *Onias* the Priest (formerly dispossest by *Iason*) had certaine knowledge, being moued with zeale, and detesting the sacrilege of *Menelaus*, he reproofed him for it; and fearing his reuenge, he withdrew himselfe into a Sanctuary at *Daphne*.

Daphne was a place of delight adioyning as a suburb to *Antioch*. In compass it had about ten miles: wherein werethe Temples of *Apollo* and *Diana*, with a Groue, sweete Springs, banqueting places, and the like, which were wholly, in a manner, abused to 50 lust and other such voluptuousnesse. Whether it were well done of *Onias*, to commit himselfe to the protection of *Apollo* and *Diana*, or to claime priuiledge, from the holinesse of a ground consecrated to any of the Heathen gods, I will not stand to discourse. Oncely I say for mine owne opinion; that the inconuenience is farre lesse, to hold this booke as *Apocryphall*, than to iudge this fearefull shift which *Onias* (though a vertuous man) made for his life, either commendable, or allowable, as the booke seemes to doe. As for this refuge, it could not saue the life of the poore old man: for *Menelaus* taking *Andronicus* apart, prayed him to slay *Onias*. So when hee came to *Onias*, hee counselled him craftily, giuing him his right hand with an oath, and perswaded him to come out of the Sanctuary; so hee slew him incontinently without any regard of righteousness. Hereof 7 zzzz when

when complaint was made to *Antiochus* after his returne out of *Cilicia*, He tooke away *Andronicus* his garment of purple, and rent his clothes, and commanded him to be led through out the Citie, and in the same place where he had committed the wickedesse against *Onias*, he was slain as a murderer. In taking revenge of this innocent mans death, I should have thought that this wicked King had once in his life-time done Iustice. But presently after this, at the suit of one *Ptolemie*, a Traytor to *Ptolemie Philometor*, hee condemned innocent men to death; who iustly complained against *Menelaus*, and his brother *Esymachus*, for a second robbing of the Temple, and carrying thence the vessels of gold remaining. Hereby it is manifest, that he was guided by his owne outrageous will, and not by any regard of iustice: since hee reuenged the death of *Onias*, yet hee thole that were in the same cause with *Onias*; who, had they told their cause, yea, before the *Scythians*, they should have bene heard as innocent. By reason of such his vnited iustice, this King was commonly termed *Epimaneus*, that is, mad, in stead of *Epiphaneus*, which signifieth Noble or Illustrious.

After this, *Antiochus* made preparation for a second voyage into *Egypt*, and then were there scene throughout all the Citie of *Ierusalem* forty daies long, horsemen running in the ayre with robes of gold, and as bands of Spear-men, and as troupes of Horse-men set in array, encountering and courting one against another. Of these prodigious signes, or rather forewarnings of God, all Histories haue deliuered vs, some more, some lesse. Before the destruction of *Ierusalem* by *Vespasian*, a starre in the forme of a sword appeared in the Heavens directly over the Citie, after which there followed a slaughter like vnto this of *Epiphaneus*, though farre greater. In the *Cymbrian* warres, *Pliny* tels vs, that Armies were scene fighting in the ayre from the morning till the evening.

In the time of Pope *Jehus* the cleuenth, a fountaine powred out blood in stead of water, in or neare the Citie of *Genoa*; soone after which the Citie was taken by the *Saracens*, with great slaughter. Of these and the like prodigious signes, *Vigera* hath collected many, and very remarkable. But this one seemeth to me most memorable, because the most notorious. All men know, that in the Emperour *Nero*, the Off-spring of the *Cæsars*, as well naturall as adopted, tooke end; whereof this notable signe gaue warning.

When *Livia* was first married to *Augustus*, an Eagle let fall into her armes a white Hen, holding a Lawrell branch in her mouth. *Livia* caused this Hen to be carefully nourished, and the Lawrell branch to be planted: Of the Hen came a faire increase of white Poultry; and from the little Branch there sprang vp in time a Groue of Lawrell: so that afterwards, in all Triumphs, the Conquerors did vnto carry in their hands a branch of Bayes taken out of this Groue; & after the Triumphs ended, to set it againe in the same ground: which branches were obserued, when they happened to wither, to foreshew the death of those persons who carried them in triumph. And in the last yeere of *Nero*, all the broodes of the white Hens died, and the whole Groue of Bayes withered at once. Moreover, the heads of all the *Cæsars* Statues, and the Scepter placed in *Augustus* his hand, were stricken downe with lightning. That the *Zones* did not thinke such strange signes to be unworthy of regard; it appears by their calling vpon God, and praying, that these tokens might turne to good.

Now as the first voyage of *Antiochus* into *Egypt* was occasioned by discord of the two brethren therein reigning: so was his second Expedition caused by their good agreement. For the elder *Ptolemie* being left in *Memphis*, not strong enough to force his brother, who had defended *Alexandria* against all the power of their Vncle, thought it the best way to seeke entrance into that royall Citie, rather by perswasion than by arms. *Physcon* had not yet forgotten the terrour of the former siege: the *Alexandriners* though they loved not *Philometor*, yet loved they worse to liue in scarcity of victuals (which was already great among them, and liketo grow extreme) since nothing was brought in from the Countrey; and the friends of the younger brother had no likelihood or good issue to be hoped for without reconciliation. These good helps, and above all these, the loving disposition of *Cleopatra*, who then was in *Alexandria*, encouraged *Philometor* in his purpose. But that which made him earnestly desirous to accomplish it, was the feare wherein hee stood of his Vncle. For though *Antiochus* were gone out of *Egypt* with his armie, yet had he left behinde him a strong garrison in *Pelusi*, retaining that Citie, which was the Key of *Egypt*, to his

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owne vife. This consideration wrought also with *Physcon*, and with those that were about him; so as by the vehement mediation of *Cleopatra* their sister, the two brethren made an end of all quarrels.

When the newes of this accord was brought to *Antiochus*, hee was greatly enraged: for notwithstanding that he had pretended no other thing than the establishment of the King *Philometor* his nephew, and a meaning to subiect his younger brother vnto him, which hee gaue in answer to all Embassadours; yet hee now prepared to make a sharpe warre vpon them both. And to this end hee presently furnished and sent out his Naue towards *Cyprus*, and drew his land Armie into *Calofrya*, ready to enter *Egypt* the Spring following. When he was on his way as farre as *Rhinocornea*, he met with Embassadours sent from *Ptolemie*. Their errand was partly to yeeldethankes to *Antiochus* for the establishing of *Philometor* in his Kingdome; partly to beseech him, That hee would rather be pleased to signifie what hee required to haue done in *Egypt*, which should be performed, than to enter it as an enemy with so puissant an Armie. But *Antiochus* returned this short answer, That hee would neither call backe his Fleete, nor withdraw his Armie, vpon any other condition, than that *Ptolemie* should surrender into his hands together with the Citie of *Pelusi*, the whole Territory thereto belonging: and that hee should also abandon and leaue vnto him the Ile of *Cyprus*, with all the right that he had vnto either of them for euer. For answer vnto these demands, hee set downe a day certaine, and a shote one. Which being come and past, without any accord made, the Syrian Fleete entred *Nilus*, and recovered as well those places which appertained to *Ptolemie* in *Arabia*, as in *Egypt* it selfe; for *Memphis*, and all about it, receiued *Antiochus*, being vnable to resist him. The King hauing now no stoppe in his way to *Alexandria*; passed on thitherwards by easie iourneyes.

Of all these troubles past, as well as of the present danger wherein *Egypt* stood, the *Romans* had notice long agoe. But they found, or, were contented to finde, little reason for them to intermeddle therein. For it was a ciuill warre: and wherein *Antiochus* seemed to take part with the iust cause. Yet they gaue signification, that it would be much displeasing vnto them, to haue the Kingdome of *Egypt* taken from the rightfull owners. More they could not, or would not doe; being troubled with *Perseus*; and therefore loath to prouoke *Antiochus* too farre. Nevertheless, the Egyptian Kings being reconciled, and standing ioynly in neede of helpe against their Vncle, who prepared and made open warre against them both: it was to be expected, that not onely the *Romans*, but many of the *Greekes*, as being thereto obliged by notable benefites should arme in defence of their Kingdome. Rome had bene sustained with food from *Egypt*, in the warre of *Hannibal*; when *Italy* lying waste, had neither come, nor money wherewith to buy sufficient store. By helpe of the Egyptian, had *Aratus* laide the foundation of that greatesse, whereto the *Achaens* attained. And by the like helpe, had *Rhodes* bene defended against *Demetrius Poliorcetes*. Neither were these friendly turnes, which that bountifull house of the *Ptolemies* had done for sundry people abroad, ill followed, or seconded, by other as bad in requitt: but with continuance of sitable beneficence, from time to time increased. Wherefore the two brothers sent abroad confidently for ayde, especially to the *Rhodians* and *Achaens*, who seemed most able to giue it effectually. To the *Romans*, *Physcon* and *Cleopatra* had sent, a yere since: but their Embassadours lay still in *Rome*. Of the *Achaens* they desired in particular, that *Lycortas* the braue warriour might be sent vnto them; as General of all the *Auxiliaries*, and his sonne *Polybius*, General of the Horse. Herunto the *Achaens* readily consented: and would immediately haue made performance, if *Callicrates* had not interposed his mischieuous art. Hee; whether seeking occasion to vaunt his obsequiounesse to the *Romans*; or much rather enuying those Noble Captaines, whose seruice the Kings desired; withstood the common voyce, which was, That their Nation should, not with such small numbers as were requested, but with all their power, be ayding vnto the *Ptolemies*. For it was not now (hee said) convenient time to entangle themselves in any such businesse, as might make them the lesse able to yeelde vnto the *Romans*, what helpe sooner should be required in the *Macedonian* warre. And in this sentence, hee with those of his faction, obstinately persisted; terrifying others with bigge words, as it were in behalfe of the *Romans*. But *Polybius* affirmed, that *Marius*

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the late Consull had signified vnto him, that the *Romans* were past all neede of helpe: adding further, that a thousand foote, and two hundred horse, might well be spared, to the ayde of their Benefactors, the *Aegyptian* Kings, without disabling their Nation to performe any seruice to the *Romans*; for as much as the *Acheans* could without trouble, raise thirtie or fortie thousand Souldiours. All this notwithstanding, the resolution was deferred from one meeting to another; and finally broken, by the violence of *Callicrates*. For when it was thought that the Decree should haue passed; he brought into the Theater where the assembly was held, a Messenger with letters from *Marius*; whereby the *Acheans* were desired to conforme themselves to the *Roman* Senate; and to labour as the Senate had done, by sending Embassadours to set *Aegypt* in peace. This was an aduice against all reason. For the Senate had indeede sent Embassadours to make peace; but as in time of greater businesse elsewhere, with such milde words, that nothing was effected. Wherefore it was not likely, that the *Acheans* should doe any good in the same kinde. Yet *Polybus* and his friends, durst not gaine-say the *Roman* Council; which had force of an iniunction. So the Kings were left in much distresse, disappointed of their expectation. But within a while was *Perseus* overcome: and then might the Embassadour sent from the *Roman* Senate, performe as much as any Armie could haue done.

Audience had beene lately giuen by the Senate, vnto those Embassadours of *Physcon* and *Cleopatra*; which hauing flayed more then a whole yeere in the City, brought nothing of their businesse to effect vntill now. The Embassadors deliuered their message in the name of those that had sent them: though it concerned (which perhaps they knew not) *Philometor*, no lesse than his Brother and Sister.

In this ambassage of *Ptolemy*, now requesting helpe from *Rome*; appeared a notable change of his fortune, from such as it had beene before three or foure yeeres last past. For in the beginning of these his troubles, which beganne with the *Macedonian* Vvaire; either he, or *Eulaus*, or *Lentus* (vpon whom the blame was afterwards layd) which had the gouernment of him, thought his affaires in such good estate, that not onely hee determined to set vpon *Antiochus*, for *Calestria*; but would haue interposed himselfe betwene the *Romans* and *Perseus*, as a competent Arbitrator; though it fell out well, that his Embassadour was by a friend perswaded to forget that point of his errand. From these high thoughts he fell on the sudd-n, by the rebellion of his brother and subiects, to liue vnder protection of the same *Antiochus*. And now at such time as by atonement with his brother and subiects, he might haue seemed to stand in no neede of such protection, he hath remaining none other helpe whereby to saue both his Kingdome and life, than what can be obtained by their intercession which were employed against him. This miserable condition of him, his brother and sister, shewed it selfe, euén in the habit of those Embassadours. They were poorly clad; the haire of their heads and beards outgrowne, as was their manner in time of affliction; and they carried in their hands, branches of Olive. Thus they entred into the Senate; and there fell, grousling and prostrate vpon the floore. Their garments were not so meane and mournfull, nor their looks and Countenances so sadde and dejected, but that their speech was than either of the other farre more lamentable. For hauing told in what danger their King and Country stood; they made a pittifull and grievous complaint vnto the Senate, beseeching them to haue compassion of their Estate, and of their Princes, who had alwaies remained friendly and faithfull to the *Romans*. They said that the people of *Rome* had so much heretofore fauoured this *Antiochus* in particular, and were of such account and authority, with all other Kings and Nations; as if they pleased but to send their Embassadours, and let *Antiochus* know, that the Senate was offended with his vnder-taking vpon the King their Confederate; then would hee presently raise his siege from before *Alexandria*, and with-draw his Armie out of *Aegypt*, into *Syria*. But that if the Senate protracted any time, or vied any delay; then should *Ptolemy* and *Cleopatra*, be shortly driuen out of their Realmes, and make reparaire to *Rome*, with shamefull dishonour to the Senate, and people thereof, in that, in the extreme dangers of all their fortunes, they had not vouchsafed to relieue them.

The Lords of the Senate moued with compassion, sent incontinently *C. Popilius Lænis*, *C. Decimus*, and *A. Hostilius*, as Embassadors to determine and end the warre betwene those Kings. In commission they had first to finde King *Ptolemy*, and then *Antiochus*, and

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to let them both vnderstand, that vntill they surceased, and gaue ouer Armes, they would take that King no more for a friend to the Senate, and people of *Rome*, whom they found obdurate, or vying delay. So these *Romans* together with the *Alexandrine* Embassadours, tooke their leave, and went onward their way within three dayes after.

Whilest *Popilius* and his fellows were on their way toward *Aegypt*, *Antiochus* had transported his Armie ouer *Lusine*, some fortie myles from *Alexandria*. So neere was he to the end of his journey, when the *Roman* Embassadours met him. After greeting and salutations at their first encounter, *Antiochus* offered his right hand to *Popilius*; but *Popilius* filled it with a Rolle of paper; willing him to reade those Mandates of the Senate, before he did any thing else. *Antiochus* did so; and hauing a little while considered of the businesse, he told *Popilius*, That hee would aduise with his friends, and then giue the Embassadours their answer. But *Popilius*, according to his ordinary blunt manner of speech, which hee had by nature, made a Circle about the King with a Rodde which hee held in his hand, willing him to make him such an answer as hee might report to the Senate, before hee moued out of that Circle. The King astonished at this so rude and violent a Commandement, after hee had stayed and pawed awhile, I will be content (quoth hee) to doe whatsoever the Senate shall ordaine. Then *Popilius* gaue vnto the King his hand, as to a Friend and Allie of the *Romans*.

Thus *Antiochus* departed out of *Aegypt*, without any good issue of his costly Expedition; euén in such manner as *Daniel* had prophesied long before: yea, fulfilling euery particular circumstance, both of returning, and of doing mischief to *Jerusalem* after his returne; like as if these things had rather beene historified than fore-told by the Prophet. As for the *Roman* Embassadours, they stayed awhile, and setled the Kingdome of *Aegypt*, leaving it vnto the elder brother, and appointed the yonger to reigne ouer *Cyrene*. This done, they departed towards *Cyprus*; which they felt, as it had beene, in the power of the *Aegyptian*, hauing first sent away *Antiochus* Fleet, which had already giuen an ouerthrow to the *Aegyptian* ships.

Dm. cap. 11. v. 19, 30, 42.

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§. XII.

How the *Romans* were dreadfull to all Kings. Their demanour towards Eumenes, Prusias, Mithridates, and Corys. The end of *Perseus* and his children. The instability of Kingly Estates. The Triumphs of *Paulus*, *Anicius*, and *Otho*. With the Conclusion of the warre.

By this peremptorie demanour of *Popilius*, in doing his Message, and by the ready obedience of King *Antiochus* to the will of the Senate; wee may perceiue how terrible the *Romans* were growne, through their conquest of *Macedon*. The same *Popilius* had beene well contented, a yeere before this, to lay aside the roughnesse of his naturall condition, and to giue good language to the *Acheans* and *Asians*, when hee went Embassadour to those people of *Greece*, that were of farre lesse power than the King of *Antiochus*. Likewise, *Antiochus* had with good words, and no more than good words, dismissed other Embassadours which came from *Rome*, in such sort, as they complained not, much lesse vied any menacing tearmes, though he performed nothing of their request. But now the case was altered. So found other Kings as well as *Antiochus*.

Eumenes sent to *Rome* his brother *Attalus*; to gratulate the victory ouer *Perseus*, and to craue helpe or countenance of the Senate against the *Gallio*, which molested him. Very welcome was *Attalus*, and louingly entertained by most of the Senators: who bade him be confident, and request of the Senate his brothers Kingdome for himselfe, for it should sorely be giuen him. These hopefull promises tickled *Attalus* with such ambition, that hee either approued, or seemed to approue the motion. But his honest nature was soone reclaimed by the faithfull counsaile of *Stratus* a Physician; whom *Eumenes* had sent to *Rome* of purpose to keepe his brother vpright. So, when hee came into the Senate, hee deliuered the errand about which hee had beene sent, recounting his owne seruices done to the *Romans* in the late Warre; where vntill hee forgot not to make of his brother as good mention as hee could: and finally requested, That the Townes of *Enus* and *Maronea* might be bestowed

Liv. lib. 45.

Zzzzzz

⁶ *Polyb. Legat.* bestowed vpon himselfe. * By his omitting to sue for his brothers Kingdome, the Senate conceived opinion, that he meant to craue another day of audience for that businesse alone. Wherefore, to make him vnderstand how gracious he was, they not only granted all his desire; but in the presents which they gaue to him (as was their custome to Embassadors that came with an acceptable message) they vsed singular magnificence. Neuertheless, *Attalus* tooke no notice of their meaning; but went his way, contented with what they had already granted. This did so highly displease the Senate, that whilst he was yet in *Italy*, they gaue order for the libertie of *Anus* and *Marones*: thereby making vncertaine all their promise; which otherwise they could not, without shame, reuoke. And as for the *Gallio*, which were about to invade the Kingdome of *Perseus*; they sent Embassadors to them, with such instructions, as rather encouraged than hindered them in their purpose. The displeasure of the Senate being so manifest; *Eumenes* thought it worthy of his labour to make another voyage to *Rome*. He might well blame the folly of his second voyage thither, for this necessity of the third: since, by his malice to *Perseus*, hee had layed open vnto these ambitious Potentates the way to his owne doores. No sooner was he come into *Italy*, than the Senate was ready to send him going. It was not thought expedient to vse him as an enemy, that came to visit them in loue: neither could they, in so doing, haue auoided the note of singular inconstancy: and to entertaine him as a friend, was more than their hatred to him, for his ingratitude, as they deemed it, would permit. Wherefore they made a Decree, That no King should be suffered to come to *Rome*; and by vertue thereof sent him home, without expence of much further complement.

Prusias King of *Bithynia* had beene at *Rome* somewhat before; where hee was well commended after a better fashion. Hee had learned to behaue himselfe as humbly as the proud *Romans* could expect or desire. For entering into the Senate, hee lay downe, and kissed the threshold, called the *Fatirs* his gods and fauours: as also hee vsed to weare a Cap, after the manner of slaves newly manumitted; professing himselfe an enfranchised bondman of the People of *Rome*. Hee was indeede naturally a slave, and one that by such abject flattery kept himselfe safe; though doing otherwise greater mischief than any wherewith *Perseus* had beene charged. His errand was, besides matter of complement; to commend vnto the Senate the care of his sonne *Nicomedes*, whom hee brought with him to *Rome*; there to receiue education. Further petition hee made, to haue some Townes added to his Kingdome: whereto, because the graunt would haue beene vniust, hee receiued a cold answer. But concerning the Wardshippe of his sonne, it was vnder taken by the Senate: which, vaunting of the pleasure lately done to *Aegypt*, in freeing it from *Antiochus*, willed him thereby to consider, what effectuall protection the *Romans* gaue vnto the children of Kings, that were to their patronage commended.

But aboute all other Kings, *Masaniassa* held his credit with the *Romans* good: His quarrels were endlesse with the *Carthaginians*: which made the friendship of the *Romans* to him the more assured. In all controuersies they gaue iudgement on his side: and whereas hee had invaded the Countrey of *Emporia*, holding the Lands, but vnable to winne the Towes; the *Romans* (though at first they could finde no pretext, whereby to countenance him in this oppression) compelled finally the *Carthaginians* both to let goe all their hold; and to pay fine hundreded Talents to the *Namidian*, for hauing hindered him of his due so long. Now indeede had *Rome* good leysure to deuile vpon the ruine of *Carthage*; after which, the race of *Masaniassa* himselfe was shortly by them rooted vp. But heereof the olde King neuer dreamed. Hee sent to *Rome* one of his sonnes, to congratulate the victory ouer *Perseus*; and offered to come thither himselfe, there to sacrifice for loy vnto *Iupiter* in the Capitol. His good will was louingly accepted; his sonne rewarded; and hee entreated to stay at home.

Corys the *Thracian* sent Embassadors, to excuse himselfe touching the aide by him giuen to *Perseus*, for that the *Macedonian* had him bound by hostages; and to entreat, That his sonne, which was taken with the children of *Perseus*, might be set at libertie for conuenient ranfome. His excuse was not taken; since hee had voluntarily obliged himselfe to *Perseus*, by giuing hostages, without necessity: Yet was his sonne giuen backe to him ranfome-free; with admonition, to carry himselfe better toward the

Romans

Romans in time following. His Kingdome lay betwene *Macedon* and some barbarous Nations; in which respect, it was good to hold him in faire tearmes.

As for those vnhappy Kings, *Perseus* and *Gentius*, they were led through *Rome*, with their children and friends, in the Triumphs of *Emilius* and *Antius*. *Perseus* had often made suite to *Emilius*, that he might not be put to such disgrace: but hee still receiued one skornfull answer, That it lay in his owne power to prevent it; whereby was meant, that he might kill himselfe. And surely, had hee not hoped for greater mercie than hee found, he would rather haue sought his death in *Macedon*, than haue bin beholding to the courtesie of his insolent enemies for a wretched life. The issue of the *Roman* clemencie; whereof *Emilius* had giuen him hope, was no better than this: After that hee, and his fellow King, had bene led in chaynes through the streets, before the Chariots of their triumphing Victors, they were committed to prison; whereto they remained without hope of release. It was the manner, that when the Triumpher turned his Chariot vp towards the Capitol, there to doe sacrifice, he should command the captiues to be had away to prison, and there put to death: so as the honor of the Vanquisher, and miserie of those that were overcome, might be both together at the vtmost. This last sentence of death was remitted vnto *Perseus*; yet so, that he had little ioy of his life; but eyther famished himselfe, or (for it is diuerly reported) was kept watching person by those that had him in custodie; and so died for want of sleepe. Of his sons, two died; it is vncertaine how. The yongest called *Alexander* (onely in name like vnto the Great, though destined sometimes perhaps by his father, vnto the fortunes of the Great) became a loyner, or Turner, or, at his best preferment, a Scribe vnder the *Roman* Officers. In such pouertie ended the Royall Houle of *Macedon*: and it ended on the suddaine; though some eight-score yeeres after the death of that Monarch, vnto whose ambition this whole Earth seemed too narrow.

If *Perseus* had knowne it before, that his owne sonne should one day be compelled to earne his liuing by handie-wooke, in a painefull Occupation; it is like, that he would not, as in a wantonnesse of Soueraignie, haue commanded those poore men to be slaine, which had recouered his treasures out of the sea, by their skill in the feat of diuing. Hee would rather haue bene verie gentle, and would haue considered, that the greatest oppressors, and the most vnderroden wretches, are all subiect vnto the One high Power, governing all alike with absolute command. But such is our vnhappy nature; in stead of that blessed counsaile, Doe as ye would be done vnto, a sentence teaching all moderation, and pointing out the way to felicitie; we entertaine that arrogant thought, *I will be like to the most High*: that is, I will doe what shall please my selfe. One hath saith truly:

—vv.— *Et qui nolunt occidere quenquam
Possit volunt* —

*Tuoual. Sat.
10.*

Even they that haue no murderous will,
Would haue it in their power to kill.

40. All, or the most, haue a vaine desire of abilitie to do euill without controule; which is a dangerous temptation vnto the performance. God, who best can iudge what is expedient, hath granted such power to very few: among whom also, very few there are, that vse it not to their owne hurt. For who sees not, that a Prince, by lacking his Soueraigne authorities to the vtmost extent, enableth (besides the danger to his owne person) some one of his owne sonnes or nephewes to root vp all his progenie? Shall not many excellent Princes, notwithstanding their brotherhood, or other necessitie in blood, be diuined to flatter the Wife, the Minion, or perhaps the Harlot that gouernes one, the most unworthie of his whole house, yet reigning ouer all? The vtmost death of many Princes which could not humble themselves to such flattery; and the common practice of the *Turkish* Emperours to murder all their brethren, without expecting till they offend; are too good proofes heereof. Heereunto may be added, That the Emperour of the same *Roger Mortimer*, who murdered most traitorously and barbarously King *Edward* the second; was, by reason of a marriage, proclaimed, in time not long after following, heere apparent to the Crowne of *England*: which had he obtained, then had all the power of *Edward* fallen into the race of his mortall enemy, to exercise the same vpon the Line of that vnhappy King. Such examples of the instabilitie whereto all mortall affaires are subiect;

* The true
Lay of the
Monarchies.

Chap. 3. §. 4.

subject; as they teach moderation, and admonish the transitorie Gods of Kingdomes, not to authorize, by wicked precedents, the euill that may fall on their owne posteritie: so doe they necessarily make vs vnderstand, how happye that Countreie, which hath obtained a King able to conceiue and teach, That * *God is the forest and sharpest Schoolmaster that can be deuised, for such Kings, as thinke this world ordained for them, without conuolment to turne it upside-downe as their pleasure.*

Now, concerning the Triumph of *L. Aemilius Paulus*; it was in all points like vnto that of *T. Quintius Flaminius*: though farre more glorious, in regard of the Kings owne person, that was ledde along therein, as part of his owne spoyle; and in regard likewise both of the Conquest and of the Bootie. So great was the quantitie of Gold and Siluer carried by *Paulus* into the *Roman* Treasure, that from thenceforth, vntill the ciuill Wars which followed vpon the death of *Iulius Caesar*, the Estate had no need to burthen it selfe with any Tribute. Yet was this noble Triumph likely to haue bin hindered by the fouldiors; who grudged at their General, for not hauing dealt more bountifullly with them. But the Princes of the Senate ore-ruled the People and Souldiers herein, and brought them to reason by seuerall exhortations. Thus *Paulus* enioyed as much honour of his victorie as men could giue. Neuerthelesse, it pleased *God* to take away from him his two remaining sons, that were not giuen in adoption: of which, the one died fide daies before the Triumph; the other three daies after it. This losse he bore wisely: and told the People, That he hoped to see the Common-wealth flourish in a continuance of prosperitie; since the ioy of his victorie was requited with his owne priuate calamitie, in stead of the publike.

About the same time, *Othanius* the Admirall, who had brought *Perseus* out of *Samothrace*; and *Anticus* the Prator, who had conquered *Illyria*, and taken King *Gentius* prisoner; made their iourall triumphs. The glory of which magnificent spectacles; together with the confluence of Embassages from all parts; and Kings, either visiting the Imperiall Citie, or offering to visit her, and doe their duties in person; were enough to say vnto *Rome*, *Sume superbiam*, Take vpon thee the Maiesie, that thy deserts haue purchased.

BY this which wee haue already set downe, is scene the beginning and end of the three first Monarchies of the world, whereof the Founders and Erectors thought, that they could neuer haue ended. That of *Rome* which made the fourth, was also at this time almost at the highest. Wee haue left it flourishing in the middle of the field; hauing rooted vp, or cut downe, all that kept it from the eyes and admiration of the world. But after some continuance, it shall begin to lose the beauty it had; the stormes of ambition shall beat her great boughes and branches one against another; her leaues shall fall off; her limbes wither, and a rabble of barbarous Nations enter the field, and cut her downe.

Now these great Kings, and conquering Nations, haue bin the subiect of those ancient Histories, which haue bin preferred, and yet remaine among vs; and withall of so many tragicall Poets, as in the persons of powerfull Princes, and other mighty men haue complained against Infidelitie, Time, Destinie, and most of all against the Variable successe of worldly things, and Instabilitie of Fortune. To these vndertakings, these great Lords of the world haue beene stirred vp; rather by the desire of Fame, which ploweth vp the Aire; and bloweth in the Winde; than by the affection of bearing rule, which draweth after it, so much vexation and so many cares. And that this is true, the good aduice of *Cicero* to *Pyrrhus* pitties. And certainly, as Fame hath often beene dangerous to the lining; so is it to the dead of no vse at all; because separate from knowledge. Which were it otherwise, and the extreame ill bargain of buying this lasting discourse, vnderstood by them which are dissolued; they themselves would then rather haue wished, to haue stioe out of the world without noyse; than to be put in minde, that they haue purchased the report of their actions in the world, by rapine, oppression, and crueltie: by going in spoyle the innocent and labouring soule to the idle and insolent, and by hauing emptied the Cities of the world of their ancient Inhabitants, and filled them againe with so many, and so variable sorts of sorrowes.

Since the fall of the *Roman* Empire (omitting that of the *Germanes*; which had neither greatnesse nor continuance) there hath beene no State fearefull in the East, but that of

of the *Turk*; nor in the West any Prince that hath spred his wings farre ouer his nest, but the *Spaniard*; who since the time that *Ferdinand* expell'd the *Moors* out of *Granado*, haue made many attempts to make themselves Masters of all *Europe*. And it is true, that by the treasures of both *Indies*, and by the many Kingdomes which they possesse in *Europe*, they are at this day the most powerfull. But as the *Turke* is now counterpoysed by the *Persian*, so in stead of so many Millions as haue beene spent by the *English*, *French*, and *Netherlands* in a defenseiue Warre, and in diuersions against them, it is easie to demonstrate, that with the charge of two hundred thousand pound continued but for two yeeres, or three at the most, they may not onely be perswaded to liue in peace, but all their swelling and ouer-flowing streames may bee brought backe into their naturall channels and old banks. These two Nations, I say, are at this day the most eminent, and to be regarded; the one seeking to roote out the Christian Religion altogether, the other the truth and sincere profession thereof; the one to ioyne all *Europe* to *Asia*, the other the rest of all *Europe* to *Spain*.

For the rest, if we seeke a reason of the succession and continuance of this boundlesse ambition in mortall men, we may adde to that which hath beene already said; That the Kings and Princes of the world haue alwaies laid before them, the actions, but not the ends of those great Ones which preceded them. They are alwaies transported with the glorie of the one, but they neuer minde the miserie of the other, till they finde the experience in themselves. They neglect the aduice of *God*, while they enioy life, or hope it; but they follow the counsell of Death, vpon his first approach. It is hee that puts into man all the wisdom of the world, without speaking a word; which *God* with all the words of his Law, promises, or threats, doth infuse. Death, which hateth and destroyeth man, is beleueed; *God*, which hath made him and loues him, is alwaies deferred. I haue considered (saith *Salomon*) all the workes that are vnder the Sunne, and behold, all is vanitie, and vexation of spirit; but who beleuees it, till Death tells it vs? It was Death, which opening the conscience of *Charles* the first, made him enioyne his sonne *Philip* to restore *Nauarre*; and King *Francis* the first of *France*, to command that iustice should be done vpon the Murderers of the Protestants in *Merindol* and *Cabrieres*, which till then he neglected. It is therefore Death alone that can suddenly make man to know himselfe. He tells the proud and insolent, that they are but Abiects, and humbles them at the instant; makes them crie, complaine, and repent, yea, euen to hate their forepassed happiness. He takes the account of the rich, and proues him a begger; a naked begger, which hath interest in nothing, but in the grauell that fills his mouth. He holds a Glasse before the eyes of the most beautifull, and makes them see therein, their deformitie and rottennesse; and they acknowledge it.

O eloquent, iust, and mighty Death! whom none could aduise, thou hast perswaded; what none hath dared, thou hast done; and whom all the world hath flattered, thou onely hast cast out of the world and despised: thou hast drawne together all the farre stretched greatnesse, all the pride, crueltie, and ambition of man, and couered it all ouer with these two narrow words, *Hic iacet*.

Lastly, whereas this Booke, by the title it hath, calls it selfe, *The first part of the General Historie of the World*, implying a Second and Third Volume; which I also intended, and haue hewne out, besides many other discouragements, perswading my silence; it hath pleased *God* to take that glorious Prince out of the world, to whom they were directed; whose vnspokeable and neuer enough lamented losse, hath taught me to say with *Iob*, *Versa est in Luctum Cithara mea, & Organum meum in uocem fletum*.

FINIS.

To the Reader.



The use of Chronological Tables is needfull to all Histories, that reach to any length of time; and most of all, to those that are most generall: since they cannot, like Annales, yearly set downe all Occurrences not coherent. This booke following, may serue as an Index to the present Part of this worke; pointing vnto the severall matters, that hauing fallen out at one time, are farre disioyned in the Relation. Certainly it is not perfect: neither doe I thinke, that any can be. For howeuer the yeares of the first Patriarchs may seeme to have been well nere complete, yet in the reignes of the

Kings of Iuda and Israel, we finde many fractions, and the last yeere, or yeeres, of one King reckoned also as the formost of another. The same is most likely to have fallen out in many other; though not so precisely recorded. Hereto may be added the diuerse and imperfect formes of the yeere, which were in use among sundry Nations: causing the Summer Moneths, in proceesse of some ages, to fall into the Winter; and so breeding extreme confusion in the reckoning of their times. Neither is it a small part of trouble, to chuse out of so many, and so widely disagreeing computations, as haue already gotten authority, what may probably be held for truth. All this, and a great deale more, is to be alleged, in excuse of such errors as a more intente and perfect Calculator shall happen to finde herein. It may serue to free the Booke, and likewise the Reader (if but of meane iudgement) from any notorious Anachronisme; which ought to suffice. The Booke indeed will need it, even in that regard, not onely for some errors of the press, in the numbring of yeeres, but for some haste mis-reckonings of mine owne; which I desire to haue hereby reformed, in hope that the printing of this Table shall not want carefull diligence. The Reader, if he be not offended with the rest, shall finde reason to be pleased with this, as tending wholly to his owne ease.

The Titles ouer the Columnes, haue reference to that which followes vnder them; as will readily be conceiued. Where two Titles, or more, are ouer the head, as ^{Rome} ^{Nabonassar} there doe the numbers vnderneath answere proportionably, the higher to the higher, the lower to the lower. For example: The walls of Ierusalem were finished in the 319. yeere from the building of Rome, and in the 314. from Nabonassar. In like manner it is to be vnderstood, That Iehosaphat began his reigne in the 3774. of the Iulian Era, in the 3092. of the World, or in the 99. yeere of the Temple. This needs not more illustration; nor indeed so much, to those that are acquainted with works of this kinde. To auoid prolixitie, I haue forborne to insert those yeeres, which I finde not signed with some regardable accident: as with the birth or death of some Patriarch; the beginning of some Kings Reigne; some change of Gouvernement; some Battaille fought; or the like. So, of the 13. yeeres wherein Sylluius Capetus reigned ouer the Latines, I note onely the first; that is, omitting all betwene the 4. of Iehosaphat, wherein Capetus began, vnto the 17. wherein Sylluius Auentinus succeeded, and wherein Iehoram first reigned with Iehosaphat his father. For I thought it vaine to haue filled up a page with 12 lines of idle cyphers; numbring forth 2. 3. 4. 5. and so still onwards, till I had come to the first of Auentinus, and the 17. of Iehosaphat. In setting downe the Kings, there is noted ouer the head of euery one, what place he held in order of succession: as whether he were the first, second, fift, (euenth, or so forth, in ranke, of those that reigned in his Country, without notable interruption: Before the name is the first yeere of his reigne; at the end, or foot of the name (as the space guesse leaue) is the whole number of yeeres in which he reigned; in the spaces following vnderneath are those yeeres of his, which were concurrent with the beginning of some other King, or with the yeere of any remarkable accident.

To the Reader.

Concerning the *Æra*, or accompt of yeeres, from Iphitus, who began the Olympiads from Rome built, from Nabonassar, and the like; as much as was thought convenient hath been said, where due place was, in the Booke itselfe: so as it remaineth only to note, that under the title of Olympiads is set downe first the number of the Olympiad, and beneath it, the yeere of that Olympiad: as that Cyrus began his reigne in Persia, in the 55. Olympiad, and the first yeere thereof.

The Julian Period, which I have placed, as the greater number, over the yeeres of the World, was delivered by that honorable and excellently learned Ioseph Scaliger, being accommodated to the Iulian yeeres, now in use among vs. It consisteth of 7890, yeeres, which result from the multiplicatio of 19, 28, & 15, that is, of the Cycle of the Moon, the Cycle of the Sun, and the yeeres of an Indiction. Being divided by any of these, it leaveth the number of the present yeere, or if no fraction remaine, it shewes the last yeere of that Cycle to be current. For example: in the 4498, of this period, when was fought the great battaile of Cannæ, the Prime or Golden number was 14, the Cycle of the Sun 18, & consequently the Dominical letter F, as may be found by dividing the same number of the Iulian Period 4498, by 19, for the Prime, by 28, for the Cycle of the Sunne. This Iulian Period, after the present account, alwayes exceeds the yeeres of the world by 682. Besides the former uses, and other thence redounding in a better Character of a yeere, than any other Æra (as, From the beginning of the World, From the Flood, From Troy taken, or the like) which are of more uncertain position.

Italian

A CHRONOLOGICALL TABLE.

Years of the Julian Period, World,
Patriarchs, &c.

[illegible]

	Julian, The World.	Enos.	Cainan	Maha- lalel.	Lared.	Me- thusa- lah.	La- mech.	Noah.	Sem				
Enos died.	1822 1140	905	815	745	680	453	266	84					
Cainan died.	1917 1235		910	842	775	548	361	179					
Mahalalel died this year.	1972 1290			895	830	603	416	234					
Lared died.	2104 1422					735	584	366					
Flood threatened, Gen. 6, 3.	2219 1537					850	663	481					
	2241 1559					872	685	503	1. Sem. 600				
Lamech died.	2333 1651					964	777	595	93				
Metuselah died this year a little before the Flood. Noah entered into the Ark. C. 7, 5 & 9. The Flood.	2338 1656					969		600	98				
The Flood came. Noah issued out of the Ark.	2339 1657							601	99				
	Julian. World. Flood.	Noah.	Sem.	1. Ar- phaxad 438									
	2341 1659	603	101										
	2376 1694 37	638	136	36	1. Sa- lah. 433								
	2405 1724 67	668	166	66	31	1. He- ber. 464							
	2440 1758 101	702	200	100	65	35	1. Pe- leg.		Kings of As- syria.				
	2470 1788 131	732	230	130	95	65	31	1. Rm- 239	1. Nim- rod 114				
	2502 1820 163	764	262	162	127	97	63	33	33	1. Sa- rug. 230	Kings of A- B- 871		
Vide lib. 2. c. 2. § 2.	2530 1848 191	792	290	190	155	125	91	61	61	29	1 1 Cham 161		
	2532 1850 193	694	292	192	157	127	93	63	63	31	3	1. Na- bor. 148	
	2561 1879 222	823	321	221	186	156	122	92	92	69	32	30	1. Pe- leg. 205
	2584 1902 245	846	344	244	209	179	145	115	2 Be- 140. 65	83	15	53	1

	Indian. World. Flood.	Noah.	Sem.	Arphaxad.	Salah.	Heber.	Peleg.	Res.	Assyria.	Sarg.	Egypt.	Nahor.	Terah.	King of Sycy
	1618 1936 279	880	278	378	243	213	179	149	35	117	89	87	58	1. Key- cent.
	1649 1967 316	911	409	309	274	244	210	180	3 1. Ni- mus, 52	148	120	118	89	32
	1670 1988 331	932	430	330	295	265	231	201	22	169	141	139	110	2 1. En- rep, 45
Years of Pe- life.	1678 1996 339	940	438	338	303	273	239	209	30	177	149	147	118	9
Year of Nahor	1679 1997 340	941	439	339	304	274		210	31	178	150	148	119	10
Year of this year	1688 2006 349	950	448	348	313	283		219	40	187	159		128	19
1616, Dynasties Egypt, Vid. L. 2 1645, &c.	1691 2009 352		451	351	316	286		222	43	190	2 1. Altz- raim or Offis.		131	22 1. A- bram. 275
	1701 2019 362		461	361	326	296		232	4 1. Semer- me, 42	200	111		141	32 11
Years of Res	1708 2026 369		463	368	333	303		239	8	207	18		148	39 18
	1715 2033 376		475	375	340	310		15	214	25			155	3 1. Telkin or Sechin. 20
Year of Sarg.	1731 2049 392		491	391	356	326			31	230	41		171	17 41
	1753 2073 395	Sem	Arphaxad.	Salah.	Heber.	Assyria.			Egypt.		Terah.	Sicyon.	Abram.	
	1743 2061 404	495	395	360	330	35			45		175	4 1. Apis, 25		45
	1760 2078 421	503	403	368	338	5 1. Nmus, 28			53		183	9		53
	1765 2083 426	520	420	385	355	18			70		200	5 1. Thelexion or Thelexion, 52		50
Years of the year 1765 in Haran. 1765, 1765, 1765	1765 2083 426	525	425	390	360	23			75		205	6		75
	1766 2084 427	Sem	Arphaxad	Salah.	Heber.	Abram.			Assyria		Egypt.	Sicyon.		
	1766 2084 427	526	426	391	361	76			24		76	7		
	1767 2085 428	527	427	392	362	77			25		77	8		
	1775 2093 430	535	435	400	370	85			33		85	16		
	1777 2095 432	537	437	402	372	87			35		87	18		
	1778 2096 433	538	438	403	373	88			36		88	19		

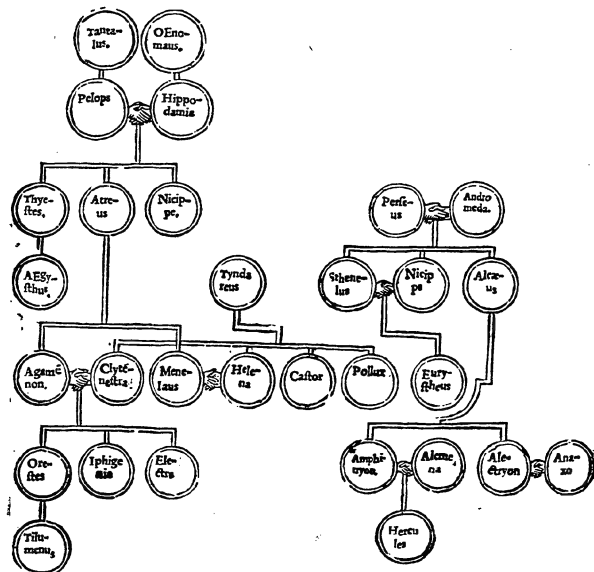
	Julian. World. promise	Sem.	Salab.	Heber.	Abra- ham.	Assyria	Egypt.	Sicion.	
	2781 2099 16	541	406	376	91 1. Ari- um. 30	6 11	91	22	
Isaac borne when Abraham was 100 years old com- plete, 101. current.	2791 2109 26	551	416	386	101	11	101	32	1. Isaac 180
The last year of Salab.	2808 2126 43	568	433	403	118	28	118	49	18
	2811 2129 46	571		406	121 1. Ara- lism. 40	7	121	52	21
	2812 2130 47	572		407	122	2	122	6 1. E. E. 80. 34	22
Sarai the wife of Abraham dyed this year.	2837 2145 62	587		422	137	17	137	16	37
Isaac took Rebecca to wife, when he was 40. years old complete.	2831 2149 66	591		426	141	21	141	20	41
The last year of Sem.	3840 2158 75	600		435	150	30	150	29	50
	2845 2164 81	441	156	56		36	156	7 1. Thors- machus. 41	
	2851 2169 86	446	161	61	1. Jacob 147	8 1. B. B. 30	161	6	1. Isaac 150
Abraham dyed this year.	2865 2183 100	460	175	75	15	15	175	20	15
Heber died this year.	2869 2187 104	464		79	19	19	179	24	19
The 17. Dynastie, called of the Sphcebeards, begin- ning this year, lasted 103 years.	2881 2199 116			91	31 1. A. Ama- mithres. 31		191	36	31
	2891 2209 126			101	41	11	201	41 1. Lousi- pus. 12	41
	2901 2219 136			111	51	21	211	11 1. Phoen- ic. 6	
The flood of Ogyges, a thousand and twenty years before the Olympiads. See lib. 1. c. 7. §. 2.	2919 2237 154			129	69 1. Debo- cus Prif- cus. 31	20	229	29	19
	2942 2260 177			152	92	24	252	52	42 1. In- fph. 110
	2944 2262 179			154	94	26	254 64	54 1. Refp- pus. 42	44
See lib. 2. c. 2. §. 6.	2952 2270 187			162	102	34 3. and 4. 1. Typhon, & af- ter him Herod. 72	254 64	9	52 11
	2954 2272 189			164	104 1. Bale- us. 52	11	254 74	11	54 13

	Julian. World. promise	Isaac.	Jacob.	Assyria	Egypt.	Sicion.	Argines.	
Isoph sold into Egypt.	2959 2277 194	169	109	6 1. Om- p. 115.	16		59	18
	2961 2279 196	171	111	8 81	18		1. Apis. 35	20
The last year of Isaac.	2970 2288 205	180	120	17	12 90	27	10	29
Israel into Egypt.	2980 2298 215		130	27	22 100	37	20	39
The eighteenth Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 89 years.	2984 2302 219		134	31	26 1	41	24	43
	2991 2309 226		141	38	33 8	10 1. Fera- tus. 46	31	50
	2996 2314 231		145	43	38 13	6	1. Argus. 4	55
Jacob dyed in Egypt.	2997 2315 232		147	44	39 14	7	2	56
	3006 2324 241	65	12 1. Alades. 32	48 23	16	11		
	3037 2355 272	95	32	79 54	11 1. P. P. P. 41	42		
	3038 2356 273	97	13 1. Mamitus. 20	80 55	2	43		
The last year of Isoph.	3051 2369 286	110	14	93 68	15	56		
	3066 2384 301		29	108 83	30	1. Pirafus, or Crisfus. 54		
	3068 2386 303		14 1. Mancalem. 30	110 85	32	3		
	3074 2392 309		7	114 1. Sefstru the Great. 91	38 23	9		
	3085 2403 320		18	12 102	12 1. Ortha- polis 63	20		
	3098 2416 333		15 1. Sphernu or Sphernu. 20.	25 115	14	33		
	3107 2425 342		10	114 1. Sefstru the se- cond. 124	23	42		
	3116 2434 351	1. Mo- fus. 120	19	10 133	32	51		

	Julian World promise	Moses.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Argines	
3118			16	12	34	53	
2436	3		1. Mamilas, or Mamelus, 30.	135			
353						6	
3120		5	3	14	36	1. Phorbis, 35	
2438				137			
355				8			
3121				1. Orus 2. or Bu siris, 38. 138	37	2	Atle- nians.
2439	6		4				
356							
3148			17		13		
2466	33		1. Sparetus, 40	28	1. Mara- thius 30	29.	
383				165			
3151				31	4	32	1. Co- script, 10
2469	36		4				
386				168			
Moses visits his brethren the Israelites, kills an Egyptian, and flies into Midian.							
3155				35	8	7	5
2473	40		8			1. Tispa, 45	
390				172			
3159				1. Theronius, or Acherches, 24	12	5	9
2477	44		12				
394				12, 126			
3171				10	24	17	21
2489	56		24	1. Rathoris, or Athoris 9	188		
406							
3178				8		24	18
2496	63		31	195			
413				11			
3180				1. Chencres 16	3	26	30
2498	65		33	197			
415							
3188				18	11	34	38
2506	73		1. Ascades.	9			
423			40	205			
Moses his wandering into Egypt.							
3195				16	18	41	45
2513	80		8	212			
430							
Julian World Exodus	Moses.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Argos.	Athen.	
3196			12	19	42	46	
2514	81		9	1. Acherres, 8.			
1			213				
3198				15	44	48	
2516	83		11	3	1. Echi- reus, 35		
3				215			
3201				6	4	8	1. Cra- nus 10
2519	86		14	218		1. Crotos, 21	
6							
3204				13	7	4	4
2522	89		17	1. Cherres, 15			
9				221			
3211				8	14	11	1. Amph- ryon, 12
2529	96		24	223			
16							
3219				14	22	19	9
2537	104		32	1. Armenus, or Darius 5, 236			
24							
3222				4	25	9	12
2540	107		35	239		1. Sthenelus 11	
27							

	Julian. World Exodus	Moses.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon	Argos.	Athen.	
	3223 2541 28	108	36	5 240	26	2	1. Eri- bonus, 30	
	3224 2542 29	109	37	15 1. Ramesses, 68 241	27	3	2	1. Trov
	3228 2546 33	113	19 1. Amyntas 4	5 245	31	7	6	
	3229 2547 34	114	2	6 245	32	8	7	1. 2
	3233 2551 38	118	6	10 250	36	10 1. Danaus, 50	11	5
The last years of Moses.	3235 2553 40	120	8	12 252	38	3	13	7
	Julian. World Exodus	Israel	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Argos.	Athen.	
The Israelites enter the Land of Promise.	3236 2554 41	1. Iosun 18	9	13 253	39	4	14	8
	3253 2571 58	18	26	30 270	16 1. Co- rax 30	21	31	25
	3254 2572 59	1. Orbo- uel, 40	27	31 271	22	22	32	26
	3273 2591 78	20	20 1. Belachus the second, 25	50 290	21	41	5 1. Pan- cton 27	45
	3283 2601 88	30	11	60 300	17 1. Epi- pau 35	11	11	55
	3292 2610 97	39	20	16 1. Menophis, 40 309	10	10	20	64
	3293 2611 98	40	21	2 310	11	11	21	1. Eri- bonus, 30
	3294 2612 99	3 1. Ehad 80	22	3 311	12	12	22	2
	3298 2616 105	5	21 1. Scelopares, 30	7	16	16	26	6
	3313 2631 118	20	16	22 330	31	31	6 1. Eri- bonus, 30	21
	3318 2636 123	25	21	27 335	18 1. Lame- dor, 40	36	6	26
	3324 2642 129	31	27	33 341	7	12 1. Abba, 2	12	32
	3328 2646 133	35	22 1. Lamprides	37 345	11	5	16	36

<i>The 19. Dynasty: of the Larches, 194. years.</i> See L. 2. c. 26. §. 4.		3332 2650 137	39	5	17 Zetina, ¹ geto- fo. ⁵³	15	9	20	40
		3339 2657 144	46	12	8 8	22	16	27	3 1. 1/2 6
Tantalus in Phrygia.		3347 2665 152	54	20	16 16	30	1. 13 Præ- tus, 17	35	9
		3358 2676 163	65	31	27 27	19 1. Sicyon, 45	12	46	20
		3360 2678 165	67	23 1. Sefares, 20.	29 29	3	14	48	22
		3363 2681 168	70	4	32 32	6	17	2 7 Coryn- the, 1/2 10.	25
Pelops in Pisa, who gave name to Peloponnesus.		3364 2682 169	71	5	33 33	7	1. 14 Acris- ius, 37	2	26
Ion and Xuthus the sons of Hellen. See Lib. 2. c. 17. §. 6.		3374 2692 179		15 ⁴ Debo- ra & Ba- 40	43 43	17	11	12	36
		3380 2698 185	7	24 1. Lampares 30	49 49	23	17	18	42
		3387 2705 192	14	8	18 1. Ramfer, 66. 56	30	24	25	49
<i>After the death of Acrisius, the Kingdom of the Argives was divided into many small parts, and interwoven by that of Mycenæ, wherof some Kings descended from Perseus, others from Pelops as in the Pedegree following.</i>		3394 2712 199	21	15	8 63	37	31	32	56



	Julian World Exodus	Israel	Affrica	Egypt	Seyon	Myce- nae	Alben	Troy
	3399 2717 204	26	20	13 68	42		37	4 1. Iliad, 55
	3402 2720 207	29	23	16 71	45	1. Iri- theus, 45	40	4
	3403 2721 208	30	24	17 72	20 1. Pol- bus, 40	2	8 1. Pandi- rili, 2, 23	5
	3410 2728 215	37	25 1. Pannias, 45	24 79	8	9	8	12
	3414 2732 219	5 1. Gedi, on, 40	5	28 83	12	13	12	16
Parion chiefest of his Kingdom, which is recovered by his name Argas, on few years after. The omission of this Interreg- num, and reckoning the years in the forty eight of Argas, or the counting them apart by themselves, breeds an error in the difference of the times of the subsequent following, as of Mandithem, Ca- rops, and the rest.	3427 2745 232	14	18	41 96	25	26	25	29
	3432 2750 237	19	23	46 101	30	31	1. Aegy- ptus, 4	34
<i>Oedipus in Thebes.</i>	3443 2761 248	30	34	57 112	21 1. Ina- chus, 4	42	12	45
	3447 2765 252	34	38	61 116	5	1. Streu- and Tis- ter, 6	16	49
	3453 2771 258	40	44	1. Amenophis, 122 40	11	7	22	55
	3454 2772 259	5 1. Abime- lech,	45	2 123	12	8	23	5 1. Laomedon, 36
	3455 2773 260	2	25 1. Sefarnus, 19	3 124	13	9	24	2
	3457 2775 262	7 1. Tho- las, 23	3	5 126	15	11	26	4
	3474 2792 379	18	27 1. Mureus, 27	22 143	32	28	43	21
	3480 2798 285	8 1. Lair, 22	7	28 149	38	34	10 1. The- seus, 30	27
	3485 2803 290	6	12	33 154	22 1. Phe- bus, 8	39	6	32
	3490 2808 295	11	17	38 159	6	44	11	6 1. Priamus, 40
	3493 2811 298	14	20	20 1. Ammenes, 162 26	23 1. Adra- mus, 4	47	14	4
	3497 2815 302	18	24	5 166	24 1. Poly- phides, 3	51	18	8
	3501 2819 306	22	28 1. Tansanes,	9 32	5	55	22	12

	Indian. World Exodus	Israel	Assyria	Egypt	Sicion	Myce- nae	Atheni	Troy	
	3503 2820 307	9 1. Ieph 1a, 6	2	10 171	6	56	23	13	
	3508 2826 313	10 1. Ith- 2as 7	8	16 177	12	62	29	19	
	3510 2828 315	3	10	18 179	14	64	11 1. Mne the 24	21	
	3512 2830 317	5	12	20 181	16	1. Lga- mcoman 18	3	23	
	3515 2833 320	11 1. Elon 10	15	23 184	19	4	6	25	
The wars of Troy began this year.	3519 2837 324	5	19	21 1. Thmoris, 7 188	23	8	10	30	
	3525 2843 330	12 1. Ab- don, 8	25	7 194	29	14	16	36	
The 20. Dynasty, called Of the Diopolitani, began this year in Egypt, and lasted 178 years, See lib. 2. c. 26. § 4.	3526 2844 331	2	26	20 1. Dynasty, 178	30	15	17	37	
	3528 2846 333	4	28	3 1. Pelsa- gm, 20	17	19	39		
Troy taken 408. years, before the beginning of the Olympiads. See L. 2. c. 14. §. 1.	3529 2847 334	5	29	4	2	18	20	40. Troy taken	
	Indian. World, Exodus	From Troy taken.	Israel	Assyria	Egypt	Sicion	Myce- nae	Atheni	The Kingdom of the Latines
	3530 2848 335	1	6	30	5	3	1. Age- thms, 6	21	
	3533 2851 338	4	13 1. Sampson, 20	29 1. Temu, 40	8	6	4	24	1. Antim, 3
	3534 2852 339	5	2	2	9	7	5 1. Dem- phos, 33	1	
	3536 2854 341	7	4	4	11	9	1. Ore- ster, 70	3	1. Afcanius 38
	3548 2866 353	19	16	16	23	13 1. Zuffi- pm, 32	13	15	13
	3553 2871 358	2	14 1. Eli, 40	21	28	6	18	20	18
	3567 2885 372	38	15	35	42	20	32 1. Owin- ter, 12	32	
	3573 2891 378	44	21	30 1. Thy- men, 30	48	26	38	7	38
	3574 2892 379	45	22	2	49	27	39	8	1. Syl. Pol- mus, 29

	Julian World, Exodus taken.	From Troy taken.	Israel	Assyria	Egypt	Sicion	Myce- nae	Atheni	The Kingdom of the Latines
The Sycianian Kings ended in Zenippus.	3579 2897 384	50	27	7	54	32	44	14 1. Aph- Lai, 1	6
	3580 2898 385	51	28	8	55		45	15 1. Tima- to, 4.	7
	3588 2906 393	59	36	16	63		53	16 1. Melan- rhous, 37	15
	3593 2911 398	64	1. Samuel, 47 1. Samuel, 47 1. Samuel, 47	21	68		58	6	20
	3603 2921 408	74	11	1. Dero- lms, 40	78		68	16 1. Syl- mus, 31.	4
	3606 2924 411	77	14	4	81		1. Tjamen- mus, 2	19	4
The ascent of the hieracina into Peloponnesus, gave end to the Kingdom of Mycenae, and beginning to the Kingdom of Sparta, and Messene, the 1. page whereof I forbore to insert into the table.	3609 2927 414	80	17	7	84			22	7
	3635 2943 430	96	33	23	100			17 1. Co- drus, 21	23
	Julian World, Exodus	From Troy taken.	Israel	Assyria	Egypt	Atheni	Latines		
	3633 2951 438	104	1. David, 40	31	108	9	31		
	3634 2952 439	105	2	32	109	10	1. Syl- Latusus, 50		
	3643 2961 448	114	11	1. Empa- let, 38	118	19	10		
The Medontide succede onto the Athenian Kings, after the death of Codrus. lib. 2. c. 17. §. 10.	3646 2964 451	117	14	4	121	1. Ado- don, 20	13		
	3666 2984 471	137	34	24	141	1. Agas- thms, 30	33		
Iphrus reigneth in Egypt. See L. 2. c. 25. §. 5.	3673 2991 478	144	1. Salomon, 40	31	148	8	40		
Salomon began to build the Temple 480. years com- mence after the deliverance out of Egypt.	3676 2994 481	1	147	4	151	11	43		
	3681 2999	6	152	9	156	16	48		
	3684 3002	9	155	12	159	19	1. Syl- Althm.	6	
	3692 3010	17	163	20	167	27	9		
	3702 3020	27	173	30	177	11	1. Archi- pm, 19	19	

	Julian. World.	Temple Troy.	From Troy taken.	Israel	Assyria.	Egypt.	Alben.	Latine.
The 21. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. yeeres.	3704 3022	29	175	32	24 1	13 1	23	21
The Ionische migration after the taking of Troy, 180 yeeres. See L.2.c.17. §.6.	3709 3027	34	180	37	29	18 6	8	26
	Julian. World. Temple	Troy.	Juda.	Israel.	Assyria	Egypt.	Alben.	Latine.
	3713 3031 38	184	1. Rehoboam. 1. Rehoboam. 37	1. Ieroboam. 22	33	22 10	12	30
	3718 3036 43	189	6	6	38	1. Chem. 15. 50	17	35
	3721 3039 46	192	9	9	41	1. Tereph. 41	4	38
	3723 3041 48	194	11	11	43	6 20	3	39
	3726 3044 51	197	14	14	34 1. Pyrrhusades. 30	9	6	4
	3730 3048 55	201	2 1. Abiyam.	18	5	13 27	10	8
	3733 3051 58	204	3 1. Afa, 41	21	8	16 30	13	11
	3734 3052 59	205	2 1. Nadab 2.	22 2	9	17 31	14	12
	3735 3053 60	206	3 1. Baalsha, 24.	3 24	10	18 32	15	13
	3749 3057 74	220	17	15	24	32 46	19	15
	3756 3074 81	227	24	22	35 1. Ophratenu. 20	39 53	36	8
	3758 3076 83	229	26 1. Ela, 2.	24 4	3	41 55	38	10
Of these Israelitish Kings, See lib.2.c.19. §.5.	3759 3077 84	230	27 1. Omri, 12 2. Omri, 12	5 6 7	4	42 56	39	11
	3762 3080 87	233	30	4	7	45 59	40	14
	3768 3086 93	239	36	10	13	1. Ch. 56 65	7	20
	3770 3088 95	241	38 1. Ahab, 23	12 8	15	3 67	9	21
	3774 3092 99	245	4 1. Iehosaphat. 25	5	19	7 71	13	25

	Julian. World. Temple	Troy.	Juda.	Israel	Assyria	Egypt.	Alben.	Latine.
	3776 3094 101	247	3	7	36 1. Ophra. 101	9 73	15	28
	3777 3095 102	248	4	8	2	10 74	16	29
Of Iehoram his (various) beginnings to reign. See lib.2.c.20. §.x. &c. 2.	3790 3108 115	261	17 5 1. Iehoram.	21 9 1. Abisat, 2.	15	23 87	29	30
	3791 3109 116	262	18 2	22 10 1. Iehoram.	16	24 88	30	31
	3793 3111 118	264	20 0	3	18	26 90	31	32
	3795 3113 120	266	22 1. Iehoram a. gine, 8.	5	20	28 92	32	33
Iehosaphat dies, and Iehoram reigns alone.	3798 3116 123	269	25 4	8	23	31 95	33	34
	3802 3120 127	273	8 6 1. Abasat, 1.	12	27	35 99	34	35
	3803 3121 128	274	7 1. Athalia	11 7	28	36 100	35	36
	3809 3127 134	280	7 8 1. Iehoram a. gine, 40.	7	34	42 106	36	37
Carthage built L.2.c.22. §.6.	3819 3137 144	290	11	17	44	52 116	37	38
	3825 3143 148	294	15	21	48	56 120	38	39
	3824 3142 149	295	16	22	49	57 121	39	40
	3826 3144 151	297	18	24	51	59 123	40	41
	3831 3149 156	302	23	29	56	64 128	41	42
The end of the 21. Dynastie. The Dynasties following.	3833 3151 158	304	25	3	58	66 130	42	43
	3839 3157 164	310	31	9	64	72 136	43	44
Iosab reigns with his Father, L.2.c.22. §.7.	3845 3163 170	316	37	15 13 1. Iosab.	20	78 142	44	45
Iosab reigns alone.	3847 3165 172	318	39	17	22	80 144	45	46
	3848 3166 173	319	40 9 1. Amasia, 20	18	23	81 145	46	47

	Julian. World. Temple	Troy.	Juda.	Israel	Affria	Egypt	Athen.	Latine.	Media
	3851 3169 126	322	4	5	26	28	8 1. Phere- das, 12.	13	
	3858 3766 183	329	11	12	33	35	8 1. Syl. A- naxim, 37.		
	3862 3180 187	333	15	16 14 1. Jeroboam, 41	37	39	12 5		
	3868 3186 193	339	21	7	38 1. Sarda- naspalm, 20	45	18 11		
	3870 3188 195	341	23	9	3	47	9 1. Ar- phrus, 25	12	
	3874 3192 199	345	27	13	7	1. Ad- cerius, 26	5 16		
	Julian. World. Temple	Troy.	Juda.	Israel	Affria	Egypt	Athen.	Latine.	Media
L. 2. C. 22. §. 11.	3877 3195 202	348	1. Interregnum 11 years.	15	10	4	8 19		
	3880 3198 205	351	4	19	13	1. Boc- choris, 44	11 22		
L. 2. C. 22. §. 12.	3887 3205 212	358	11	26	20. Sal- manapa- lus slain	8	18 29		
L. 2. C. 23. §. 1. & 4.	3888 3206 213	359	10 1. Bzeas, 51 Azaria, 52	27		9	19 30	1 1. Ar- sam, 21	
	3890 3208 215	361	3	29		11	10 1. The- storus, 27	32 3	
L. 2. C. 23. §. 4.	3892 3210 217	363	5	31	1 1. Bul- sus, or Phul, 48.	13	3 34	5	
	3895 3213 220	366	8	34	4	16	6	8 1. Syl. Phul, 23	
L. 2. C. 23. §. 1.	3903 3221 228	374	16	1. Interregnum 23 years.	12	24	14 9	16	
	3916 3234 241	387	29	14	25	37	27 22	2 1. Syl. ann, 31	
	3917 3235 242	388	30	15	26	38	23 2		
	3918 3236 243	389	31	16	27	39	2 5	15 1. Syl. A- naxim, 44	
	3924 3242 249	395	37	22	33	1. Achis 5. After him Amy- th, 6	8 7	9	
Zacharia began at the very end of the year. L. 2. C. 23. §. 1.	3925 3243 250	396	38	23 25 Zacharia for Mo- nachus.	34	2	9 8	10	

	Julian. World. Temple	Troy.	Juda.	Israel	Affria	Egypt	Athen.	Latine.	Media
	3926 3244 251	397		39	35 1. Sal- omon one name, 17 Machabees 10.	3	10 9	11	
This year nearly concurs with the first of Menahem	3927 3245 252	398		40	1	36	4 11	10 12	
	3930 3248 255	401		43	4	39	1. Sabac- on the Etiopi- an, 50	14 13	15
	3937 3255 262	408	1. Iphrus Olympi- ads.	50	18 1. Pek- dia, 2	46	8 1. Ephi- lam, 27	20 22	
The beginning of the Olympiad. L. 2. C. 23. §. 5.	3938 3256 263	409	1	51	2	47	9 2	21 23	
	3939 3257 264	410	2	52	1. Pe- Remedia, 20.	48	10 3	22 24	
L. 2. C. 23. §. 6.	3940 3258 265	411	3	1 1. Iosba 16	2	49	11 4	23 25	
	Julian. World. Temple	Troy.	Juda.	Israel	Affria	Egypt	Athen.	Latine.	Media
	3946 3264 271	417	3	7	8	7	17 10	29 30	2 1. Mela- das, 40
	3955 3273 280	418	5	16 1. Ahaz, 26	17	16	26 19	38 10	
	3959 3277 284	422	6	5	20	30	23 42	14	
	3960 3278 285	423	6	6	2	21	31 1. Aleni- non, 2	43 15	
	3962 3280 287	424	7	8	4	23	33 1. (A- raps, 10	1 1. Rem- das, 37	17
	3966 3284 291	428	8	12	20 1. Hef- 9	27	37 5	5 21	
The Era of Nabonassar. Lib. 2. C. 25. §. 1.	3967 3285 292	429	8	13	2	28	38 6	6 22	
Ezekia began in the verse end of this year. L. 2. C. 23. §. 1.	3968 3286 293	430	9	14 1. Eze- kiah, 23	3	2	39 7	7 23	
This year concurs with the first of Ezekia. Ibid.	3969 3287 294	431	9	15	4	3	40 8	8 24	
The beginning of the first Messenian war. Where- fore L. 2. C. 27. §. 4. It lasted 20 years.	3971 3289 296	433	9	6	5	42	10 10	26	
Samaria besieged by Salmanassar.	3972 3290 297	434	9	7	6	43	11 27		

	Indian and World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphit.	Olymp.	Inda.	Chal- dea.	Egypt.	Rome	Media	Lydia.	
Nebuchadnezzar recovers his sense and Kingdom.	4131	170	194	49	25	48 1. Labors (Arduus) 9. mons.	21	33	16	36	
Lib. 3. c. 1. § 6.	449	165		49							
The 37. of Iechonia his captivity compleat, and be enlarged.	4133	172	196		27	Enlign- redact. 20	23	35	18	38	
	3451	167		4	31		5	27			
	4137	176	200		4			1. Servius Tullius, 46	22	42	
	3455										
Forty years after the Conquest of Egypt: peff, Amasis began his reign: this being inclusively the 41. and therefore the next years seems concurrent with Amasis his first.	4151	190	214	54	45	19	Amasis 34	15	5	56	
	3469	185		2							
	4153	192	216	54	47	21	2	17	3	5	
	3471		4						1. Cræ- sus, 14.		
	Indian World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphit.	Olymp.	Persia	Caldea	Egypt.	Rome.	Media	Lydia.	Iow.
	4154	193	217	55	1	22	3	18	4	2	48
	3472	188		1							
The seven Sages in Greece.	4159	198	222	56	6	1. Bal- thar, 17	8	23	9	7	53
	3477	193		2							
Pisistratus makes himself Tyrant in Athens.	4164	203	227	57	11	6	13	28	14	12	58
	3482	198		3							
	4166	205	229	58	13	8	15	30	16	14	60
	3484	200		1							
The end of the Chaldean Empire.	4175	214	238	60	22	17. Bal- thar, 17	24	39	25		69
	3493	209		2							
	4176	215	239	60	23	1. Da- rins the Mede, 2	25	40	26		70
	3494	210		3							
The beginning of Cyrus his Empire.	4177	216	240	60	1	Cyrus 7	2	26	41	1. Her- acles from Cyrus	Zoro- babel.
His edict of liberty to the Jews.	3495	211		4							
	4181	220	244	61	5		30		5		
	3499	215		4							
	4184	223	247	62	2		33	4	8		
	3502	218		3	1. Cam- byses, 7						
The 2 first years of Darius the Great, & part of the third may be added to the years of his father, if it be true that Cam- byses was Regent presently on the death of Amasis, L. 3. c. 4. § 2.	4186	225	249	63	3		1. Darius mon- arch, 3.	6	10		
	3504	220		4							
	4188	227	251	63	5		3	8	12		
The Conquest of Egypt by Cambyfes.	3506	222		3							
	Indian World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphit.	Olymp.	Persia	Egypt.	Rome	Greece.	Jews	From Cyrus.	
	4191	230	254	64	8		11			15	
Cambyfes reigned seven years and five months, so as his last year was filled up by the Magi, and (as may seem) a good part of the next. L. 3. c. 4. § 4.	3509	225		2	The Ma- gi, one year						
	4192	231	255	64	3		12			16	
	3510	226		3							

	Indian World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphit.	Olymp.	Persia.	Egypt.	Rome.	Greece.	Jews and from Cyrus.
	4197	236	260	65	6		17	Hippocras the son of Pisistratus Tyrant in Athens.	21
	3515	231		4					
	4204	243	267	67	13		42	Babylon, which had rebelled, ta- ken by Darius.	28
	3522	238		3					
The Tarquines expelled Rome. L. 4. c. 7. § 1.	4205	244	268	67	14		25		29
	3523	239		4					
The Carthaginians first league with Rome. L. 5. c. 1. § 2.	4206	245	269	68	15		Brutus & Publicola	Consules.	30
	3524	240		1					
	4211	250	274	69	16				35
L. 3. c. 5. § 4.	3529	245		2					
	4212	251	275	69	21			The Athenians and Ionians take Sardes.	36
	3530	246		3					
	4222	261	285	72	31			The battle of Marathon.	46
	3540	256		1					
	4226	265	289	73	35			Egypt rebel- led against Darius.	50
	3544	260		1					
	4228	267	291	73	4				52
	3545	262		3	1. Xer- xes, 21				
The Law Agraria in Rome promposed, for division of lands: which bred great commotion.	4229	268	292	73	2			Egypt reco- vered by Xer- xes.	53
	3547	263		4					
An Eclipse of the Sun. L. 3. c. 6. § 2.	4233	272	296	74	6. The great number of Xerxes his army at Sardes.				57
	3551	267		5					
L. 3. c. 6. § 3. & 6.	4234	273	297	75	7			The battles at Thermopylae, Artemisium, and Sa- lamina.	58
	3552	268		1					
L. 3. c. 6. § 9. 10. & 11.	4235	274	298	75	8. Xerxes his first calkine			The battle of Platæa and My- cale.	59
	3553	269		2					
L. 3. c. 7. § 1. and 2.	4237	276	300	75	10			The Athenians re- build their walls, to lay the foundation of their Dominion.	62
	3555	271		4					
	4244	283	307	77	17			The great victo- ry of Cimon, at Eurymedon, and otherwise.	68
	3562	278		3					
Lib. 3. c. 7. § 3.	4248	287	311	78	21			The death of Xerxes, by the treason of Artabanus.	72
	3566	282		3					
	4249	288	312	78	5			Themistocles being slandered, flies to Artaxerxes.	73
	3567	283		4					
	4251	290	314	79	3			Inarus set up as King by the Egyptians.	75
	3569	285		80					
L. 3. c. 7. § 5. & 7.	4255	294	318	80	7. The marriage of Hyfies Persians.			Inarus was quashed by the Persians.	
	3573	289		2				The decy- ring cho- ice of found a bodie on the Roma Laws.	
	4264	303	327	82	16			Hippocrates the great Physician, and Democritus the Philosopher died.	88 90.
	3582	298		3					

The Account from the solution of the Captivity, is the same with that from Cyrus.									
	Julian.	Rome.	Iphit.	Olymp.	Persia.	Egypt.	Rome.	Greece.	Years From Cyrus.
	4265	304		82				The de- termin- ed that it should be a se- cond year, to celebrate the return of the Jews from Babel.	89
	3583	299	328	4	17			ymous voy- age to Cy- prus, in which he died.	11
Nehemias comes to Jerusalem.	4268			83				A League for 30 years, between Athens & Sparta.	92
	3586	307	331	3	20				14
	4272	311		84				The first Mithras with the figure of a bull, the first of the series of the gods.	96
	3590	306	335	3	24				18
	4273	312		84				The conquest of the Persian Empire by Alexander the Great.	97
	3591	307	336	4	25				19
	4278	317		86				The first year of the Pelopon- nesian war.	102
	3596	312	341	1	30				24
The walls of Jerusalem finished.	4280	319		86					104
Nehemias returns to King Artaxerxes.	3598	314	343	3	32				26
Lib. 3. c. 8. §. 1.	4283	322		67					107
	3601	317	346	2	35				29
L. 3. c. 9. §. 1.	4289	328		88				The victory of the Athenians at Salamis.	111
L. 3. c. 8. §. 4.	3607	323		89					35
L. 3. c. 9. §. 1.	4290	329		89					114
	3608	324	353	1	8				36
L. 3. c. 8. §. 5. and 6.	4292	331		89					116
	3610	326		91					38
L. 3. c. 9. §. 1. & c. 8. §. 8.	4293	330		91					125
	3614	325	364	4					48
Cap. 8. §. 9.	4294	331		92					128
The Carthaginians invade Sicily with an Army of 300000. L. 5. c. 1. §. 4. & 5.	4304	345		92					135
	3622	338	367	3	15				50
L. 3. c. 8. §. 10.	4306	345		93					130
	3624	342	369	1	17				52
	4307	346		93					131
	3625	341	370	2	18				53
	4308	347		93					132
	3626	342	371	3	19				54
L. 3. c. 8. §. 12.	4309	348		93					133
	3627	343	372	4					55
	4311	350		94					135
	3629	345	374	2	3				57
L. 3. c. 10. §. 1.	4313	352		94					137
	3631	347	376	4					59

	Julian.	Rome.	Iphit.	Olymp.	Persia.	Egypt.	Rome.	Greece.	Years From Cyrus.
	4318	357		96					142
Lib. 3. c. 15. §. 4.	3636	352	381	1	10				64
L. 3. c. 11. §. 7.	4320	359		96					144
	3638	354	383	3	12				66
	4321	360		96					145
	3639	355	384	4	13				67
	4325	364		97					149
	3643	359	388	4	17				71
Lib. 4. c. 7. §. 1.	4326	365		98					150
Lib. 3. c. 11. §. 9.	3644	360	389	1	18				72
	4327	376		98					151
	3645	361	390	2	19				73
	4332	371		99					156
	3650	366	395	3	24				78
Lib. 3. c. 11. §. 11.	4336	375		100					160
	3654	370	399	3	28				82
	4340	379		101					164
	3658	374	403	3	32				86
L. 3. c. 12. §. 1.	4343	382		102					167
	3661	377	406	2	35				89
L. 3. c. 12. §. 4.	4345	384		102					169
	3663	379	408	4	37				91
	4351	390		104					175
	3669	385	414	2					97
L. 3. c. 12. §. 8.	4352	391		104					176
	3670	386	415	3	10				98
	4354	393		105					178
	3672	388	417	1	3				100
L. 4. c. 1. §. 4.	4359	398		106					183
	3677	393	422	2	8				105
	4364	403		107					188
	3682	398	427	3					110
L. 4. c. 1. §. 6.	4368	407		108					192
	3686	402	431	3	17				114
L. 5. c. 1. §. 4. & 7.	4369	408		108					193
	3678	403	432	4	18				115
	4370	409		109					194
	3688	404	433	1	19				116
	4375	414		110					199
	3692	409	438	2					121

After this, the year
from Cyrus & Daniel
was 1000, by One.

	Indian, and World.	Rome. Nabor.	Iphis.	Olymp.	Macedon.	Egypt.	Syria, and the Kingdom of the Greeks.	Greece.	Romans.	Jewes.	Consuls.
	4453	492	516	129	18	25	1. Antiochus Themi. 50			Daniel. 8	L. Valerius.
	3771	487		4						198	T. Officiatus.
Lib. 5. c. 1. §. 6.	4454	493	517	130	19	26	2		Dulius his victory at Sea.	99	C. Duilius.
	3772	488		1			51			199	Cn. Cornelius.
	4457	496	520	130	22	29	5		Regulus afflicts into Africa.	12	M. Attul. Reg.
Lib. 5. c. 1. §. 8.	3775	491		4			54			202	Cn. Cornelius.
	4458	497	521	131	23	30	6	Marcus Cato, nonis Prator of the Achaeans.	Regulus taken prisoner.	13	L. Manlius.
	3776	492		1			53			203	Q. Cadius.
	4463	502	525	132	28	35	11	Aratus recovers Sicily, and gives it to the Achaeans.		18	L. Caelius.
The Roman Consul been at Lilybaeum. The beginning of the Punican War.	3781	497		2			60			208	C. Furius.
	4464	503	526	132	29	36	12		Regulus his death.	19	C. Atilius.
	3782	498		3			61			209	L. Manlius.
	4465	504	528	132	30	37	13		Shipwreck, and victory fight of the Romans at sea.	20	P. Claudius, Pulcher, and L. Iunius.
	3783	499		4			62			210	L. Caelius.
	4467	506	530	133	32		15			22	L. Caelius.
	3785	501		2			64			212	M. Fabius.
Amilcar the Carthaginian in Sicily. L. 5. c. 1. §. 11.	4469	508	532	133	34	3	4		Lucretius his great victory at Egadensis.	24	M. Fabius.
	3787	503		4			6			214	C. Atilius.
	4472	511	535	134	3		4			27	C. Luit. Catil.
	3790	506		3			69			217	A. Posthumus.
The war of the Mercenaries with the Carthaginians, L. 5. c. 2.	4473	512	536	134	2	7	5	Aratus wins Carthage.	Peace granted to Carthage.	218	A. Manlius.
	3791	507		4			70			218	A. Manlius.
	4474	513	537	135	3		6			219	C. Claudius.
	3792	508		1			71			220	M. Sempronius.
The war with the Mercenaries ended.	4476	515	539	135	5	10	8		The Romans take Syracuse from the Carthaginians.	221	Gracchus.
	3794	510		3			73			222	Falco.
	4482	521	545	137			14			9	Lepidus.
	3800	516		1			79			227	Mallesius.
	4483	522	546	137	2	17	15		A Roman Embassy is sent to the Carthaginians.	12	M. Aemilius.
	3801	517		2			80			230	M. Junius.
Lib. 5. c. 2. §. 7.	4485	524	548	137	4	19	17		Tenda, Queen of Libya, subdued by the Romans.	10	L. Posthumus.
	3803	519		4			82			234	C. Fulvius.
Lib. 5. c. 5. §. 1.	4489	528	552	138	8	23				16	L. Aemilius.
	3807	523		4						224	C. Atilius.
Flaminius was also Consul this year. Sec L. 5. c. 2. §. 8.	4492	531	555	139	11	26			Marcus has victory over the Gauls at the Battle of Clastidium.	237	M. Marcellus.
	3810	526		3			2			20	P. Cornelius.
L. 5. c. 5. §. 2.	4493	532	556	139	12		90			238	M. Minutius.
	3811	527		4						20	L. Aemilius.
	4494	533	557	140			3			239	C. Luitatius.
	3812	528		1			91				

	Indian.	Rome.	Iphis.	Olymp.	Macedon.	Egypt.	Syria & Kingdom of the Greeks.	Greece.	Rome.	Jewes.	Consuls.
	4495	534	558	140	2	3	4			22	L. Aemilius.
Horatius takes Saguntum.	3813	529		2			92			240	M. Livius.
The beginning of the second Punic War.	4496	534	559	140	3	4	4		The battles of Ticinus and Trebia.	23	P. Cor. Scipio.
	3814	529		3						241	T. Sempronius.
The occurrences of this year, are referred to the 1st of July, the day of the 1st of June was the 1st of the year.	4497	536	560	140	4	5	6		The battles of Trasimene and Cannae.	24	C. Flaminius.
	3815	530		4			94			242	Cn. Scipio.
	4498	537	561	141	5	6	7			25	C. Terentius.
	3816	532		1			95			243	L. Aem. Paul.
	4499	538	562	141	6	7	8		Postumius the Consul slain by the Gauls.	26	L. Postumius.
The two Scipios (names) Hannibal and Tarentum.	3817	533		2			96			244	Q. Fabius.
	4502	541	565	142	9	10	11		Syracuse won by Marcellus. Capua besieged.	247	Ap. Claudius.
	3820	536		1			99			248	Q. Fulvius.
Hannibal at the gates of Rome.	4503	542	566	142	10	11	12		The battle of Metaurus.	2	Cn. Fulvius.
	3821	537		2			100			248	P. Sulpicius.
	4507	546	570	143	14	15	16			6	C. Claud. Nero.
	3825	541		2			104			252	M. Livius.
	4508	547	571	143	15	16	17		Scipio drives the Carthaginians quite out of Spain.	7	Q. Caelius.
	3826	542		3			105			253	L. Pannius.
	4510	549	573	144	17	18	19		Scipio invades Africa.	9	Cetogus.
	3828	544		1			107			255	P. Sempronius.
	4511	550	574	144	18	2	20		King Syphax taken.	10	Serullius, and Serullius.
	3829	545		2			108			256	T. Claudius.
	4512	551	575	144	19	3	21		Hannibal vanquished by Scipio.	257	M. Sempronius.
	3830	546		3			109			257	M. Sempronius.
Threat of the second Punic War, and the beginning of the Macedonian War with Philip.	4513	552	576	144	20	4	22		Scipio triumphs over Carthage.	12	Lentulus.
	3831	547		4			110			258	Petius.
	4516	555	579	145	21	7	25			258	T. Q. Flaminius.
	3834	550		3			113			261	Sec. Q. Flaminius.
L. 5. c. 5. §. 14.	4517	556	580	145	22	8	26			16	Cetogus.
	3835	551		4			114			262	Q. Minutius.
Hannibal expelled Carthage. L. 5. c. 5. §. 15.	4518	557	581	146	23	9	27			17	L. Furius.
	3836	552		1			115			263	Marcellus.
	4519	558	582	146	24	10	28			18	M. Cato.
	3837	553		2			116			264	L. Valerius.
	4522	561	585	147	29	13	31			21	L. Junius.
	3840	556		1			119			267	Cn. Domitius.
	4523	562	586	147	30	14	120			268	Acilius Glabrio.
	3841	557		2			121			268	Nasica.
	4524	563	587	147	31	15	33			23	L. Scipio.
	3842	558		3			121			269	C. Lulius.

	Julian World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphis.	Olymp.	Macedon.	Egypt.	Syria & King- doms of the Greeks.	Greece.	Rome.	Times and Daniel.	Confu- sius.
L. 5. c. 5. §. 9.	4527	566	590	148	34	18	36	124	Scipio Africanus the elder the first	26	Lepidus.
	3845	561	591	2						272	Flaminius.
	4528	567	591	148	35	19	1. gelonus Philo- pator, 12.	25.		27	Sp. Postumus
	5846	562	591	3						337	Q. Marcius.
L. 5. c. 6. §. 2.	4531	570	594	149	38	22	4	128	Scipio Hannibal & Philo- pator	30	Marcellus
	2849	565	594	2						267	Q. Fabius
L. 5. c. 6. §. 3.	4531	571	595	149	39	23	5	129	plebiscit Scipioes death, 11 years earlier.	31	Paulus.
	3850	566	595	3	The return of Philip his son Demetrius rescued to him, and sain the next year.					277	Ca. T. Fabius
Cap. 6. §. 4.	4533	572	596	149	40	24	6	130	Calli- rates be- comes the Achazus & all the Greeks.	32	Cethegus
	3851	567	597	4						278	M. Babinus
	4534	573	597	150	41	25	7	131	1. Philomachus Philo- mator, and his Brother Phylomachus	33	A. Postumus
	3852	568	597	1						279	Piso
	4535	574	598	150	42	2	8	132		34	Piso
	3853	569	598	2	1. Perseus, 11 or 12 years.					280	Manlius
An Eclipse of the Moon, 573. years, and 206. days from the beginning of Nabonassar, which years with this account it was by Julian years, the last of April, about one of the clock in the morning.	4540	579	603	151	6	7	1. Antiochus Epi- phanes, 12. 132.	7		39	Sp. Postumus
	3858	574	603	3						285	Segetia
	4541	580	604	151	7	8	2	138	See L. 5. c. 6. §. 11.		L. Postumus
	3859	575	604	4							M. Popilius
	4543	582	606	152	8	10	4	140	1. Lucius the great brother after him Metellus the first		P. Lucius
	3861	577	606	2	The beginning of the War of Per- seus.						C. C. C.
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	3863	579	608	4						290	Servilius.
A total eclipse of the Moon, 576. years, and 206. days from the beginning of Nabonassar, which years with this account it was by Julian years, the last of April, about one of the clock in the morning.	4546	585	609	153	12	12	7	143	Cap. 6. §. 8. 9. and 11		L. C. C.
	3864	580	610	1	Perseus vanqu- ished and taken. Macedon made a Roman Pro- vince.						L. C. C.
	4547	586	610	153	14	14	8	144	1. The cap- tivity of all the best among the Greeks.		L. C. C.
	3865	581	612	2							L. C. C.
	4549	588	612	153	16	16	10	146	1. Julius Macedon- ian, 12.		L. C. C.
	3867	581	612	4							L. C. C.

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